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“Let the Castillo be his Monument!”: Imperialism, Nationalism, and Indian
Commemoration at the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument in St. Augustine,
Florida

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Arts at Virginia Commonwealth University.

by

Claire M. Barnewolt
Bachelor of Arts, College of William & Mary, 2014

Director: Dr. Ryan Smith, Professor, Department of History

Virginia Commonwealth University
Richmond, Virginia
May 1, 2018

Acknowledgments

I would not have been able to complete the research that went into this thesis without the assistance and encouragement from those I met during my time spent in St. Augustine. I wish to thank my Florida hosts, my supervisors at the St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library, the friends I made amongst the volunteers on the cannon crew at the Castillo de San Marcos, and the National Park Service Park Rangers that aided me in my studies. Without them this project would be incomplete. I also wish to thank my parents for guiding me through my time as a Master's student and my advisor, Dr. Ryan Smith, for giving me the idea for this thesis in the first place.

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Abstract

“LET THE CASTILLO BE HIS MONUMENT!”: IMPERIALISM, NATIONALISM, AND INDIAN COMMEMORATION AT THE CASTILLO DE SAN MARCOS NATIONAL MONUMENT IN ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA

By Claire M. Barnewolt
Bachelor of Arts, College of William & Mary, 2014

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University, 2018.

Major Director: Dr. Ryan Smith, Professor, Department of History, Virginia Commonwealth University

The Castillo de San Marcos is the oldest stone fortification on the North American mainland, a unique site that integrates Florida's Spanish colonial past with American Indian narratives. A complete history of this fortification from its origins to its management under the National Park Service has not yet been written. During the Spanish colonial era, the Indian mission system complemented the defensive work of the fort until imperial skirmishes led to the demise of the Florida Indian. During the nineteenth century, Indian prisoners put a new American Empire on display while the fort transformed into a tourist destination. The Castillo became an American site, and eventually a National Monument, where visitors lionized Spanish explorers and often overlooked other players in fort history. This thesis

looks at the threads of Spanish and Indian history at the fort and how they have or have not been interpreted into the twenty-first century.

Introduction

The Castillo de San Marcos stands overlooking Matanzas Inlet and the ancient city of St. Augustine, Florida, founded long before Jamestown or Plymouth. Visitors from around the globe tour the interior of the fort, the gun deck, and moat, immersed in Spanish colonial history, caught up in thoughts of corsairs, Spanish *soldados*, and blasting cannons. This thesis seeks to tell the story of this Spanish fort from its seventeenth-century origins to the present, at least as it pertains to the conflicting Spanish and Indian presences there, and how they manifest themselves today at this National Monument. For there has been a lack of attention to the contrasting Spanish and Indian representation at the fort throughout its existence. At a place that is credited as being one of the origin sites of America, we must analyze the intersecting relationships of the groups of people who built and used this structure and those who later developed it into a tourist destination.

Overwhelmingly, the fort has been presented as a Spanish colonial stronghold. European and Anglo-American observers have framed it this way since the seventeenth century. Modern scholarship took its cue from Verne E. Chatelain, the first chief historian of the National Park Service, who began such a presentation in *The Defenses of Spanish Florida 1565 to 1763*. Chatelain outlined his scholarship on Spanish Florida's mission and defense systems in 1941. He noted how Spanish missions affected the nature of defenses in Florida and how friars believed their work amongst Indians to be

part of the Spanish Empire's defense network, of which the Castillo became a key part. By recognizing that the English and their allies destroyed missions along the St. Augustine-Apalache trail, Chatelain recognized that missions also became military targets in colonial Florida. The goal of the St. Augustine garrison was to protect Spanish missions and Spanish Florida's vast frontier.¹ Albert Manucy and Luis Rafael Arana, both National Park historians in the mid-twentieth century who continued scholarship on the Spanish origins of St. Augustine, wrote *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos* in 1977, focusing on the reasons for the Castillo's construction and the methods of construction used.² Eastern National, a company that produces materials in support of America's National Parks, originally published Manucy and Arana's book. Thus, the book was a collaboration with the National Park Service (NPS) and the information on empire, military boasting, and building materials is in sync with what the NPS has presented at the fort in recent decades. Manucy and Arana's work lacks, however, any cultural focus or analysis on how people interpret and remember American Indian history at the Castillo. Manucy and Arana's publications are sold at the fort, at the St. Augustine Historical Society, and at other museums in St. Augustine. Their secondary works are most useful when studying the Spanish overseas battalions and the fort's role in Spanish colonialism. Their focus, however, was purely militaristic.

What Manucy and Arana did include in their 1977 edition of *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos* were telling statements on the nature of Indian-Spanish alliances and the nature of the fort as a monument. Between 1680 and 1709, non-Christian Indian

¹ Verne E. Chatelain, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida 1565 to 1763* (Baltimore: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1941), 24-26, 35.

² Luis Rafael Arana and Albert Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos* (Washington D.C.: Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1977), 29. Albert Manucy had also published a manuscript in 1942 on the building of the Castillo in collaboration with the National Park Service.

raids on Christian Indian allies of the Spanish, mainly led by English colonists, made St. Augustine vulnerable.³ I assert that Florida Indians were integral to early St. Augustine as well as the construction of the fort, and Anglo-Spanish hostilities not only endangered St. Augustine but the populations of Florida Indians. But these early NPS historians did not dwell upon the contribution of the Indian in St. Augustine. When discussing the completion of the Castillo in 1695, Manucy and Arana stated, “it was the blood and sweat and hardship of the Florida soldier that paid the cost...Let the Castillo be his monument!”⁴ In this expression they completely ignored the Indian labor at the fort and Indian allies who were thrust into harm’s way. I reexamine whose monument the Castillo is, and has been, over the centuries.

I do not attempt to rewrite the scholarship on the Spanish origin of the fort, especially since generally, analyzing this period requires a proficiency in Castilian Spanish, which I have not acquired. Yet there are ways to bring in new sources, notably British sources, and look at connections to other European settlers and tribes indigenous to Florida in the colonial time period. This thesis speaks to the complexity and diversity of colonial Florida, and uses a variety of eyewitness accounts, maps, and letters to elucidate the role of the indigenous populations at the Castillo de San Marcos, analyzing how imperial competition aggravated the decline of indigenous populations.

In contrast to Manucy and Arana, Jason Palmer wrote in 2002 on the Indian involvement in the building of the fort. In an article published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, he showed how Apalachee, Timucua, and Guale labored on fort construction for twenty-four years, many forced from their homes, dying from disease,

³ Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo*, 29.

⁴ Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo*, 36.

malnourishment, and exhaustion.⁵ The Spanish saw St. Augustine as a strategic locale, maintained to protect their other colonies, as Florida had not produced the riches that Mexico and South America had. The Spanish used a “*repartimiento*” system in which they forced indigenous leaders to supply workers in exchange for religious education, military protection, and trading rights. The Apalachee, Timucua, and Guale peoples all rebelled against this system in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were caught up in imperial rivalry as well. The English occasionally supplied Indians with firearms, and when English pirates invaded St. Augustine in 1668, Indians were amongst those prisoners taken for ransom.⁶

Florida Indians disappeared from the colony rapidly as disease and imperial tension decreased populations, but once the United States acquired Florida’s forts in 1821, the army formed new relationships with other Indian tribes. Two years after the acquisition, the Castillo de San Marcos officially became Fort Marion, shortly thereafter beginning its use as a prison. In the 1830s, the United States Army housed Seminoles there, captives from the Seminole Wars. In the 1870s and 1880s, tribesmen from the west, dislocated during the Indian Wars and American westward expansion, were imprisoned. All of this took place while St. Augustine was developing as a tourist destination for wealthy northerners. Visiting prisoners at the fort proved a popular pastime on vacationers’ itineraries. Southern musician and poet Sidney Lanier wrote of the seventy-two Plains Indians upon their arrival in St. Augustine as he was conducting

⁵ Jason B. Palmer, “Forgotten Sacrifice: Native American Involvement in the Construction of the Castillo de San Marcos,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 80, no. 4 (2002): 437.

⁶ Palmer, “Forgotten Sacrifice,” 438, 440-441.

research for a Florida travel book, lamenting that they were brought to the fort, a place “as unfit for them as they are for it.”⁷

There has been a recent and steady revisionist effort to depict the lives of the Plains Indians at Fort Marion, transported by various means of travel from Fort Sill in Oklahoma to Fort Marion, arriving in St. Augustine on May 21, 1875 and staying until 1878. These particular prisoners became known as the “Florida boys.”⁸ Authors wish to tell the story of Indian captivity through Indian eyes. In the 1870s, Indian ledger art produced at the Castillo first garnered attention by American anthropologist Garrick Mallery, and since then scholars have looked into the meaning behind the artwork completed at Fort Marion.⁹ Karen Daniels Petersen’s work published in 1971 presented a broad analysis of 847 pieces of art by twenty-six different warriors created “under unique circumstances.” She said non-Indian Americans often cite ledger art as being “childlike,” since American Indians do not portray perspective and color in the same way as does the Graeco-Roman tradition. Petersen looked at the skills the Indians brought to Fort Marion and the ways their art changed while they were imprisoned in the fort.

Brad D. Lookingbill, in *War Dance at Fort Marion: Plains Indian War Prisoners*, was the exception to the rule amongst the group of Indian scholars I analyzed for the Plains incarceration time period. Though he did naturally discuss the Indians’ captivity and artwork produced, he began his work with a full military explanation as to how the

⁷ Sidney Lanier, quoted in Karen Daniels Petersen, *Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 3.

⁸ Petersen, *Plains Indian Art*, ix-x.

⁹ Candace S. Greene, “Being Indian at Fort Marion: Revisiting Three Drawings,” *The American Indian Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2013): 289.

United States Army came to capture various Plains tribesmen and which treaties and acts of war preceded their train ride from Fort Still.¹⁰

Diane Glancy joined Palmer and Petersen in assessing the fort's indigenous history. In *Fort Marion Prisoners and the Trauma of Native Education*, she wrote in a casual narrative style, but simultaneously used historical research to comment on Captain Richard Henry Pratt (the officer in charge of Indian education at Fort Marion), ledger drawings, and the Castillo as symbolic of American Indian struggle and displacement. She listed many of the seventy-two captives from the 1870s by name, noting not all of them were allies in their land of origin.¹¹ While at Fort Marion, the American Indian men performed military drills, washed the walls of the fort, and stayed in small dark rooms when being punished. Missionaries came to read them the Bible. Women also came to teach the Indian prisoners English grammar, math, geography, civics, and penmanship.¹² Glancy sought throughout her work to show that the men had agency, claiming that some prisoners cut off the legs of military trousers to use the fabric for traditional leggings, used sign language for intertribal communication, and learned English so as to speak to each other.¹³

Prisoners sold bows and arrows, polished sea beans, alligator teeth, and ledger drawings in town, sending the profits back home to their families.¹⁴ Yet some would never see their families again. The nineteenth-century St. Augustine National Cemetery, located blocks from the fort, holds six unknown Indians who died in captivity, marked by

¹⁰ Brad D. Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion: Plains Indian War Prisoners* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 34.

¹¹ Diane Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners and the Trauma of Native Education* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 17.

¹² Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners*, 51.

¹³ Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners*, 13, 24, 29, 30.

¹⁴ Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners*, 32.

two stones. In an ironic twist of history, Clark Mills, who made the statue of Andrew Jackson that stands in Lafayette Square in Washington D.C., came to St. Augustine to make life casts of the prisoners' heads, these casts now being held in storage at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology in Cambridge, Massachusetts.¹⁵

While Plains Indian imprisonment was not the only instance of American Indian imprisonment in the nineteenth century at Fort Marion, most scholars choose to write about the 1870s prisoners *because* of their production of ledger art, many drawings being signed by the artists themselves.¹⁶ Thus scholarship on the Plains Indians when in captivity at the Castillo contains only subtle differences. Herman Viola, in his book *Warrior Artists: Historic Cheyenne and Kiowa Indian Ledger Art Drawn by Making Medicine and Zotom*, adds to the genre of indigenous fort history by explaining how the evolution of drawings ran parallel to white encounters, depicting, for example, the coming of the horse and the introduction of firearms in the southern Plains by the early eighteenth century.¹⁷ In the later decades of the twentieth century, one finds a burgeoning authorship on the decline of the American Indian and the narrowing of the western frontier, and Plains Indian captivity in the Castillo is part of that story.

Captain Richard Henry Pratt, who had been a second lieutenant in the Tenth U.S. Cavalry, in charge of a black regiment assigned to the southern Plains, fought the Indians and commanded a corps of Indian scouts. He was interested in “ameliorating” the tribes’ conditions and helped to found the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.¹⁸ Historical interpreters argue that this man acted most leniently towards Plains Indians. Fort Marion,

¹⁵ Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners*, 39.

¹⁶ Herman J. Viola, *Warrior Artists: Historic Cheyenne and Kiowa Indian Ledger Art Drawn by Making Medicine and Zotom* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic, 1998), 5.

¹⁷ Viola, *Warrior Artists*, 5.

¹⁸ Viola, *Warrior Artists*, 7.

however, was an inappropriate place to house prisoners for any extended time, with dirty sand floors and leaking ceilings.¹⁹ Viola showed how the Indians became in charge of their own well being in the fort, acting as their own guards, holding their own military court, and building their own barracks on the northern wall.²⁰

In her 2013 article, Candace Greene argued that Plains Indian men had always drawn, but in captivity, they were wary of depicting war deeds and bravery in ledgers and therefore mainly drew hunting scenes, courting scenes, and other examples of Plains and captive daily life.²¹ The few artworks depicting warrior life they created were probably intended for an internal audience.²² An effort to analyze the meaning behind Indian artwork has continued.

In 2014, Birgit Brander Rasmussen wrote an article titled “Toward a New Literary History of the West,” in which she analyzed the ledger work of Etahdleuh Doanmoe, whose work was captioned by Pratt and given to his son. Rasmussen asked what constituted a narrative, as opposed to artwork. We should reexamine the non-alphabetic literatures of indigenous populations if we would like to augment the American Indian voice in U.S. history.²³ The scenes Doanmoe depicted, shark hunts or victory dances, could have symbolized masculine identities or survival. Rasmussen calls for a new kind of American literary study.²⁴ In this thesis I have taken inspiration from ledger artwork and have attempted to study American history in an innovative way, considering that at times I have come across a lack of written sources for some themes

¹⁹ Viola, *Warrior Artists*, 9.

²⁰ Viola, *Warrior Artists*, 10.

²¹ Greene, “Being Indian at Fort Marion,” 292.

²² Greene, “Being Indian at Fort Marion,” 292.

²³ Birgit Brander Rasmussen, “Toward a New Literary History of the West: Etahdleuh Doanmoe’s Captivity Narrative,” in *Contested Spaces of Early America*, ed. Julianna Barr and Edward Countryman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 261.

²⁴ Rasmussen, “Toward a New Literary History of the West,” 274.

and time periods. I supplement my study, then, with art, maps, structures, photographs, and headstones.

Assessing recent scholarship on the Castillo cemented the idea that most historians focus on the American Indian's role there as prisoner in the nineteenth century. The United States also housed a massive group of Apache prisoners at the fort in the 1880s, although there is less scholarship on them than on the Plains Indians. I look at more recent relationships the fort has had with interpreting Indian narratives in the later part of my thesis. In analyzing the fort in the twentieth century, I collect government papers that dealt with the fort's role in National Park Service history or public history. As a point of reference, I take Elizabeth Kryder-Reid's *California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Heritage*, using it to compare how Hispanic sites in the United States have been treated in the post-colonial era. The California Missions Foundation funds the preservation of California's twenty-one Spanish missions. Mission history remains part of California public schools' fourth-grade curriculum, the sites are popular tourist destinations, and one can purchase mission bathroom tiles and mission garden seeds. Kryder-Reid looked at the political nature of the Spanish colonial landscapes developed in the late eighteenth century and their transformation to heritage sites in the late nineteenth century and in the twentieth century, a similar and parallel timeline to that in Florida with the Castillo de San Marcos. The mission sites went from being echelons of colonial control to epitomizing an aestheticized sacred space.²⁵ Kryder-Reid believed that the California missions have not yet been understood as symbols of the continuum between the Spanish colonial period, budding American

²⁵ Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Heritage* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 2.

nationalism, and the modern day heritage industry, and her work seeks to fill the gap in scholarship, which my thesis also seeks to augment.²⁶ Kryder-Reid focused much of her attention on the indigenous perspective in early California. This thesis additionally highlights the role of Florida Indians in both the Spanish colonial era, and naturally, the era of the Castillo as an American Indian prison. How, if at all, are American Indians *now* represented at the Castillo? The most sustained focus on the role of Indians at the Castillo centers on the artwork produced by captive Plains Indians. The artwork was in the 1870s a reason for tourists to visit the fort, and remains a tourist curiosity. Today, Indians are not represented at the fort as laborers, neither are those that died in captivity memorialized in any fashion.

Carla Mora-Trejos, in her PhD dissertation, looked at how yet another group viewed American landmarks and saw themselves (or did not see themselves) represented in the landmarks' presentations. She wrote her dissertation in 2015 on the values assigned to National Parks by Hispanics in the United States, focusing on the Castillo de San Marcos and the Great Smoky Mountains. Mora-Trejos used a case study approach to look at the relationship Hispanic residents have with monuments and compare that with management perspectives from park staff.²⁷ Professionals in the parks generally feel Hispanic visitors know the history of the sites well, but believe language barriers limit chances for historic interpretation and would like to increase political support for diverse visitors and stakeholders in National Monuments.²⁸ I believe all visitors, Hispanic or not,

²⁶ Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, 6.

²⁷ Carla Mora-Trejos, "Values Assigned to National Parks by Hispanics in the United States: Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas NM and Great Smoky Mountains NP" (PhD dissertation, Clemson University, 2015), *ii*.

²⁸ Mora-Trejos, "Values Assigned to National Parks," *iii*.

would benefit from additional information at the Castillo, and increased bilingual interpretation would not go amiss.

While we see the Castillo increase in national importance, we can examine different reasons for its preservation. In 1993, Edward Tabor Linenthal wrote *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, a study of sites that hold meaning for Americans because of often tragic histories that have taken place there.²⁹ Linenthal dissects commemorations that have taken place at Lexington and Concord, the Alamo, Gettysburg, the Little Bighorn, and Pearl Harbor. Each of these is a site of trauma, yet visitors show up to remember past events there. Each site's history is seen as having shaped the course of the American narrative and visitors want to see the sites preserved, no matter the painful memories they might evoke. Battlefields, witnessing victories and losses, are sites of nuance that can induce pride or regret. In an article which covered such themes, "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory," geographer David Lowenthal said, "features recalled with pride are apt to be safeguarded against erosion and vandalism; those that reflect shame may be ignored or expunged from the landscape."³⁰ The Castillo, being a site of forced labor, imprisonment, and bombardment, has witnessed disgraceful human events, but remains cared for, and a point of local pride. I look at reasons why the fort is seen overall to be a striking and inspiring monument. As author Kenneth Foote presumed in *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*, yet another publication on place and

²⁹ Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

³⁰ David Lowenthal, "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory," *Geographical Review* 65 (1975): 31. In his book, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Lowenthal wrote extensively on how the past shapes our lives today and how successive generations deal with nostalgia, identity, and privilege.

memory, visitors might well attempt to make the fort's history conform to public memory, or adjust to current needs. Sites do "play an active role in their own interpretation."³¹

In order to complete this project, I spent much time at the fort itself. In the summer of 2017 I was a volunteer with the National Park Service and a member of the Spanish cannon crew at the Castillo. While only conducting one formal interview, presented in Chapter Three, I spoke regularly with guests, staff, and volunteers to get a sense of the site as a tourist destination, place of work, and historic structure. The time I spent there served as field research, indispensable to my understanding of the fort's nature and draw.

This thesis looks to cover the history of the Castillo from its construction to the present day, focusing on the American Indian presence, or lack thereof, at the site. There has been a consistent American Indian presence at the Castillo, but authors, poets, travel writers, and interpreters have not documented it, except for a few episodic treatments. Instead they promote the Spanish origins of the fort and mention only briefly the Indian incarcerations of the nineteenth century. To bring to the public a more complete picture of the fort's history as it relates to competing groups of people is to educate the public about a National Monument and the foundation of this country's oldest city.

³¹ Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 5.

Chapter One

The Castillo de San Marcos: Seal on Florida Indian Erasure

If Alonso de Leturiondo, a priest in Spanish Florida, was unimpressed by the manpower at the Castillo de San Marcos, at least he thought the majestic stature of the structure would deter enemies looking to attack. In 1700 he bragged to the king that: “[the fort is] ... so faultless and beautiful that it is a great sight to behold and so valiant and proud in its plan that even if the enemy have not been subdued at the very sight of it, their spirit has at least been weakened.”³² De Leturiondo recognized the significance of this Spanish fortress, one that inspired imperial competition not all groups in colonial Florida would survive.

In the colonial Spanish period, the Castillo de San Marcos was an integral structure to the town and region of St. Augustine, yet it remained throughout its existence, perhaps more importantly, connected to a larger whole. In the colonial period it was part of a wealthy and influential empire. The fort became an extension of wartime power plays, pomp, and boasting that originated an ocean away. For Florida Indians, the fort was specifically a site of labor and a symbol of a system that converted, dominated, and decimated the indigenous population.

In building the fort and populating the mission settlements in Florida, Indians were initially put to use to buttress the Spanish Empire. Yet as Indian populations

³² “Translation of Alonso de Leturiondo’s Memorial to the King of Spain,” trans. John H. Hahn, in *Florida Archaeology, Spanish Translations*, no. 2 (Tallahassee: Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, 1986): 169.

dwindled, they became more of a liability to Spain than the source of support they had been. The construction of the Castillo, largely from Indian labor, contributed to English-Spanish hostilities, which in turn decimated the remaining Florida Indians. As a result, and ever since, Indians have been overlooked at the fort for a romanticized Spanish military history.

In this chapter, I will discuss how the mission system supplemented Spain's defense system in Florida, how construction of the St. Augustine fort epitomized Spanish-Indian relationships, and how the legacy of the fort spurred on warfare in colonial Florida. Late in the Spanish colonial period, Spain shifted its focus from securing Indian allies to defeating European competitors. The violence that resulted meant that the Indians who helped build the fort would not remain long on the Florida peninsula.

Precursors to the Fort: Spanish Missions in Early Florida

The Castillo de San Marcos was a natural outgrowth of Spain's early mission system. Both were meant to safeguard Spain's interests in the New World. Spain had become entrenched in Florida by the late seventeenth century, a result of extended trails of missions and Christianized Indians in northern Florida. The missions and an Indian labor draft system paved the way for the construction of more permanent Spanish defenses, such as the Castillo de San Marcos.

Once Spaniards arrived in Florida, they constructed missions on rivers, staffed first with Jesuits and subsequently with Franciscan friars. The construction of these missions was the primary mode of gaining control of indigenous populations and

protecting the Florida coasts from European encroachment.³³ The Spanish Crown required Pedro Menendez de Avilés, founder of St. Augustine in 1565, to convert Indians to Catholicism, hoping in turn that Christian Indians would support a Spanish colony. The most successful missions were those built on the riverside farmlands of the Timucua, Apalachee, and Guale peoples, those with a propensity for the type of subsistence agriculture that would support a mission settlement. Through both mission hierarchy and labor drafts these groups of people were linked to the St. Augustine colony.³⁴ Figure 1-1 below depicts the traditional locations of the Timucua, Apalachee, and Guale tribes of northern Florida. Spain made use of all three populations in its drafts and imperial skirmishes.

