Small Park, Large Issues:

De Soto National Memorial and the Commemoration of a Difficult History

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Cover photo: from the cover of the De Soto National Memorial visitor booklet, 1950, in the park's collection.

This administrative history exists in two formats. A printed version is available for study at the De Soto National Memoria, at the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service, and at a variety of other repositories around the United States. For more widespread access, this administrative history also exists as a PDF through the web site of the National Park Service. Please visit www.nps.gov for more information.

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Introduction

Within a National Parks system whose largest units range up to 8,000,000 acres, De Soto National Memorial's roughly 25 acres make it one of the very smallest. If one ranks all of the nearly 400 parks by number of visitors, however, the Memorial falls near the middle—drawing approximately as many visitors in a year as Bandelier National Monument (110 acres) or King's Mountain National Military Park (4,000 acres), and twice as many as either Andersonville National Historic Site (500 acres) or Walnut Canyon National Monument (3,300 acres).

And yet the challenges of establishing, designing, developing, operating, and maintaining a park do not necessarily correlate well with either size or visitation levels. Each park—even within the broad NPS categories (park, parkway, monument, memorial, battlefield, historic trail)—is in some respects uniquely challenging, uniquely rewarding, uniquely significant and appealing to the public, uniquely worthy of custodianship and preservation. In many respects, one generalizes at one's peril; each park tells a unique story, and has a unique story to tell about itself.

Nevertheless, across the entire range of types, sizes, locations, and other criteria, certain issues and challenges are common to all: managing relationships with local stakeholders, who may have had a major role in the park's founding and who may therefore harbor a quasi-proprietary interest in it; managing the integrity of the land against the pressures of development on its boundaries; relating the park's interpretive message to ongoing (and ever changing) historical scholarship; refining and updating an interpretive program within the limits of costly existing interpretive infrastructure; maintaining the park's physical environment in the face of environmental threats and hazards; navigating the perennial tension between a park's legal mandate to maintain the resource unimpaired while maximizing visitor access and enjoyment. And finally, attending to all of these concerns and demands within ever changing national budgetary and policy priorities.

Bearing these uniquenesses and commonalities in mind as we have inquired into the history of De Soto National Memorial, a half-dozen or so determinants of the park's history have emerged as salient:

- Set in a fast-growing urban area, the Memorial is a very small unit, now constrained on all sides by residential or other development at best only partly congruent with its mission.
- The Memorial's site, a low-lying point of land within an unalterably dynamic subtropical coastal ecosystem, is characterized by perennial instability (storms and high tides, hurricanes, mosquitoes and invasive species).
- While appealing in its own way, the site lacks dramatic and compelling geophysical, archeological, architectural, or other features that are the focus of so many other parks.
- The history of the Memorial is inseparable from (indeed, even to a considerable degree the product of) the long-wave tourist boom of Florida's Gulf coast—and more particularly of that of Bradenton and Manatee County.
- Within that context, the Memorial's own development has rested upon the three-legged stool of its own interpretive mandate, the city and county's drive for tourist-based development, and the special (and closely guarded) interpretive perspectives of the Hernando De Soto Historical Society and its Conquistadors.
- Those charged with maintaining, developing and operating the Memorial have had to adjust their perspectives and tactics continually to bring them into alignment with scholars' evolving understanding of De Soto and his

expedition, as well as with shifting public discourse on such matters as race, class, gender and national identity and purpose.

- To a considerable degree, the very existence of the Memorial on Shaw's Point is an artifact of a certain historical conjunction of vectors. Given a different set of vectors for De Soto historiography, west Florida development, and national economic and cultural history, the Memorial might have been established on Weedon Island near St. Petersburg (as we explain below), or at Ruskin, or at the so-called Governor Martin site in Tallahassee, or indeed at some other site as yet unfavored by scholarly consensus or archeological evidence.

The preceding Table of Contents makes a detailed rehearsal of the components of our narrative redundant, but readers may benefit from prior notice about certain of our central foci.

Chapter 1 traces the establishment of the Memorial from the precursor effort at Weedon Island in the 1920s, to the formation of the De Soto Expedition Commission in the 1930s, the placement of the Colonial Dames monument at Shaw's Point in 1939, and on through the second municipal De Soto Celebration a decade later. It pays particular attention to the politics of public ceremony, the difficult post-war circumstances of the National Park Service, the interplay of private and public interests in the acquisition of land for the Memorial, and the synergy between the national mandate to create the Memorial and the desire of local civic and business interests to boost the developmental curve of Bradenton and Manatee County.

Chapter 2 addresses park planning and development in the 1950s and 1960s, attending especially to the social, economic and cultural context of the 1950s (nationally, regionally, and locally), the advent of the national Mission 66 effort to enhance the National Parks during the 1956-66 decade, and that program's specific consequences for the Memorial.

Chapter 3 provides a brief overview of the De Soto expedition's 4,000 mile route through the southeast, highlighting important episodes from the four-year trek, identifying recurring characteristics of the interaction between De Soto's army and native peoples, and assessing past and current scholarship about the history and archeology of the expedition.

Chapter 4 examines the historical interplay between the Memorial and local institutions and issues. Key institutions and groups include the local Chamber of Commerce, Bradenton's Hernando De Soto Historical Society (HDHS), the Conquistadors (a local group of De Soto *aficionados* drawn from HDHS and active for many decades in the public celebration of De Soto through reenactments), the Catholic Church, and (of late) Native Americans. The chapter attends especially to continuities and discontinuities within public discourse concerning De Soto, the self-positioning and interactions of major groups of stakeholders, local-national and public-private synergies, and the Memorial's efforts to fulfill its statutory mandate while negotiating the sometimes turbulent waters encountered within such a complex system.

Chapter 5 focuses on the difficult task of managing and conserving the natural resources of the Memorial. It pays particular attention to efforts to maintain a stable park area on a site that (like nearly all coastal locations) features a constantly shifting and repeatedly damaged shoreline; to control a seemingly endless plague of mosquitoes endemic to the mangrove swamp within which the Memorial is situated; to deal with the loathsome red tides that have returned to some degree or other through every one of the Memorial's six decades; to meet the challenges of the mangrove ecosystem; to control and remove invasive species while protecting and nurturing indigenous ones; to cope with water pollution (especially deriving from phosphate mining and processing); and to address recurring problems of too much or too little rainfall.

Chapter 6 presents a brief history of surrounding land use and developmental pressures dating from decades before the Memorial was established but increasingly in evidence after 1920. Following the establishment of the Memorial at the end of the 1940s, the pressures emanated mainly from private developers who bought up land around it and thus foreclosed the possibility of ever adding substantially to its small acreage. Later, as surrounding lands were developed, viewshed issues came to the fore. Of particular interest are the residential subdivisions that sprang up from the late 1950s onward (and even more so after 1980), and the docks that waterside lot owners wanted to build—anathema to Memorial superintendents concerned about the "historic viewshed." Two important victories in the

ongoing struggle over public and private interests were the sale of a sizeable parcel of the Catholic Church's land on the Memorial's southwest boundary to Manatee County for a public park, and the defeat of a corporate plan to build high-rise condominiums across the river on archeologically valuable Snead Island.

Chapter 7 engages cultural resource management and preservation: the Memorial within the larger Florida pre-contact cultural system; the multinational struggle to control Florida before 1821; the history of the Shaw's Point site after 1821; the broad work of cultural investigation, management and preservation at Shaw's Point; archeologist Margo Schwadron's systematic archeological investigations there in the late 1990s; the Shaw's Point National Register of Historic Places nomination and listing; and the Memorial's small museum collection. These components of the Memorial's broader history highlight the decades-long efforts of dedicated staff members to discover and protect the site's very limited cultural artifacts and to augment them with material that would help a site where De Soto may not have landed to tell the conquistador's story.

The final chapter (Chapter 8) turns to ongoing efforts to tell that story through the Memorial's diverse interpretive programs. Those efforts fall into three phases: (1) developing rudimentary interpretive facilities and activities from the park's founding until the building of the Visitor Center (1950-67); (2) fleshing out a full interpretive program—Visitor Center exhibits, the first interpretive film, outdoor trails and exhibits, and especially the living history program (1967-98); and (3) updating features of the program that were showing their age, and adding new ones congruent with the best current scholarship and interpretive practice, and integrating the Memorial's interpretive program into emerging larger frameworks such as state and national historic trails systems (1998-present).

Throughout its now nearly sixty-year existence, De Soto National Memorial has been a small park contending with large issues. Its experience reminds us that history, like the sands upon which the Memorial stands, is dynamic and fluid. The tasks of recovering, preserving, remembering, and commemorating our histories—especially on publicly owned lands and with public funds—are always complicated by competing agendas and changing circumstances. With the greater public interest clearly in view, the Memorial's staff has navigated these challenges with remarkable skill, agility, and effectiveness.

Chapter 1

Local Agendas and National Purpose:

Establishing the De Soto National Memorial

But for the advent of the Depression of the early 1930s, the nation's memorial to Hernando De Soto's expedition would almost certainly have been established not on the shores of the Manatee River in Bradenton, Florida, but on Weedon Island near St. Petersburg, twenty miles or so to the north, and it would have been called the De Soto National Monument rather than De Soto National Memorial.[1]

As early as June 1919, prominent Tampa physician Leslie Weedon wrote to National Park Service Director Stephen T. Mather to describe a 1000-acre tract (an "island" only at high tide) lying in Tampa Bay seven miles outside St. Petersburg. Inside its tropical forest were three large shell mounds marking, he said, where people lived "before the landing there of De Soto in 1539." Unexcavated and unexplored except for Weedon's own amateur probings, the mounds had turned up aboriginal artifacts and several skeletons.[2]

Mather replied quickly that he was "tremendously interested" in the tract, which he said was "eminently worthy of attention of the Federal government," and asked for a map, a tentative deed, and a "statement of historical significance."[3] A short time later, an NPS memorandum said the area was "probably the landing place of Hernando de Soto in 1539," but asserted that Weedon's "historic assertions" would need to be verified."[4] Negotiations proceeded, with indications that Weedon might donate forty of the 400 acres he owned, and with Acting NPS Director Arno B. Cammerer saying he "would like to see Florida secure . . . the first existing monument east of the Mississippi."[5] Ultimately, Weedon's effort was unavailing. What happened to him is unknown. But his house on the property was apparently torn down in late 1923.[6]

Three years later, the attorney for the company that by then owned most of the Weedon Island area wrote to ask Director Mather how to get a national park established, noting that the company might be willing to donate twenty to thirty acres for one memorializing De Soto. The attorney cited archeological investigations conducted by the Smithsonian Institution on the site in 1924. But the Federal gov-

1. A USGS topographic map of Weedon Island is available at Topozone, http://www.topozone.com/map.asp?lat=27.845&lon=-82.6017&datum=nad27&u=4&layer=DRG&s=200 (accessed 22 November 2006). In various sources and contexts, the island's name is spelled either Weedon or Weeden. In this and subsequent chapters, we follow the spelling of the source being cited.
2. Weedon to Mather, 28 June 1919, and Weedon to Arno B. Cammerer, 12 September 1919, RG 79, Box 659, NARA II. On Weedon Island Indian cultures, see Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 26; and Raymond Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1950* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 14-15.
3. Mather to Weedon, 1 July 1919, RG 79, Box 659, NARA II.
4. NPS memorandum, ca. 1 October 1919, RG 79, Box 659, NARA II.
5. Cammerer to Weedon, 21 July 1920, RG 79, Box 659, NARA II.
6. Weedon had bought the land in 1898 and built a summer cottage there. Raymond Arsenault reports that Weedon eventually sold the land to the Boulevard and Bay Land Development Company, owned by St. Petersburg developer Eugene Elliott, whose grandiose Florida Riviera scheme was one of the most bizarre hatched by anyone during the generally bizarre boom development period. See Raymond Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1950* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 197-198.

ernment would not consider so small a tract, Mather replied, especially without further investigations of the area's merits.[7]

The project languished again until May 1929, when *St. Petersburg Times* editor W. L. Straub wrote to the NPS urging consideration of a 400-acre Weedon Island tract "on which are located a number of the most interesting and archaeologically valuable prehistoric mounds in this state." There were, he added, "well substantiated claims for it as the landing place of Hernando De Soto." There is a movement, he said, by "a local society [unnamed] to establish the tract as a National Park, to be known as the De Soto National Park . . . ." Would the government accept "so small an area," he asked, and how would one go about getting the process in motion?[8] Acting Director Cammerer replied that "inasmuch as . . . the area in question . . . is primarily of historic and scientific interest, rather than of outstanding scenic character, it is believed it would have only national monument possibilities."[9]

The distinction between national parks and national monuments, as historian Hal Rothman explains, lay more in practice (indeed at times in convenience and expediency) than in inherent differences between sites. The designation of National Monument allowed Federal protection by executive order—as opposed to legislative act—of valued areas within public lands, pursuant to the Antiquities Act of 1906. Initially used mainly in the western states, over the years the national monuments category evolved, Rothman explains, "to include large natural areas, historic places, and nearly every other type of place that had preservation value."[10]

Cammerer added that Straub's group would have to supply warrants of "the archaeological importance . . . [and] prehistoric origin" of the mounds, as well as "proof substantiating [the area's] historic claim as the landing place of De Soto." That information in hand, he said, NPS "will give full consideration" to the proposal. Foreshadowing later developments in nearby Bradenton, Cammerer cautioned that "we find it often the case that communities propose the establishment of national parks and monuments largely because of the drawing power they have for tourist travel."[11]

An NPS inspection team finally looked at the property in mid-February 1930. By the end of the month, the St. Petersburg city council had met and decided "that if the government shall decide favorably upon our project for Weedon's Island the city will undertake to acquire and deliver the entire tract . . . [consisting of] several small parcels in addition to the Weedon 400 acres."[12] A local editorial opined that there was "no reasonable doubt that the Indian village on Weedon's Island marks the spot where De Soto landed in Florida."[13]

Toward the end of March, NPS Director Horace Albright reported to Interior Secretary Ray Wilbur on the inspection trip. Referring to Fewkes's excavations of the mounds, he said the 560-acre site contained the "probable landing place of De Soto in 1539." "I am very much impressed with the possibilities of this area as a national monument," he said, recommending that "the De Soto National Monument" be established there. "I have to recommend that you approve the project," he concluded. Two days later, Interior Secretary Wilbur approved his recommendation.[14] NPS Director Albright wrote immediately to Straub that the city could proceed to acquire the lands, after which "recommendation will be made to the President to establish the national monument."[15]

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7. E. W. McGrew to Stephen Mather, 23 April 1926, RG 79, Box 659 NARA II. See J. Walter Fewkes, *Preliminary Archeological Exploration at Weedon Island, Florida*, Smithsonian Institution Publication 2787 (October 14, 1924). Fewkes notes (p. 3) that Dr. Weedon's house was torn down in late 1923. Mather to E. W. McGrew, 29 April 1926, RG 79, Box 659, NARA II.
8. W. L. Straub to National Park Service, 20 May 1929, RG 79, Box 659, NARA II.
9. Cammerer to W. L. Straub, 24 May 1929, RG 79, Box 659, NARA II. The first national park to be established in the eastern United States was Acadia (Maine, 1919), followed by Great Smoky Mountains (North Carolina and Tennessee, authorized 1926, established 1934) and Shenandoah (authorized 1926, established 1935). By 1934 there were nearly twenty parks in the west.
10. Hal Rothman, *America's National Monuments: The Politics of Preservation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994), xiv.
11. Cammerer to Straub, 7 June 1929, RG 79, Box 659, NARA II. The interrelationship between tourism development and the national parks had been present since before the advent of the National Park Service itself in 1916. See especially Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 47-90.
12. Telegram from Straub to Albright, 24 February 1930, RG 79, Box 659, NARA II.
13. "Those Earliest Days," *St. Petersburg Times*, 23 March 1930.

As Straub's group began to work on buying the land, however, they ran up against the "wave of financial trouble" that the economic crash of the previous October had sent across the city. Cammerer tried to reassure them that "this financial trouble is only temporary, only the travail that will result in the birth of a greater and more prosperous St. Petersburg, for nothing, in my opinion, can ever affect permanently the glorious future that your beautiful city has before it."[16]

But Cammerer's optimism lagged considerably behind the economic curve. Beginning in 1920, Florida had indeed experienced a major boom that doubled the state's (and nearby Tampa's) population. As early as 1921, real estate developers' buses were bulging with excited customers, and tourists flocked in. Aggressive entrepreneurs were pushing land sales (frequently through carnival-like public auctions) in Miami, Coral Gables, Palm Beach, Orlando and elsewhere. Expanding railroads (especially the Seaboard Airline and the Atlantic Coastline) were packed with eager tourists and buyers. The number of banks (both national and the less closely regulated state ones) skyrocketed, and both income and inheritance taxes were outlawed to attract new settlers and (especially) retirees, some 300,000 of whom arrived between 1923 and 1925. Hard-surfaced road mileage doubled between 1924 and 1928. Completion of the Gandy Bridge from Tampa to St. Petersburg in 1924 reduced the distance by more than half and sparked a real estate boom in both cities. The Tamiami Trail between Tampa and Miami (begun in 1915) opened in 1928.[17]

As early as 1925, though—four years before the nationwide crash of October, 1929—the Florida bubble began to deflate. Overbuilding, a breakdown in railroad and steamship services,



FIGURE 1. Trailways ad for the Tamiami Trail (a 275-mile section of U.S. 41) between Tampa and Miami (Hernando De Soto Historical Society Archives, hereinafter HDHS Archives)

14. Albright to Wilbur, 27 March 1930, RG 79, Box 659, NARA II. Wilbur's signature, dated March 29, appears on the final page of the document. A contemporary NPS regional planning document touted the unmatched "historic, scenic, and recreational values" of the area, and recommended the property as the site of a national monument. It noted that historic records "seem to substantiate local claims that this area was point of De Soto's Landing," but cautioned that "this data should be investigated by Historian." The report closed with a notation that the new national monument had been "Approved by the Secretary of the Interior on March 29, 1930, upon recommendation of the Director N.P.S." U.S. Department of the Interior, "Proposed National Parks and Monuments [De Soto National Monument, St. Petersburg]," 1930, DESO Files.
15. Albright to Straub, 1 April 1930, RG 79, Box 659, NARA II.
16. Straub to Albright, 5 August 1930 and Cammerer to Straub, 8 August 1930, RG 79, Box 659, NARA II. For an account of boom development in St. Petersburg in the 1920s, see Raymond Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1920* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 185-249.
17. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971), 377-385; Michael Gannon, ed., *The New History of Florida*, rev. ed. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 287-303; Raymond Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1950* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 197. On the Tamiami Trail see Gary Garrett, "Blasting Through Paradise: The Construction and Consequences of the Tamiami Trail" in Jack E. Davis and Raymond Arsenault, eds., *Paradise Lost?: The Environmental History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 260-279; and Jeff Klinkenburg, "The Tamiami Trail: Beauty and the Beasts," *St. Petersburg Times*, <http://www.sptimes.com/2003/webspecials03/trail> (accessed 22 November 2006). Garrett argues (p. 261) that "the bifurcation of south Florida by the Tamiami Trail disrupted an ecosystem of more than 4 million acres, inflicting injuries to the land, water, and inhabitants that continue to be felt today and may yet prove fatal."

financial fraud and misrepresentation, and what historian Charlton Tebeau called a "spectacular boom in rum running and the smuggling of aliens and narcotics" all contributed to the downturn. Killer hurricanes in 1926 (Miami) and 1928 (Palm Beach) added economic and social trauma, demonstrated the social costs of shoddy, unregulated boom construction, and induced many new arrivals to vacate the state. By the time Cammerer made his rosy prediction, the Florida East Coast and Seaboard railroads were in receivership, corporate income had dropped by nearly ninety percent, real estate values were down fifty percent, and forty Florida banks (including the Central National Bank of St. Petersburg) had closed their doors. As these problems became known, bad national press exacerbated their effects.[18] When the paper boom peaked in October 1925, the *Nation* announced that "the world's greatest poker game . . . is over." "Left behind," historian Michael Gannon says, "were financial wreckage, unfinished buildings . . . empty streets, miles of cement sidewalks leading nowhere, jazz bands playing to empty halls, and broken dreams."[19]

As 1930 drew to a close, Straub hoped for help from the state legislature. Eight months later he reported determinedly that "our difficulties in financing [the project] are complicated and serious, but not insuperable." It would "hearten our people," he told Albright, if the President could go ahead and issue a proclamation designating the Monument conditional upon delivery of the land.[20] Heartening or not, Assistant Director Arthur Demaray replied, no monument could be designated until the land was in hand and transferred to the Federal government.[21]

Florida's Democratic Sen. Duncan Fletcher pleaded that the project be given "due attention" by NPS, inserting into the *Congressional Record* in late December 1930 a letter from a Florida constituent who envisioned the planned monument as joining a contemplated "galaxy of public tourist resorts" in the east. The constituent quoted an enthusiastic letter from Director Albright envisioning "a Pan American museum, a Pan American aquarium, and a Pan America botanic garden" being developed in conjunction with the De Soto monument and the contemplated Everglades National Park. Unfortunately, the constituent judged that bonded public debt incurred in building streets and highways, "is already so heavy as to preclude any addition in the near future" for land purchase and transfer.[22]

What finally happened to the De Soto National Monument effort—duly authorized by the Secretary of the Interior in March 1930—is unclear. But it was to be nearly another twenty years before a national monument (or memorial, as it turned out to be) was established honoring Hernando De Soto—not on Weedon Island, but on Shaw's Point outside Bradenton.[23]

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18. Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 385-395; Michael Gannon, *The New History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 304.
19. Michael Gannon, ed., *Florida: A Short History,* rev. ed. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 82.
20. Straub to Albright, 24 December 1930 and 28 August 1931, RG 79, Box 659, NARA II.
21. Demaray to Straub, 4 September 1931, RG 79, Box 659, NARA II. National Monuments had to be designated on land that was in public hands. On the role of National Monuments within the National Park Service in the 1920s and 1930s, see Hal K. Rothman, *America's National Monuments: The Politics of Preservation* (University Press of Kansas, 1989), 89-116, 202-09. On the Depression era in St. Petersburg, see Raymond Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1950* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 251-295.
22. Duncan U. Fletcher, Letter concerning De Soto National Monument, Weedon Island, *Congressional Record*, 71st Cong., 3d sess., 1930, 74, pt. 2: 1399. The constituent referred specifically to Everglades and Great Smoky Mountains national parks, neither officially established until later but both in early stages of being created at this time. Legislation authorizing both parks passed Congress in 1926. See Daniel S. Pierce, *The Great Smokies: From Natural Habitat to National Park* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 109.
23. The National Park Service defines a national *monument* to include "landmarks, structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest situated on lands owned or controlled by the government." A national *memorial*, by contrast, commemorates "a historic person or episode," and "need not occupy a site historically connected with its subject." See National Park Service, "Designation of National Park System Units," <http://www.nps.gov/legacy/nomenclature.html> (accessed 27 November 2006). Some important national memorials that preceded De Soto were the Lincoln Memorial (1922), Mount Rushmore (1925) and Theodore Roosevelt Island (1932). See *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (rev. ed., Washington DC: Department of the Interior, 2005), 31-32.
    The Weedon Island site was eventually turned into the Weedon Island Preserve (see Weedon Island Preserve, <http://weedonislandcenter.org> (accessed 22 November 2006). The island was included on the National Register of Historic Places in 1972 and purchased by the state of Florida in 1974. It operates in partnership with the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, and a group of Florida institutions.