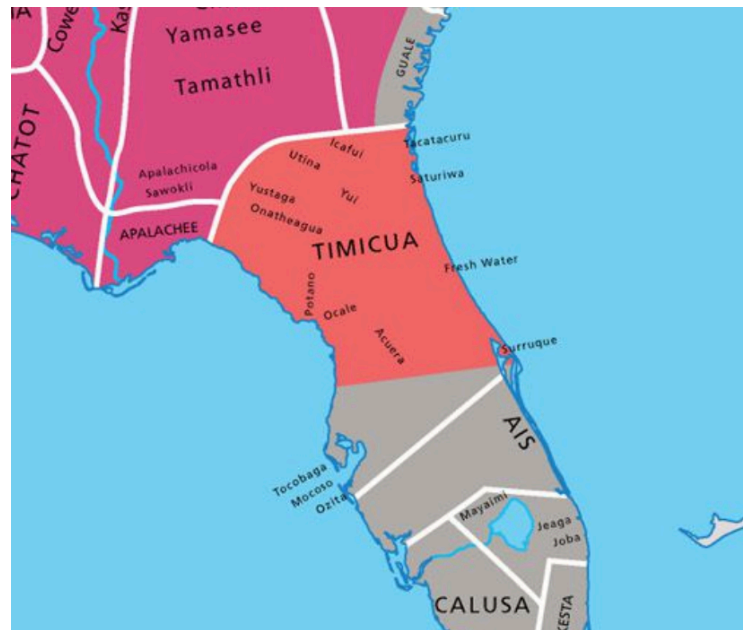


Figure 1-1. “Native American Languages and Groups.” National Geographic Society. <https://www.nationalgeographic.org/photo/nativelanguages-map-cropped/>.

³³ Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida's Indians From Ancient Times to the Present* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 154.

³⁴ Milanich, *Florida's Indians*, 157.

Florida missions were built of wood and clay and do not exist today, but from studying their design we can still extract information on the Indians who lived there and the relationships they had with the Spanish Empire. Jerald Milanich noted that, “Their fragile construction relative to the stone Castillo in St. Augustine reflects the unequal social, political, and military relationships between the Florida Indians and the Spanish crown.”³⁵ Most walls of mission churches were wattle and clay daub, while roofs were thatched with palm or palmetto fronds.³⁶ Some mission churches did not even have walls. Christian Indians built these missions and were buried in the grounds.³⁷ Planned missions were founded in 1584 north of St. Augustine, and by 1596 there were ten functioning missions with resident priests.³⁸ Christian Indians, the backbone of Spanish Florida, lived here. Here the Spanish converted them and used them as allies to protect Spanish interests. Yet when one thinks of defense in Spanish colonial Florida, one thinks of the stone fort that remains, not of the dozens of mission settlements and Indian populations that paved the way for this fort.

The Spanish were strategic about who they went to for assistance. The eastern Timucua were battling disease upon the Spaniards’ arrival, so friars sought out western Timucua and Guale converts, and later, Apalachee.³⁹ These north Florida Indians were divided into chiefdoms and villages. People paid tribute to chiefs annually, with pearls or shell-adorned clothing, worked communal fields, and constructed communal buildings.⁴⁰

³⁵ Milanich, *Florida’s Indians*, 153.

³⁶ Milanich, *Florida’s Indians*, 162.

³⁷ Milanich, *Florida’s Indians*, 164. As many as 500 Indians were buried in some church interments, most likely due to epidemics.

³⁸ Milanich, *Florida’s Indians*, 157-8.

³⁹ Jerald T. Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 40.

⁴⁰ Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord*, 42, 44.

The Indian tribute and labor system might have set an ideological precedent, however slight, for the Spanish labor system to come.

The draft labor system in Florida reflected the hierarchal society of Spanish America. Spanish convicts and exiles and black enslaved men had worked in the presidio of St. Augustine, but did not make up enough labor support for construction projects. Thus Spain turned to the indigenous population, ever since rebellions in Surruque and Guale in the late sixteenth century led Governor Mendez Canzo to instill a system of involuntary Indian servitude.⁴¹ Indians in Florida also interacted with Spaniards as traders, domestics, and sexual partners. In return for labor given, Indians at times asked for the construction of plazas and churches in their regions, or baptisms of family members.⁴²

This seemingly symbiotic relationship also manifested itself in New Spain in the *sabana* system. The *doctrinero*, Spanish leader of the converts, had access to the labor of the *doctrina* Indians, who harvested fields to cover church expenses and presented gifts to the *doctrinero* on feast days.⁴³ The *sabana* was an adapted indigenous institution designed to finance the public. Indians worked a certain number of fields. One field's gains went to leaders of the tribe, while another's gains were kept as a reserve for the community. The Spanish expanded the system to include fields for themselves, insisting that the Indians worked them willingly, under paternal direction.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Amy Turner Bushnell, "Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, no. 74 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994): 118.

⁴² Bushnell, "Situado and Sabana," 120.

⁴³ Bushnell, "Situado and Sabana," 111.

⁴⁴ Bushnell, "Situado and Sabana," 111.

Verne E. Chatelain, an American professor of history in the mid-twentieth century, wrote in the 1940s on the defenses of Spanish Florida, emphasizing how the mission system in Florida affected the location of Spanish settlements, the character of the settlements, the nature of defensive structures, and Spanish agrarian policies.⁴⁵ In Florida, friars directing the missions received part of the *situado*, the annual payment of silver from the viceroy of Mexico to the presidio of St. Augustine, since the mission system bolstered the colony's defensive attributes.⁴⁶

Spanish Florida's primary problem was that its frontier was remarkably exposed. Yet Spain remained in the area for two centuries because of its "strength of purpose," wrote Chatelain.⁴⁷ This purpose included protecting Spanish ships off the Florida coast. The garrison in St. Augustine, of fewer than three hundred men, was expected to patrol 1,200 miles of the Gulf Coast and 500-600 miles from the Tortugas islands to Port Royal Sound. Moreover, its soldiers had to protect Spanish missions and friars on their routes, for there were no official roads upon which to travel.⁴⁸ Priests were often alone in their settlements and unprotected. They constantly traveled, relying on faith to protect them: "in every sense of the word these missionaries were the advance guard of Spain in North America."⁴⁹

Churchmen truly felt that their work amongst the Indians was an act of defense for Spanish Florida. A commissary general headed the Franciscans, recruited members,

⁴⁵ Verne E. Chatelain, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida 1565 to 1763* (Baltimore: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1941), 24.

⁴⁶ Franciscan friars at times expanded the missions at the expense of civic and military activities in Florida, inciting jealousy from secular leaders, even though it remained the common goal for all Spaniards to defend and continue Spanish rule in the new dominion. Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida*, 24.

⁴⁷ Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida*, 35.

⁴⁸ Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida*, 35.

⁴⁹ John E. Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 2: Resistance and Destruction* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1998), 26.

and solicited money. He was nominally under the direction of the bishop of Cuba and sought grants of Indian land to develop Spanish agricultural settlements.⁵⁰

The Spanish at times relocated Indian mission towns to serve their interests. This especially had to be done when disease had decimated local populations.⁵¹ Between 1616-1627 a new mission, San Diego de Helaca, appeared where Tocay, a diminishing town, had been.⁵² The Spanish rejuvenated this new settlement at a river crossing to guard and protect that area.⁵³ At the same time, around 1624-1630, Governor Don Luis de Rojas y Borja relocated the Guale town of Tolomato to three leagues north of St. Augustine to create a continuous passage of defense.⁵⁴

The relocation of mission settlements to act as safe zones and the relocation of mission settlements *to* defensive fortifications linked the mission system and defense system in Spanish Florida. Governor Don Luis de Rojas y Borja's decision to relocate Tolomato to St. Augustine's defensive line shows both a symbiosis between missions and forts and a faith ultimately in the superiority of secular military fortifications.

The Spanish were only able to build such a fort as the Castillo because they had constructed specific relationships with the local Indian populations, which then became their labor force. The Indian *situado*, or the *gasto de indios*, was an Indian expense for Florida approved in 1593. Even before this time, it was common practice to bestow Indians with gifts to placate them, as evidenced by a 1568 list of goods handed over from Pedro Menendez's personal servant to his lieutenant, Esteban de las Alas. The list of

⁵⁰ Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida*, 25.

⁵¹ Milanich, *Florida's Indians*, 158.

⁵² The names given to each mission reflected both the saint's day on which mass was first held there as well as the name of the Indian village in which the mission was located. Milanich, *Florida's Indians*, 159.

⁵³ Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms Volume 2*, 30-31.

⁵⁴ Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms Volume 2*, 31.

gifts included: ten pairs of shoes, five axes, a basket with two anvils, hammers, and saws, five new sackcloth coats, eight pointed knives, and five small mirrors: trinkets meant to delight young converts.⁵⁵ Once the *gasto de indios* was officially approved, the *tenedor de bastimentos*, in charge of supplies and provisions, was to account for what aid or goods were given to friendly caciques of nearby missions and those who came to the presidio, the walled city of St. Augustine, as couriers. Another 1615 order, which Mexico City called an “extraordinary expenditure,” called for clothing Christian caciques.⁵⁶ The Spanish Crown placed a limit on ducats the Spanish in Florida were allowed to spend on the Indians, but kept changing the amount. In 1615 the limit was 1,500 ducats, however the governors kept overspending. In 1627, Governor Rojas was accused of spending 3,400 ducats on offers to Indians in one year, resulting in caciques walking around as if, as he put it, they were “collecting tribute.”⁵⁷

After 1635, the *gasto de indios* fell into arrears and the Indians became restless.

In 1647, a royal official wrote:

for some years now they [Indians] have been behaving suspiciously, which we blame on the poor collection of the situados...Two years ago many of those in Guale abandoned their towns...to retire among infieles [non Christian Indians], setting a poor example to other Christians...This, Sire, demands a remedy, for this presidio cannot conserve itself without the service of these natives.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ “Indian Trade Goods,” March to July 1568, in Eugene Lyon, “Richer Than We Thought: The Material Culture of Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine,” *El Escribano: St. Augustine Journal of History* (1992): 82-83.

⁵⁶ Bushnell, “Situado and Sabana,” 108.

⁵⁷ Bushnell, “Situado and Sabana,” 108.

⁵⁸ Bushnell, “Situado and Sabana,” 109.

This letter speaks to the Spanish reliance on local indigenous people for support, security, and labor. Fortifications could not have been built without Indians and the Spanish knew it. After the Apalachee tribe rebelled, the Crown brought the *gasto de indios* up to date.⁵⁹

Relationships with local Indian tribes at times determined the life or death of certain mission settlements. In 1656, Timucua chiefs rebelled against Spanish labor demands and against a lack of respect given them by Florida governor Diego de Rebolledo. The governor quickly put down the rebellion and reorganized the reduced Timucua mission population into way stations along the route from St. Augustine to western ranches in Apalache, relegating them to maintain the road and man ferries.⁶⁰

Defensive works for the Spanish Empire proved dangerous for indigenous Floridians. Christian Indians were used as military allies. Travelers spread diseases brought from Europe. From 1600 to around 1650, before labor on the Castillo even began, the Apalachee population had been reduced from 30,000 to 10,000 and the Timucua from 25,000 to 2,500.⁶¹

The Apalachee, Timucua, and Guale tribes contributed to Spain gaining its first foothold in Florida, through Christianizing efforts at Spanish missions, the first line of defense for New Spain. Indian revolt and English incursion, however, made missionary routes more precarious and the building of stone forts such as the Castillo de San Marcos increasingly necessary. As English threats heightened, the Queen Regent of Spain gave the viceroy of New Spain instruction to pay the arrears of Florida *situados*, build fifty more plazas, increase the Franciscan *situado*, and allocate fort funds. News had arrived that the English were building Charleston at San Jorge, ten leagues north of Santa Elena,

⁵⁹ Bushnell, "Situado and Sabana," 109.

⁶⁰ Milanich, *Florida's Indians*, 169.

⁶¹ Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord*, 160.

former capital of Spanish Florida, which the Spanish did not want to develop into a hub for pirates as Jamaica had in the Caribbean.⁶²

The Castillo Constructed: The *Repartimiento* System

On October 30, 1669, Queen Regent Mariana of Spain, ruling for her son Charles II, wrote to the Marquess de Mancera, viceroy of Mexico, that:

Sergeant Major Don Manuel de Cendoya...has represented to me the scanty defense available to that presidio [St. Augustine] and the adverse advents that it has experienced, beseeching me to be pleased and give order for fortifying said presidio with the least possible expense to the Royal Treasury and for filling the authorized strength of the garrison and arms which it needs...it has been resolved to order him to represent to you whatever he deems convenient on the matter.⁶³

By the “adverse advents” the regent queen was referencing recent English pirate attacks. St. Augustine had been attacked multiple times, most recently by Robert Searles in 1668. St. Augustine and the numerous forts built since its foundation were susceptible to attack because of their proximity to the trading routes of the Spanish Crown. Spanish Florida may not have been the most lucrative of outposts, but it provided protection to ships maneuvering a hotbed of pirates. Figure 1-2 illustrates one of the wooden forts that preceded the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine. It was built in the same coastal location, by Matanzas Inlet, but with only three bastions, and of a material that would rot with increased contact with the sea. The fortification’s eastern boundary is the inlet, while farmland lies to the south. One can see docks, thatched houses, and a church in town. St. Augustine’s first mission, Nombre de Dios, is likely the grouping of buildings to the northwest of the fort.

⁶² Bushnell, “Situado and Sabana,” 136-137.

⁶³ Quoted in Luis Rafael Arana, “Defenses and Defenders at St. Augustine: A Collection of Writings by Luis Rafael Arana” *El Escribano: The St. Augustine Journal of History* 36 (1999): 3.

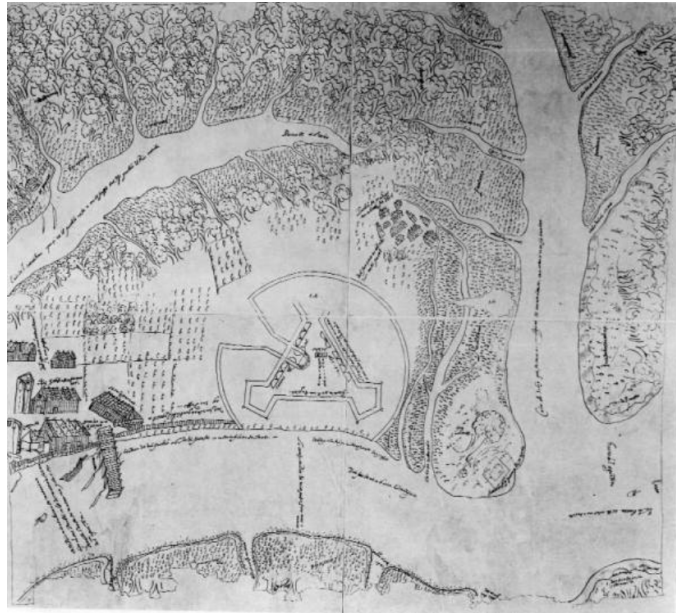


Figure 1-2. 1593 map and image of an earlier wooden fort in St. Augustine. Note there are only three bastions. “Spanish Map of the Town and Fort at St. Augustine.” 1593. From State Archives of Florida, *Florida Memory*, Image Number RC11116. https://www.floridamemory.com/photographiccollection/photo_exhibits/plantations/.

Governor-elect Manuel de Cendoya traveled to Mexico in November 1670 to petition the Marquess de Mancera for construction supplies. At that time, St. Augustine had a four-bastioned fort made of wood, however the seawater had indeed been rotting the wood. The new fort, along with two other nearby forts (one to oppose enemy troops arriving by inlet and one to oppose enemy troops arriving by land), would be made of stone.⁶⁴ Indians quarried this shellstone, *coquina*, on nearby Anastasia Island. It was a desirable material for any fortification because it was not entirely hard and received cannon balls “as well or better than burnt bricks.”⁶⁵ The Castillo’s engineer, Ignacio

⁶⁴ Arana, “Defenses and Defenders,” 22.

⁶⁵ Johann David Schoepf, “Travels in the Confederation, 1788,” in *El Escribano: St. Augustine Journal of History* 45 (2008): 231. St. Augustine locals wanted increased stone buildings in town to safeguard against potential fires, but did not seem to buy the *coquina* quarried nearby. By 1700, besides the masonry at the fort, in St. Augustine there was only stone in the Governor’s House and in the mission of Nombre de Dios. Albert Manucy, *The Houses of St. Augustine: 1565-1821* (Jacksonville: Convention Press, 1962), 21-22.

Daza was schooled in the Italian and Spanish principles of fortification, which called for building a symmetrical square fortress with a bastion at each corner, suitable for the flat lands of Florida.⁶⁶ Builders and engineer collaborated to use material close at hand and suitable for the landscape of the area.

When building began, the Crown owed Florida several *situados*, thus the viceroy of Mexico agreed to send money for the construction of a new fort. The Mexico City royal exchequer had the means to release 10,000 pesos from *situados* in arrears for skilled labor and the viceroy agreed to send 10,000 pesos per year until the fort's completion.⁶⁷

The Castillo was to be a stable and indomitable structure, but also built quickly as the English in Carolina were only seventy leagues to the north. In 1669 three ships had sailed for Port Royal, South Carolina (what had been the old Spanish port of Santa Elena) from England. Two ships were diverted north most likely because of Spanish mission proximity.⁶⁸ In this way, then, we see that the Spanish hope for their missions to be a deterrent to European competitors was correct, at least preliminarily. Even so, in April 1670 the English landed on the Ashley River and founded Charleston at Spanish San Jorge, within the boundaries of what the Spanish considered Florida.⁶⁹

The Spanish started to construct a fort in Guale twenty leagues from the English settlement, in order to ensure the loyalty of the Indian population there. One can begin to see how the Spanish used forts to lay claim to their territory as well as demand allegiance

⁶⁶ Luis Arana and Albert Manucy, *The History of Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine, Florida*, (St. Augustine: Historic Print & Map Co., 2005), 25. Manucy elsewhere described the architecture of the fort as "small and uncomplicated," due to St. Augustine being an outpost in the wilderness. I argue he does not give enough significance to the site and fortifications of St. Augustine. Manucy, *The Houses of St. Augustine*, 8.

⁶⁷ Arana, "Defenses and Defenders," 23.

⁶⁸ Arana, "Defenses and Defenders," 24.

⁶⁹ Arana, "Defenses and Defenders," 24.

from neighboring indigenous tribes once they witnessed other Europeans encroaching on what they considered to be their land.

In the winter of 1672, Indian workers at the Castillo developed *El Contagio*, a disease epidemic, and Havana sent thirty black slaves to St. Augustine to make up for the manual labor lost.⁷⁰ Governor Cendoya then died unexpectedly and Sergeant Major Nicolas Ponce de Leon of Florida became governor in March of 1673. In the two-year duration of his governorship, construction progressed on engineer Daza's plans, but barely. Financial difficulties and food supply shortages plagued the new leader. In the spring of 1675, a provision ship bound for St. Augustine was lost and Governor Ponce de Leon had to send for provisions from the Indians of Timucua province instead. Without even sustenance from Indian mission settlements, laborers at the fort would not have been able to continue work, which, under Governor Ponce, included progress on the fort's guardroom, powder magazine, and storerooms. At times under Ponce, only a handful of masons worked on the Castillo, though the Spanish seasonally drafted as many as three hundred workers from one Indian region.⁷¹ Spanish soldiers' pay and colonists' food were taken to fund and support any European workers.⁷²

The labor *repartimiento* system to which the Indians were bound worked in a closely regimented way. In mid-January to early February, the governor of Florida drew up orders specifying the number of Indian laborers (*gente de cava*) to be drafted from each mission town.⁷³ The governor asked only for unmarried men to enter the draft. The

⁷⁰ Arana and Manucy, *The History of Castillo*, 26.

⁷¹ Arana and Manucy, *The History of Castillo*, 26.

⁷² Jason B. Palmer, "Forgotten Sacrifice: Native American Involvement in the Construction of the Castillo de San Marcos," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 80, no. 4 (2002): 437.

⁷³ John E. Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1: Assimilation* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1998), 190.

orders were carried by *reformados*, reserve officers, who would escort laborers from the missions back to St. Augustine. An ordinary tour of labor duty usually lasted about two weeks.⁷⁴ It was in the mid-seventeenth century that the Florida governor started to employ approximately three hundred laborers each year once the Apalache province was added to the draft following their revolt in 1647.⁷⁵

The Indians that helped to build the Castillo provided a number of services. Indians transported lumber from faraway forests to St. Augustine to build the inner rooms of the fort, rafted *coquina* blocks across the Matanzas River, and trekked fish, game, and cornmeal from mission settlements to Spanish *soldados*.⁷⁶ Fifty men were conscripted to carry stone, fifty more carried oyster shells for lime mortar and wood to burn them, and another fifty shaped the stone. Jobs also included building limekilns, handbarrows, wagons, and dugouts to transport building materials.⁷⁷ Only about one hundred workers might be on site each day, due to constant comings and goings. Florida tribes also spoke different languages and historically warred against one another, which added to the already chaotic working environs.⁷⁸

And there were additional stresses on the colonial labor system in New Spain. Indians died while traveling and carrying packs, often along the roadside. Others arrived sick at their destination. There was a lack of provisions in royal warehouses for feeding laborers.⁷⁹ The workers that built the fort were part of a broader entrenched Spanish system that focused more on what could be procured from the Indians than on what could

⁷⁴ Bushnell, "Situado and Sabana," 122.

⁷⁵ Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms Volume 1*, 191.

⁷⁶ Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord*, 2.

⁷⁷ Palmer, "Forgotten Sacrifice," 443.

⁷⁸ Palmer, "Forgotten Sacrifice," 443.

⁷⁹ Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 2*, 13.

be provided for them. On May 3, 1675, Governor Don Pablo de Hita Salazar was sworn into office. This was a man very much focused on the overall health of the Spanish Empire, who split his focus between continuing fort construction and dislocating the settlement at Charleston. He was pleased at the circumstances surrounding the Castillo's construction: "If it [the fort] had to be built in another place than St. Augustine it would cost a double amount because there will not be the advantage of having the peons, at a real of wages each day, with such meager sustenance as three pounds of maize."⁸⁰ The Spanish were building in a place where they already had an alliance with Christian Indians. St. Augustine supplied a ready labor source. Salazar was satisfied with the exploitation of Indian labor and the fact that it saved Spain money, that Spain might focus on its European rivals.

Figure 1-3 outlines plans for the Castillo up to 1680. The governor of Florida was meant to live in lodgings in the fort's *plaza de armas*. One of the fort's bastions holds gunpowder for its artillery.

⁸⁰ Arana and Manucy, *The History of Castillo*, 28.

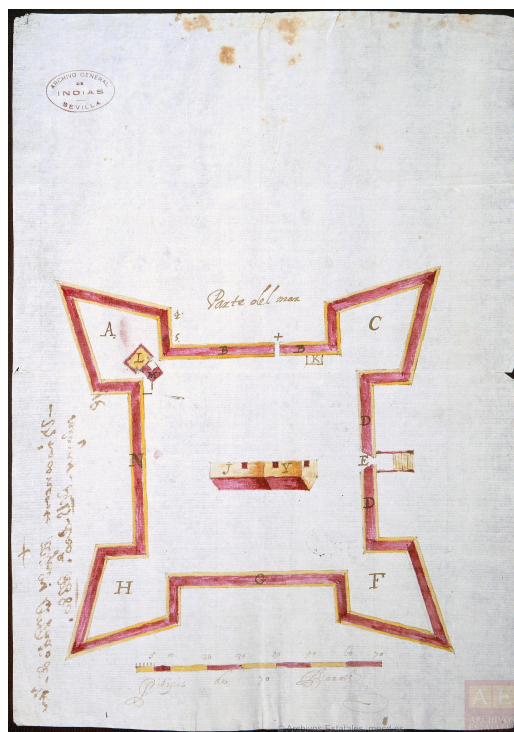


Figure 1-3. This is Pablo de Hita y Salazar's plan of the Castillo showing construction up to 1680. Note lodgings in the *plaza de armas* and gunpowder holdings in Bastion A (San Carlos Bastion). "Salazar's plan for the Castillo showing construction up to 1680." Stored in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, Spain. Image taken from the collection of Orlando Ramirez II.