Choosing Shaw's Point: The United States De Soto Expedition Commission and the Swanton Report

As the Depression began to taper off in the mid-1930s, the 400th anniversary of the De Soto landing (1939) approached, and plans emerged for a national commemoration. In late December 1935, President Roosevelt named the members of a newly authorized United States De Soto Expedition Commission.[24] They included Bureau of American Ethnology anthropologist John R. Swanton; Tampa's Peninsular Telephone Company founder and South Florida Fair Association president W. G. Brorein[25]; pioneer Louisiana environmentalist Caroline Dormon, the first woman forester employed in the United States, prime mover behind the establishment of the Kisatchie National Forest, and later donor of the Caroline Dormon Nature Preserve[26]; Col. John R. Fordyce, an Arkansas engineer, inventor, archaeologist, and member of an 1894 Arctic expedition[27]; Columbus MS *Commercial Dispatch* journalist V. Birney Imes[28]; Memphis TN Justice Andrew O. Holmes[29], and Alabama state geologist Dr. Walter B. Jones, a specialist on the Indian cultures of the Black Warrior River area.[30]

The full Commission met formally only three times (March-December 1936) and its meetings were mainly procedural, informational, and ceremonial. At its second (May) meeting, members pondered the desirability of "pageants, cinema reproductions for permanent record, and markers," and viewed a "model marker of stone." At its final (December) meeting, members agreed that "suitable and uniform" celebrations should be mounted and markers erected along the route of the De Soto expedition. In its formal published report, issued in early 1939, the Commission recommended "that markers of the type approved by the Commission, and with inscriptions also approved by it, be placed at the best authenticated points along the route and that the placing be accompanied with appropriate ceremonies." Placing of the markers, the Commission suggested, should be "done in collaboration with the National Park Service."[31]

But where were these "best authenticated points," and along what route? For two hundred years at least, many had tried to define it, with what can only be called blurred results. [32] The work of finally settling upon its meandering course through ten southeastern states was placed in the hands of a "fact-finding committee" of the Commission, headed by Swanton. A longtime student of Indians of the southeast, Swanton had had nearly twenty years of experience in anthropological field work, and in the early 1930s had already investigated the De Soto route.[33]

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24. The Commission was created by Public Resolution 57, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 26 August 1935. For legislative actions, see U. S. House of Representatives Committee on the Library, *Four Hundredth Anniversary of the Expedition of Hernando De Soto*, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 20 May 1935, H. Rept. 966; 74th Cong., 1st sess. Document 137: *Communication of the President . . . A Supplemental Estimate of Appropriation*, July 29, 1935
25. On Brorein (b. 1861), see <http://www.angelfire.com/fl3/rickyroyce/pascohistory/brorein.html> (accessed 17 November 2006); and "Biography of William G. Brorein, Tampa, Hillsborough County, Florida," <http://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/fl/hillsborough/bios/b6650001.txt> (accessed 2 December 2006). Brorein died December 19, 1938, and was replaced by Carl D. Brorein of Tampa.
26. On Dorman, see "Briarwood, Caroline Dormon Nature Preserve," <http://www.cp-tel.net/dormon> (accessed 28 November 2006).
27. On Fordyce, see University of Arkansas Libraries Special Collections, "Col. John R. Fordyce Scrapbook," http://libinfo.uark.edu/specialcollections/findingaids/fordyce.html (accessed 17 November 2006).
28. On Imes, see Mississippi Writers Page, "Mississippi Books and Writers," http://www.olemiss.edu/mwp/books/2003/july.html (accessed 17 November 2006).
29. On Holmes, see Shelby County Law Library, "Law Library Services," <http://www.shelbycountylawlibrary.com/service.html> (accessed 17 November 2006).
30. On Jones, see "TSFS Archives," <http://bama.ua.edu/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind0608&L=tsfs&T=0&P=1072> (accessed 17 November 2006).
31. John R. Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (1939; reprint with an Introduction by Jeffrey P. Brain and Foreward by William C. Sturtevant, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985), vi-vii.
32. Swanton's report discusses those earlier efforts on pp. 12-46. A brief narrative of the De Soto expedition and the development of the historiography about it follows in Chapter 3.
33. William Sturtevant, Foreword to John R. Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (1939; reprint, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985). The report was first issued as U. S. House of Representatives Document no. 71, 76th Congress, 1st session, 1939. Further details on Swanton's life and work are to be found in William N. Fenton, "John Reed Swanton 1873-1958," *American Anthropologist* 61 (1959): 663-667.



FIGURE 2. Colonial Dames marker in 1947 photograph. (DESO Files)

In preparing the fact-finding committee's report, first presented to Congress as an interim document "for use in the framing of legislation" on April 30, 1937, Swanton reviewed the entire existing literature on De Soto and his expedition, consulted widely with experts, conducted extensive fieldwork, examined domestic archives and contracted for a search of the legendary Archivo de las Indias in Spain.[34]

Concurrently with the establishment of the De Soto Commission, moves toward some form of national commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the landing mounted. On August 26, 1937, President Roosevelt signed a joint Congressional resolution (first introduced in 1935) providing for U. S. participation in (and Federal funds for) a Pan American Exposition to be held in Tampa to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of De Soto's landing "in Tampa Bay."[35]

As preparations for that celebration drew to a close, the De Soto Commission's final report was submitted to Congress on December 28, 1938 and published in 1939.[36] It presented detailed discussions of De Soto's early life and previous expeditions, his preparations for the expedition to *La Florida* and its logistical and organizational details, and the phases of what Swanton believed was De Soto's route through the southeast. But the crucial point, as the quadricentennial approached and the need sharpened for an appropriate focal point for the commemoration, was the precise location of the landing or *entrada*.

On that point, the report came down firmly on the side of the Tampa Bay area as the site of De Soto's port of entry (as opposed to a competing site at Charlotte Harbor to the south). But where in Tampa Bay? Even here, there were contending possibilities for the actual location of the landing and of the abandoned Indian village of Ocita or Ucita, where De Soto's army settled in and unloaded supplies to prepare for the march inland. Painstakingly matching the area's topographical features with the descriptions of the landing offered in the various Chronicles, Swanton argued that De Soto "probably landed on the southeast side of Tampa Bay." This assertion countered earlier theories that had put the landing point much deeper into the Bay and further north along, for instance, the Pinellas Peninsula, where the Indian village might have been placed on Weedon Island.

Ocita, Swanton theorized, lay instead on Terra Ceia Island, which sat much closer than Weedon to the entrance to Tampa Bay from the Gulf of Mexico. And the point where the army disembarked from the ships—the actual landing site (which was some distance from Ocita)—Swanton placed at Bradenton's Shaw's Point. This configuration of key sites, the report observed, provided a "combination of a convenient landing-place, a town relatively near this but involving a detour far inland to avoid salt-water flats, and a roadstead in front of it between the town and the mainland." Hence "it may be stated with confidence" the report continued, "that the landing place and port were on the east, or southeast, side of the bay, and with high probability that they were at the places indicated."[37]

Swanton's conclusions—based not in archeological evidence but in close readings of the De Soto chronicles against currently known and observed

34. John R. Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (1939; reprint with an Introduction by Jeffrey P. Brain and Foreward by William C. Sturtevant, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985), vii-ix.
35. Public Resolution 72, 75th Cong., S. J. Res. 166, August 9, 1937; Swanton, John R., *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (1939; reprint with an Introduction by Jeffrey P. Brain and Foreward by William C. Sturtevant, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985), viii. See also U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, *Participation of the United States in the Pan American Exposition to Be Held at Tampa, Fla.*, 74th Cong., 1st Sess., 13 May 1935, S. Report 1014.
36. The report is now most readily accessible as John R. Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (1939; reprint with an Introduction by Jeffrey P. Brain and Foreward by William C. Sturtevant, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985),

geographies—were seriously challenged in later years, but for the time being they were accepted as definitive in most quarters.[38] Since the St. Petersburg effort had collapsed nearly a decade prior to the Swanton report, and since in any case Swanton rejected Weedon Island as a possible landing site, somewhere on the southeast side of Tampa Bay in the vicinity of Terra Ceia was now the favored spot.[39]

Indeed, nearly a year before the De Soto Commission's final report was transmitted to Congress, Swanton had already asserted specifically that Shaw['s] Point, a little spit of land a half-dozen or so miles to the south of Terra Ceia in a roadless and undeveloped area on the banks of the Manatee River, "supplies a suitable landing place in the location demanded" by the evidence. Of all the possible spots, he said, Shaw['s] Point "satisf[ies] best the requirements for a place of landing."[40]

With the release of the Commission's final report, this conclusion gained official status. The report, like the article, named Shaw Point [sic] as "the place where the greater part of De Soto's army landed," and listed it confidently among "the specific sites which we believe to be identified so satisfactorily that they should be placed in the first rank."[41] "To vessels entering [Tampa Bay] along the south shore" the report held, "Shaw Point [sic] is the most readily accessible landing place." Even though the channel in front of it was shallow, "it would . . . be the natural point at which to land" using shallow-draft *pinnaces*.[42]

"Model Marker of Stone": The De Soto Monument at Shaw's Point

Although they had received advance notice of the De Soto Commission's conclusions, local interests in Bradenton—especially the Chamber of Commerce—seemed surprised by their town's newfound status as home to the De Soto landing. Nevertheless, they quickly began forming plans to capitalize on the opportunity to boost Bradenton's appeal to Florida tourists. In doing so, they necessarily had to compete with nearby (and far larger) Tampa, where De Soto already had a major presence.

37. John R. Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (1939; reprint with an Introduction by Jeffrey P. Brain and Foreward by William C. Sturtevant, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985), 117-137 (quotations from p. 138). On Ocita, see Swanton, *Final Report*, 134-37; and David Ewing Duncan, *Hernando de Soto: A Savage Quest in the Americas* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1995), 251-66.
38. Reviewing the various problems with Swanton's methods and logic, as well as the results of subsequent research, Jeffrey P. Brain points out in his introduction to the 1985 Smithsonian Press edition of the report that Swanton presented "precious few facts that constitute adequate proof of the probable venue of the landing." In the years since, Brain wrote, archeologists and historians have become "far more uncertain about the exact itinerary than the Commission was. Time and again, the specific identifications given in the Report have been denied by recent archeological evidence. The Commission was never far from De Soto, but it was rarely very close, either." Hence "in archeological terminology all we can really say is that De Soto probably landed in the central Gulf Coast region among peoples of the late prehistoric-protohistoric Safety Harbor culture" (Brain, in John R. Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (1939; reprint with an Introduction by Jeffrey P. Brain and Foreward by William C. Sturtevant, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985), xiv, xx, xliv. Brain notes (p. xv) that two of the earlier and more credible challenges to the report's conclusions were mounted by Warren H. Wilkinson, aggressively polemical partisan of a Charlotte Harbor landing place ("the only other reasonable candidate"), and Rolfe F. Schell. See Wilkinson, *Opening the Case Against the U. S. De Soto Commission's Report* (Jacksonville Beach, Alliance for the Preservation of Florida Antiquities, 1960), and Schell, *De Soto Didn't Land in Florida* (Fort Myers Beach: Island Press, 1966). In a review of the republished (1985) report, University of South Carolina archeologist Chester DePratter noted that not a single site on the Swanton route "has ever been conclusively identified as a place visited by De Soto" (*Ethnohistory* 34, no. 2 [Spring 1987]: 213). Charles Hudson's review in *American Antiquity* 53, no. 1 (January 1988): 199-200 judges that, whatever errors the report was later shown to have, Swanton probably came as close as anyone could have at the time he did his work. Swanton continued to produce articles and books into the 1950s.
39. Swanton's brief consideration of Weedon Island is on p. 129.
40. John R. Swanton, "The Landing Place of De Soto," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 16 (January 1938): 172-173. As early as 1854, Buckingham Smith had found Shaw's Point the most likely site of the landing: see Buckingham Smith, Letter of Hernando De Soto and Memoir of Escalente, Washington, DC: privately printed, 1854. For a brief biography of Smith, see Virtual American Biographies, "Buckingham Smith," <http://famousamericans.net/buckinghamsmith> (accessed November 21, 2006).
41. John R. Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (1939; reprint with an Introduction by Jeffrey P. Brain and Foreward by William C. Sturtevant, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985), 290.
42. John R. Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (1939; reprint with an Introduction by Jeffrey P. Brain and Foreward by William C. Sturtevant, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985), 135-137.



FIGURE 3. Braden Castle Tourist Camp, Bradenton, 1924 (Manatee County Public Library, Bradenton, FL, hereinafter MCPL)

At the moment when Congress received the Swanton report, Tampa—an industrial and tourist center with a population of 130,000—was advertising the legislatively sanctioned Pan American Hernando De Soto Exposition, to be held in conjunction with the Florida Fair (the "largest mid-winter exposition in America") and the city's long-running Gasparilla Carnival (including a "monster street parade") in early February 1939.[43] A lavishly-illustrated twenty-four page Exposition booklet touted Tampa as "the metropolis of the West Coast of Florida" and the center of "the richest agricultural and the most extensive winter resort area in Florida" as well as the "center of the giant Florida citrus industry." Among these broad claims was the specific announcement that "during the Exposition . . . pageantry depicting the landing of Hernando De Soto in Tampa Bay, and historical re-enactment of many incidents of the adventures of De Soto and his men, is being planned."[44]

Thus it appeared that if Bradenton were to capitalize on Swanton's designation of Shaw's Point as the De Soto landing site, city officials would have to move with dispatch. What happened could fairly be described as a sluggish start followed by a quick sprint. By the time of the State Fair in Tampa, the only public De Soto-related event held in Bradenton was a "review" presented by the Bradenton Tourist Club late in January.[45] The big front-page news in Bradenton at the end of the State Fair was not De Soto, but the first prize Manatee County ("The Nation's Winter Market Basket") had won in the Citrus Fruits and Vegetables category.[46]

News was filtering out, however, about the Shaw's Point designation, and gears in Bradenton slowly began to mesh. In early March the local paper announced that "the United States De Soto Commission . . . has decided that Hernando DeSoto . . . first set foot on the shores of Florida on what is now known as 'Shaw's Point' . . . ." The paper reported that official notice arrived in the form of a letter to the attorney for the Manatee County Commission from the president of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Florida[47] requesting Commission assistance in finding a location for a planned De Soto landing marker.[48] The Commission pledged cooperation and in short

43. See U. S. House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Pan American Exposition, Tampa, Fla., in 1939,* 74th Cong., 1st sess., 14 August 1935, H. Rept. 1799. The Exposition had for a number of years included participation by other countries. The Gasparilla event appeared as early as 1904. As late as 1940, the entire Manatee County (where Bradenton was located) population was still only 26,000. See John. L. Douglas and Associates, *Economic Data: Manatee County* (Bradenton FL: John L. Douglas and Associates, 1968), 15a.
44. *Pan-American Hernando De Soto Exposition Tampa Florida U.S.A. January 31 to February 18, 1939* (Tampa: Pan American Exposition, [1938?]), 12-17.
45. "De Soto Review to Be Presented at Tourist Club," *Bradenton Herald*, 22 January 1939, p. 5. A subsequent article referred to the presentation as a "satire on the DeSota [sic] pageant." See *Bradenton Herald*, 24 January 1939, p. 5.
46. "Manatee Gets Third Grand Slam at Fair: Wins First Place in Citrus Fruits and Vegetables," *Bradenton Herald*, 3 February 1939, p. 1.
47. It appears that the Florida Society of Colonial Dames was affiliated with the National Society of Colonial Dames of America (1891), rather than the parallel Society of Colonial Dames (1890). *Bradenton Herald*, 30 May 1939, p. 2. See The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, http://www.nscda.org/ (accessed November 20, 2006). Conflicts between the two competing but similarly oriented societies arose early, continued through the 1890s, and eventuated in lawsuits. World War II-era efforts to merge them were unsuccessful. See Joseph Rucker Lamar, *A History of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America from 1891 to 1933* (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown, 1934), 3-27. When the first large-scale commemoration activities began in the United States in the nineteenth century, Paul Shackel observes, "Women became the primary custodians of American heritage, and they took pride in demonstrating their patriotism for America's past." The Mt. Vernon Ladies Association (1856) and the Ladies' Hermitage Association (1889) were the first of a long line of women's associations dedicated to defining and commemorating the American past. They were in their eighth decade of doing so by the time the Florida contingent of Colonial Dames brought their monument to Shaw's Point. See Shackel, ed., *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), 10.

order turned the task over to the Chamber of Commerce.[49]

"Opportunity has come Bradenton's way—Manatee County's way—for a big celebration," the *Herald* proclaimed, "one that would have more than local, even state attraction." It was urgent to get Bradenton's name "in the public prints. The town has never had such a chance as is now presented to capitalize on newspaper publicity. Here is the big opportunity for our Chamber of Commerce."[50]

The monument the Colonial Dames planned to install on Shaw's Point had been designed (by the Commission's John Fordyce), hewn from granite, and suitably inscribed:

> Near here Hernando De Soto with his men landed May 30, 1539, and began his march westward to the Mississippi River. This marker commemorates the 400th anniversary of his arrival on the shores of Florida.

Installing the marker on Shaw's Point turned out to be more easily planned than done, but the Chamber of Commerce rose to the challenge. When a Colonial Dames delegation came to look at the Point, it could not get there because there was no road, and (as the newspaper reported it) "most of the point and extending back on the mainland is a tropical jungle not easily penetrated." The problem went first to the County Commission and then to the Chamber, whose own subsequent expedition got to the Point only after "a hectic struggle with the jungle." But county commissioner John Knight promised that a suitable road would be built, and more audacious plans followed "to ask the owners



FIGURE 4. 1941 Pageant postcard: Visit Bradenton in February. "See for yourself the historic landing place of Hernando DeSoto and the new 8 ton marker in the subtropical setting of DeSoto Park where the broad and beautiful Manatee River flows into the Gulf of Mexico. . . ." (Card by Carrera and Christian, MCPL)

of the land to dedicate sufficient acreage to the National Park Commission [sic] of the Federal government [so] that the commission might establish a national monument park and take over care of the grounds."[51] The Optimist Club joined the land acquisition effort, urging that the site be named De Soto Landing Park.[52] "Thus Florida will have a national monument park of surpassing interest," the *Herald* editor wrote, "and Bradenton will have one more great attraction to attract people to its environs."[53]

Acquiring the land turned out to be—at least for the time being—difficult and (mostly) unavailing. The Chamber hoped to be able to persuade some of the present owners (variously and vaguely referred to as

48. "U. S. De Soto Commission Establishes Landing Site," *Bradenton Herald*, 7 March 1939, pp. 1-2. "It was known by an advised few here several months ago," the article revealed, "that the Congressional commission had reached [this] decision . . . , but no official report of the commission has yet been made public." An article the following day added that "The *Herald* was advised months ago from Washington that Shaw's Point had been decided upon," but the newspaper "was committed to secrecy until the commission's report had been printed and was ready for release. . . . In advance of general release the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America was notified and the Florida branch of that society began preparations for a granite monument to mark the spot." *Bradenton Herald*, 8 March 1939, p. 4.
49. Shaw's Point Here Is Official Landing Place of De Soto," *Bradenton Herald,* 7 March 1939, p. 1 and "Chamber of Commerce Making Plans to Have De Soto Marker Erected at Shaw's Point Where Explorer Landed," *Bradenton Herald*, 12 March 1939, p. 1.
50. "Let's Celebrate De Soto Anniversary," *Bradenton Herald*, 9 March 1939, p. 4.
51. "Chamber of Commerce Making Plans to Have De Soto Marker Erected at Shaw's Point Where Explorer Landed," *Bradenton Herald*, 12 March 1939, p. 4. The "National Park Commission" was presumably the National Park Service. "By telegraph the chamber got word yesterday from the National Park Commission," the article continued, "that any plot of ground 'of such area as to be compatible with proper care and management of the objects to be protected' will be sufficient." The land was then owned by "the Ballard estate," which the Chamber intended to ask for a donation of land. The Chamber's steering committee was chaired by W. U. Lathrop, and included *Bradenton Herald* editor Robert Bentley.
52. "De Soto Landing Park Suggested by Optimist Club," *Bradenton Herald*, 12 March 1939, p. 5.
53. "Celebration of Landing of De Soto Assured," *Bradenton Herald*, 13 March 1939, p. 4.



FIGURE 5. Shore south from Shaw's Point, January 1947. (DESO Files)

"the Ballard heirs" and "the Ballard Estate," and seemingly related to the Lost River Investment Compan—an Indiana entity) to donate as many as eighteen acres for the hoped for park. Meanwhile, the hard-surfaced road the Colonial Dames insisted upon was being built by county convict labor.[54]

Toward the end of April, the Chamber reported that "the Ballard heirs have donated a site on Shaw's Point" for the monument, but the heirs donated only an acre and a third (sufficient for placing the monument but not for the hoped for park) rather than the eighteen acres under discussion.[55]

As the May 30 anniversary of the landing approached, all was reasonably in order for the commemoration on Shaw's Point. The Chamber of Commerce organized a parade, and local dignitaries and one regional National Park Service official joined an audience of several hundred for the unveiling of the monument, placed upon an Indian shell mound near the river.[56] The *Bradenton Herald* rhapsodized that "the waters of the beautiful expanse of Tampa Bay as it converged with the Manatee River at Shaw's Point, lent color to the occasion, the rippling green-blue waters of today proving that the beauty of the waters 400 years ago must have attracted the eyes of De Soto."

It was a moment of public consensus—at least in Bradenton, if not in Tampa. From the outset, however, the commemorative remarks of the assembled dignitaries foreshadowed the ambivalence with which De Soto would increasingly be viewed in subsequent years. In his speech accepting the monument on behalf of Bradenton, the Florida Historical Society's Herbert Lamson was careful to characterize De Soto positively as "the leader of a splendid force" who had "iron resolve . . . [and] indomitable will." Lamson reassured his audience that "in an age of cruelty," De Soto was "distinguished for his moderation . . . [and] his faith in God." Even if his expedition did in fact end in "disappointment, disaster, and death," Lamson said, "so long as the doings of mankind are recorded, his name will be honored as typifying the best of the many fine qualities of the Spanish Cavalier."[57]

Bradenton City Attorney G. B. Knowles was somewhat more guarded in his remarks. Although admitting that "the assault which [De Soto] made upon the natives was as ruthless as the spirit of [his] resolve," Knowles pointed out that De Soto "began unknowingly to blaze the way to a better civilization than that of which he was a conspicuous part."[58] In any case, he said, "Shaw's point now takes on a new significance in the thread of history and Manatee County is nationally identified as the soil upon

54. "Colonial Dames Official to Visit Monument Site," *Bradenton Herald*, 15 March 1939, p. 5. A later article, "Commission Will Help in Highway to Monument Site," *Bradenton Herald*, 20 March 1939, p. 5, reported that the Chamber's committee was making an effort "to acquire sufficient land from the Ballard Estate, owners of the Shaw's Point land" and that "advice is being awaited from the heirs of the estate through their attorney in Indiana." The Lost River Investment Company was chartered in Indiana on August 27, 1919 and dissolved on November 29, 1945 (Geof Scott, Indiana State Archives, e-mail to David E. Whisnant, 29 November 2006). It purchased land on Shaw's Point on January 17, 1922 (Book 98, Page 132, Manatee County Historical Records Library) and sold it (or at least part of it) on November 24, 1940 (Book 171, Page 179, Manatee County Historical Records Library). The latter deed listed Harry Ballard as Vice President of the company. On the Manatee County tax roll for 1932, all of the fractional land within Section 18, Township 34 South, Range 17 East (the eventual location of the De Soto National Memorial; PI 2991400009, described as All Fractional) and most of Section 19 to the south was owned by Lost River (Cindy Russell, Librarian, Manatee County Historical Records Library. e-mail to David E. Whisnant, 28 December 2006). On the use of convict labor, see "Commission Collaborates with Memorial Committee," *Bradenton Herald*, 21 March 1939; and "Road Is Cleared by Convict Gang to Shaw's Point," *Bradenton Herald*, 30 March 1939, p. 12.
55. "Monument Site Donated; Now for the Celebration," *Bradenton Herald*, 27 April 1939, p. 4; and "DeSoto Marker Unveiling Committee Plans to Make Affair One of Importance," *Bradenton Herald,* 2 May 1939, p. 2. The Manatee County Public Records Library has no deed for this small parcel.
56. "Plans Completed for Unveiling of De Soto Marker," *Bradenton Herald*, 28 May 1939.
57. "Address by Herbert Lamson on De Soto at Unveiling of Shaw's Point Marker," *Bradenton Herald*, 30 May 1939, pp. 3, 7.
58. "Marker to De Soto Is Unveiled Here by Colonial Dames," *Bradenton Herald*, 30 May 1939, p. 1.

which the Spanish conquerors began their expeditions . . . ." The De Soto Commission's John Swanton proffered brief remarks, and the occasion (rendered suitably ecumenical by a Baptist invocation and a Catholic benediction) drew to a hurried close as ominous clouds gathered and torrential rains descended.