The town of St. Augustine, and eventually the stone fort, were centralizing agents in Spanish Florida; even the governor was meant to live there. Spain consolidated its population to these locales for protection, at the same time depending on Indian labor to build up the fort's defenses. In return for the supply of workers, Spain gave tribe members religious education, military protection, and trading rights. Yet these *repartimiento* labor deals remained brutally harsh. Indians knew if they were forced to work in St. Augustine, they would not be able to work the soil at home for their families.⁸¹

⁸¹ Arana, "Defenses and Defenders," 50.

The brutality of the labor *repartimiento* system was not without its consequences in the European camp. Franciscan missionaries spoke out against the poor treatment of laborers. The encroaching English used the Spaniards' poor treatment of Indians in their favor. They saw an opportunity to sweep in and garner Florida Indian amity, thereby paving the way for possible alliances against the Spanish. The English even began to supply Indians with firearms.⁸²

As long as troubles with Indian labor lingered, the Spanish worried about the dangers of an unconstructed fort. An unfinished fort lowered Spanish soldiers' morale who based their personal safety and the safety of their families on the fort. Governor Ponce wrote in a letter that if St. Augustine were to fall, the English would control the coast all the way to Cape Canaveral where Bahamian Channel traffic was heaviest and English piracy would destroy Spain's Christianization effort. Their Indian allies would be left unprotected and Spanish-American commerce would be decimated.⁸³ Spanish leadership was concerned with wider Atlantic World developments of piracy and Christianization. The incompleteness of the Castillo meant that both lives and souls were at stake. Don Pablo ordered the San Carlos bastion finished so that at least cannons could be raised onto it in case of an English attack from Charleston.⁸⁴

Governor Major Juan Marquez Cabrera, coming to power in 1680, requested that church officials permit laborers to work on holy days to hasten construction.⁸⁵ Marquez oversaw all fort rooms built from 1684 to 1685, the roofs of which were made of tabby masonry. Also at this time, the ravelin was finished and moat partially dug. In 1686,

⁸² Palmer, "Forgotten Sacrifice," 441.

⁸³ Arana, "Defenses and Defenders," 51.

⁸⁴ Arana and Manucy, *The History of Castillo*, 28.

⁸⁵ Arana and Manucy, *The History of Castillo*, 31.

Marquez further decided to go on the offensive and destroyed the Scottish colony of Stuart's Town at Port Royal because colonists there had been encouraging non-Christian Indians to attack Spanish missions.⁸⁶ Scottish colonists had incited the Yamassee Indians to rebel and persuaded them to destroy the mission of Santa Catalina de Afuica in the Timucua Province in March of 1685, just as the fort was nearing its first phase of construction.⁸⁷ The destruction was proof that Spanish religion had not indoctrinated all Florida Indians. Marquez ordered the Indian towns of Sapelo and Guadalquini to resettle to the estuary of the St. Johns River, drawing allied Indians closer to St. Augustine and closer to the fort.⁸⁸ Spain kept the Indians close to the fort as an added system of defense for the empire.

After a brief halt in construction due to a lack of food for laborers, a corn shipment came from Apalache province and building could begin again in the spring of 1688.⁸⁹ In attempts to eradicate food shortages, townspeople planted maize in the fields near the fort, which the Crown banned, for fear enemies could hide in the tall cornfields.⁹⁰ In 1693, a new governor, Don Laureano de Torres y Ayala, took leadership of the town. He completed the Castillo in 1695, adding bright yellow *coquina* stones to the structure, twenty-three years after work had begun on site.⁹¹

As the first phase of the fort's construction was nearing completion in the late 1680s, Indian chiefs offered to build a stone watchtower at Port San Marcos and a

⁸⁶ Arana and Manucy, *The History of Castillo*, 33.

⁸⁷ Luis Rafael Arana, "Striving Toward a Conclusion, 1684-1687," in *El Escribano: St. Augustine Journal of History* 41 (2004): 44. The Castillo's first phase of construction ended in 1695, but in the 1750s, builders worked on "completing" the fortification, making walls higher and casemates larger. Arana and Manucy, *The History of Castillo*, 46.

⁸⁸ Arana, "Striving Toward a Conclusion," 43.

⁸⁹ Arana and Manucy, *The History of Castillo*, 34.

⁹⁰ Arana and Manucy, *The History of Castillo*, 34.

⁹¹ Arana and Manucy, *The History of Castillo*, 36.

fortified wooden house at San Luis (modern day Tallahassee) if the Florida governor would give them the tools to do so.⁹² Some of the indigenous Floridian population wanted continued allegiance with the Spanish. Spanish, French, and English presence had been regnant in north Florida and some tribes felt a display of loyalty to one European Crown was necessary for survival. Offering their services using skills they had learned building the Castillo was an attempt at garnering further protection from at least one European power and keeping their land. Indians, as well as Spanish, saw the value of fortifications against invading European rivals. Despite the harshness of the *repartimiento* system, some worked willingly to bolster Spain's defenses against England's and France's naval offenses.

The effort was necessary. In 1695, Apalachicola Indians, along with English Carolinians, destroyed the San Carlos Mission, resulting in a Spanish and Apalachee retaliation.⁹³ By 1702, the English and their indigenous allies had destroyed all the missions along the St. Augustine-Apalache trail.⁹⁴ At the height of Spain's mission system, friars counted 25,000 Indian converts, but their success was short-lived.⁹⁵ The Spanish recruited Indians from Georgia and Carolina to repopulate missions, but because of imperial conflict between Britain and Spain, Indians of north Florida had practically been wiped out by 1710.⁹⁶

Significance of the Fort to the Spanish

⁹² Luis Rafael Arana, "Daza's Castillo Finished, 1688-1695," in *El Escribano: St. Augustine Journal of History* 41 (2004): 52.

⁹³ Arana, "Daza's Castillo Finished,," 61.

⁹⁴ Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms Volume 2*, 26.

⁹⁵ Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms Volume 2*, 26.

⁹⁶ Milanich, *Florida's Indians*, 170.

Spaniards and English alike scrutinized the Castillo de San Marcos in the decades immediately succeeding its construction. Spaniards needed the fort to be indomitable. Alonso de Leturiondo, a native Floridian and a priest in St. Augustine since the mid-1680s, wrote a memorial to the king of Spain, around the year 1700. In it, he praised the modern architecture of the Castillo and intimated it was a fortress to be envied. He said, “Sir, your majesty has a magnificent fortress in the said *presidio*, built in the modern fashion.”⁹⁷ Yet the praise came with a warning that the Castillo possessed too little and too poor artillery, mostly iron and small bore. The fort contained only eight bronze cannon. De Leturiondo maintained, and Governors don Diego de Quiroga y Losada and don Laureano de Yorres y Ayala agreed, that if the fort had better artillery to intercept ships, the port of St. Augustine would be invincible.⁹⁸ The fort was supposed to secure St. Augustine as a *presidio* in New Spain capable of protecting the Crown’s lucrative trade against competitors. It was part of a larger scheme, the protector of not only *soldados*’ families but the king’s treasures.

De Leturiondo wrote that even such a long-standing town as St. Augustine, near the Guale province on the new frontier with the English, needed a larger population if the Spanish Empire were to be preserved.⁹⁹ He was well aware, and passed on the knowledge, that Indians in contact with the English or the Spanish would give news of each: “And once they [the English] are settled [there], it will cost more to throw them out than what the new settlement might cost.”¹⁰⁰ The Spanish may have resented the money they had to pour into Florida defenses since the land itself produced neither gold nor

⁹⁷ “Translation of de Leturiondo,” 168.

⁹⁸ “Translation of de Leturiondo,” 170.

⁹⁹ “Translation of de Leturiondo,” 198.

¹⁰⁰ “Translation of de Leturiondo,” 198.

silver. But de Leturiondo noted in his report to the king that St. Augustine was “more coveted today because of having such a very handsome fortification [the Castillo].”¹⁰¹ The fort’s usage, de Leturiondo wrote, was also to store food and provisions if any enemy attempted to starve St. Augustine, “taking care that at no time would the fort be left unprovided with what is necessary for its defense and so that it would not be vanquished by hunger...because in this matter the fort and *presidio* cannot have any greater enemy than hunger.”¹⁰² De Leturiondo, however, had nothing to say about the Indian labor so critical to fort construction. Perhaps as the English threat loomed nearer, the Spanish resented the dependence of the Indian mission settlements.

Spaniards never had Indians serve as soldiers at the Castillo, as they mistrusted them with arms, even though according to de Leturiondo, the Castillo was severely undermanned. He estimated that the fort needed at least five hundred men to work properly, when at the time there were only three hundred and fifty men stationed there, fifty of whom, in his opinion, were of no use.¹⁰³

Inside the Indian-built Castillo were storerooms for powder, munitions, and hotshot. It had a jail for prisoners as well as a chapel. The Castillo held the storeroom for *situados* from New Spain and also for tackle, cable, and rigging to repair any Spanish ships that came through. For a time the governor made his lodgings in the *plaza de armas*.¹⁰⁴ De Leturiondo assured the king that above the gate were the monarch’s royal arms and the inscription: “for many years for the defense of these lands [and] the

¹⁰¹ “Translation of de Leturiondo,” 198.

¹⁰² “Translation of de Leturiondo,” 172.

¹⁰³ “Translation of de Leturiondo,” 171.

¹⁰⁴ “Translation of de Leturiondo,” 169.

consolation and protection of all the monarchy.”¹⁰⁵ De Leturiondo elucidated the fact that the Castillo was meant to be a symbol of the might of the entire Spanish monarchy. Even though it was on the edge of the empire, the king should find solace in that his fortress was both well-built and well-positioned. The fort’s majesty also meant, however, that it would provoke English hostilities and prove to be the harbinger of Indian decimation. In 1688, the governor of Florida called the fort “one of the brightest jewels Your Majesty has in these Indies, coveted by so many enemies.”¹⁰⁶

The late seventeenth century saw a shift in Spanish-Indian relations as England gained power on the North American continent. The Spanish did not take advantage of the Spanish-English alliance that surfaced in Europe’s Nine Years’ War to improve provincial defenses as much as they could have. Construction of a stone watchtower was merely begun, not finished, in 1688 on San Pedro bar on Cumberland Island north of St. Augustine.¹⁰⁷ Only during the brief period of the Nine Years’ War, from 1689 to 1697 were Florida and Carolina on amicable terms. The governor of Florida urged the Guale to build their own stockade of earth and palisades at this time, but there were few Guale left and they had limited surplus time to build or maize to feed themselves. The money which would have been spent on the Guale fortification ended up being allocated to the construction of the St. Augustine seawall under the leadership of the new governor Laureano de Torres y Ayala in 1693 and a steady stream of Christian Guale began to travel north into English territory.¹⁰⁸ This migration might have been ominous to the Spanish as it could be seen as a depletion of Spain’s Indian allies.

¹⁰⁵ “Translation of de Leturiondo,” 170.

¹⁰⁶ Arana, “Daza’s Castillo Finished,” 52.

¹⁰⁷ Bushnell, “Situado and Sabana,” 171.

¹⁰⁸ Bushnell, “Situado and Sabana,” 173.

The death of Charles II of Spain in 1700 signified the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession and the end of peace between Spain and England. Governor Zuñiga ordered provinces to produce food for the presidio and to prepare for war. So that God might show favor to Spain, Zuñiga asked local chiefs not to conduct non-Christian ceremonies or disrespect priests. Yet by 1701, when skirmishes between Europeans and Indians broke out in the Guale province, Zuñiga wrote to the Crown that the Guale had rejected Spanish values, had failed to build their stockade, and fought by uncivilized Indian rules.¹⁰⁹ Spain's relationships with the Indians who had built their Castillo were changing. Florida Indian numbers dwindled and English settlements strengthened, creating panic and dividing loyalties.

Historian Alejandra Dubcovsky, in her recent scholarship on Indian and European loyalties in the southeast, has looked specifically at the English, Apalachicola, Creek, and Yamasee attack on the Apalachee mission town at Ayubale in north Florida and has highlighted the agency of Florida Indians in the attack more so than other historians. The attack, when seen as English aggression on the Apalachee Spanish allies, is part of the War of Spanish Succession as it played out in the New World. Yet the raid was also an Apalachicola-spurred attack on their traditional Apalachee enemies.¹¹⁰ Of the four hundred Apalachees who came to defend the mission at Ayubale, half were killed and half were enslaved. Dubcovsky, throughout her work, attempts to present an Indian voice. The Apalachee were a literate people, attempted to expel friars if Apalachee authority was threatened, and agreed to an alliance with the Spanish because they believed the Franciscans could help them protect their land. Yet the attack on Ayubale

¹⁰⁹ Bushnell, "Situado and Sabana," 179-180.

¹¹⁰ Alejandra Dubcovsky, "'All of Us Will Have to Pay for These Activities': Colonial and Native Narratives of the 1704 Attack on Ayubale," *Native South* 10 (2017): 3.

presented the limits of a Spanish alliance. The Spanish withdrew from Apalache in 1706, Apalachicola raids continued, and Apalachee people fled their lands.¹¹¹

By the early eighteenth century, loyal Indians were no longer an asset to Spain, but a liability. Guale province, followed by Apalache and Timucua, became unsafe to live in as the English dipped lower into Spanish Florida territory.¹¹² Indians, for their part, kept moving closer and closer to the presidio of St. Augustine and the Castillo de San Marcos for protection. By 1708, there were approximately three hundred Indians living in the vicinity of St. Augustine. Governor Córcoles built a thick palisade just north of the Castillo and paid Indians twenty-five pesos for each European enemy they killed. While Indians used to supply labor and were a main reason for Florida's longevity and Spain's success in the New World, now they relied on the town of St. Augustine and the Castillo de San Marcos. In 1708, Governor Córcoles wrote to the Crown, "we are maintaining them and helping with the best we can at your expense and from the Royal warehouses."¹¹³ Spain most likely took this as an increasing burden. Similar episodes took place throughout New Spain. The testimony of Taos Indian Don Geronimo illustrates an offer to guide Spaniards against the Apache, who were raiding Spanish missions in what is now New Mexico. The testimony shows Don Geronimo using his alliance with the Spanish to seek revenge against his tribe's traditional enemy, the Apache. He described Faraon Apache as robbers and murderers and advised the Spanish when and how to attack them.¹¹⁴ Spain's Indian allies, as they fought for survival,

¹¹¹ Dubcovsky, "All of Us Will Have to Pay for These Activities," 5-6, 8, 12.

¹¹² Bushnell, "Situado and Sabana," 194.

¹¹³ Bushnell, "Situado and Sabana," 194.

¹¹⁴ "Don Geronimo Describes Violence and Raids against Spanish Settlements" in *Voices of the American Indian Experience, Volume 1: Creation-1877* ed. James E. Seelye Jr. and Steven A. Littleton (Denver: Greenwood, 2013), 112.

attempted to turn their European ties against traditional enemies. The Castillo was not in St. Augustine only to take care of locals, however, but to look outward: it provided defense against land and sea attacks and helped maintain Spain's silver fleet. At the turn of the eighteenth century Spain was seeking to strengthen itself, and Spain's Floridian allies, albeit once part of the Spanish defense system, were weakening. The governor of Florida estimated that from 1700 to 1710 alone, Carolinians had enslaved 10,000-12,000 Florida Indians, and in 1711 the Bishop of Cuba wrote that even Indians in the Florida Keys were being captured and sold into slavery at Charleston.¹¹⁵ By the time English travelers wrote on the fort in the eighteenth century, decades of imperial competition had led to the near decimation of north Florida's indigenous people.

European Competitors and Travelers' Impressions

English reports that mention the Castillo de San Marcos only bolster the fact that the fort played a central and visible role in the defense of the Spanish Empire. English sources not only mention the fort, but also alliances made with remaining Florida tribesmen in attempts to usurp Spanish power in the region. The introduction to an English ranger's report of his travels with General James Oglethorpe mentions that Georgia was chartered in 1732 partly to strengthen South Carolina against French and Spanish attack.¹¹⁶ General Oglethorpe was appointed commander in chief of His Majesty's forces in Georgia and South Carolina, which was land Spain claimed, in 1738, and as part of his duties, he attempted to win the friendship of certain Indian tribes so that

¹¹⁵ Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord*, 212-213.

¹¹⁶ W. C. Esqr. "A Ranger's Report of Travels with General Oglethorpe 1739-1742," 215. From the Library of Congress, *American Notes: Travels in America, 1750-1920*. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/lhbtn.09410/?st=gallery> (accessed May 7, 2018).

they would ally not with the Spanish but with the British. The Spanish, for their part, were bribing Creek Indians to disrupt English trade. The ranger traveling with Oglethorpe described a gathering of Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws in the town of Coweta who were meeting in attempts to convince Spaniards to stop wreaking havoc amongst their tribes. Oglethorpe was to intercept the meeting and bring horses and presents to these people. In the mind of his ranger, Oglethorpe prevented a war by putting an end to the misunderstandings between the Indians and the Carolina traders. Oglethorpe's other directive, once he heard England was at war with Spain, was to "annoy" the Spaniards. The ranger reported Oglethorpe's actions against the *soldados* in St. Augustine.¹¹⁷

The ranger, a "W.C. Esquire," traveled four hundred miles through the forest to get to the Coweta gathering. In August, the band of Englishmen met with an Indian King, who held, very tellingly, an English flag. The chief must have been acquainted with Englishmen already, perhaps men who were trying to buy his allegiance. Oglethorpe's expedition drank stimulating black drinks and witnessed Indians dancing: "their Dress is very wild and frightfull their Faces painted with several sorts of Colours their Hair cut short ... Their Dancing is of divers Gestures and Turnings of their Bodies in a great many frightfull Postures."¹¹⁸ These gestures and turnings might have frightened the English and impressed upon them already ingrained stereotypes of Indian savagery, but ultimately the English knew they needed these alliances if they wanted to be a credible threat to the Spanish.

¹¹⁷ W.C. Esqr, "A Ranger's Report," 216-217.

¹¹⁸ W.C. Esqr, "A Ranger's Report," 218-220.

The band of Englishmen stayed amongst the Indians until late August, when Oglethorpe bestowed upon them gifts and established peace and trade between the tribes assembled and the southern English colonies.¹¹⁹ The ranger then recounted Cherokee members saluting the English Carolina fort and the fort saluting them back with cannon fire, signifying an English - Indian alliance, an act that must have troubled the Spaniards nearby.

The ranger recounted that news of the Stono slave rebellion ended their mission: “Thus ended our Profitable Voyage to the Indian Nations which has been attended with the Success desired, the Friendly Indians annoying the Spaniards very much taking them Prisoners under the very Walls of the Castle of St. Augustine.”¹²⁰ The ranger was congratulating English success, mentioning how English allies approached the Castillo to capture Spaniards. It was quite a blow to Spanish morale to be caught at the walls of a fort that was meant to symbolize the strength of the entire Spanish Empire, a fort that Spaniards and their Yamasee allies considered a safe haven.

Florida was becoming a war zone. And despite the phenomenon of Florida Indian erasure, Spaniards still worried of the effect Indians could have on a full-scale colonial conflict if one broke out. Spanish King Philip V sent 150,000 pesos and one hundred men for an expedition north to Georgia and accused incumbent Florida Governor Sánchez of conducting commerce with Carolina. Philip V further accused him of keeping more than half of the 6,000-peso funds meant for the Indians and refusing the pueblo of Santa Catalina de Guale a ration of maize, “without recalling that were it not for the few *indios* of these pueblos, the *indios infieles* [non-Christian Indians] or the

¹¹⁹ W.C. Esqr, “A Ranger’s Report,” 221.

¹²⁰ W.C. Esqr, “A Ranger’s Report,” 222-223.

English would have taken Florida many times over.”¹²¹ Therefore, Philip V was emphatic on the effect Christian Indians had had, however fleeting, in combating northern enemies, such as General Oglethorpe and his men.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Castillo de San Marcos had become, to Indians, Spanish, and English alike, the most recognized symbol of the Spanish Empire in Florida. It stood, and still stands, as a symbol of Florida’s Spanish past which lies in contrast and conflict with the United States’ British past. The fort in the Spanish colonial period provided protection, at varying levels, to Spanish *soldados*, their families, and Spanish allies, Indians included. De Leturiondo, an admirer of the fort and flatterer of the king, and Oglethorpe’s ranger, enemy to Spain, both attested to this fact.

Spanish Florida governor Melchor Feliu delivered the fort to British Captain John Hedges on July 21, 1763. This was not a result of any bombardment of the Castillo, but rather a result of the Treaty of Paris that ended the Seven Years War.¹²² By August 1763, St. Augustine was a regular military station in British North America with the fort as its center.¹²³ But the garrison was weak after the American Revolution broke out. Two detachments went to Williamsburg, Virginia in 1775 and six companies arrived to replace them in 1776. The fort became a site to which British soldiers fell back once they were run out of other southern colonies.¹²⁴

Royal Botanist John Bartram and his son William journeyed through these colonies in 1765 and 1766. John noted that, “this frontier garrison [the Castillo de San

¹²¹ Bushnell, “Situado and Sabana,” 203.

¹²² Arana, “Defenses and Defenders,” 114.

¹²³ Arana, “Defenses and Defenders,” 114. Its civil branch consisted of a surgeon, barracks master, storekeeper, clerk, carpenters, a blacksmith, and royal engineers.

¹²⁴ Arana, “Defenses and Defenders,” 116-117. The 60th Regiment came to St. Augustine in 1781 when the Spanish defeated them in West Florida. After the American Revolution, Florida and the fort would be returned to Spanish rule.

Marcos] must have cost ye king of spain many millions [,] & it appears by ye many curious hewn stones lying on one side that it was not finished according to thair intention.”¹²⁵ He believed the *coquina* blocks that made up the fort to be as fine as if they had been cut in marble.¹²⁶ John Bartram’s analysis of the fort came soon after it had fallen, peacefully, into England’s hands. It was a Spanish curiosity, one that was both admirable and perplexing, showing no signs of its Indian labor force.

William Bartram again traveled through Georgia and Florida in 1773 and 1774, describing the colonies in a report made to Dr. John Fothergill, a famed English physician. He wrote not only on the fort, but on the political relations in Florida as well. As an English colonist, he wrote favoring the English when describing fabled Indian and European relationships. When the English founded Carolina, for example, he said, “the Creeks, understanding that they [the English] were a powerful, warlike people, sent deputies to Charleston, their capital, offering them their friendship and alliance, which was accepted.”¹²⁷ William Bartram understood that Indians wished to ally with the strongest European groups, so that they themselves might benefit.

One of the Creeks’ enemies was the Yamasee, who were allied with the Spanish. The Creeks, so Bartram wrote, “pursued them [the Yamasee] to the very gates of St. Augustine; and the Spaniards refusing to deliver them up, these faithful intrepid allies had to the courage to declare war against them...till at length they were obliged to retire within the walls of St. Augustine.”¹²⁸ Again, we see the importance of the Castillo de San

¹²⁵ John Bartram, *Diary of a Journey Through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, From July 1, 1765, to April 10, 1766*, ed. Francis Harper (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1942), 53.

¹²⁶ Bartram, *Diary of a Journey*, 53.

¹²⁷ William Bartram, *Travels and Other Writings: Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, Travels in Georgia and Florida, 1773-74: A Report to Dr. John Fothergill, Miscellaneous Writings* (New York: The Library of America, 1996), 68.

¹²⁸ Bartram, *Travels and Other Writings*, 68.