The clarity of the public act and the solidity of the monument itself belied, however, the complexity of the process of commemoration thereby set into motion. Writing of the "dynamic nature of creating meanings . . . of nationally significant sites and symbols on the American landscape," and of "how groups create and control the collective national memory of revered sacred sites and objects," Paul Shackel cautions that commemorative agendas "may clash" and that tension frequently arises within and between groups—especially dominant and subordinate ones—"who struggle for control over the collective public memory." Hence "ideas of the dominant group must be supported through ceremonies and commemorations if its ideas and histories are to last."[59] On Shaw's Point, that proved to be true—again and again—over the years.

The immediate object for local people, however, was not to settle the conundrum of how De Soto might best be viewed or commemorated in the long term, but to move ahead with the developmental opportunities offered by the anointing of Shaw's Point as his landing place.[60] An editorial in the *Bradenton Herald* quickly promised that "we will see to it that there shall be created a public park" on the site, "with the Federal government as the owner and keeper, which means it would be the property of all the people."[61]

Within a decade, that park would in fact be created, but whether it would prove to be "the property of all the people" remained unclear for decades—not only because it would be brought into being to commemorate the activities of a problematic historical figure and set of events that could at best be viewed only with ambivalence, but also because all processes and sites of national commemoration are inherently problematic and inescapably political.



FIGURE 6. Float in first De Soto Celebration parade, 1941 (MCPL)

"Opportunity Has Come Bradenton's Way": The First De Soto Celebration and the Politics of Public Ceremony

Placing the Colonial Dames monument to De Soto on Shaw's Point gave a major boost to local interest in the De Soto story, and to the possibility of mobilizing it—as the *Bradenton Herald* had urged since early 1939—to advance the city's burgeoning tourist trade, which had been in evidence at least since the early 1920s. Indeed, the *Herald* had recently run several stories about the record number of tourists wintering in travel trailers at Bradenton Trailer Park, which also that year had garnered national publicity as the host of the Automobile Tourists Association meeting and trailer show.[62]

Soon after the monument was unveiled, plans emerged to organize a parade and mount a grand public De Soto "spectacle" in the local high school stadium in February 1941.[63] To design the spectacle, planners engaged the John B. Rogers Producing Company of Fostoria, Ohio, which had years of experience producing amateur theatricals and public pageants in the United States and Canada.[64]

59. Shackel, *Myth, Memory*, 3-7.
60. Scholars' acceptance of Swanton's view about Shaw's Point being the landing spot eroded continuously over the years in the continued absence of any archeological evidence that it was the site, and as readings of the available contemporary narratives became more critical and sophisticated.
61. *Bradenton Herald*, 30 May 1939, p. 4.
62. "Trailer Park Population Moves Upward," *Bradenton Herald*, 31 January 1939, p. 2.



FIGURE 7. Shore view west from Shaw's Point, January 1947 (DESO Files)

The company worked within a paradigm whose roots reached back into the nineteenth century, honed and reshaped through the 1920s.[65] Historian David Glassberg points out that such celebrations "furnished arenas for the ritual construction of a public history . . . [whose meanings] were shaped by popular expectations as well as civic officials' political agenda and power."[66] As developed throughout the forty-eight states in the Progressive Era (1890-1920), public historical pageantry combined elements of "elite costume ball, immigrant playground festival, artistic folk play, and popular spectacle." The pageants allowed local officials to combine "dazzling spectacle" with familiar civil-religious ceremony.[67]

Glassberg identifies the John B. Rogers Producing Company as one of the largest of many such organizations staffed by "professional dramatists and recreation workers hired by towns to distill local history into a dozen or so dramatic episodes, then organize and oversee their production by hundreds, sometimes thousands, of local residents."[68] The Rogers Cmpany collaborated with the Chamber of Commerce to develop and produce the pageant in 1941.[69]

Although the Society's program booklet for its 1941 production claimed "the mystery plays of the middle ages" as its hoariest antecedent, it insisted that the Bradenton pageant was "a spontaneous expression of the life of the community by the people of the community."[70] Spontaneous or not,

63. We are grateful to the Hernando De Soto Historical Society for allowing us access to their file of the pageant programs. The 1969 and 1989 program booklets assert that there was a celebration in 1940 (perhaps on the grounds adjacent to the De Soto marker, and perhaps under the direction of Dr. W. D. Sugg, later donor of land for the Memorial) prior to the professionally planned one of 1941, but we have encountered no corroborating evidence for the claim. See *The De Soto Celebration, Manatee County, Florida, March 16-23, 1969* (Bradenton: Chamber of Commerce, 1969), 5 and *De Soto Celebration Magazine* (Bradenton: Chamber of Commerce, 1989), 16. Concurrently, a move was afoot in Congress to establish the United States De Soto Exposition Commission, which was to concern itself with means for implementing the Swanton Commission's recommendations for De Soto commemorative markers and events along the entire De Soto route. See Committee on the Library, U. S. House of Representatives, *Creating the De Soto Exposition Commission*, 76 Cong., 3d sess., 31 May 1940, H. Rept. 2359. President Roosevelt refused to approve the move. See *Message from the President . . . Returning Without Approval . . . H. R. 9751, for the Creation of the . . . De Soto Exposition Commission*, 76th Cong., 3 sess., 28 August 1940, H. Doc. 940.
64. The Company was founded in 1903. From working primarily with indoor amateur theatricals the company moved into outdoor pageants in 1919. See David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 237.
65. The following discussion is drawn from David Glassberg, "History and the Public: Legacies of the Progressive Era," *Journal of American History* 73(4): 957-980 and his later *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).
66. Glassberg, "History and the Public," 959.
67. Glassberg, "History and the Public," 965.
68. Glassberg, "History and the Public," 965 and 972 n. 39. A prominent, influential, and eventually very long-running southern historical pageant that appeared shortly before Bradenton's was Paul Green's *The Lost Colony* (1937), commemorating the romantic mystery of the lost English colony of 1587. Glassberg says that it "became the model for towns wishing to stage historical pageants in subsequent decades." Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 275. Shortly after the De Soto marker was put in place, the *Bradenton Herald* published an article about the play, "Roanoke Islanders Work Now, Thanks to Success in Play," 14 July 1939, p. 9. *The Lost Colony* "became a cure for unemployment," the article asserted. Before it began its run (with help from Federal Theater Project actors), the article asserted that "Roanoke Islanders . . . lived in isolation and loneliness," and bathtubs "were scarcer than in a New York City slum." But the play's second summer season brought 100,000 visitors, new hotels and tourist homes, and abundant jobs.
69. The Hernando De Soto Historical Society, responsible for the festival in later years, appears to have been founded sometime between 1939 and 1941, but documentary evidence is scant. See *The De Soto Celebration 1971, March 21-28, 1971* (Bradenton: Chamber of Commerce, 1971), p. 3.
70. *Official Souvenir Program, De Soto Pageant Spectacle, Bradenton Florida, Feb. 19, 20, 21, 22, 1941* (Bradenton: Chamber of Commerce, 1941), p. 32. Glassberg argues that the pageants, no matter where produced, and no matter what the historical events or epochs depicted, were strikingly similar in most respects. The Rogers Company shipped costumes, sets, and lighting from one pageant to another. Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 237-255.

the pageant followed the well-worn cultural tracks mapped by Glassberg. Staged at the Bradenton high school stadium, it was preceded by a De Soto Queens Contest, with contestants sponsored by local service clubs and other groups. It consisted of sixteen episodes and a Grand Finale, and included the high school band, a pageant chorus, trumpeters, and twenty or so "South American Princesses." Like so many others of its type, it "exhibited the idealized behavior of past generations for present generations to emulate."[71]



FIGURE 8. Beach view west from monument, January 1947 (DESO Files)

The first ten episodes focused specifically upon the De Soto expedition: the commissioning of De Soto as "Adelandado [sic; *adelantado*] of [La] Florida" and Governor of Cuba; planning for the expedition; the muster of the forces at San Lucar and the blessing of the army; the arrival of De Soto's ships at the village of Ucita on Terra Ceia Island (Indians in war dance, abandoning their village, lighting signal fires to warn their fellows); De Soto's landing at Shaw's Point and taking possession of Florida; his encounter with Spanish-speaking Juan Ortiz (survivor of an earlier expedition); and his conversation with Chief Mococo, who tells him there is "much gold" in the domain of the great red-man Chief Paracoxi. "GOLD!," the Spaniards cry in unison, before the scene shifts abruptly to "the threads of later history": the pioneers of Manatee County; the introduction of citrus fruits ("A living citrus grove, wherein we show the personified oranges, lemons, limes dancing with the spirits of the red hibiscus" as choreographed by the Citrus Ballet); an early wedding (with three dozen Virginia Reel Dancers,); and World War I ("an argument for permanent peace" and a commemoration of the war dead).[72]

True to the paradigm Glassberg has sketched, the De Soto pageant combined "popular imagery and high art, timeless moral principles and novel social and technological circumstances, the intimacies of local community and loyalty to the nation."[73] As in countless other towns, the pageant foregrounded "the theme of community development, the importance of townspeople keeping pace with modernity while retaining a particular version of their traditions, the rite-of-passage format signifying the town in graceful transition."[74]

In exhorting the audience, as citizens, to "become aroused to the great possibilities of their community," the Bradenton pageant echoed NPS Assistant Director Cammerer's reassurances to their St. Petersburg predecessors in the De Soto-commemorating enterprise a decade earlier that their future was inevitably full of bright promise. Sitting in the local high school stadium, Bradenton citizens watched an idealistic and rhapsodic final "America, the Melting Pot" episode which asserted that "Racial characteristics and differences, personal hopes, ambitions and expectations . . . [have all] merged into one noble dream" in America. A "gigantic closing spectacle" featured a living "wheel of life."[75] "May 'Forward' Be Our Watchword; Our Goal, Perfection," admonished the narrator, reminding listeners that "the history of Manatee County is still in the making . . . . The time has come for new industries and expansion . . . ." Standing together, Bradentonians sang the national anthem and waited reverently for the last notes of "Taps" to fade away.[76]

However much the optimism was or was not justified, as "Taps" ended the practical task was to see that a national park or memorial was established on Shaw's Point, as the *Bradenton Herald's* editor had

71. Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry,* 249.
72. Such episodes were a standard feature of Rogers Company productions. One in Michigan in 1929 included a dance interlude called "Celery, Queen Product of Kalamazoo County, disporting herself in a modernistic mood." Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry,* 261.
73. Glassberg, "History and the Public," 977.
74. Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry,* 285.
75. Both the "America the Melting Pot" and the "Wheel of Life" episodes were standard features of Rogers Company pageants. Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry,* p. 260.

promised two years earlier when the granite De Soto marker was implanted on the ancient shell mound.

The National Park Service Context for the De Soto National Memorial

Bradenton's drive to get a national commemorative site to De Soto established on Shaw's Point occurred during a decade that was complicated for the National Park Service—at the end of a heady period of New Deal expansion, but also during the severe cutbacks of World War II that were not abated until the advent of the Mission 66 largess of 1956-66.[77]

Born only twenty-five years earlier in 1916, the Park Service under its first director Stephen Mather focused upon what historian Richard Sellars calls "enthusiastic development of the national parks for tourism" within a coordinated plan for managing all of the national parks.[78] By the early 1930s, long-range "master plans" were being developed for individual parks, amidst lively internal policy debates concerning the extent of development, tourism promotion, road-building, dams and irrigation projects, and the treatment of inholdings.[79]

The advent of the New Deal had a major positive impact upon the Park Service. Before 1933, as Sellars points out, the Service "administered a system consisting mostly of large natural areas in the west, along with a few archeological sites in the Southwest and historic sites in the East." But after 1933, its "expansionist tendencies" led it into "new responsibilities in recreation and historic site management," especially as a result of the Preservation of Historic Sites Act of 1935 (16 U.S.C. sec. 461-467; 49 Stat. 666), which transferred to the Park Service all national monuments from the U. S. Forest Service and all battlefields and memorials from the War Department. The consequent bureaucratic expansion created the fully consolidated National Park Service of the modern era. Park Service appropriations went from $11 million per year in 1930-33 to $52 million per year in 1933-36, and employment from 2,000 to 17,500.[80] In truth, much of the expansion was funded by money from emergency relief programs, but it occurred nonetheless.[81]

Unfortunately, this greatly expanded and invigorated National Park Service was virtually shut down during World War II—a "grim and financially strapped . . . period," geographer Lary Dilsaver has called it.[82] The budget fell to only $4.7 million by 1945, skeleton staffs (down from nearly 6,000 on the eve of the war to a quarter of that in mid-1944) made any functions beyond minor maintenance and security impossible. It was not an auspicious time for new initiatives or new units.[83]

Low, Swampy, and Wet: The Cautions of the Appleman Report

Sometime during 1946, the Bradenton Chamber of Commerce joined with other local organizations to form a De Soto committee concerned with the De Soto landing. On December 12 the committee joined with National Park Service officials to inspect the Shaw's Point site. The Park Service officials, impressed by the site's possibilities, reportedly

76. Public confidence to the contrary notwithstanding, Glassberg concludes that "over time, as civic celebrations embraced wider and more diverse constituencies, it became harder for local civic officials to devise a coherent public history that was intellectually convincing and emotionally compelling." Glassberg, "History and the Public," 977. Later, and at virtually the same time Glassberg wrote, Native American protests against the unproblematized commemoration of De Soto's brutality in Florida began to emerge at the De Soto National Memorial.
77. We will return to Mission 66 in a later chapter. For a brief general characterization, see Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 180-191.
78. Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, 47. Much of the following discussion of NPS development is based upon Sellars's work. The 1916 legislation is generally referred to as the Organic Act.
79. Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, 52-66.
80. Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, 140. The text of this act is available in Lary M. Dilsaver, *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Lanham NY: Rowman and Littlefield, 1994), 132-134 and online at National Park Service, "Historic Sites Act of 1935," <http://www.cr.nps.gov/local-law/hsact35.htm> (accessed December 10, 2006). The dramatic increase in employment included large numbers of New Deal program (such as Civilian Conservation Corps) personnel, whose numbers decreased markedly again as those programs were phased out during the late 1930s.
81. Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, 141; Dilsaver, *America's National Park System*, 167-173.
82. Dilsaver, *America's National Park System*, 3.
83. Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, 150-151.

promised to send a group to evaluate the site in detail.[84]

In early January 1947, the Park Service dispatched its regional historian Roy E. Appleman to evaluate the Shaw's Point site, "in case," they said, "there is further agitation on the part of local groups or other parties for the establishment of a De Soto National Memorial in Florida."[85]

Appleman spent only two days at the site, but his seventeen-page report (embracing Shaw's Point, nearby Snead's Island, and Terra Ceia Island) was thorough, tightly reasoned and closely written, and was buttressed with scores of pages of photographs and documents. It is fair to say that it took a rather dim view of Shaw's Point as a national memorial to De Soto. Shaw's Point (which maps showed to have changed configuration repeatedly during the past century) Appleman found "swampy and wet" near the shoreline, and one needed boots to walk further inland. Currently, over two hundred acres of the point— the entire shoreline and a large amount of land behind it—were owned by local physicians W. D. Sugg and L. W. Blake.[86]

Looking outward from the Colonial Dames marker, the attractiveness of the site was somewhat enhanced by the presence, across the river on Snead's Island, of a "huge crescent shaped [shell] mound, 300 feet in extent and 30-40 feet high"[87]. Terra Ceia Island, eight miles northeast of Shaw's Point, Appleman understood to be the location of the Indian village of Ucita, which he said was "unquestionably the most important of the sites connected with the landing of De Soto in Florida."[88]



FIGURE 9. The De Soto Celebration parade goes past the Manatee County Courthouse, 1948 (MCPL)

When he came to discuss "Shaw's Point as a site for a De Soto Memorial," however, Appleman was less than enthusiastic. Its "dominant characteristic," he was careful to point out, "is that it is low." The extensive mangrove stands indicated that it was "subject to periodic flooding at high tide." Only small areas "are sufficiently above high tide to serve as building sites that would be suitable for a Memorial development".[89] "Any program of construction and development would," Appleman said, "probably be costly and require draining and filling operations."

Given its thoughtfulness and meticulous detail, it is remarkable that so little heed seems to have been paid to the Appleman report. In retrospect it appears that the social, cultural, and political dynamics already in motion were sufficient to carry

84. In addition to the local doctors Blake and Sugg (who eventually would donate the land for the Memorial), the committee included *Bradenton Herald* editor R. W. Bently, local amateur archeologist W. M. Tallant, Manatee County road commissioner John T. Knight, and Chamber of Commerce secretary W. A. Manning. Park Service officials included Regional Director Thomas J. Allen from Richmond and C. Raymond Vinten from the St. Augustine office. This brief account is taken from "Movement Leading to the Establishment of the Area," n.d. [possibly 1950s] and unidentified as to author, DESO Files.
85. Regional Director Thomas J. Allen to NPS Director, 8 April 1947, DESO Files.
86. Roy E. Appleman, "Report on Shaw's Point, Bradenton, Florida, Site of Proposed De Soto Memorial," 4 April 1947, DESO Files, 3-5. Appleman had been a historian within the National Park Service since 1936. See a brief online biography at National Park Service, "National Park Service: The First 75 Years: Biographical Vignettes, <http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/sontag/appleman.htm> (accessed 11 January 2007). These photos were almost certainly taken during the Appleman inspection. He was there January 8-9, and one of the photo cards notes that the photo was taken January 8 during the inspection by Appleman. All photos are of identical format.
87. Ibid., 7.
88. Ibid., 9. The Terra Ceia land, Appleman reported (8-9), was owned by Carl Bickel, chairman of board of United Press. Some houses had already been built on a shell heap thought to be part of the Ucita site, but Bickel, a student of Florida history, was "interested in historical preservation" and thus presumably would be amenable to preservation efforts.
89. Ibid., 10.

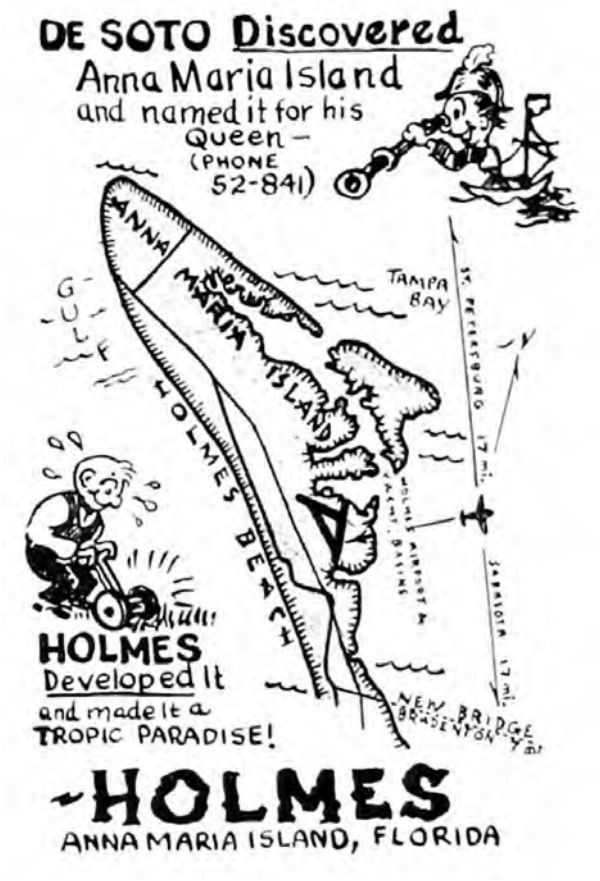


FIGURE 10. Holmes Beach real estate advertisement from 1948 De Soto Celebration program book (HDHS Archives)

local and state efforts to follow the path Swanton had carved in his 1938 *Florida Historical Quarterly* article and 1939 De Soto Commission report, riding smoothly over Appleman's cautions and recommendations.[90]

De Soto National Memorial Legislation

Three months after Appleman submitted his report, Florida Democratic Senator (and former Governor) Spessard Holland introduced Senate Bill 1554 "to authorize the establishment of the De Soto National Memorial in the State of Florida."[91] It limited land for the memorial to twenty-five acres where "a marker erected by one of the colonial societies is located," and authorized construction of "a suitable memorial structure, together with such connecting roads and public facilities as may be desirable." The bill became law on March 11, 1948 (P. L. 441; 62 Stat. 78; 16 U.S.C. 450dd, 450dd–1).[92]

As it turned out, the twenty-five acres allowed were woefully insufficient. Addressing the issue of land acquisition in 1947, Appleman had advocated a much larger park. If the memorial were created, it should encompass about 1 1/3 miles of shoreline, he advised, beginning 225 yards west of the De Soto marker and from there eastward, "curving around the tip of Shaw's Point 3/8 of a mile distant, and then tak[ing] in the entire half-moon around the land-locked harbor, about a mile in extent" and extending 200 yards back of the shoreline. Such an area would present a scene "at present not touched by the hand of man" except for squatter fishermen. "I think it would be a mistake and a shortsighted policy," he said candidly, "to take only a few acres at the Point on which a memorial building might be erected" (12-13). Although an unpublished House hearing of early 1948 indicated that the proposed memorial might be "about 45 acres," the establishing legislation allowed half that (and less than a third of what Appleman had recommended).[93]

Recommending a tract of about eighty acres, practically all owned by local physician W. D. Sugg, Appleman had cautioned that "personnel in the county courthouse" say the doctor is "a real estate speculator who has large holdings in the vicinity of Bradenton" (13). Sugg might be willing, Appleman guessed, to donate a small tract for the memorial, but there was "little doubt . . . that he expects to subdivide his property along the waterfront for residential building" (6) Putting a memorial there would (desirably for the owner) increase the value of the property.[94]

90. When the *Bradenton Herald* ran an article entitled "Why Shaw's Point Was Decided Upon: Dr. Swanton Explains the Process of Elimination," on 28 May 1939, it cited not the De Soto Commission's final report, but Swanton's January 1938 *Florida Historical Quarterly* article, which it reprinted.
91. U. S. Senate, 80th Cong., 1st sess. The parallel House legislation was H. R. 4023. See House Report 1300, 80th Cong., 2d sess., 3 February 1948, and Senate Report 906, 80th Cong., 2d sess., 24 February 1948.
92. The Secretary of the Interior signed the Order Establishing the De Soto National Memorial on August 5, 1949 and ordered that it be published in the *Federal Register.* A copy may be found in RG 79, Box 1622, NARA II.
93. Hearing on H. R. 4023, February 3, 1948. *Unpublished U. S. House of Representatives Committee Hearings, Committee on Public Lands, 1947-48*, p. 2.