Marcos as protector of not only Spaniards against European rivals, but of Indian allies of the Spanish. Later in William Bartram's report, we can see that the fort remained a place of gravitas even under English rule. He described attending a congress where a treaty would be made between the British and the Creek Nation to annex Indian land to East Florida: "the Indians and a detachment from the garrison of St. Augustine had arrived and encamped separately, near the fort...."¹²⁹

The Italian map shown below in Figure 1-4 dates from 1778. It shows the Castillo de San Marcos as a well-known fort in contested and valuable land of which all major European powers and explorers took note. Even the Italians, who had no holdings in the American South, had drawn out such a map. The Vauban-style fort, the walls of the presidio, and a sheltered inlet are visible on the map, showing St. Augustine to be a well-protected colonial town. By the time this map was drawn, Florida Indians that had helped build this fort had virtually been wiped out by warfare and disease brought on by imperial conquest.

¹²⁹ Bartram, *Travels and Other Writings*, 226. Although, Bartram later notes that when the English seat of Government moved from St. Augustine to Savannah, the fort, which "had been a pretty building," is "now almost in ruins," in Bartram, *Travels and Other Writings*, 456.



Figure 1-4. Italian 1778 Map of St. Augustine, including the Vauban-style stone Castillo. “Italian Map of St. Augustine, Florida.” 1778. From State Archives of Florida, *Florida Memory*, Image Number RC03591. <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/27193>.

The Castillo de San Marcos evoked such passion that friend and foe alike admired it in the colonial period. It was a symbol of Spanish Empire that continued its military utility under its relatively brief British occupation. As we near the nineteenth century, however, we note the absence in memory and text of the Indian laborers who helped build the fort and upon whose homeland the fort stood. The Castillo increasingly became a representation of domination and authority to both Indian and non-Indian populations. The fort has continued its existence in St. Augustine but the Indians were not guaranteed a presence there.

Conclusion

“The maritime colony of Spanish Florida does not fit the Borderlands Paradigm of self-sufficiency and isolation,” wrote Florida scholar Amy Bushnell.¹³⁰ Rather, it fits a

¹³⁰ Bushnell, “Situado and Sabana,” 210.

peripheries paradigm, which is a model of mixed support. In the case of Spanish Florida, *soldados* and missionaries conquered Indian provinces and added Indian labor and tribute systems to the already established royal support system of the *situado*. Near the end of the Spanish colonial period in Florida, more royal investment and demands on the Indians “strengthened the presidial center at the expense of the mission peripheries.”¹³¹

Therefore, we see the town of St. Augustine and the fort growing in strength and significance while the mission system and Indian tribes fell into disarray. From here we start to trace the absence of the Indian at a site he helped build.

St. Augustine traditionally relied on two sources of support: the Spanish Crown and Christian Indians. Each mode of support rose and fell throughout the colonial era. While the Crown sent more aid to St. Augustine when they saw English colonies as threats, Christian Indian support steadily declined as their population was declining.¹³² Demographic collapse combined with Indian chiefdoms integrating into the colonial system.¹³³ Carolina Governor James Moore in 1702, during the same raid he had conducted on the Castillo de San Marcos, destroyed any remaining coastal missions.¹³⁴ By the end of 1706, a once-extensive mission system had turned into five towns along a defensive line just north of St. Augustine, plus the Nombre de Dios mission immediately to the north of town.¹³⁵ These so-called towns could more aptly be described as refugee camps. In 1711, after bouts of English aggression, the entire population of missions in Spanish Florida only numbered four hundred. From 1681 to 1711, the Apalachee

¹³¹ Bushnell, “Situado and Sabana,” 210.

¹³² Bushnell, “Situado and Sabana,” 211.

¹³³ Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms Volume 2*, 1.

¹³⁴ John H. Hahn, *A History of the Timucua and Missions* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 296.

¹³⁵ Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms Volume 2*, 147.

population went from 5,542 to 48 people.¹³⁶ In 1726, the Timucua only numbered 157.¹³⁷

Yet the existence of multiple modes of support created a flexible system in Spanish Florida that enabled the Spanish regime as a whole to be long-lasting. The fort still stood and has never been taken by force. In 1715 after a general uprising of Indians against the Carolinians in the Yamasee War, some Indians, especially those from the Nombre de Dios mission, found security in the walls of the Castillo.¹³⁸

The Castillo de San Marcos was always symbolic of imperial struggle and rivalry. While Indians had been connected to the Castillo from the start, most notably in constructing it, Indian disappearance became linked to an increased imperial presence. In Florida, the Spanish presence rose while Indian presence fell.

Indian labor was crucial to the construction process and this chapter has shown continued Indian involvement in the defense of Florida in both the mission system and at the Castillo. The next chapter will look at how the rise of a new American Empire, a developing sense of nationality, and an increasingly ostracized American Indian clashed in the nineteenth century at the Castillo de San Marcos.

¹³⁶ Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms Volume 2*, 147.

¹³⁷ Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord*, 214.

¹³⁸ Hahn, *A History of the Timucua and Missions*, 297.

Chapter Two

The Castillo de San Marcos: Exhibiting Nineteenth Century Nationalism

In 1880, the Military Service Institution of the United States assigned “Our Indian Question” as the topic for their annual essay contest. The winning essay, by a Colonel John Gibbon, included the sentiments: “Philanthropists and visionary speculators may theorize as they please about protecting the Indian...and preserving him as a race. It cannot be done.”¹³⁹ The United States expanded its territory in the nineteenth century while American Indian populations continued to decline. The Castillo de San Marcos perfectly exhibited this phenomenon.

Two years after the United States acquired Florida through the Adams-Onís Treaty in 1819, the War Department took control of Florida’s forts and the Castillo de San Marcos became a site for burgeoning American nationalism. The United States wished to acquire Florida in part because southern United States waterways drained into the Gulf of Mexico, after running through west Florida. The federal government wished to control the length of its rivers, and saw the southern states as being vulnerable to attack through Spanish Florida.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Colonel John Gibbon in Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), 131.

¹⁴⁰ John Missall and Mary Lou Missall, *The Seminole Wars: America’s Longest Indian Conflict* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 18.

Americans dubbed the Castillo de San Marcos “Fort Marion” after Revolutionary hero General Francis Marion, who hid his men in swamps throughout the South.¹⁴¹ But during the Revolution, the fort was under British control and launched attacks against General Marion. The War Department did not name the Castillo after General Marion to honor some notable who once fought near St. Augustine. Rather, the fort’s name change was symbolic, meant to show that the site was now American. The United States, in the early nineteenth century, was trying to gain its footing as a nation. Giving this fort an American name was an attempt to bestow it with American origins. Fort Marion brought the American tourist to St. Augustine. The structure’s very title illustrated a shift in ownership.

This shift did not mean the fort lost, for the tourist, its exoticism. Visitors flocked to an old Spanish fortress, in search of romanticism as well as American Indian prisoners. The Spanish Empire had fallen, but a new type of empire was on display. Waves of Indian incarceration at the fort, of Seminoles, Plains Indians, and Apache, were indicative of an industrial nation taking shape. The entire nation was struggling with a ubiquitous “Indian problem.” The United States desired land that the Indians held. In an address to United States government officials in Chicago in 1821, Chief Metea representing Potawatomie, Ojibwa, and Ottawa tribes decried that white men asked for too much: “Our country was given to us by the Great Spirit...And he would never forgive us, should we bargain it away...You are never satisfied!”¹⁴² With the imprisonment of the Indians,

¹⁴¹ “Easy Restoration Phase,” *St. Augustine Record* (St. Augustine, FL), February 9, 1940.

¹⁴² “Chief Metea ‘You Are Never Satisfied’ Address to U.S. Government Officials, 1821,” in *Voices of the American Indian Experience, Volume 1: Creation-1877*, ed. James E. Seelye Jr. and Steven A. Littleton (Denver: Greenwood, 2013), 204.

Fort Marion became tied forever to America's narrowing frontier, networks of forts, railroads, and westward expansion.

Transfer of Power

The Castillo had returned to Spanish rule in the 1783 Treaty of Paris that ended the American Revolution, but a mere forty years later, Spain was ready to peacefully cede Florida to the United States government. On July 10, 1821, the Spanish flag was lowered and a twenty-three-star American flag was raised.¹⁴³ As the United States military took control of Fort Marion, newcomers to Florida had their first look at the Spanish fortress. Most eyewitnesses were deeply impressed by the *coquina* architecture of the fort. James Grant Forbes, writing in 1821 said, "On entering this old town from the sea, the grandeur of the castle of Fort St. Mark's [the English name for the fort] presents itself, and imposes a degree of respect from travelers." He claimed that the bronzed and squamated structure could be, "justly deemed one of the handsomest in the western hemisphere."¹⁴⁴ He failed to remark upon the Indian labor that went into the fort's construction. The fort was evidence of Spanish presence alone.

Yet not every newcomer stood in awe at the walls of the fort, however spectacular its architecture had once been. Charles Vignoles, British engineer, in 1823 wrote that in St. Augustine, "buildings crumbled into ruins over the heads of the indolent Spaniards, and the dirt and nuisance augmented in every lot."¹⁴⁵ A.M. Fuller, journalist, saw the United States as more forward-looking than Spain, capable of transforming acquired land

¹⁴³ Luis Arana and Albert Manucy, *The History of Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine, Florida* (St. Augustine: Historic Print & Map Co., 2005), 55.

¹⁴⁴ James Grant Forbes, *Sketches, Historical and Topographical, of the Floridas; More Particularly of East Florida*, a facsimile reproduction of the 1821 edition (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964), 85.

¹⁴⁵ Charles Vignoles, *Observations Upon the Floridas*, a facsimile reproduction of the 1823 edition (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1977), 114.

into profit. The United States was set to expand and all who impeded it would fall: “The indolent don must no longer stand in the way of Florida’s development. It was manifest destiny; and he yielded to it.”¹⁴⁶

Even though these men were less than laudatory of Spain, Vignoles and Fuller still wrote about the Spanish influence on Florida. In the Castillo de San Marcos, Vignoles saw the slothful, languid legacy of Spanish architecture, contrasting an old Spanish past in Florida with the American modern age. What he, again, did not see was the Indian labor that had largely built the fort’s walls. He did not see the Indians who had lived and worked side by side with the Spaniards for two centuries.

For health reasons, New Englander Ralph Waldo Emerson spent the winter of 1827 in St. Augustine and began his first book of poetry on this trip.¹⁴⁷ He went alone and felt very isolated during his stay, a fact heightened because St. Augustine in the 1820s, having only recently been handed over to the United States, made Emerson feel as if he were in a foreign country, studded with stone ruins.¹⁴⁸ The American flag flying over Fort Marion comforted Emerson. Everything else in Florida jarred him: he described the locals as lazy, noticed the Catholic graveyard was much more revered than the Protestant, and observed a slave auction for the first time.¹⁴⁹ The foreign land he described he saw as distinctly Spanish, not belonging to any indigenous tribe. He jotted down a poem entitled “St. Augustine” in his journal. To him, the fort remained archetypal of Spain: “I saw St. Mark’s grim bastions, piles of stone/Planting their deep

¹⁴⁶ A.M. Fuller, “A Bit of Old History,” *The Chautauquan; A Weekly Newsmagazine* 15 (1892): 208.

¹⁴⁷ Patricia C. Griffin, “Ralph Waldo Emerson in St. Augustine,” *El Escribano: The St. Augustine Journal of History* 32 (1995): 113-114.

¹⁴⁸ Griffin, “Ralph Waldo Emerson in St. Augustine,” 119.

¹⁴⁹ Griffin, “Ralph Waldo Emerson in St. Augustine,” 116, 120, 123, 124.

foundations in the sea,/And speaking to the eye a thousand things,/Of Spain, a thousand heavy histories.”¹⁵⁰

When the fort was handed over to the United States, however, visitors began to take note of it as not only symbolic of Spain’s empire, but the founding of America as European-Americans knew it. Also in Ralph Waldo Emerson’s poem, he lauded the town as the founding place of what is now the American Empire: “Here is the old land of America/And in this sea girt nook, the infant steps/First footprints of that Genius giant-grown/That daunts the nations with his power today.”¹⁵¹ This magnificent fort, a precursor to a great nation, had to be preserved.

On its transference to the United States, St. Augustinians wanted this fort to become useful. The region was in the midst of the Seminole Wars after all. The local consensus seemed to be that it should be a military barracks. In 1833, as reported in papers communicated to the House of Representatives, a local gentleman from St. Augustine wrote to a congressional delegate from Florida a bid on the necessity and cost of repairing Fort Marion. The concerned gentleman noted how the fort was going rapidly to ruin, with its walls at one or two points tumbling into the sea. Once the United States acquired St. Augustine, money went into the barracks at the old Spanish monastery, but not to the fort.¹⁵² The local argued that maintaining the fort would keep up a work of art and allow American soldiers a place to live, for at the moment the fort served as an army jail and a magazine. Its usage as a magazine was never ideal because of the moisture in

¹⁵⁰ Ralph Waldo Emerson, “St. Augustine,” in Griffin, “Ralph Waldo Emerson in St. Augustine,” 129.

¹⁵¹ Emerson, “St. Augustine,” in Griffin, “Ralph Waldo Emerson in St. Augustine,” 130.

¹⁵² “On the necessity and cost of repairing Fort Marion, San Augustine, Florida. Communicated to the House of Representatives, January 24, 1833.” 22nd Congress, 2nd Session. American State Papers 020, Military Affairs Vol. 5, 132-133.

many corners of the fortress.¹⁵³ As this was 1833, a time of heightened numbers of slave revolts in the south (for example Nat Turner's), the man also argued the spot integral to fortify in case of a slave uprising, able to grant asylum to the women and children of St. Augustine. The local community as a whole lamented that the Spanish better maintained the fort than had the United States until this juncture: "It is impossible that any true Floridian can behold the present state of that model of fortification without regret, when even the stranger looks but to admire and sympathize in its decay."¹⁵⁴ There was an early desire for local pride in the building. Most Americans thought Spain had taken better care of the Castillo, and vowed to rectify this. They had in mind the former imperial glory of Spain, and sought in small ways to reinstate the fort's dignity and prestige.

In 1835, Congress appropriated \$20,000 to repair Fort Marion and reconstruct the St. Augustine seawall. According to the House Report, the goal in instituting these funds was to restore the fort to the condition it had been in when the Spanish handed it over to the Americans. Although the fort had no active role in maritime defense in the 1830s, Congress deemed that to be no reason it could not be restored.¹⁵⁵ In fact, it was soon to be needed as a holding facility for prisoners of war.

Seminole Wars

The Seminole Wars, consisting of three distinct phases, proved to be America's longest Indian conflict. The Second Seminole War was dubbed the Florida War. From

¹⁵³ "On the necessity and cost of repairing Fort Marion, San Augustine, Florida. Communicated to the House of Representatives, January 24, 1833."

¹⁵⁴ "On the necessity and cost of repairing Fort Marion, San Augustine, Florida. Communicated to the House of Representatives, January 24, 1833."

¹⁵⁵ "Florida—Fort Marion and sea-wall. (To accompany Bill H.R. No. 600.) January 7, 1835." 23rd Congress, 2nd Session. Serial Set Vol. No. 276, Session Vol No. 1. House Report 39. US Congressional Series Set.

1836 to 1839, more press coverage was given to the Seminole conflict than to any other event in American newspapers.¹⁵⁶ The name Seminole had become the term given to any Indian living in Florida. One must note here, as this thesis has discussed the decimation of Florida Indians, that a new Indian population had migrated to the peninsula. Diverse tribes from modern day regions of Georgia and Alabama had moved southward in the late eighteenth century to take advantage of open hunting grounds and to take part in the European deerskin trade.¹⁵⁷ Enslaved black men who had fled to Spanish Florida, seeking freedom, strengthened Indian ranks.¹⁵⁸

The Adams-Onís Treaty by which Spain ceded Florida to the United States, granted people who had lived in Spanish Florida full United States citizenship, but Americans refused to extend this right to Seminoles, who often held the best agricultural land. As early as 1822, Governor William Pope DuVal wrote to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun in Washington D.C. that “Indians...are very uneasy...[and] are wandering over the Country in every direction. They are in a wretched State.”¹⁵⁹ A government-initiated preventative measure, the Treaty of Moultrie Creek, resulted in Indians relinquishing claims to Florida land, excluding a reservation of four million acres. By 1826 most Seminoles were on this reservation, but many were destitute and starving.¹⁶⁰

In a July 1837 article from the *New York Spectator*, one journalist demonstrated how chaotic Florida war reports were. For example, nothing had been heard from General Jesup, the commander of all U.S. troops in Florida, in days. Fort Mellon, in

¹⁵⁶ Missall and Missall, *The Seminole Wars*, xvi-xvii.

¹⁵⁷ Missall and Missall, *The Seminole Wars*, 3-4. The Creek tribe, so named by the British, was an amalgamation of several groupings. They felt no unity and spoke no common language. Several Creeks migrated south to Florida.

¹⁵⁸ Missall and Missall, *The Seminole Wars*, 7, 10.

¹⁵⁹ Missall and Missall, *The Seminole Wars*, 53-54, 59.

¹⁶⁰ Missall and Missall, *The Seminole Wars*, 64, 72.

Sanford, had been abandoned due to health concerns.¹⁶¹ Coacoochee, son of Seminole leader King Philip, was at Fort Mellon with twenty of his men and, “expressed the most pacific intentions if the whites did not molest them...They expressed a desire to visit Col. Harney in St. Augustine.”¹⁶² Colonel Harney was stationed at Fort Marion.

Seminole leaders King Philip, Coacoochee, and Osceola approached the U.S. Army under a flag of truce, but these men along with approximately seventy followers were captured and imprisoned at Fort Marion.¹⁶³ Also amongst those prisoners was John Cavallo, a black Seminole leader. On the night of November 29, 1837, Coacoochee, Cavallo, sixteen other men, and two women escaped Fort Marion by way of a narrow storeroom window.¹⁶⁴ By that time, small bands of Seminole warriors were living in hideouts, and Americans could not understand why it was taking years to subdue such a diminished population. To win, the U.S. Navy took the conflict to Seminole hideouts in the Everglades. The army captured Coacoochee again, at which time he said:

I asked but for a small piece of these lands, enough to plant and to live upon, far south, a spot where I could place the ashes of my kindred.... This was not granted to me. I was put in prison; I escaped. I have been again taken; you have brought me back; I am here; I feel the irons in my heart.¹⁶⁵

Eventually Coacoochee agreed to leave Florida with his people. These Seminole Wars, a collective American effort to contain Indians, helped to form a southern identity. It was

¹⁶¹ “Later from Florida,” *New York Spectator* (New York, NY) July 6, 1837.

¹⁶² “Later from Florida.”

¹⁶³ Fuller, “A Bit of Old History,” 208.

¹⁶⁴ Missall and Missall, *The Seminole Wars*, 134, 140-141.

¹⁶⁵ Coacoochee in Missall and Missall, *The Seminole Wars*, 196.

already clear by the 1830s that that regional identity in Florida was to exclude the American Indian.¹⁶⁶

Meanwhile, travel writers and authors continued to praise the *Spanish* historic value of the Castillo, perhaps thereby cementing the argument for its preservation. In the 1848 *Sketches of St. Augustine*, R.K. Sewell described a dark and foreboding Spanish history of the Castillo. He wrote that the rooms “are at best dark, dungeon-like abodes; and, by natural association, they revive the recollection of scenes characteristic of a dark and cruel age.... [they] look as if they were once the strong-holds of despotic power.”¹⁶⁷ In 1848, a guide used pitch-wood torches to show visitors the northeast recess (the old powder magazine) discovered soon after the United States Army took control of the Castillo. Sewell wrote also of the rumors of a human skeleton found with a pair of boots and a mug in the casements. Sewell liked the dramatics of the fort, all connected to a romantic and “Romish” Spanish past:

As to the history of the place - whether it was once an inquisitorial chamber, or the scene of vengeance, where bigotry invoked the secular arm to silence heretical tongues, and suppress heretical thoughts; and as to the name, character, standing, guilt or innocence, pleasure or pains, of the poor unfortunate to whom the boots and bones belonged, there is silence.¹⁶⁸

For Sewell, it did not quite matter whose skeleton had been found in the fort. And it did not quite matter that one decade prior, there were Indian prisoners held there that one could easily have named. The rumors of distant dramatics drove him forward and sustained his professional interest. He, and others, were fascinated with a Spanish past of

¹⁶⁶ F. Evan Nooe, “Zealous in the Cause: Indian Violence, the Second Seminole War, and the Formation of a Southern Identity,” *Native South* 4, (2011): 55.

¹⁶⁷ R.K. Sewell, *Sketches of St. Augustine*, facsimile reproduction of the 1848 edition published by Putnam NY (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1976), 14.

¹⁶⁸ Sewell, *Sketches of St. Augustine*, 15.

cruelty and inquisition imagined to have taken place at the fort. Also, few mentioned those who actually suffered while building the walls of the fort: the Florida Indians.

The Castillo outlasted the Florida Indian and its Seminole captives, though it began to show signs of decay. Figure 2-1 below shows the state of the fort's drawbridge and entrance by the 1860s. After storms and constant use as a prison, the stones looked part of a medieval ruin. If the stones looked worn, they inspired visitors and authors such as Sewell to think about the history of the fort.¹⁶⁹



Figure 2-1. "Fort Marion, Saint Augustine, Florida." [Photographed between 1861 and 1865, printed between 1880 and 1889] Photograph. Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.35302/>.

¹⁶⁹ During the Civil War, Union soldiers stationed themselves at Fort Marion upon taking it peacefully from the Confederates. One Blaky Mason wrote in 1863 in a letter to his friend that, "The Old Fort was a great many years in building you know- some fifty- and it is built entirely of this shell mash and is a strong one." Union soldiers called the residents of St. Augustine, a mixture of Spaniards, Minorcans, and New Yorkers, "United States Paupers." Mason also noted in his letter how the people of St. Augustine were all Catholics. He insisted on this being a peculiar circumstance. Bells of churches and cathedrals rang with "such a noise- why you would think the devil had broken loose." Even in the 1860s, forty years after the United States had taken control of St. Augustine and the fort, the area appeared foreign to such visitors. The fort was curious, and curiously made. The people in town were Catholics, and paupers. Slowly the Spanish population in St. Augustine thinned out, but the fort remained a symbol of a Spanish Catholic past in America. Blaky Mason of 7th New Hampshire Volunteers, Company B, to Friend Frank, April 24, 1863, available at "The Civil War in St. Augustine," <http://sacivilwararchive.com/items/show/3> (accessed May 7, 2018).

Plains Incarceration

Indigenous peoples appeared again at the Castillo de San Marcos. It just so happened that these new groups were completely unfamiliar with Florida. They came from the Plains, captured in western skirmishes, taken from reservations. And they put a new, United States Empire on display.

The Buffalo War formally began in 1874 between the United States and the southern Plains Indians, who felt their source of power, the bison, was being systematically eliminated. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 had recognized Cheyenne and Arapaho lands but American settlers were now pouring into the states of Kansas and Nebraska. The Texas Panhandle and Indian Territory were now open to non-Indian colonization.¹⁷⁰ Peace accords in the Treaty of Fort Wise of 1861 placed the Cheyenne and Arapaho on reservation lands along the Arkansas River.¹⁷¹ The military Cheyenne rejected this deal. Federal officers were not keeping non-Indians off Indian lands, and conditions on reservations were deteriorating due to both an influx of liquor and guns on site and a lack of food rations.¹⁷² The ecology of buffalo hunting nations was collapsing: between 1874 and 1875 there had been a summer drought, a winter freeze, and multiple plagues of grasshoppers.¹⁷³ According to President Ulysses S. Grant in 1869, Indian reservations were part of a policy to move Indians toward “civilization and ultimate citizenship,” but in 1871 Congress ended relations with Indian nations through treaties.¹⁷⁴ The future of Indian-government relations looked bleak. To secure Indian Territory

¹⁷⁰ Brad D. Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion: Plains Indian War Prisoners* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 34.