"A Mammoth Stage Picture": The 1948 De Soto Celebration

As confidence grew that the legislation authorizing a De Soto National Memorial for Shaw's Point would be passed and signed, spirits rose in Bradenton.[95] Two weeks before the legislation passed, the 1948 De Soto Celebration opened. The pageant portion was again produced by the John B. Rogers Company: eleven episodes treating the De Soto expedition, eight more concerning recent local history, and a grand finale ("a mammoth stage picture, a soul-stirring climax to this up-to-the-minute presentation"). The pageant was framed by an Easter baby parade, a De Soto queen contest and ball, a reenactment of the De Soto landing at Shaw's Point, a speedboat regatta and a golf tournament, and street dancing.[96] De Soto was still at the center of the event, but the growing emphasis upon tourism was evident in a *Bradenton Herald* editorial that touted the "great benefits which [the Celebration] brings to this county by giving Winter visitors added incentive to remain here."[97]

Public and Private Interests: The Sugg-Blake Land Donation

Land for the memorial was donated by local physicians William Daniel Sugg (1897-1981) and Lowry W. Blake (1889-1970). Sugg, a naval aviator during World War I, came to Bradenton in 1929, and was for years the only surgeon south of Tampa on Florida's west coast. He was the public-spirited founder of the Manatee Players theater group, the Florida West Coast Symphony, South Florida Museum and Bishop Planetarium, and Manatee Memorial Hospital. Blake, a South Carolina native, came to Bradenton in 1925 after service in World War I.[98] In the De Soto memorial effort Sugg appears to have found an ideal way to blend his entrepreneurial aims as a land speculator and his role as public citizen and benefactor.

Sugg and Blake had bought their land on Shaw's Point from the Lost River Investment Company (an Indiana corporation) only in October 1940—eighteen months after the De Soto marker was put in place. Before it was acquired by the Lost River Company around 1922, the Point had been in the hands of local owners and families—Alderslades, Shaws, Pettigrews, Starbucks, Whitakers, Vanderipes, and others—since at least the outbreak of the Civil War.[99] As a canny land speculator, Sugg was presumably aware that the Point was now a likely location for a national memorial that would increase the area's commercial value. In addition to his Shaw's Point land, Sugg owned much of the Holmes Beach area on nearby Anna Maria Island.

Sugg and Blake held the land throughout the campaign to establish De Soto National Memorial, until in August of 1948 they agreed to donate a small portion (specified as 22.6 acres) to the Interior Department for use as a site for the memorial. The land was actually transferred in January 1949.[100] It was to be about two years after the legislation was signed before the first Superintendent of De Soto National Memorial arrived. Meanwhile, the estab-

94. Indeed, only a few months after the De Soto National Memorial opened in 1950, Sugg placed some the land he owned east of the Memorial in the hands of a realtor and advertised it for sale. Superintendent's Monthly Report, October 1950, DESO Files.
95. The House Committee on Public Lands recommended in early February 1948 that the memorial be established. U. S. House Committee on Public Lands, Report to Accompany H.R. 4023, 80th Cong., 2d sess.,, 3 February 1948.
96. *Official Souvenir Program: De Soto Celebration and Pageant Spectacle, Bradenton, Florida, March 29, 30, 31, 1948,* HDHS Archives; "De Soto Queen Tabulation to Be Made Here," "Intrepid Spaniard Landing at Point Monday at Noon," and "De Soto Regatta Tomorrow," *Bradenton Herald*, 15, 22, and 29 March 1948, respectively.
97. "Work Made the Festival," *Bradenton Herald*, 29 March 1948.
98. Robert E. King, *A History of the Practice of Medicine in Manatee County, Florida* (Bradenton FL: Manatee County Hospital, 1985), 15-158 and 203-207.
99. Unidentified typescript, "Owners of land which is now De Soto National Memorial," DESO Files. The Lost River Investment Company was chartered in Indiana on August 27, 1919 and dissolved November 29, 1945 (Geof Scott, Indiana State Archives, e-mail to David E. Whisnant, 29 November 2006).
100. W. D. Sugg and L. W. Blake to To Whom It May Concern, 8 August 1948, DESO Files; Warranty Deed of 3 January 1949, Book 255, pp. 562-564; MCHRL. There is some discrepancy in the amount of land donated. A National Park Service Land Ownership Record (DESO Files) dated 8 June 1949 (survey completed December 1948) says that the plot included 24.18 acres valued at $8209.00. Acting NPS Director A. E. Demaray accepted the deed to 24.182 acres of land on 8 June 1949 (deed dated 3 January 1949), and recommended to the Secretary of the Interior that notice of establishment be published in the *Federal Register.* Secretary of the Interior, Order Establishing De Soto National Memorial, 5 August 1949. DESO Files. The order was filed August 11 (*Federal Register* Doc. 49-6536).

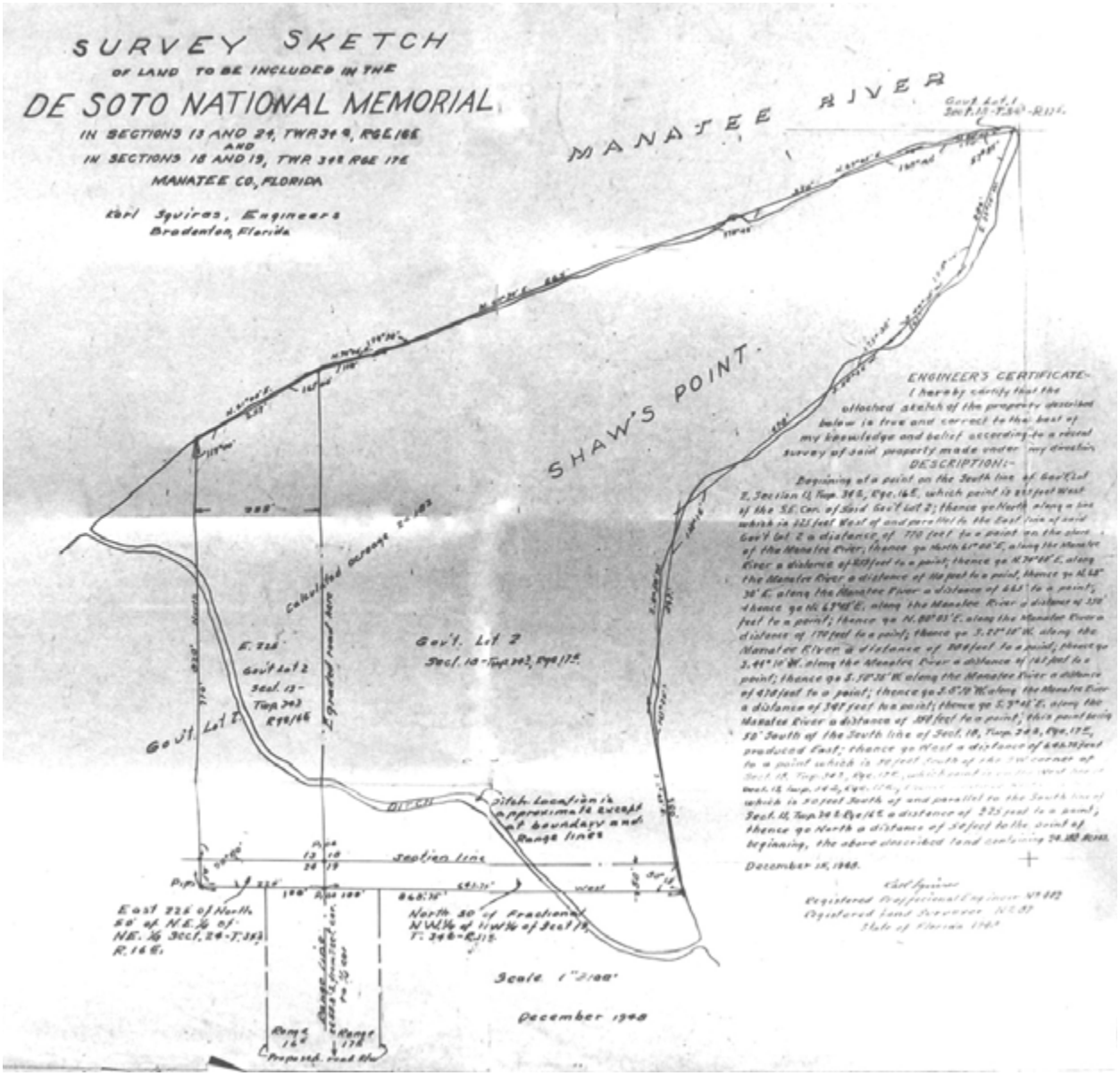


FIGURE 11. Survey Sketch of Land to Be Included in the De Soto National Memorial, December 1, 1948. Earl Squires, cartographer. (MCPL)

lishment of the memorial was great cause for celebration in Bradenton.

The 1949 De Soto Celebration

Paradoxically, there were only a few De Soto-related events at the 1949 Celebration. There was the usual street parade preceded by the landing of "De Soto and his noblemen" at Shaw's Point ("an impressive bit of pageantry") and "a few words" by a spokesman at the monument. De Soto, his noblemen and a court jester put in another brief appearance at the [Queens'] Coronation Pageant and Musical Extravaganza in the stadium, but the bulk of the time was given over to variety acts like Ed Whizzer's Gang, high school bands and majorettes, school dance and choral groups, the Lion's Club Minstrels, and Shriners clowns. Drawing upon a broadly popular stereotype to close out the Celebration on Saturday afternoon, Toby Dowdy's Hi-Pointers ("currently under radio contract to the Dixie Lily Milling Company") presented "a one-hour free hillbilly show."[101] The Celebration closed on Saturday night with the Queen's ball (the "number one social event of Bradenton's winter season," sponsored by the Junior Women's Club). In retrospect, it appears that De Soto was present

mainly in numerous program booklet ads by local businesses featuring (generally humorous) De Soto images.

In any case, the site was selected, the marker erected, legislation debated and passed, the land bought and transferred. There was to be a De Soto National Memorial, and it was to be situated on Shaw's Point. The first superintendent arrived on March 11, 1950.[102] In some respects there could hardly have been a more promising moment to develop a park and a constituency for it in west Florida—just at the cusp of the breaking wave of post-World War II tourist development.

Historian Gary R. Mormino has shown that the year 1950 was the moment of Florida's postwar "Big Bang," when unprecedented population growth and land development created modern Florida. Population doubled during the decade, on its way to increasing six times by the year 2000. As Mormino puts it, "retired bus drivers, schoolteachers, and accountants could afford this Florida dream on the installment plan" as developers "converted goat farms, garbage dumps, and lemon groves into low-cost-middle-class homes in the sun."[103] Fantasies were marketed "on the cheap" to a middle class emboldened by postwar prosperity and funded by Social Security. Air conditioning, bulldozers and DDT conquered heat, mangroves, and mosquitoes.

But the promising demographics and emerging markets were not the only factors that would affect development of De Soto National Memorial. The new superintendent was also to face the challenge of mediating multiple constituencies and interests, multiple agendas, a none too stable natural setting, and (over time) public uncertainty about what commemoration was appropriate for a figure who headed an enterprise subjected to mounting historical, political, cultural and ethical scrutiny.