¹⁷¹ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 10, 12.

¹⁷² Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 13, 19.

¹⁷³ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 33.

¹⁷⁴ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 19.

borders, a “hard war” was sanctioned in 1874. The United States military had established practices of capturing family members of hostile Indians in attempts to subdue the perceived troublemakers.¹⁷⁵ In December of 1874, Adjutant General E.D. Townsend suggested banishing Plains Indians who had been leaders of hostilities to St. Augustine, a town traditionally viewed, by Anglo-Americans, as both foreign and isolated. The banishment was to be a punishment by separation: separation from family, tribe, and homeland.¹⁷⁶

General Philip Sheridan wished to keep the number of Indian ringleaders sent to Florida at a minimum. This desire did not come from the warmth in his heart. Most likely, he thought a large group of traveling men and chiefs would be conspicuous. He had little empathy for the men, wanting them to work even for their food, to be liberated from imprisonment only by death.¹⁷⁷

American crowds taunted the Indians along the route to Fort Marion.¹⁷⁸ The Florida fort, as the choice location to house Plains Indians for three years, came as a surprise. Post commandant Major John Hamilton believed the fort might be able to provide security, but certainly not comfort.¹⁷⁹ In addition, Hamilton was initially told only five prisoners were coming. Wood had been laid down in a few of the fort casements, but others had dirty sand floors and leaking ceilings.¹⁸⁰ Sidney Lanier, a

¹⁷⁵ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 20. In 1872, Colonel Ranald Mackenzie captured 120 Comanche women and children and placed them under guard at Fort Concho to make their husbands and relatives submit to government rule.

¹⁷⁶ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 25.

¹⁷⁷ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 28.

¹⁷⁸ Herman J. Viola, *Warrior Artists: Historic Cheyenne and Kiowa Indian Ledger Art Drawn by Making Medicine and Zotom* (Washington D.C.: National Geographic, 1998), 8.

¹⁷⁹ Viola, *Warrior Artists*, 9.

¹⁸⁰ Viola, *Warrior Artists*, 9.

southern musician and poet under contract to write a travel book on Florida, wrote about the Plains Indians' arrival:

I saw Seventy two big Indians yesterday: proper men, and tall, as one would wish to behold. They were weary, and greatly worn; but as they stepped out of the cars [of the train], and folded their ample blankets about them, there was a large dignity and majestic sweep about their movements that made me much desire to salute their grave excellencies. Each had his ankles chained together; but managed to walk like a man, withal. They are confined, -by some ass who is in authority- in the lovely old Fort, as unfit for them as they are for it. It is in my heart to hope sincerely that they may all get out.¹⁸¹

Note Lanier's lament that the "lovely old Fort" be put to such a use as a stockade for these seemingly noble warriors, displaced and unfairly treated. Despite their ankles being chained, they walked like men. The American Indians, on the train to Florida, believed they were on their way to be executed.¹⁸² Instead they were handed over to Captain Richard Henry Pratt, a man experienced with Indian affairs.

Richard Henry Pratt was born in New York, but his family moved to Indiana in 1846. He was awarded the brevet rank of captain after the Civil War for his service. Upon moving to Indian Territory, he commanded a regiment of African American buffalo soldiers and led a group of Indian scouts.¹⁸³ Pratt was asked to conduct investigations of Indian crimes and used informants and his scant knowledge of Indian sign language to help in this endeavor. His experience in Indian Territory most likely meant that he noted and appreciated the differences between Plains tribesmen (the Caddo, Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Arapaho) that were grouped together and herded towards Florida, unlike the average journalist or tourist. While still out west, Pratt

¹⁸¹ Quoted in Karen Daniels Petersen, *Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 3.

¹⁸² Peterson, *Plains Indian Art*, 15.

¹⁸³ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 37.

marked down certain Indians for possible military trials, yet lawyers told the Grant administration “that a state of war could not exist between a nation and its wards,” and there could be no military trials since there was no official war.¹⁸⁴ Thus Grant approved the order for certain Plains Indian “ringleaders” to be sent instead to confinement to a fort in Florida and Captain Pratt volunteered to assume responsibility for these prisoners.

Adjutant General Townsend, stationed at Fort Marion, requested repairs be made on the fort, which had fallen into further disrepair after the Civil War. Thirty-seven windows and many doorways were covered over with planks. The repairs cost \$1,500, and the prisoners came eleven days after completion.¹⁸⁵ Captain Pratt received his seventy-two prisoners in St. Augustine on May 21, where he unlocked the leg irons they had traveled in, cut their hair, and clothed them in uniforms.¹⁸⁶ Thirty-seven of the prisoners were implicated in murders, while the rest had been accused of armed robbery or sedition. Comanche, Kiowa, and Caddo prisoners occupied the west side of the fort and Arapaho and Cheyenne lived on the north side.¹⁸⁷

While at Fort Marion, Pratt put the imprisoned men through military drills. They lived in small dark rooms. Post Commandant Hamilton complained about Pratt letting the prisoners take off their chains to view the sea and bathe. He wanted tent-covered platforms to be erected in the courtyard, but the army refused. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was responsible for the care of the Indians, not the army, but neither department tried to make them comfortable during the incarceration.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 37-39.

¹⁸⁵ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 56, 57.

¹⁸⁶ Diane Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners and the Trauma of Native Education* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 13.

¹⁸⁷ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 58.

¹⁸⁸ Viola, *Warrior Artists*, 9.

Almost half of the prisoners drew in ledger books that the soldiers gave to them.¹⁸⁹ On the Plains, the Indian men had always drawn, but in captivity became wary of drawing their traditional subject of wartime heroism. They did not wish to antagonize the American soldiers stationed there. At the fort they drew scenes of hunting and courting.¹⁹⁰ The men mixed traditional Plains art subjects and methods with Western elements, thus Pratt began to use the ledger art as evidence that the Indians could learn, assimilate into Western society, and become peaceful men.¹⁹¹ Yet the Indians drew ledger art for themselves, an internal audience, as well. They continued to produce, although examples are rare, warrior art, depicting enemies from the Plains such as Navajo warriors, not United States soldiers.¹⁹² Symbols could depict either abstract ideas or concrete objects: foot tracks were a way to show both past and present tenses.¹⁹³ The drawings ended up spreading throughout the United States, although many American commentators dismissed the artwork as childlike. One such critic said the ledger art was “artistic artlessness.”¹⁹⁴

Figure 2-2 below, depicts the Indians in Fort Marion dancing around a fire for U.S. soldiers and civilian visitors. The perspective of the artist comes from above and the Indians, the only actors in the image, are completely surrounded. Both men and women came to see the show, dressed in their best and carrying fans. Figure 2-3, is of a similar

¹⁸⁹ Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners*, 24. Works of ledger art are now extremely delicate and held in climate-controlled conditions, in storage. I was able to view a couple, courtesy of the St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library.

¹⁹⁰ Candace S. Greene, “Being Indian at Fort Marion: Revisiting Three Drawings,” *The American Indian Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2013): 292.

¹⁹¹ Greene, “Being Indian,” 293.

¹⁹² Greene, “Being Indian,” 295.

¹⁹³ Peterson, *Plains Indian Art*, 18.

¹⁹⁴ Petersen, *Plains Indian Art*, x.

scene, but the walls and a bastion of the fort are also depicted. Indians are shown in bright traditional garments, while soldiers are stark black-and-white figures.

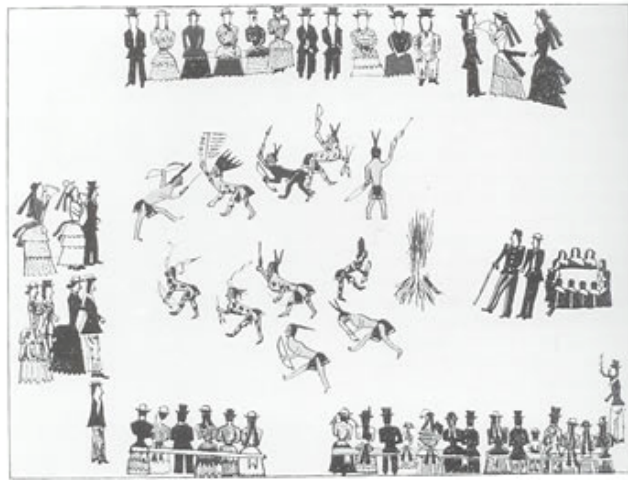


Figure 2-2. “Dancing for Tourists.” From “Commodification of Confusion: Comparing Anglo and Indian Appropriations of Ledger Art From Fort Marion,” May 2013. <https://vzeamer.com/2013/05/31/commodification-of-confusion-comparing-anglo-and-indian-appropriations-of-ledger-art-from-fort-marion/>.

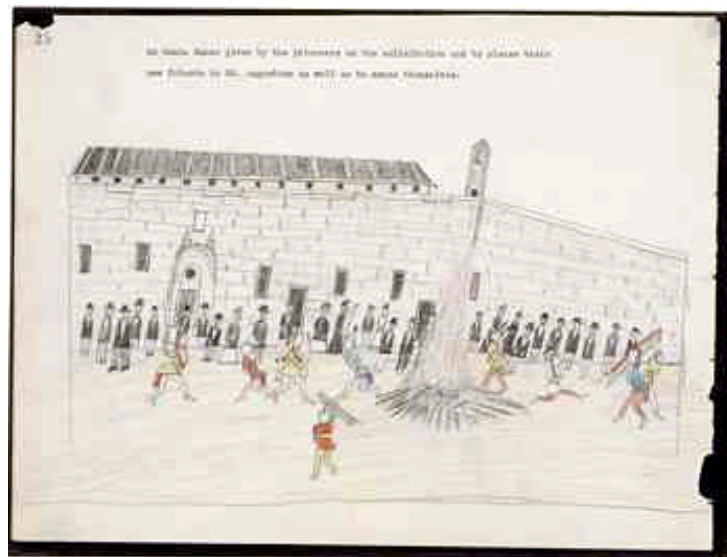


Figure 2-3. “An Omaha Dance Given by the Prisoners.” From “A Kiowa’s Odyssey: A Sketchbook from Fort Marion,” Cummer Museum of Art & Gardens. <http://www.tfaoi.com/aa/7aa/7aa979.htm> (accessed May 7, 2018).

Local women came to the fort to teach the Indians English grammar, math, geography, civics, and penmanship.¹⁹⁵ Some prisoners refused to learn English, but since they came from various Plains tribes, learning a common language was beneficial for intertribal communication.¹⁹⁶

Pratt believed the prisoners should govern themselves. The Indians used one casement of the fort as a courtroom. One man named Hail Stone was sentenced by Indian court to eight days in a dark cell without food for stealing a chicken.¹⁹⁷ The prisoners further demonstrated independence by earning money in town. Prisoners sold bows and arrows, along with sea beans, alligator teeth, and the drawings from their ledger books. They sent back money to the Plains to their families.¹⁹⁸ The townspeople enjoyed the increased levels of tourism but not the Indians who wandered the streets selling wares.¹⁹⁹ So Indians took on town duties as well, clearing brush, chopping trees, and carrying luggage at the train station.²⁰⁰

Pratt called the Plains Indians the “curio class.”²⁰¹ He knew that tourists were coming to the fort to gaze upon these western warriors and he tried to find ways for the Indians to keep their own culture alive while conducting business with both locals and tourists. It was in both his and their best interest. For just four dollars, a visitor could purchase a round-trip ticket on a steamer and train from Jacksonville to St. Augustine to see the “Florida Boys.”²⁰² The Great Atlantic Coast Line wanted permission to

¹⁹⁵ Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners*, 51.

¹⁹⁶ Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners*, 29.

¹⁹⁷ Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners*, 31. Pratt noted that he himself intervened only to bring Hail Stone food so that he would not die.

¹⁹⁸ Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners*, 32.

¹⁹⁹ Viola, *Warrior Artists*, 10.

²⁰⁰ Viola, *Warrior Artists*, 11.

²⁰¹ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 82.

²⁰² Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 84.

photograph the Indians in the Castillo for brochures for their business. Pratt had to issue Order No. 51, prohibiting visitors on Sundays because the crowds had become too large to maneuver on every day of the week.²⁰³ Yet the army was not averse to the monetary gains the captives brought them. To increase the number of visitors at the fort, at times the army went to what seemed like ludicrous extremes. The fort hosted two Indian dances and simulated a “buffalo hunt.”²⁰⁴

In *The Awakening of St. Augustine*, one historian wrote that in the time of Pratt and his “Florida boys,” arrows whizzed up and down the town streets and little boys donned war paint. According to this account, Pratt was “an enlightened humanitarian who saw the Indian warriors more as victims than as villains.”²⁰⁵ He wanted to place the Plains Indians in jobs, but there were few industries in St. Augustine. One Indian worked on the St. Johns Railway and one at a sawmill, while others worked picking oranges or drilling wells. The most astonishing job perhaps, was one taken up by Plains Indians who helped a Smithsonian anthropologist to excavate an Indian mound.²⁰⁶ One can only speculate how a Plains Indian felt, helping an Anglo-American excavate a mound and examine the culture of the people indigenous to Florida, the land in which he was trapped.

Yet more should be said on Pratt, for his views on American Indians were far from straightforward. In response to the famous quotation, “the only good Indian is a dead one,” he was known to say: “all the Indian there is in a race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him and save the man.” His idea somewhat encompassed all of Indian federal

²⁰³ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 84.

²⁰⁴ Viola, *Warrior Artists*, 11.

²⁰⁵ Thomas Graham, *The Awakening of St. Augustine: The Anderson Family and the Oldest City, 1821-1924* (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1978), 162.

²⁰⁶ Graham, *The Awakening of St. Augustine*, 162.

policy in the latter half of the nineteenth century.²⁰⁷ D'Arcy McNickle, a twentieth century anthropologist and American Indian activist, when referring to the American Indian's viability, regeneration, and resilience, said that in America there has been an "Indian War that never ends." The imprisonment of Plains Indians war prisoners was an experiment and turning point for United States policy on educational programming.²⁰⁸ Using the term the "Florida boys" for the prisoners was extremely paternalistic. But the prisoners knew their predicament and did what they could to resist and make the most of their situation.²⁰⁹

When asking to view the American Indians at the Castillo, white American visitors were seeing evidence of their own empire. The Spanish Empire had long since left the site of the Castillo de San Marcos, but an American Empire was using the fort in a comparable way. The War Department, while imprisoning Plains Indians, used the fort to demonstrate the strength of the American government. The *coquina* walls were still meant to intimidate. As a prison, the fort was meant to separate renegade Indians in the west from their families and force them to submit to government rule.

In 1875, one Kiowa prisoner named Mamanti requested, "Tell 'Washington' to give us our women and children and send us to a country where we can work and live like white men."²¹⁰ The army and government ignored this request. Mamanti's wish focused on living like white men. The captives were not asking to renew their fight, they asked for peace and dignity, and instead were taken from their families and displaced. These incarcerated Plains Indians, the Indians that are interpreted most often at the

²⁰⁷ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 6.

²⁰⁸ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 4-5.

²⁰⁹ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 8.

²¹⁰ Viola, *Warrior Artists*, 11.

Castillo, were Kiowa, Comanche, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Caddo, groups unfamiliar with the land, people, and species of Florida.

Of the seventy-two Indians sent to the fort, forty returned to the Plains after the United States government ended their incarceration, and twenty-two stayed east to continue schooling in Hampton, Virginia or at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, which Captain Pratt founded in 1879.²¹¹

Yet another group of western Indians arrived at Fort Marion shortly thereafter. Seventy-five Chiricahua Apache, a party of men, women, and children, were sent to St. Augustine in 1886 after surrendering their fight for land in Arizona. A *Christian Union* journalist noted that the “men’s faces are strong and fine, and the women’s are full of expression,” despite being prisoners.²¹² He further observed, “We wondered at the chivalry and tenderness of the men who, fleeing for their lives, had not suffered the women to lose their care, nor left behind one toddling baby.”²¹³ Friends of the captives empathized with their plight or attempted to “educate the Indian” but recognized that most Americans were either indifferent to the fate of Indians or wished the Indians “be crushed down and exterminated.”

The Apache suffered greatly at the fort. It was a cultural taboo for the Apache to eat the fish or pork portions of their rations, and they instead chose to invent meals of wheat flour and water to stay alive.²¹⁴ Colonel Loomis Langdon told Acting Secretary of War R.C. Drum that Fort Marion was small and could not accommodate many more prisoners, but Lieutenant General Sheridan ordered hundreds more Apache to be shipped

²¹¹ Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners*, 53.

²¹² I.B.E., “The Apaches at Fort Marion,” *Christian Union* (New York, NY), June 17, 1886.

²¹³ I.B.E., “The Apaches at Fort Marion.”

²¹⁴ H. Henrietta Stockel, *Survival of the Spirit: Chiricahua Apaches in Captivity* (Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1993), 70.

there. Five hundred and two prisoners and army staff lived on less than an acre of land, the Apache erecting tents on the fort's terreplein.²¹⁵ Malaria spread through the fort. Those Apache that died at the Castillo were buried in sand dunes across the inlet on Anastasia Island.²¹⁶

Reaction of a Nation

The imprisonment of the Indians was a point of contention for the fort and for St. Augustine. The United States was going through a time of rapid industrialization during the nineteenth century, and the general American public believed the western Indians were relics of a time that could not or would not sustain itself for much longer. They were brought to the oldest stone fort on the American mainland. The fort was an antiquated site that had become an attraction in itself, and in turn housed a new attraction, a group of Indians far from home. The phenomenon was bound to incite strong reaction.

In the mid-nineteenth century, American poets and novelists used nature analogies to describe the demise of American Indians, likening their decreasing populations to the setting sun, melting snow, and fleeting dew.²¹⁷ Historian Brian Dippie has theorized that the writers sought to appeal to the sentimentality of the American public in their work and did not genuinely care about the fate of the disappearing tribes. Political speeches commemorating the nation's centennial in the nineteenth century were common, in which rhetoric about the fading American Indian was transparent.²¹⁸ Therefore the public was used to the idea of American progress and American Indian ruin.

²¹⁵ Stockel, *Survival of the Spirit*, 72.

²¹⁶ Stockel, *Survival of the Spirit*, 90.

²¹⁷ Dippie, *The Vanishing American*, 13.

²¹⁸ Dippie, *The Vanishing American*, 15.

Of the army officers who actually came in contact with Indians in the west, many became humanitarians or ethnologists interested in enlightening the public perspective on Indian-government policy, but just as many officers supported violence toward indigenous populations. Brigadier General James H. Carleton, in 1865, wrote that Indian populations were decreasing for reasons, “which the Almighty originates, when in their appointed time He wills that one race of men – as in lower animals – shall disappear off the face of the earth and give place to another race.”²¹⁹ Those that put the western Indians at the Castillo perhaps believed the loss of the Indian to be a natural and inevitable occurrence.

Throughout the incarcerations, authors continued to primarily study the Spanish history of the fort. In 1872, St. Augustine was featured in the book *Picturesque America; or, the Land We Live In. A Delineation by Pen and Pencil of the Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Forests, Water-Falls, Shores, Canyons, Valleys, Cities, and Other Picturesque Features of Our Country*. The book was similar to a coffee table book today, meant at the time to instill in Americans pride at living in a picturesque nation. Author Robert Carter described the fort as being “the most conspicuous feature in the town.”²²⁰ Extending beyond descriptions of the Spanish colonial era, Carter wrote that when the fort was under British rule, it was said to be the “prettiest fort in the king’s dominions.”²²¹ Yet he then fell back to the old stand-by: alleged Spanish torture chambers and skeletons in the fort’s casemates. The author believed that the American public yearned for that

²¹⁹ James H. Carleton in Dippie, *The Vanishing American*, 130.

²²⁰ Robert Carter, “St. Augustine, Florida,” in *Picturesque America; or, the Land We Live In. A Delineation by Pen and Pencil of the Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Forests, Water-Falls, Shores, Canyons, Valleys, Cities, and Other Picturesque Features of Our Country*, ed. William Cullen Bryant. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. Publishers, 1872), 191.

²²¹ Carter, *Picturesque America*, 191.

allure. The fort held “traditions of inquisitorial tortures; of decaying skeletons, found in the latest-opened chambers, chained to the rusty ring-bolts, and of alleged subterranean passages to the neighboring convent.”²²² Tourists visiting the fort loved to hear of the mysteries it held. They learned fewer actual facts about American Indians, or even the Spaniards who built the fort. Thereby those Indians who were there at its founding were practically erased from the site.

Sidney Lanier, the southern poet who commented on the Plains Indians’ travels to Fort Marion, also wrote a piece entitled “St. Augustine in April” in *Lippincott’s Magazine of Popular Literature and Science*. In his section on the fort, he wrote just as others had, on the potential ghost stories one might hear from tour guides, on skeletons chained to walls.²²³ Yet he also enticed potential tourists with a tale of Anglo-American Daniel McGirth whom the Spanish imprisoned at the Castillo in the late eighteenth century for five years for instigating Indians against Spanish rule.²²⁴ The story of McGirth supports the trend, outlined in Chapter One, that colonial competition combined with Indian warfare and decimation. These colonial stories, for Lanier, embodied the old spirit of the fort. The stories excited him.

Yet press coverage on the fort was now was centering on the fate of the Plains Indians to be enclosed in the Florida fort. Shortly after Adjutant General Townsend declared in 1874 that a group was to be imprisoned there, editors from the *Leavenworth Daily Commercial*, a Kansas daily, printed, “On the score of humanity it would be vastly

²²² Carter, *Picturesque America*, 192.

²²³ Sidney Lanier, “St. Augustine in April,” *Lippincott’s Magazine of Popular Literature and Science* 16, no. 95 (1875): 541.

²²⁴ Lanier, “St. Augustine in April,” 542.

better to make war on the Indian to the death than to capture him.”²²⁵ Some American citizens did not even approve of having Indians in Indian Territory and preferred a system of ethnic cleansing. A writer from the *Kansas City Times* boarded the train with the Indians en route to Florida and reported his belief that the prisoners should be convicted and hanged so that “they should not be held at the expense they daily cause.”²²⁶ At Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where the party stopped for nine days, most spectators wanted the Indians hanged, but one man from the *St. Louis Republican* wrote, “these Indians are entitled to those rights and privileges usually accorded to such persons by all civilized nations.”²²⁷ The reporter saw no humanity in prominent warriors being banished from their families for life.

On May 11, 1874, the War Department issued Special Order No. 88. This order placed the prisoners in Pratt’s charge, but much more importantly, requested that the Indians bound for St. Augustine be kept away from the press.²²⁸ The order signified that the War Department’s handling of the Indian “situation” had unsettled enough spectators. Some saw the separation of Plains Indian families as immoral, while others wished for the extermination of the Indian people. The cross-country transport and subsequent imprisonment of these men advertised the woes of the vanishing American Indian. Railroads competed for the business of the transport “because of the notoriety of the movement.”²²⁹

Along the Plains Indians’ train journey to St. Augustine, the hostile press continued. The *Leavenworth Daily Commercial* on May 17 wrote, “we should have been

²²⁵ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 26.

²²⁶ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 45.

²²⁷ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 46.

²²⁸ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 48.

²²⁹ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 48.

much more pleased to have filled this space with a fitting obituary for you all, but as it cannot be so, we humbly submit and grant you godspeed on your journey South and may you never return.”²³⁰ Some Americans did not want the task of feeding and clothing Indian families they had displaced. Others wanted vengeance for frontier violence. Nashville papers said the Indians deserved deportation “far from their breezy homes” to suffer “in fetters under the burning sun of Florida.”²³¹ These people saw Florida as a punishment, whether because of weather or because of familial separation or because of Florida’s relative isolation from the rest of the country at the time, reasons varied. Several witnesses to the relocation believed it was a waste to spend money on jailing the Indians. Why spend the cost of transport, “when scalping is so cheap.”²³² They did not believe imprisonment would improve the condition of the Indian or make him any more fit to live amidst white people.

According to Lanier, with the arrival of the Plains Indians in 1875, the fort changed completely. Lanier wrote that the true fort was a calm and peaceful place, a place that did not exist anymore, due to the arrival of foreign Indians: “The Cheyennes, the Kiowas, the Comanches, the Caddoes, and the Arapahoes, with their shuffling chains and strange tongues and barbaric gestures, have frightened the timid swallow of Romance out of the sweetest nest that he ever built in America.”²³³ Based off of Lanier’s quotation, one surmises that he resented the prisoners for intruding on the fort, even though Lanier seemed to take pity on them in other writings. He did not feel they belonged there. The fort, once a site of imperial might, then turned into a site of romance

²³⁰ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 49.

²³¹ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 52.

²³² Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 50.

²³³ Lanier, “St. Augustine in April,” 542.

and medieval mystery, was then put, he thought, to a shameful use. He desired the fort to be seen in a different way, plus was reacting unfavorably to the government's decision to mar the fort by imprisoning people there who knew nothing of the fort's history.

Newspapers across the country published updates on the captives held in Fort Marion, showing a nationwide interest in the "Florida Boys." A San Francisco paper in late July 1875 spread a rumor about a Cheyenne man who had reportedly gone insane at the fort. The article said, "Lion Bear... has become insane, and application has been made to have him sent to the Government Insane Asylum near this city [St. Augustine]." ²³⁴ Lion Bear was said to be the same man who tried to commit suicide on the train ride to Florida. The paper additionally reported that there had been a recent presidential order to have the families of the fort captives sent to join them, and that Lion Bear's family would join him at the asylum. ²³⁵ Sadly, a few weeks later, a newspaper in Maine reported that, "The President has countermanded for the present, the order recently given, allowing the wives of the Indian prisoners at Fort Marion, Florida, to be sent to them." ²³⁶ The president, if such rumors were true, had negated his earlier act of mercy to allow the families to reunite. From coast to coast, journalists and readers scrutinized the lives of the Indians at the old Spanish fort. Reactions to the president's countermanded order must have been as varied as reactions to the jailing of the Indians in the first place.

People found fault with "educating" the Indians as well as with displaying traditional Indian lifestyles, an act which army staff at the fort meant to be entertaining. While the Indians were in captivity at Fort Marion, some St. Augustine townspeople were

²³⁴ "This Evening's Dispatches. Special Dispatches to the Bulletin," *San Francisco Bulletin, Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco, CA), July 23, 1875, Page 2.

²³⁵ "This Evening's Dispatches," *Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco, CA), July 23, 1875.

²³⁶ "Countermanded," *Portland Daily Press* (Portland, ME), Aug. 16, 1876. Page 2.

less than impressed with the hunting skills demonstrated at exhibitory powwows. When locals intimated that the Spanish tradition of bullfighting was “more skillful and manly,” Pratt offered to put on a bullfight at the fort.²³⁷ This tale speaks to the interest of the townspeople in Spanish history and culture. In preferring to watch a Spanish-inspired bullfight, American locals showed more respect for Spanish culture than an American Indian hunting demonstration.

Famed author Harriet Beecher Stowe traveled to St. Augustine in the 1870s, witnessing both the arrival of the Plains Indians at Fort Marion as well as visiting them later at the fort as a guest of a female schoolteacher. At first, she seemed to have no pity for the captives, men whom she saw as being the cause of much violence on the western frontier: “they seemed more like grim goblins than human beings.”²³⁸ Townspeople worried about them breaking loose. Yet when she visited later, she wrote that they seemed changed and would smile when learning: “Yes, these fearful beings whom we were tempted to look on only as noxious wild beasts have the hearts of men.”²³⁹ Stowe seemed surprised to learn the Indians wrote back home, went to church, and had developed an amicable bond with the fort interpreter who at the time was being fired in attempts to save money.²⁴⁰ As Stowe’s article was published in 1877, she was already a writer of great renown. Her opinions on how docile the men at the fort were must have influenced a sizable readership.

Nelson A. Miles, a general who served in the western Indian Wars, in 1879 wrote “The Indian Problem” in the *North American Review*. He acknowledged that the public,

²³⁷ Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 89.

²³⁸ Harriet Beecher Stowe, “The Indians at St. Augustine,” *Friends’ Intelligencer (1853-1910)* 34, no. 13 (May 19, 1877): 204.

²³⁹ Stowe, “The Indians at St. Augustine,” 204.

²⁴⁰ Stowe, “The Indians at St. Augustine,” 204.

with their outrage and confusion at Indian incarceration, was acting as if the question of what to do with the American Indian was a new dilemma.²⁴¹ His stance was quite progressive. He asked, during centuries of warfare with white settlers, how the American Indian could possibly be expected to adopt willingly the lifestyle of their conquerors and enemies?²⁴² Miles also contrasted United States Indian policies with Canadian-indigenous relationships, noting that in Canada both parties were at peace because Indians were left to live by their traditional methods. Miles wished American Indians would be left to naturally progress through the stages of civilization, and that only men who knew and respected their nature should seek to govern them.²⁴³ The 1870s were a time of heightened notoriety for St. Augustine and the Castillo, as the nation attempted to sort out the “Indian Question.”

Out on the northwestern Plains, Nez Perce Chief Joseph voiced his own lament over betrayals Indians had suffered at the hands of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It was 1879 and Chief Joseph had just capitulated after such a betrayal that restricted Nez Perce reservation size. He said: “It makes my heart sick when I remember all the good words and broken promises...Too many misrepresentations have been made, too many misunderstandings have come up between the white men about the Indians. If the white man wants to live in peace with the Indian he can live in peace.”²⁴⁴ The prisoners held at Fort Marion, however, evidenced Americans’ disbelief at this fact.

“The Indians Off”

²⁴¹ Nelson A. Miles, “The Indian Problem,” *North American Review* 128 (March 1879): 304.

²⁴² Miles, “The Indian Problem,” 307.

²⁴³ Miles, “The Indian Problem,” 309, 311.

²⁴⁴ “An Indian’s View of Indian Affairs: Chief Joseph, 1879,” in *Voices of the American Indian Experience, Volume 2: 1878-Present*, ed. James E. Seelye Jr. and Steven A. Littleton (Denver: Greenwood, 2013), 343.

Keeping Indians imprisoned seemed profitable to Americans. The hundreds of Apache imprisoned in the fort during the 1880s also attracted scores of Americans to the Castillo to see Indians not native to Florida. Visitors also flocked to the fort due to rumors that two of the famed Indian leader Geronimo's wives were imprisoned there. *St. Johns Weekly* in 1886 foretold that hundreds would travel to see the Indians, and warned, "Look out for your scalps. Bald heads need have no fear."²⁴⁵ Advertisements to go and view the Apache were also placed in Savannah newspapers and the *Palatka Herald*.

In contrast to such cavalier attitudes about Indian incarceration, a Philadelphia newspaper in 1887, during the Apache imprisonment, ran an article entitled "Closing of a Short Season in St. Augustine: Ponce de Leon and a Gushing Fountain – the Apaches in Fort Marion – A Disgrace to the Nation." The author wrote that some of the Apache at the fort were friendly and loyal: "it is a fact as amazing as it is disgraceful that there are more among them who have fought for the government than there are who have fought against it."²⁴⁶ The article recognized that some of the American Indians the United States government was holding in the fort had at one point been scouts for the United States, and that President Arthur had even given one a medal.²⁴⁷ The author commented on how the federal government lacked ingenuity with how to deal with American Indians as it encroached on their land and decimated their populations:

There are some wild Indians in the tribe, but many of them who have been partly civilized by contact with the whites and by army training are bright, intelligent, competent men, capable of making their own way in any part of the world, and

²⁴⁵ "City Jottings," *St. Johns Weekly* (Jacksonville, FL), Saturday April 24, 1886. Page 3.

²⁴⁶ "Closing of a Short Season in St. Augustine: Ponce de Leon and a Gushing Fountain – The Apaches in Fort Marion – A Disgrace to the Nation," *Philadelphia Enquirer* (Philadelphia, PA), 1887.

²⁴⁷ "Closing of a Short Season."

the only way the government knows how to deal with these men is to shut them up in Fort Marion.²⁴⁸

Not every journalist, however, focused on the overall “Indian Question” in the United States. Some concerned themselves with the economic well being of St. Augustine. In April of 1887, the *Florida Times Union*, in an article titled “The Indians Off: St. Augustine Loses Another of its Attractions for Visitors,” lamented that this ancient city would lose a tourist attraction: “the last of those confined in the fort there having been removed at 1 o’clock this morning, a special train containing 384 Indians and 14 guards.”²⁴⁹ Some left bound for Alabama, while others moved to Pensacola, Florida, “there is now not the vestige of an Indian to be found at St. Augustine.”²⁵⁰

In 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner, American historian, at a meeting of the American Historical Association, announced that America’s frontier had been closed.²⁵¹ Turner’s statement had two meanings. First of all, that the white man’s wondrous western frontier was narrowing. Secondly, the land of the Indian was rapidly diminishing. According to historian Robert Wooster, to study Indian-government relations in the latter half of the nineteenth century, one has to take into account both themes of Gilded Age expansionism and the American military tradition.²⁵² The American military during the nineteenth century was much swayed by public opinion when it came to Indian policy. The general public, politicians, and reformers affected army policies with a mixture of admiration and hatred.²⁵³ President Rutherford B. Hayes

²⁴⁸ “Closing of a Short Season.”

²⁴⁹ “The Indians Off: St. Augustine Loses Another of its Attractions for Visitors,” *Florida Times Union* (Jacksonville, FL), April 27, 1887.

²⁵⁰ “The Indians Off: St. Augustine Loses Another of its Attractions for Visitors.”

²⁵¹ Robert Wooster, *The Military and United States Indian Policy, 1865-1903* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 1.

²⁵² Wooster, *The Military and United States Indian Policy*, 3.

²⁵³ Wooster, *The Military and United States Indian Policy*, 41-42.

supported reformers, saying: “we should not forget that they [Indians] are the aborigines of the country and called the soil their own,” while General Sherman, one of the most respected men in the military, advocated violence: “The Indian is a lazy, idle vagabond; he never labors, and has no profession except that of arms.”²⁵⁴ General Sheridan, though he too condoned the violence of Sherman, partly believed that the American Indian had been dealt a poor hand. In 1878 he wrote, “Alas for the poor savage! along came the nineteenth century progress, or whatever it may be called, to disturb their happy condition...”²⁵⁵ The nineteenth century spelled out rapid change for western Indians. And rapid change had come before, in the seventeenth century, for Florida Indians, who had long since been erased from the American landscape. It remained to be seen how both these groups would be remembered at the Castillo.

For visitors continued to visit the fort after the Apache had gone. Most ironically, the Castillo’s un-American appearance may well have contributed to the fort becoming a typical American holiday destination. Henry Flagler, Gilded Age oil tycoon and constructor of grand hotels in St. Augustine, felt that St. Augustine was an un-American town. His friend, journalist Edwin Lefevre, attested that, “It was to him [Flagler], logically enough, the most interesting place he had ever seen, the most unusual, the most un-American...This *Spanish* city was three-hundred years old.”²⁵⁶ Flagler’s construction of the St. Augustine tourist industry meant hundreds of northerners would soon arrive in droves and view the fort. Perhaps Spanish romanticism attracted Flagler to the ancient town, but an increasing array of rich and famous American visitors to St. Augustine in

²⁵⁴ Wooster, *The Military and United States Indian Policy*, 46, 48.

²⁵⁵ Wooster, *The Military and United States Indian Policy*, 49.

²⁵⁶ Lefevre, quoted in Thomas Graham, *Mr. Flagler’s St. Augustine* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2014), 53.

the late nineteenth century turned St. Augustine and Fort Marion into unique American tourist destinations.

The First Tour Guide

George M. Brown, an ordnance sergeant, was what one would call the first tour guide of the Castillo de San Marcos, educating the masses that toured the insides of the fort. He was one of the few early writers to discuss fort labor, but again mainly focused on Spanish history and *desired* the fort to be a relic of romanticized medieval history. A New Yorker, enlisting in the United States Army in 1861 and fighting with the Army of the Potomac throughout the Civil War, he later ended up out west in the Indian wars, fighting against the Northern Cheyenne in 1875 and at the Battle of Sand Creek in 1878.²⁵⁷ After becoming an ordnance sergeant in 1884, he was sent to Fort Marion on June 23, 1885, later to be placed in charge of St. Augustine's St. Francis Barracks, the National Cemetery, and the Anastasia Island battery.²⁵⁸ He became enamored with the history and sites of his new station, writing *Ponce de Leon Land and Florida War Record* in 1902.

In this manuscript he covered the early colonial history of Florida and even outlined the role that the indigenous people in Florida played in early colonial rivalries and in building defensive structures. He noted that a cacique gave the Spanish a cabin, around which the Spaniards drew a fort outline and the first lines of defense in La Florida.²⁵⁹ Indians then became a labor source. According to Brown, by 1640, Spaniards had subdued Apalachee Indians and forced them to work on fortifications: these included

²⁵⁷ George M. Brown, *Ponce de Leon Land and Florida War Record* (St. Augustine: 1901), i.

²⁵⁸ Brown, *Ponce de Leon Land*, i.

²⁵⁹ Brown, *Ponce de Leon Land*, 72-73.

two large towers, and the interior and exterior walls of the Castillo, sixteen feet apart.²⁶⁰

Apalachee Indians were forced to work on the fort for sixty years, sometimes alongside convicts from Mexico, digging ditches, building ramparts, building the glacis, and lugging coquina from the quarries.²⁶¹

Of the fort he had to say: “it is a noble fortification, requiring one hundred cannon and one thousand men to defend it,” only strengthened by the United States’ addition of the water battery and hotshot furnace in 1842.²⁶² He was fascinated with the plans for the fort, a trapezium with outer walls nine feet at the terreplein and twelve feet at the base, built of *coquina* harvested nearby, with interior walls three feet thick.²⁶³ His fascination teetered on the brink of the morbid as he thought back to all those imprisoned in the fort and all those he imagined to have been tortured in the fort, a fanciful speculation of Spanish history:

Of the legends connected with its dark chambers and prison vaults, the chains, the instruments of torture, the skeletons walled in its secret recesses, of Coacoochee’s escape, and many other tales there is much to say; but it is better said within its grim walls....²⁶⁴

Coacoochee, briefly imprisoned at the fort during the Second Seminole War, Brown wrote, had starved himself and slipped through the bars on the window.²⁶⁵ Brown disseminated his knowledge of the fort as ghost tour guides do today. He meant to display the fort as a site of intrigue, power, and death. He wrote that there were two skeletons, one man and one woman, found in iron cages bolted to the wall of one casement. However, seeing as he also mistakenly wrote about bullet holes from

²⁶⁰ Brown, *Ponce de Leon Land*, 73.

²⁶¹ Brown, *Ponce de Leon Land*, 75.

²⁶² Brown, *Ponce de Leon Land*, 71, 75.

²⁶³ Brown, *Ponce de Leon Land*, 74.

²⁶⁴ Brown, *Ponce de Leon Land*, 75.

²⁶⁵ Brown, *Ponce de Leon Land*, 76.

executions on the exterior wall of the fort, one cannot take all of Brown's tales as truths.²⁶⁶ He advertised the fort as "one of the few places on this continent that takes us back to the feudal ages," perhaps benefiting economically from the awe his tales inspired in travelers.²⁶⁷ Brown used romantic imagery in his manuscript and alluded to an earlier age in Spain's empire, to elicit curiosity from his visitors.

Overall, Brown highlighted the fort's connection to Spanish colonial dominion: "It should be remembered that within these walls served some of the best and bravest of the Spanish nobility, and at its altar some of its best missionaries have celebrated mass and preached the word of our Redeemer."²⁶⁸ He admired the fort because it symbolized strength, the strength of the Spanish. He admitted the Indian role in its foundation and construction, yet the Indians were the picture of the downtrodden in this story. They labored alongside convicts. They languished there as prisoners. There was no Indian crest above the ravelin. When Brown asked the question, "Who can say that this is not one of the most historical points in all our broad land?" he had in mind European-American history.²⁶⁹ That is the history of the fort that has been disseminated in kind ever since.

Conclusion

Florida's indigenous population had contributed largely to the construction of the fort, which in the nineteenth century, proved to be a prison for other groups of America's indigenous peoples. Anglo-Americans overall always viewed the Castillo as a significant structure, but did so because of the mighty imperial Spanish history they associated with

²⁶⁶ Brown, *Ponce de Leon Land*, 78-79.

²⁶⁷ Brown, *Ponce de Leon Land*, 79.

²⁶⁸ Brown, *Ponce de Leon Land*, 79.

²⁶⁹ Brown, *Ponce de Leon Land*, 79.

it. In the nineteenth century, the seeds of site preservation took root at the fort, but had to do with the military and the Spanish, not with the American Indians; neither those who had built said fort nor those who suffered as captives inside its walls.

Emerson, at least, did forever memorialize Florida Indians in his poem “St. Augustine” during his stay in Florida. Or rather, he memorialized their absence. After musing on the romantic Spanish origins of the Castillo, he noticed the lack of the Florida Indians in town: “Alas! red men are few, red men are feeble,/They are few and feeble & must pass away.”²⁷⁰ Emerson knew nothing about the other groups of Indians that would inhabit the fort, nor could he have guessed how Indians would be represented there in the following century. The next chapter looks to analyze the Castillo de San Marcos brought into the present day, and how the National Park Service and visitors to the fort have interpreted its Spanish and Indian pasts in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

²⁷⁰ Emerson, “St. Augustine,” in Griffin, “Ralph Waldo Emerson in St. Augustine,” 130.

Chapter Three

The Castillo de San Marcos: Preservation and Commemoration

In June 1921, the War Department considered Fort Marion devoid of military value and tentatively listed it for disposal. Major William C. Lamén, a U.S. Engineer District Officer from Jacksonville, opposed this action vehemently, stating, “To allow a spot so... connected with the history of this country to pass into the hands of private parties... would outrage local public sentiment in a manner...[that] would follow the suggestion that Washington’s Monument... be disposed of.”²⁷¹ To compare the Castillo with a patriotic site such as Washington’s monument spoke to how both locals and tourists saw the fort as being integral to America’s origin narrative. Lamén’s sentiments were echoed vociferously time and time again in the twentieth century as New Deal programming sought to restore and preserve the Florida fort. As a result, the site has flourished as a National Monument, exhibiting Spanish colonial history to hundreds of thousands of visitors every year.

The Castillo de San Marcos began its preservation movement, however, in the nineteenth century, decades before it was deemed a National Monument. In the introduction to the journal *The Public Historian: A Centennial History, the National Park Service*, John H. Sprinkle Jr. quoted historian Robin Winks as having said that one can “learn about a country’s national character by charting the ‘changing fashions’ within its

²⁷¹ Major William Lamén quoted in Luis Rafael Arana, “Defenses and Defenders at St. Augustine,” in *El Escribano: St. Augustine Journal of History* 36 (1999): 172.

historic preservation movement.”²⁷² The preservation effort at the Castillo has continued for nuanced reasons, dependent on time period. In the early years of Florida statehood, locals treasured the Castillo for the romantic and imperial Spanish past of which it reminded them. At the Castillo’s earliest stages of restoration, they recognized it as an impressive coastal fortification. Travelers then valued its unique European architecture. Now, hopefully, we preserve the site in order to have a place to commemorate multiple groups of people who lived and died there. This chapter analyzes the preservation efforts at the Castillo in the twentieth century as well as its ongoing historical interpretation.

Seeds of the Preservation Effort

About half a century after Florida obtained statehood, Fort Marion was attracting the highest echelons in the federal government. Former President Ulysses S. Grant held a reception at Fort Marion in 1878, and President Chester Arthur became the first sitting president to visit St. Augustine, in 1883. Flooding had damaged the fort, and contractors building a new seawall furthered weakened the fort’s structure by carrying stones away from the site. Presidential visitors made Washington D.C. aware of these faults, and Congress presented a grant to restore the Castillo, embedded within an act making appropriations for fortifications and other works of defense. It allowed, “For the preservation of Fort Marion, at Saint Augustine, Florida, and for the enclosure and improvement of the grounds attached to the same...five thousand dollars.”²⁷³ Arthur was

²⁷² Robin Winks quoted in John H. Sprinkle Jr., “Introduction: National Parks and National Character,” in *The Public Historian: A Centennial History, the National Park Service* 38, no. 4 (2016): 12.

²⁷³ *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from December, 1883, to March, 1885 and Recent Treaties, Postal Conventions, and Executive Proclamations. Edited, printed, and published under the authority of an act of Congress, and under the direction of the Secretary of State* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), 159, <http://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/48th-congress/c48.pdf>. This act

so impressed with Fort Marion that he signed the \$5,000 appropriation bill in 1884 for the restoration and preservation of the fort.²⁷⁴ This federal grant followed sums bestowed in earlier years, notably the \$20,000 congressional appropriation in 1835 for repairs to the fort and seawall. The funding was still a military measure, meant to strengthen an old fortification, but was brought about in this decade by increased presidential attention.²⁷⁵

In an 1892 article from *The Chautauquan*, journalist A.M. Fuller wrote that Fort Marion was a most interesting “relic of the olden time,” in a well-preserved state, “carefully guarded and kept in repair by the United States government.”²⁷⁶ The 1884 preservation grant had provided for the necessary restorative work. Locals were once more proud of the Castillo’s appearance. Florida even produced a facsimile of the fort at the 1893 World’s Fair in Chicago.

Fuller accepted the fort’s history to be romantic, “but still more romantic than the record of sieges and political mutations would be the story of those who from time to time have been confined within its walls.”²⁷⁷ Fuller could have been discussing Indians or Spaniards in his article. If he had in mind Indian prisoners, Fuller then represented how nineteenth-century history was being interpreted at Fort Marion. The fort was still recognized in the late nineteenth century for its colonial history, but now also, by some,

was found amongst others stipulating \$400,000 to the arming of sea-coast forts, mandating tests of rifled cannon, and relegating the sale of smoothbore cannon for experimental purpose only.

²⁷⁴ Marcia Lane, “Presidential Days in the Nation’s Oldest City,” *St. Augustine Record*, February 15, 2010, <http://www.staugustine.com/news/local-news/2010-02-15/presidential-days-nations-oldest-city>.

²⁷⁵ President Grover Cleveland came to St. Augustine in 1888, having been invited to the Sub-Tropical Exposition of Florida. Fort Marion held a twenty-one-gun salute for him. Graham, *Mr. Flagler’s St. Augustine*, 161-162.

²⁷⁶ A.M. Fuller, “A Bit of Old History,” *The Chautauquan; A Weekly Newsmagazine* 15 (1892): 203. The article held a nationalistic inclination to call out the Spaniards for bringing dreamy indolence and lethargy to St. Augustine on their return to the city in 1783. Fuller clearly believed St. Augustine to be a more useful port under American rule.

²⁷⁷ Fuller, “A Bit of Old History,” 210.

for its history of incarceration. Yet the fort's Indian prisoners were not to be remembered or commemorated in the same way as its Spanish soldiers.

The fort did not always represent serious efforts to commemorate the groups incarcerated within its grounds. Indeed for a couple decades the fort acted as a sports center and playground for elites. The fort's green was host to baseball games. In 1895 the U.S. Army granted permission to lay out golf links on the fort green and the St. Augustine Golf Club was formed. Flying golf balls around the fort became hazards to tourists.²⁷⁸

Fort Marion continued to draw United States presidents. In 1905, Edith Roosevelt, wife of Theodore Roosevelt, visited St. Augustine and brought three of her children to Fort Marion. When Roosevelt himself arrived in town, a large crowd gathered on the fort's gun deck and a gas company temporarily illuminated the area. Two car headlights shone down on a podium while Roosevelt gave a speech under a canopy of American flags.²⁷⁹ These presidential visits contributed to the perception of Fort Marion as an American monument, indicative of America's origins and reflective of American expansionism and wealth.

The 1920s: Bronze Plaques from the Colonial Dames

Across America from the 1890s until the 1930s, reacting to an increased foreign-born population in the United States, native-born Americans tried to Americanize

²⁷⁸ Graham, *Mr. Flagler's St. Augustine*, 175, 266, 301, 315. In 1897, the War Department closed Fort Marion to civilian visitors because of unrest in Cuba, but this lasted only for a week as St. Augustine's local army colonel insisted that, "the fort was more a tourist attraction of historical interest than a real military base." Graham, *Mr. Flagler's St. Augustine*, 341.

²⁷⁹ Graham, *Mr. Flagler's St. Augustine*, 398, 404. President Harding also visited St. Augustine, for nineteen consecutive years, and chose his cabinet in town. Lane, "Presidential Days in the Nation's Oldest City."

immigrants, instructing them in the English language, American government, and American history.²⁸⁰ A colonial revival, a movement that idolized America's origins and the Founding Fathers, was a part of this phenomenon. A lot of public art in this period was created in order to instill patriotism in new citizens. Teachers Americanized youth by taking them to historically significant places.²⁸¹ The Colonial Dames of America, a society of women descended from colonists who lived in British America, formed as a result of colonial revivalism, and their activity in St. Augustine sought to teach the public about the history of a colonial structure.

A congressional act approved bronze plaques, designed by the Colonial Dames of America, to be applied upon the façade of the Castillo. Unveiled by President-elect Warren Harding, they remained there until the late twentieth century. Mrs. Chas P. Lovell designed the plaques, Allen G. Newman, "of national reputation," sculpted them, and Paul E. Cabaret & Co. of New York City did the bronze work.²⁸² The design, as reported in an article from 1920, "faithfully embodies Mrs. Lovell's ideas for figures representing four epochs of Florida history – American Indian – Spanish Explorer – English Gentleman – American Pioneer."²⁸³ Yet the writing on the panels did not pay equal homage to each of these groups. As seen in the far left of Figure 3-1, the Dames did depict an American Indian. But the only written mentions on the bronze plaques of Indians were of one such Indian killing a "Spanish adventurer," of "a band of Apalachee Indians Captured in war...put to work on this Building," and of "famous Indians"

²⁸⁰ William B. Rhoads, "The Colonial Revival and the Americanization of Immigrants," in *The Colonial Revival in America*, ed. Alan Axelrod (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985), 341.

²⁸¹ Rhoads, "The Colonial Revival," 342.

²⁸² "Data Concerning Tablet for Fort Marion St. Augustine" Military Construction, Fort Marion. February 27, 1920. CASA Archives, St. Augustine Historical Society.

²⁸³ "Data Concerning Tablet for Fort Marion St. Augustine."

imprisoned at the fort in the nineteenth century.²⁸⁴ The plaques were riddled with errors; Apalachee were drafted into labor, not captured. The Dames made out Indians to be killers and convicts. They worshipped individual French and Spanish explorers that paved the way for an American settlement in Florida. The company doing the bronze work, Paul E. Cabaret & Co., said the project was the most “artistic and most unusual they had ever worked on.”²⁸⁵



Figure 3-1. The bronze plaques and figures that hung above the entrance (in the *plaza de armas*) of the Castillo de San Marcos until the late twentieth century. From left to the right the figures are supposed to represent the American Indian, the Spanish explorer, the English gentleman, and the American explorer. “Fort Marion Tablet. Presented to the U.S. Government. By the COLONIAL DAMES of FLORIDA At St. AUGUSTINE. FEB. 22nd 1921.” CASA Archives. Fort Caroline. National Park Service.

The unveiling of the tablets, an event the *St. Augustine Evening Record* covered in detail, took place in 1921. The procession accompanying the unveiling was called “The

²⁸⁴ “Text for bronze plaques installed over the entrance to Ft. Marion in 1920 by the Colonial Dames of America,” transcribed by Charles Tingley, CASA Archives, Fort Caroline, National Park Service.

²⁸⁵ “Data Concerning Tablet for Fort Marion St. Augustine.”

Change of Flags Over the Old Fort.”²⁸⁶ The flags carried in the ceremony were the 1638 Spanish Cross of Burgundy, the 1763 British flag, the 1783 old Spanish standard, the 1821 United States flag, the 1861 Confederate flag, and the 1921 American “Flag we Love Best,” quite a patriotic statement.²⁸⁷ By then the American flag flew over the Spanish fort and the fort was to be a point of pride for both Florida and the nation as a whole. The unveiling ceremony very much felt like a military affair. Veterans from World War I attended, along with Company F, the old Jacksonville Rifles, President-elect Harding, senators, majors, and generals.²⁸⁸ The fort was continuously a place of military boasting. The event was held on George Washington’s birthday and the one-hundredth anniversary of the United States’ purchase of Florida from Spain.²⁸⁹ The Dames’ bronze plaques may have acknowledged the Indians as being part of Florida’s past, but Florida was now an American prize. It was celebrated for its longevity as a conquest for Americans of European descent. The time of the Indian in Florida was seen as a base step, from which Florida evolved to foster European and American values.

Yet despite the military nature of the unveiling ceremony, a transition had taken place in the fort in 1900. Fort Marion was no longer an active defensive fortification. The fort was to be defined in the twentieth century solely as a tourist destination. When, in June of 1921, the War Department provisionally listed the fort for disposal and Major Lamien voiced his opposition, Fort Marion’s status as America’s oldest fortification was cited as reason for its preservation.²⁹⁰ Its architectural style was almost extinct and the

²⁸⁶ “Part of Program Tablet Unveiling Given Herewith,” *St. Augustine Evening Record* (St. Augustine, FL), February 19, 1921.

²⁸⁷ “Part of Program Tablet Unveiling Given Herewith.”

²⁸⁸ “Part of Program Tablet Unveiling Given Herewith.”

²⁸⁹ “Tablet Unveiling at Fort Marion on February 22nd,” *Evening Record* (St. Augustine, FL), February 18, 1921.

²⁹⁰ Arana, “Defenses and Defenders,” 171.

bronze tablets from the Colonial Dames had just been erected. Lamen's full quotation was:

To allow a spot so intimately connected with the history of this country to pass into the hands of private parties or to be controlled by state or municipal authorities would outrage local public sentiment in a manner somewhat similar to what would follow the suggestion that Washington's Monument or Arlington Cemetery be disposed of.²⁹¹

To additionally compare the local significance of Fort Marion to that of Arlington Cemetery meant that St. Augustinians saw the fort as a memorial to the city's past and saw that past as integral to America's identity. This growing attitude ensured the preservation of the fort.

Continuing examination of the fort's environs contributed to interest in its past and dredged up the history of groups of people the public had been keen to ignore. In the 1920s at the fort, the *St. Augustine Evening Record* brought to locals' attention the unearthing of human remains on the river side of North Beach. One skeleton was found with nine brass rings, remnants of black silk, and blue and pink beads.²⁹² The first of a pair of stories, published on April 24, speculated on the cause of death of this presumed woman and why a woman would die with so many rings. Two days later, the *Evening Record* published a follow up article titled, "Skeleton May Have Been of Indian." William F. Brown, custodian of the fort at the time, told the *Evening Record* that three Indians, two men and one woman, died thirty years ago in the fort and were buried in an unmarked grave near North Beach point.²⁹³ The dates were not exact, but the article continued, "Many in St. Augustine will remember the quartering of a band of Indians,

²⁹¹ Major William Lamen quoted in Arana, "Defenses and Defenders," 172.

²⁹² "Mystery Solved Only By Accident," *St. Augustine Evening Record* (St. Augustine, FL), April 24, 1923.

²⁹³ "Skeleton May Have Been of Indian," *St. Augustine Evening Record* (St. Augustine, FL), April 26, 1923.

said to have been Apaches from the west, in the old fortress.”²⁹⁴ At the request of the tribe, allegedly, the deceased individuals were buried near the ocean with certain significant items.²⁹⁵ These articles speak to how quickly St. Augustinians forgot, or never commemorated in the first place, the burial of Indian prisoners who died at the fort. Less than one generation after the Apache incarceration, when a skeleton was unearthed at North Beach, the public was flummoxed about the identity of the body, and what these brass rings signified. It took another article from the local paper to remind the public of the Indian deaths, and that Apache “from the west” had once resided “in the old fortress.” There was soon to be an increase in activity at the fort that further distracted locals from past accounts of captive Indians dwelling amidst them. In an effort to stimulate job growth and an interest in American historic sites, the federal government funded historical research and restoration projects at the Castillo.

The 1930s: Era of the National Park Service and the New Deal

After a fire destroyed the St. Augustine Historical Society’s collections in 1914, the War Department allowed the Historical Society to use the Castillo as its headquarters.²⁹⁶ In 1924, after a Historical Society campaign, the federal government named Fort Marion a National Monument. And in 1933 with the Historic Sites Act, the War Department transferred the fort to the National Park Service.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ “Skeleton May Have Been of Indian.”

²⁹⁵ “Skeleton May Have Been of Indian.” I have trouble believing Apache people were buried near the ocean at the request of family members, since the Apache were from the southwest, lived away from the ocean, and did not eat fish because doing so was a “powerful cultural taboo.” In general, they feared large bodies of water. H. Henrietta Stockel, *Survival of the Spirit: Chiricahua Apaches in Captivity* (Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1993), 70.

²⁹⁶ Luis Arana and Albert Manucy, *The History of Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine, Florida*, (St. Augustine: Historic Print & Map Co., 2005), 58.

²⁹⁷ Arana and Manucy, *The History of Castillo*, 58.

In fact in 1933, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt transferred administrative authority over *all* National Parks, Monuments, and Cemeteries to the National Park Service, granting the Park Service a central role in educating the American public about its history.²⁹⁸ But the National Park Service was not the sole federal organization to make its mark on the fort in the 1930s. During the Great Depression, the Civil Works Administration justified employing archivists, translators, educators, and librarians at Fort Marion in order to more accurately interpret the period of Spanish colonial history in Florida.

In a memo simply titled “Justification,” members working on the CWA project at Fort Marion outlined the importance of employing men to preserve these colonial sites. The men would collect and catalog materials relating to the fort’s history, “for the purpose of their more accurate interpretation.”²⁹⁹ Their aims were also to microphotograph materials and place them in the “Fort Marion library” so that technicians and students could access research materials. They wanted to translate Spanish documents, focusing especially on descriptions of features.³⁰⁰ Though federal employees recognized that the fort’s history ranged across four centuries, justifiers of the CWA project seemed to regard the fort’s Spanish colonial beginnings as its sole reason for preservation: “It is essential that all important documentary material relative to these fortifications be made easily accessible to the Technicians at Fort Marion for study and

²⁹⁸ Michael G. Schene, “The National Park Service and Historic Preservation: An Introduction,” *The Public Historian* 9, no. 2 (1987): 7.

²⁹⁹ “Justification.” Memo, CASA Archives, St. Augustine Historical Society.

³⁰⁰ “Justification.”

constant reference, especially since this field of Spanish-American history is a very specialized one.”³⁰¹

Herbert Kahler, fort historian, wrote a letter in 1933 to the University of Florida’s Employment Bureau, after the CWA suggested that five college-trained men conduct a historical educational program and research at Fort Marion and Fort Matanzas, a smaller fort that had guarded St. Augustine’s southern river entrance. Kahler, familiar with skills necessary to interpret the fort, described the skills most suitable for the positions in St. Augustine. He noted the men best be disciplined in history, with Spanish reading skills preferred. Kahler requested one historical supervisor, two skilled men, and two semi-skilled men, and wished the CWA to send him the names of candidates.³⁰² Ellis Crenshaw, the personnel director of the Federal Civil Works Administration of Florida, responded to Kahler a week later, professing the CWA did not yet have those history-trained college men but would seek them out.³⁰³ Three days later, a Hawkins Jr. wrote to Herbert Kahler from Gainesville, Florida. He had heard about the historic monuments survey Kahler was beginning and wanted to apply for work as an architectural draftsman. In such ways, the CWA found personnel to work on historical preservation at the fort.

Fort Marion continued to be the site of federal projects under the Works Progress Administration. In 1933 the WPA conducted an Historic American Buildings Survey on the fort, compiling forty-one photographs, twenty-one measured drawings, and four pages of data on the historic fortification. Below are two of the photographs from that

³⁰¹ “Justification.” The funds needed for photographic supplies, artists and draftsman supplies, photostats of maps, index cards, shellac for preserving book covers, binders, boxes, and reels, amounted to \$353.

³⁰² Herbert Kahler to Employment Bureau of University of Florida, December 20, 1933, CASA Archives, St. Augustine Historical Society.

³⁰³ Ellis Crenshaw, Personnel Director of Federal Civil Works Administration of Florida to Herbert Kahler, December 28, 1933, CASA Archives, St. Augustine Historical Society.

project. Figure 3-2 shows a reconstructed arch and stairway, along with a portion of the *plaza de armas* inside the fort walls. Today the National Park Service uses the space beneath that arch for restrooms, storage, and an EMT room. Figure 3-3 shows an outer drawbridge beyond the fort's walls, not in use today.

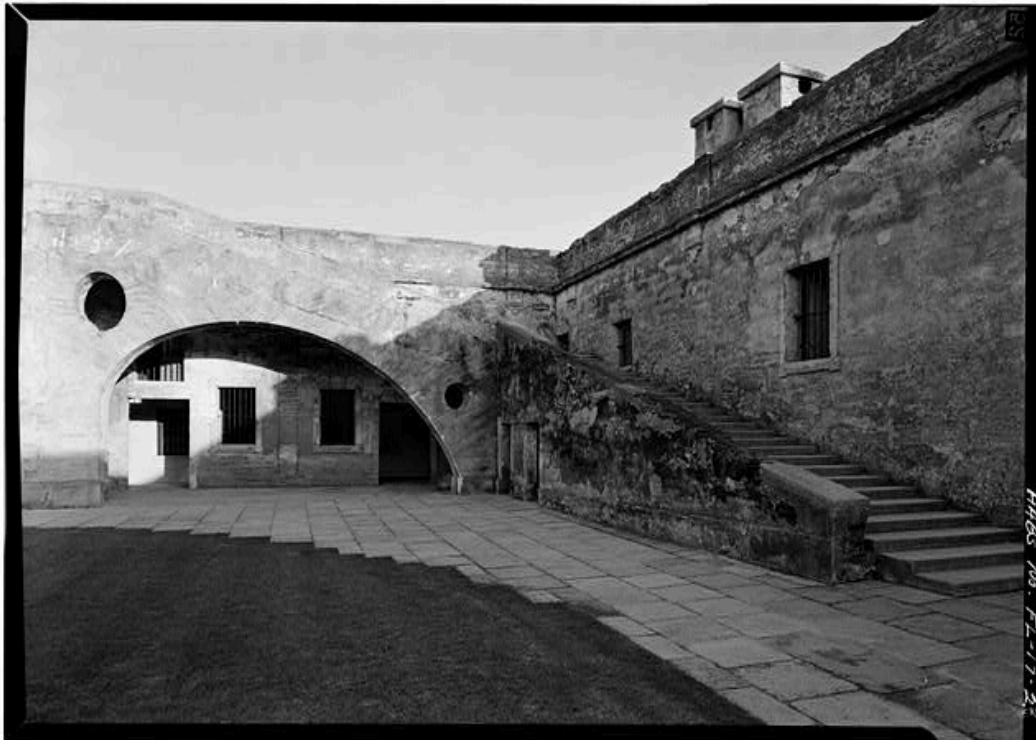


Figure 3-2. “East Wall of the Castillo Parade, Detail of Reconstructed Arch and Stairway- Castillo de San Marcos, 1 Castillo Drive, Saint Augustine, St. Johns County, FL.” Photos from Survey HABS FL-17. Library of Congress.
<https://www.loc.gov/resource/hhh.fl0095.photos/?sp=32>.



Figure 3-3. “Outer Drawbridge, Entry to the Protective Corridor Between the Ravelin and the Castillo, as Seen from within the Corridor- Castillo de San Marcos, 1 Castillo Drive, Saint Augustine, St. Johns County, FL.” Photos from Survey HABS FL-17. Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/hhh.fl0095.photos/?sp=34>.

As evidenced by Figure 3-4, in 1938, the Department of the Interior issued posters showcasing Fort Marion’s status as a National Monument belonging to the National Park Service. This was a drive to promote tourism to the fort and the city of St. Augustine while restoration was ongoing.

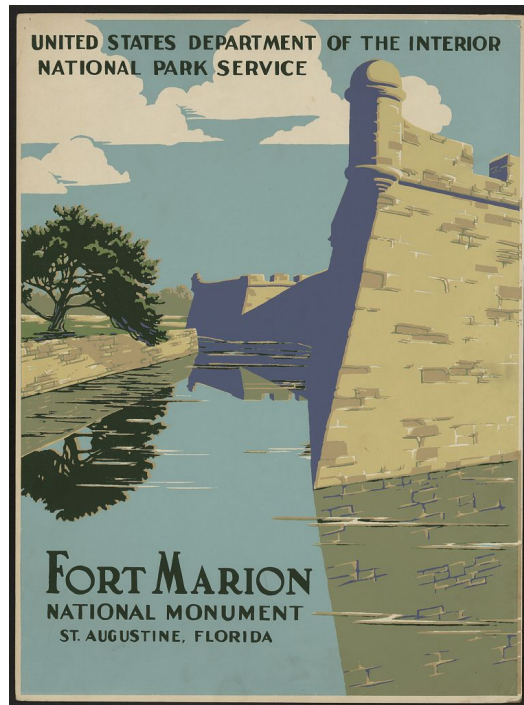


Figure 3-4. “Fort Marion National Monument, St. Augustine, Florida.” 1938. Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2007676130/>. The fort’s moat was historically a dry moat, but in the 1930s, misinformed keepers filled in the moat with water, damaging the *coquina* blocks of the fort.

In August 1938, a proposal was written to spend \$79,171 of Works Progress Administration funds on additional restoration at Forts Marion and Matanzas. The proposed funds would also support a project to employ professional, educational, and clerical workers, who might translate Spanish manuscripts.³⁰⁴ The goal was to use unemployed proofreaders, translators, and stenographers to analyze manuscripts relating to Spanish Florida: “There are in the Library of Congress thousands of pages of hitherto unpublished manuscripts and maps that have definite bearing upon the early history of Florida which this project proposes to copy and make available to libraries and

³⁰⁴ Works Progress Administration Project Proposal, WPA Form 301, August 15, 1938, CASA Archives, St. Augustine Historical Society.

universities.”³⁰⁵ Requesting federal aid, the project declared early Spanish Florida history to be untapped and most useful to America’s universities and libraries.

Throughout the entire New Deal era, the fort was represented as an inspiring emblem of the Spanish New World, without much discussion of the fort as a site of Florida Indian erasure or western Indian imprisonment.

Continuing Spanish historical interpretation, the WPA set up a White Collar Project on April 7, 1938 to provide ameliorated guide service to visitors, previous guides being War Department-sanctioned George Brown or members of the Historical Society.³⁰⁶ By August of 1938, tours were conducted every thirty minutes at the fort.³⁰⁷ Herbert Kahler wrote to a regional director of the National Park Service in August 1938 requesting a supply of leaflets for the educational guide work ongoing at Fort Marion. He said that, especially since there was a fee to enter and tour the Castillo casemates, visitors expected a piece of literature to take home. Under an Emergency Relief Appropriations project provision, Kahler maintained, employees at the fort should be able to buy materials to further stimulate research in and tourism at Fort Marion.³⁰⁸

In the twentieth century, the fort played a significant part in the local community, not only in bringing in tourists but in playing host to citywide events. As a National Monument, Fort Marion has been the site of both religious services and public celebration for decades. A 1939 article in the *St. Augustine Record* titled, “Mediaeval Castle Battlements Background for Easter Sunrise Service,” summarized the history of

³⁰⁵ Works Progress Administration Project Proposal.

³⁰⁶ “Memo on Purpose, Scope, and Work Accomplished by Project 305-3-12, the White Collar Project, set up April 7, 1938,” August 1938, CASA Archives, St. Augustine Historical Society.

³⁰⁷ “Memo on Purpose, Scope, and Work Accomplished by Project 305-3-12.”

³⁰⁸ Herbert E. Kahler to the Regional Director, Region 1, of the National Park Service. St. Augustine, Florida. August 12, 1938, CASA Archives, St. Augustine Historical Society.

the fort while reporting on the Easter festivities held there. This article did recognize Florida Indian presence at the site of the Castillo, noting the fort was, “a monument to Spanish history in Florida, a history which is largely the dramatic story of widespread missionary efforts among the Indians of the southeast” and stated also that the desire for Indian conversions was the main reason for maintaining the St. Augustine presidio.³⁰⁹ Yet the article did not mention the Indian labor force drafted to build the fort or the food staples from the mission towns that sustained fort labor.

Unaware of these facts, the general public continued to enjoy the fort as a background to various ceremonies in the twentieth century, while federal programs enlisted the aid of academics to delve deeper into the fort’s history. Emergency Relief Appropriation staff completed work under supervision of the National Park Service in late 1939 through June 1940. Their work combined aspects of maintenance and preservation of the site. In 1939 they cut grass, strengthened the seawall by adding one hundred cubic yards of broken concrete at its base, mulched eight acres of the green, and laid out a parking area for visitors coming to see the fort.³¹⁰ Yet they also changed the landscape of the fort’s interior. ERA workers removed etched names and other markings from sixteen casements. They also reconstructed twenty-three fire steps leading to the gun deck.³¹¹ The 1940 ERA crew did such modern technical work as installing an

³⁰⁹ F. Hilton Crowe, “Mediaeval Castle Battlements Background for Easter Sunrise Service: History Summarized,” *St. Augustine Record* (St. Augustine, FL), April 7, 1939. The fort retained symbols of St. Augustine’s continued reliance on religion. There was always a chapel in the fort. There had also been an ever-burning lamp before the tabernacle, which was extinguished in 1763 when the British took control of the Castillo. In 1913, Easter services started to be held at the fort for the community of St. Augustine, with the San Carlos bastion serving as the pulpit for ministers.

³¹⁰ “ERA Work accomplished under the Supervision of the National Park Service, July 1 to Dec. 31, 1939,” United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southeastern National Monuments, Fort Marion National Monument, St. Augustine, Florida, January 24, 1940, CASA Archives, St. Augustine Historical Society.

³¹¹ “ERA Work accomplished July 1 to Dec. 31, 1939.”

electric system, but they also removed the early American door by the drawbridge, attempting to restore the fort's entrance to an earlier Spanish colonial appearance.³¹² The ERA workers of the mid-twentieth century contributed to both the upkeep of a working modern museum site as well as historic preservation projects.

The National Park Service's E.M. Lisle drew up a report of the total work accomplished at Fort Marion and sent it to Washington D.C. Washington found the reports critical and requested rapid submission of additional reports for areas worked on.³¹³

The 1940s: The Effort to Reflect Florida's Origins

Simultaneous to preservation efforts at the fort, the state of Florida sought approval from the federal government to change Fort Marion's name back to the Castillo de San Marcos. Both local and state representatives saw the old Spanish name as "more indicative of the historical name and significance of the ancient fortification."³¹⁴ Though the fort was now an American one, one hundred years after the Spanish ceded Florida to the United States, Floridians still saw the fort as emblematic of their state's Spanish origins. The *St. Augustine Record* wrote that the monument marked the site of the first permanent white settlement in the United States and was "one of the few remnants of the Spanish empire that once existed in the southeastern area."³¹⁵ Once a bill was introduced to Congress to change the fort's name, the *Record* wrote a piece on the public's effort in

³¹² "ERA Work accomplished July 1 to Dec. 31, 1939."

³¹³ E.M. Lisle, Acting Associate Regional Director, "Memorandum for Inspector Vinten," United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Region One, Richmond, Virginia, January 16, 1940, CASA Archives, St. Augustine Historical Society.

³¹⁴ "Spanish Name For Old Fort Sought Again: State of Florida Joins City in Movement," *St. Augustine Record* (St. Augustine, FL), May 10, 1939.

³¹⁵ "Spanish Name For Old Fort Sought Again."

this endeavor, stating the present name of Fort Marion had no connection with the history of St. Augustine. The *Record* openly advocated the restoration of the fort's Spanish name, which it felt represented its true identity. The paper's editors believed the bill to be a surety:

Here is one bill which should not cause Congressmen any headaches or heart aches. It does not take any great amount of pondering as to whys and wherefores. It is rooted in history, and represents also the flowering of public sentiment as a result of increased interest in such history.³¹⁶

This telling statement marks a public interest in Spanish history, and most likely romanticized Spanish history. Newspapers and bills that highlight interest in historical roots always imply interest in *Spanish* roots, the visible history of Florida. This is evidenced by the push to change the fort's name back to the Castillo de San Marcos. As the *St. Augustine Record* stated in February of 1940, "many visitors here cannot understand why an old Spanish fort should be named Fort Marion."³¹⁷ Visitors saw the fort as a Spanish stronghold and expected a Spanish name to be associated with it. In 1942, Bill HR 3937 passed the Senate to change the fort's name officially back to the Castillo de San Marcos. The American government, having just entered World War II, was confident in the idea of an American national identity. It thereby felt secure enough to recognize the Spanish history of Florida and abandon the English name of a former military structure. Almost two hundred descendants and connections of families living in St. Augustine prior to Florida's transfer to the United States, as well as the Daughters of

³¹⁶ "Easy Restoration Phase," *St. Augustine Record* (St. Augustine, FL), February 9, 1940.

³¹⁷ "Bill to Restore Spanish Name To Old Fort Here Introduced Into Congress By Hendricks," *St. Augustine Record* (St. Augustine, FL), February 8, 1940.

the American Revolution, also signed the bill.³¹⁸ It seemed people of all patriotic persuasions agreed that the fort was a Spanish relic and should be recognized as such in name.

Historian Luis Arana argued as well that the name Castillo de San Marcos reflected better the historical significance of the fortification:

It is the visible reminder of a history pre-dating that of any other part of the present United States...it is foreign, which psychologically, up to a point, intrigues and attracts people. Visitors come to St. Augustine because the Castillo is the embodiment of that history.³¹⁹

In March 1942, General Theodore Roosevelt, former governor of Puerto Rico, governor-general of the Philippine Islands, and son of former President Theodore Roosevelt, visited the fort with his wife on holiday. He was intrigued most in the Spanish phase of the fort's history because of the time he had spent in Puerto Rico and the Philippines.³²⁰ In June of 1942, the current President Roosevelt at last signed the passed bill to change the fort's name. The article reporting the event claimed: "a restoration of the old Spanish name is felt in many quarters to be important to the quaint and historic atmosphere of this ancient town, which in normal times is one of the great centers of the nation for history-minded folks."³²¹ One can assume that the author of the article was contrasting "normal times" with wartime. But even in the midst of World War II, the Castillo de San Marcos maintained roles of both tourist destination and military center.

In the 1940s, the Castillo served as the site of commencement ceremonies for the local coast guard officers' school. The *St. Augustine Record* detailed a graduation

³¹⁸ "U.S. Senate Joins House in Voting To Restore Former Name to Fort; Bill Goes to FDR For Signature: Telegrams Come From Senator Chas. O. Andrews," *St. Augustine Record* (St. Augustine, FL), May 28, 1942.

³¹⁹ Arana, "Defenses and Defenders," 173.

³²⁰ "Old Fort Gets Attention of Noted Figure," *St. Augustine Record* (St. Augustine, FL), March 12, 1942.

³²¹ "President Signs Bill Changing Name of Fort," *St. Augustine Record* (St. Augustine, FL), June 9, 1942.

ceremony in 1944 at the Castillo de San Marcos. The article stated that, “smartly attired officers, the marching men, and the airs of martial music seemed to blend perfectly with the ancient coquina fortress which played so many heroic roles during the wars of years long past.”³²² The description of the fort’s role in past military skirmishes in this article was extraordinarily vague. The author seemed to desire to link the fort to American military prowess and national narrative, but the fort, only in American hands since the 1820s, did not witness any American battles.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, the National Park Service allowed the military to use National Parks and Monuments all around the country for the American war effort as long as sites were not permanently damaged.³²³ The U.S. Coast Guard, as discussed, used the Castillo. It turned the fort’s casemates into classrooms, used the parade grounds for drills, and used the *plaza de armas* for graduations. Rooms along the west wall were reserved for the Gunner’s Mate school. The Army set up tents along the seawall.³²⁴ The *St. Augustine Record* article added that Park Service historian Albert Manucy, whose work on the Spanish colonial period was invaluable to this thesis, wrote in January of 1943 that visitors to the fort in wartime were “gratified at this evidence of war effort in this famous structure.”³²⁵ People looked at the fort and saw a successful military fortification. The resilient fort symbolized the might of a once vast Spanish regime and again in World War II it symbolized embedded military strength. The public felt so secure in this fort that the United Service Organization was rumored to have held

³²² “Twenty-Nine Graduates of Local Coast Guard Officers School In This City Get Diplomas At Fort: Rear Admiral James Pine, of U.S. Coast Guard Academy Is Speaker; Captain Rosenthal Presides,” *St. Augustine Record* (St. Augustine, FL), March 7, 1944.

³²³ “Share WWII stories relating to Castillo,” *St. Augustine Record* (St. Augustine, FL), June 19, 2011.

³²⁴ “Share WWII stories relating to Castillo.”

³²⁵ “Share WWII stories relating to Castillo.”

parties at the fort, bandstand and bars included.³²⁶ After World War II, the Castillo resumed its status as a tourist destination emphasizing Spanish colonial history. It has remained in St. Augustine a site that epitomizes the Spanish origins of Florida. But where do historians interpret the history of other groups present at Florida's founding, or groups present at Florida's transference to the United States?

After America's bicentennial, the National Park Service vowed to place special emphasis in its historical interpretation on relevancy, diversity, and inclusion, all of which are themes that take heightened meaning in a site such as the Castillo de San Marcos, as we see a lack of American Indian representation on site.³²⁷ In her 2015 dissertation, Carla Mora-Trejos suggested that the work has begun: "The United States National Park Service has dedicated resources and effort to determine ways to keep units in the national park service relevant in a changing world."³²⁸ The National Park Service and other historic organizations must continue to value diversity and inclusion, and emphasize Indian relevancy at the St. Augustine colonial fort and all heritage sites in Florida.

Modern Day Commemoration of Monuments and Heritage Sites

The Castillo, and nearby St. Augustine museums, are not the only regional tourist destinations that educate the public on the European presence in early America. The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve in Jacksonville encompasses the British Kingsley Plantation and the short-lived French Fort Caroline, as well as exhibits on the

³²⁶ "Share WWII stories relating to Castillo."

³²⁷ Sprinkle, "Introduction: National Parks and National Character," 13.

³²⁸ Carla Mora-Trejos, "Values Assigned to National Parks by Hispanics in the United States: Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas NM and Great Smoky Mountains NP" (PhD dissertation, Clemson University, 2015), *ii*.

Timucua Indians of northeast Florida. The National Park Service has run this site since 1988. The Florida Park Service acquired Fort Mose, originally part of the northern line of defense for St. Augustine and the site of a free black community in Spanish Florida, in 1989. The federal government dubbed it a National Historic Landmark in 1994.³²⁹ Each of these sites interprets colonial interactions with indigenous or enslaved populations in the Americas. They complement the Castillo by highlighting peoples the Spanish encountered when they held La Florida.

Elizabeth Kryder-Reid in 2016 wrote *California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Heritage*, analyzing the management and interpretation of Spanish mission history in California, stating that in fact, nothing defines California heritage more than the history of its missions.³³⁰ Kryder-Reid looks at the landscapes of Spanish colonization and their recent development into heritage sites, attesting that there is a political nature to these landscapes; that the landscapes demonstrate social inequalities of race, class, ethnicity, and religion.³³¹ There are many parallels in Kryder-Reid's assessment of California missions to St. Augustine's Castillo de San Marcos. She sees the mission sites of today as sites that delineate a romanticized Spanish past.³³² Yet at the California missions, there are memorials for the thousands of indigenous people, priests, and parishioners who are buried there.³³³ The Castillo de San Marcos is less recognized as a memorial site for indigenous peoples who lost their lives due to Spanish colonization.

³²⁹ "State's Black Heritage Comes Alive at Fort Mose," *The Jacksonville Free Press* (Jacksonville, FL), Feb. 18, 2004.

³³⁰ Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Heritage* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 2.

³³¹ Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, 2, 4.

³³² Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, 4.

³³³ Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, 4.

The most interesting parallel between Kryder-Reid's work and the synthesis of historical interpretation done at the Castillo de San Marcos is Kryder-Reid's argument that missions have not yet been understood as a continuum linking the Spanish colonial period, the birth of American nationalism, and the modern day heritage industry.³³⁴ The fort in St. Augustine was a product of the imperial age. It was meant to symbolize Spanish power and dominance and has since been understood as such. But its transformation to symbolize the period of nineteenth century American expansionism and the period of present day historical interpretation has not been analyzed. Kryder-Reid's work on the California mission system also attempts to augment an indigenous voice and an indigenous perspective just as does the work in this thesis.

Place is important for communities that have experienced trauma, Kryder-Reid states.³³⁵ Arguably, that declaration implies that concrete sites are needed to memorialize trauma and create a secure environment to commemorate lives lost or endangered. Location creates an environment to raise issues that have been intangible for generations. At the Castillo there is potential for commemoration of Indians who were part of labor *repartimiento* systems and who were incarcerated in distinct phases in the nineteenth century. Having a place to memorialize ancestors helps to build support for communities that experience trauma in the forms of discrimination, prejudice, exploitation, dislocation, or racism.

Kryder-Reid sees the California missions as continuing the use of landscape to delineate social standing. The Spanish used missions to colonize the California Indian. Today, continued techniques of social repression remain in the missions as, "ostentatious

³³⁴ Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, 6.

³³⁵ Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, 6.

display, restricted access, privileged sight lines, and links to previous regimes.”³³⁶ They have remained a reminder of Spanish colonialism. They are heritage sites, a term Kryder-Reid says passes on exclusive origin myths that are political and divisive. These types of sites are meant to make people understand themselves, and persuade groups why they might be the same as some people and different from others.³³⁷ They will retell, in their historical interpretations, constructions of race and stories of nationalism.³³⁸ Missions continue to adapt to each coming era and are not true representations of colonialism; they resist single interpretations.³³⁹ The same can be said for the Castillo. The Castillo as it stands today cannot truly represent the Spanish colonial period. It represents numerous ages and peoples.

But more markedly there has been a trend to use the Castillo to tell military history over cultural history. In *The Public Historian*, John H. Sprinkle Jr. wrote that Americans are obsessed with the past because they are “constantly appealing to that history as justification for their plans for the future.”³⁴⁰ Those who run the Castillo interpret its military history and glorify the strength it represents. Today’s interpreters appeal to and use the Castillo’s history as a Spanish citadel and War Department stronghold to justify interpreting military history, with much success. The Castillo is not used as a site to discuss ethnographic encounters, cultural history, or American Indian memory. Figure 3-5 presents modern day interpretation of the barracks for Spanish soldiers in the fort. The Park Service presents information on Spanish soldiers who lived

³³⁶ Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, 19.

³³⁷ Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, 24.

³³⁸ Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, 26.

³³⁹ Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, 183.

³⁴⁰ Sprinkle, “Introduction: National Parks and National Character,” 12.

in town but spent shifts of a few days at a time at the Castillo, similar to how modern day firemen operate out of fire stations.



Figure 3-5. “Temporary resting places – Guard Rooms of Castillo de San Marcos.”
Coasting: Scenes from Castillo de San Marcos. February 4, 2015.
<https://ohtheplaceswesees.com/2015/02/04/coasting-scenes-from-castillo-de-san-marcos/>.

The brochures the Park Service hands out to visitors today include a self-guided walking tour handout, a handout on the cannons (held on the gun deck where cannon crews do firing demonstrations), and the official National Park Service Castillo brochure. This brochure includes facts about the Castillo’s construction, the food storage casemates, the British quarters, and drilling that would have happened in the *plaza de armas*. The American Indian captives are briefly mentioned in the final paragraph of this official brochure: “The Americans renamed the Castillo Fort Marion and used it to house Indian prisoners during the Seminole War of 1835-1842... Indians captured in western

military campaigns were held there later on.”³⁴¹ But in the Castillo Timeline on the same document, the only two dates given for the nineteenth century in the Castillo’s history are the 1821 transfer of the fort to the United States and the 1825 date of renaming the Castillo to “Fort Marion.” The brochure does not give dates for Indian incarceration or details on the tribes. There is a cut-out of Osceola in one casemate that depicts in brief the Seminole incarceration, but it is not a primary exhibit. There is little physical evidence now of the Plains Indians ever being at the fort, besides a few wall drawings.³⁴² The large wooden barracks on the northern wall of the fort that the Plains Indians helped to build came down once no longer needed.³⁴³

So why are some groups connected to the Castillo remembered more than others, at least in the public eye? Communities choose to remember places of both pride and guilt, themes which both fit into the narrative of the Castillo de San Marcos.³⁴⁴ There has been military and imperial pride in the construction of such a fortress. But over the years, the fort has been a point of contention and shame as it has housed American Indians in bondage. Surely humans are more apt to emphasize sites of which they are proud. Historian Kenneth Foote wrote of terms that describe the phenomena that happen at sites that have witnessed tragedy. The term that best fits the evolution of the Castillo is “rectification,” when a site of trauma is made useful again within society and associations with traumatic events are weakened.³⁴⁵ Approximately one hundred years after the fort

³⁴¹ “Castillo de San Marcos,” Castillo de San Marcos National Monument Florida, Last Updated 2008, National Park Service.

³⁴² Diane Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners and the Trauma of Native Education* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 37.

³⁴³ Herman J. Viola, *Warrior Artists: Historic Cheyenne and Kiowa Indian Ledger Art Drawn by Making Medicine and Zotom* (Washington D.C.: National Geographic, 1998), 10.

³⁴⁴ Sprinkle, “Introduction: National Parks and National Character,” 13.

³⁴⁵ Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America’s Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 23.

was handed to the U.S., locals lobbied to enshrine this structure as an American landmark, and it stands today as a successful tourist destination teaching part of America's origin story. The National Park Service historically has embraced the pride people feel for the Castillo and the concept of America's exceptionalism.³⁴⁶

Conclusion

In terms of being a military site, it is difficult to compare the Castillo de San Marcos to the scores of American battlefields and various other forts the National Park Service protects today. It was never conquered by force and so is not the decisive symbol of any American war. Is it, therefore, to be more associated with victory or loss? Under American ownership, as Americans battled Indians both in Florida and in the west, the fort stayed a symbol of racial divide. Through Custer's demise at the site of Little Bighorn, designated a National Monument in 1946, the majority of Americans remained convinced that their white brethren were destined to push westward and rise to be a great power. As Edward Linenthal explains, "Certainly the popular memory of the Little Bighorn has been a model for the transformation of other defeats into moral victories."³⁴⁷ Americans remained absolute in believing that the time of the American Indian had passed. But victory, moral or otherwise, looked bleak, as witnessed by the Castillo. The Indian captives placed there faced partial cultural erasure.

Preservation efforts at the Castillo de San Marcos came about with the rise of nationalism. Floridians emphasized the military strength of their Castillo, as well as its "ancient" Spanish origins. Interpreters in the Castillo acknowledge American Indian

³⁴⁶ Sprinkle, "Introduction: National Parks and National Character," 16.

³⁴⁷ Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 132.

incarceration, but, in the majority of cases, not with the same energy as they do the Spanish history. For it is not a point of pride. As much as Indian and Spanish histories intersect, visitors and staff at the fort do not treat them equally. As historian Alejandra Dubcovsky wrote in her article on the English attack on the Ayubale mission settlement, Indians as part of the southern experience are rarely “as fleshed-out as their European counterparts.” But to search for and analyze Indian voices is to complete the American story: “Native voices do more than merely remind us of what could have been. They also help us see what was – and is.”³⁴⁸

The backdrop to Indian stories in Spanish St. Augustine has always been the site of this Castillo, a structure that is today still very much integrated into the lives of St. Augustinians. In the midst of my time researching in St. Augustine, I sat down with Jill Leverett, National Park Service Park Ranger and Park Volunteer Coordinator at the Castillo de San Marcos, to understand what role the fort plays in the modern day community. The Fourth of July is widely anticipated at the fort, not because of any Park Service sponsored event there, but because the city of St. Augustine puts on fireworks in Matanzas Inlet on the waterfront facing the Castillo, “so the open space of the fort grounds becomes a perfect space to watch the fireworks.”³⁴⁹ The Castillo is a gathering spot, steeped in national pride, central to the St. Augustine community. One does not quite seem to exist without the other. Leverett said, “sometimes it seems like a whole county comes and camps out for the fireworks, on the Fourth of July, for the Easter

³⁴⁸ Alejandra Dubcovsky, “‘All of Us Will Have to Pay for These Activities:’ Colonial and Native Narratives of the 1704 Attack on Ayubale,” *Native South* 10 (2017): 1, 13.

³⁴⁹ Jill Leverett, interview by Claire Barnewolt, June 29, 2017.

parade, the Christmas parade, the Celtic festival parade, any parades.”³⁵⁰ The number of city-sponsored events the fort is proximate to is astounding.

Castillo-related events are also celebrated in style on site. To commemorate the groundbreaking of the fort, October 2, 1672, volunteers organize historical interpretation on the first Saturday of October. The Park Service also commemorates Spaniards handing over the Castillo to the British in 1763 with a ceremony they call the Change of Flags, encompassing both Spanish and British reenactors, cannon firings, and the exchanging of flags.

The National Park Service monitors visitors’ reactions to all these events and is conscious of visitor engagement with exhibit space at the Castillo. Recently the National Park Service has been focusing its energy on how space in the Castillo and how materials the Park Service staff disseminates are utilized. The Castillo partners with the St. Augustine Visitor Information Center, located just across the street from the fort, which sponsored an exhibit in 2015 for the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the city. They also partner with nearby historic sites such as Fort Mose, collaborating with Mose’s Flight to Freedom event in February, which culminates in a candlelight tour at the Castillo the following weekend.³⁵¹

Outsiders to St. Augustine come to the Castillo looking to use the fortress in publications and documentaries. Television producers, the Travel Channel, and ghost hunters wish to record here. Usually these are small productions, but the occasional film crew has been spotted at the fort as well.³⁵² The vast majority of these interested parties

³⁵⁰ Leverett, interview.

³⁵¹ Leverett, interview.

³⁵² Leverett, interview.

highlight the fort as a Spanish stronghold. Spanish colonialism is still romanticized in popular culture.

Therefore, a huge draw of St. Augustine as a tourist destination is the remaining relics of a Spanish colonial era. Tourists do not know, however, that there is a National Monument in the old Spanish town. In other words, Leverett has found that visitors to the Castillo often do not realize that the fort is a National Monument, just as is the Statue of Liberty or White Sands, sites that depict either American nationalism or natural beauty.³⁵³ A tourist in St. Augustine will wander over to the Castillo de San Marcos unaware of its federal status. The impressive nature of the fort's architecture simply captures his or her eye. It is impossible for it not to.

Because of the fort's stature and because of the fort's lasting significance to St. Augustine, those who work at the Castillo de San Marcos are proud of what they do. Some staff members are St. Augustine natives and this is their hometown park; they grew up taking field trips here or relaxing on the fort green.³⁵⁴ What is needed within the fort's landscape, however, is additional commemoration dedicated to both the Florida Indians who built the fort and those American Indians who were imprisoned within its casemates.

Unknown to tourists who visit the Castillo, six Plains Indian prisoners who died there are buried close by. St. Augustine National Cemetery is several blocks away from the fort and next to the Florida National Guard Headquarters. Historian Diane Glancy writes that there lie two stones, inscribed "339" and "340," claiming to mark "6 Unknown Indians." Based on her scholarship, Indians that died in captivity at the Castillo due to disease include Sky Walker, Straightening an Arrow, Big Moccasin,

³⁵³ Leverett, interview.

³⁵⁴ Leverett, interview.

Standing Wolf, Spotted Elk, and Heap of Birds.³⁵⁵ She supposes these might be the Indians lying under stones 339 and 340.

The two stones are presented below in Figures 3-6 and 3-7. They are joined by a headstone with a cross and the inscription “Six Unknown Indians,” shown in Figure 3-8. Yet these three markers alone are not recognizable as stones marking the resting places of Indians who had once been captive at the fort. Stones 339 and 340 have no further indication whatsoever as to what lies beneath them. The Castillo de San Marcos today also does not mention to visitors that these markers exist, only blocks away. Yet these stones seem to be the closest memorials to American Indians that died at the Castillo de San Marcos.



Figure 3-6. Stone 339 in the St. Augustine National Cemetery. Photograph by Jeanette Vigliotti.

³⁵⁵ Diane Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners and the Trauma of Native Education* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 32.



Figure 3-7. Stone 340 in the St. Augustine National Cemetery. Photograph by Jeanette Vigliotti.



Figure 3-8. Headstone with a cross and the inscription “Six Unknown Indians” in the St. Augustine National Cemetery. Photograph by Jeanette Vigliotti.

This thesis has not discussed in any detail alternative memorials that currently exist to Florida Indians, but the closest site for Indian interpretation on a large scale might well be the National Park Service's Timucuan Preserve in Jacksonville, where visitors learn of 6,000 years of Florida history and culture. At the preserve, through archaeology and the story of French Fort Caroline, visitors can learn of the Timucua's society, daily life, and demise. Perhaps more of the Florida Indian stories could be told at the Castillo in similar fashion.

The Park Service staff would do well to have additional brochures incorporating American Indian narratives. They could devote a casemate to exhibit the lifeways of the Timucua, Guale, or Apalachee, those that labored on the fort. They could temporarily erect tents on the gun deck to show how the Apache lived in the 1880s. They might design a new commemorative walking tour, seek a relationship with the Seminole nation, or simply establish stronger bonds with their colleagues at the Timucuan Preserve. Additionally, the fort's staff might be able to direct visitors' gazes to nearby Indian burial sites such as the Apache interments on Anastasia Island or the Plains Indians headstones in the St. Augustine National Cemetery.

What do people come to the fort to see? The answer is overwhelmingly that tourists go to St. Augustine and the Castillo to see vestiges of the Spanish Empire. Luis Arana, National Park Service historian, said in 1988 that "what has kept the fort standing is the fact that it has always been cared for."³⁵⁶ For centuries the fort has symbolized to the general populace a romanticized Spanish origins story of America. That origins story does not fit comfortably with the history of American Indians in Florida. In terms of

³⁵⁶ Arana, "Defenses and Defenders at St. Augustine," 1.

American Indian history, at the Castillo there lies an unequal mix of erasure and commemoration depending on which group of Indians one is discussing. Though the Spaniards and Indians both built the Castillo de San Marcos, the Castillo remains, in the minds of tourists and locals alike, “an old Spanish Castle.”³⁵⁷

³⁵⁷ John James Audubon, *Letters of John James Audubon, 1826-1840*, ed. Howard Corning (Boston: The Club of Odd Volumes, 1930), 153.

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