FIGURE 12. Advertisement for Burger's Cottages and Cafeteria, De Soto Celebration booklet, 1949 (HDHS Archives)

101. On the historical development and long-term popularity of the hillbilly stereotype, see J. W. Williamson, *Hillbillyland: What the Movies Did to the Mountains and What the Mountains Did to the Movies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995) and Anthony Harkins, *Hillbilly : A Cultural History of an American Icon* (New York : Oxford University Press, 2004).
102. See *Unpublished U. S. House of Representatives Committee Hearings, Committee on Public Lands, 1949-51,* May 3, 1950. There was indeed to be a superintendent, despite NPS Assistant Director Conrad Wirth's assurance to Congress that the whole operation ("nothing but a road, a parking area, and a little path") could be handled by a single custodian (or perhaps "two people: one as a laborer and one as a ranger-naturalist") for $3000 or so a year. Wirth estimated that the total cost of the new unit would not exceed $20,000. On the critical matter of the location of the De Soto landing, Wirth said "This is supposed to be as near as can be determined the place where De Soto landed." U. S. House of Representatives Committee on Public Lands, "Statement of Conrad L. Wirth," 26 January 1948, in *Unpublished U. S. House of Representatives Committee Hearings, Committee on Public Lands, 1949-51*, pp. 1-15.
103. Gary R. Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern* Florida (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 2-16, 47-48. Mormino notes (p. 16) that between 1960 and 1990 America's population grew 21%, the South's 40%, and Florida's 76%.

Chapter 2
"One of the Major Attractions in Florida": Park Planning and Development in the 1950s and 1960s

As St. Petersburg's early partisans of a national commemorative site for De Soto had learned, the Depression hit Florida early, quickly and hard. Even the tourist industry that had struggled to rebuild itself after the early 1930s collapsed in the first year of the war because of gasoline rationing, military callups, and beaches soaked by oil from military maneuvers. Recovery came too late to help St. Petersburg's De Soto endeavor, but when it did come, it came almost as quickly as the downturn. Tourism got a new boost as wartime military operations expanded the economy. Governor Spessard Holland's election in 1940 led to tax reform oriented toward retiring Depression-era debt, and road building grew by 1,560 miles during Holland's first term. Florida's first oil well was drilled in September 1943, and within two years annual production reached a half-million barrels. Defense-related development brought forty new airfields by 1945, together with vast numbers of defense workers and service personnel. After the war, military trainees who had experienced the delights of the state's tropical climate returned as tourists.[104] State population, only 1.5 million in 1930, nearly doubled (to 2.8 million) in 1950, on its way to nearly seven million in 1970. Urbanization was proceeding rapidly: only a third of Florida's people lived in urban areas in 1920, but by 1960 three-quarters did.[105]

Thus the opening of the decade of the 1950s was on the whole an auspicious time to create a national memorial on the economically and developmentally burgeoning West Coast of Florida. Most of the publicity surrounding the 1948 and 1949 De Soto Celebrations in Bradenton was still rather staid, and business advertisements in the program books seemed directed primarily toward local clientele, but the Morris E. Cox Motors ad for De Soto auto-

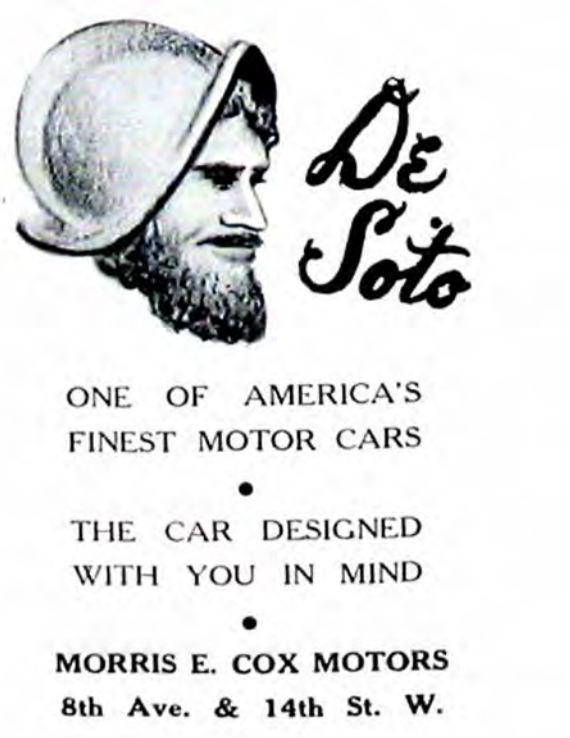


FIGURE 13. Automobile ad in 1949 De Soto Celebration program booklet (HDHS Archives)

104. Michael Gannon, *Florida: A Short History*, rev. ed. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 106.
105. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971), 413-432.



FIGURE 14. Cover illustration, De Soto Celebration booklet, 1951 (HDHS Archives)

mobiles in the 1949 book hinted at least obliquely at the emerging post-war automobile travel culture and at the hordes of visitors clogging the southbound highways.

Thus the Memorial's early years coincided with a major boom in Florida west coast tourism. On Labor Day 1954, the new fifteen mile-long Sunshine Skyway Bridge from St. Petersburg to Palmetto (adjacent to Bradenton) opened to replace the slow ferry, markedly decreasing travel time and increasing tourist traffic.[106] "The Florida West Coast," Superintendent Hopper reported in February 1957—a month in which more than 13,000 visitors came to the Memorial, "is having its greatest influx of travelers in history." Hotels and motels were full, and people were sleeping in their cars and on beaches. Meanwhile, local chambers of commerce were placing summertime ads in northern newspapers to promote tourism, and five new bridges were opening in the area.[107]

An Armor-clad De Soto and the Can-Can Dancers: Developing a Park in the 1950s

By 1951 the De Soto Celebration program booklet cover still showed an armor-clad Hernando De Soto, standing resolutely on the riverbank in *La Florida*, flag planted and sword in hand, but he was by now merely a vestigial figure, overwhelmed by a large, dramatic image of a can-can dancer—bikini top, flower in cascading dark hair, skirts swirling. Framing the brave conquistador's tiny ship lying becalmed in the distance were the dancer's shapely legs, exposed as far up as local mores allowed. By 1952, stock car and speedboat races and a sailing regatta had been added to the Celebration to draw tourists. Bradenton's year-round population had been only about 13,000 in 1950, but it doubled during the November-March tourist season, and all the economic vectors pointed upward.[108]

A Slow Start: Early Park Planning and Initial Development (1950-1956)

Even within this generally auspicious framework, however, development at the Memorial proceeded slowly. As early as June 1948, only three months after the legislation passed Congress, a General Development Plan map showed an entrance road and a 500 foot-long elliptical drive running directly

106. The two-lane bridge was augmented by an additional two lanes on a parallel bridge in 1971. On May 9, 1980 during a violent storm, an empty phosphate freighter slammed into the southbound span, taking out nearly 1,300 feet of the bridge and killing thirty-five people, most of them tourists on a Greyhound bus headed for Miami. A new 5.5 mile Sunshine Skyway (the world's longest cable-stayed concrete bridge) opened in 1987. See "Sunshine Skyway Bridge Demolition," <http://www.geocities.com/pagesbydave/SunSkyDemoHis.html> (accessed 11 January 2007).
107. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, 1957, DESO Files.
108. Vin Mannix, "Downtown Hoping for Revitalization," *Bradenton Herald*, June 17, 2007 (<http://www.bradenton.com/681/story/49051.html; accessed November 6, 2007>). Mannix notes that city population rose by more than fifty percent by 1970.

north and south (the tip of Shaw's Point itself angles to the northeast), a flagpole, the Colonial Dames marker and an "observation point" nearby, and portable toilets. There were no buildings or other features, but a hand-drawn circle and penciled notation indicated a site for "office, museum."[109] By January 1950 plans included a small open-air shelter with benches and five small exhibit panels, a shell mound site marker, an observation point platform with benches, and a "contact station" which included restrooms and the superintendent's office. There were to be labels for "typical flora along foot trails."[110] Nevertheless, following a dedication ceremony attended by both Colonial Dames and NPS officials on March 24, 1950, an editorial in the *Bradenton Herald* expressed confidence that the new memorial "can become one of the major attractions in Florida."[111]



FIGURE 15. Colonial Dames officials at De Soto National Memorial dedication, March 24, 1950 (DESO Files)

Behind the public face, however, Superintendent Richard Hopper's challenge was to create a usable park site with a small budget, a minimal staff, and a tiny slip of land in the middle of a mangrove swamp. Fortunately, the county had extended a road to the site for the placement of the marker in 1939, but it had to be upgraded for anticipated park visitor traffic. Surveys for the entrance and loop roads were done in the spring of 1950.[112]



FIGURE 16. National Park Service officials at De Soto National Memorial dedication, March 24, 1950. L to R: Southeastern District Interpretive Planner Albert C. Manucy, Southeastern District Assistant Superintendent W. A. Meanerhan; NPS Assistant Director Conrad L. Wirth; Coordinating Superintendent of Southeastern National Monuments C. R. Vinten; De Soto National Memorial Superintendent Richard Hopper (DESO Files)

By the end of the year the mall area was paved, a temporary office building had been erected and a well drilled, and the park was receiving one to two thousand visitors a month.[113] But other substantial improvements to the memorial were slow in coming. By mid-1952 a road and trail system plan showed only a single loop trail leading from the orientation shelter around Shaw's Point and back.

During the ensuing several years, Superintendent Hopper worked bit by bit to develop an attractive and functional memorial. During 1951 he had nearly 1,300 cubic yards of topsoil hauled in for grass and tree planting. The approach road was completed in January 1953, and by summer the main gate was in place.[114] Visitation during the busiest tourist month of March had risen to more

109. General Development Plan map, 24 June 1948, NPS DSC. The plan was approved nearly a year later (3 June 1949) by NPS Acting Director A. E. Demaray. Whether the "office, museum" note was contemporary with the drawing is impossible to determine. The only clearly readable date on the drawing is from June, but it may have been prepared as early as May. A print from a later (10 August 1950) revision does not have the notation.
110. Interpretive Plan: Part of the Master Plan, 25 January 1950, NPS DSC.
111. "Credit for De Soto National Memorial," *Bradenton Herald*, 26 March 1950.
112. Early site preparation also required considerable dredging and filling, which will be discussed in detail in a subsequent chapter.
113. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, 1950, DESO Files.
114. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1953, RG 79, Box 75, NARA II.



FIGURE 17. Main gate completed, June 1953 (DESO Files)



FIGURE 18. Clearing for entrance road and parking area, May 1950 (DESO Files)

than 8,500. Visitation averaged about 3,300 per month in 1955, and March 1956 brought over 10,000 visitors. Assistant Everglades National Park Superintendent George W. Fry conducted the first official inspection of the Memorial in late April, 1955. The facility received an excellent report, but Fry noted the need for a permanent building (including a Superintendent's office and restrooms), and for "additional private lands" to be added to the Memorial's boundaries.[115]

Hopper also had to begin immediately to try to counter the more negative and unstable aspects of the Shaw's Point site. As early as 1951, in a cryptic foreshadowing of an emerging problem that would plague the site during its entire subsequent history, he noted that the river was eating away at the newly deposited fill, and "log groins along Shaw's Point trail on cove side were improved by addition of more logs."[116]

With minimal facilities and staff (still only himself, a clerk and a caretaker by 1959), Hopper brought the Memorial through its initial development phase (1950-56). The site had been (literally) built, the grounds were laid out and landscaped, visitation was growing (it reached nearly 64,000 annually by the end of the decade)[117] and some rudimentary interpretation of Hernando De Soto's expedition and of the site was a feature of visitor experience at the Memorial. [Fig 2.8] There were even preliminary plans to build a small museum.[118]

For the next decade, development would proceed within the framework of what was called Mission 66—an NPS-wide effort launched in 1956, but first mentioned by De Soto Superintendent Hopper as early as July 1955.[119]

Beyond the "Poverty Years": The Advent of Mission 66

Paradoxically, De Soto National Memorial was a creature of what Park Service historian Lary Dilsaver has called "the poverty years" of the Service, 1942-1956. Pearl Harbor ended the flush New Deal years, and wartime abandonment, neglect and underfunding of the parks followed. As early as 1949, NPS Director Newton B. Drury called the parks "victims of the war." Between 1931 and 1948, visitation had grown from about 3.5 million to

115. George W. Fry to Everglades Superintendent, 28 April 1955, RG 79, Box 503, NARA II.
116. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, 1951 and 1952, DESO Files. The log groins reference occurs in April 1952. We return to a more extensive discussion of the problem of beach erosion and renourishment in a later chapter. An additional early threat—mosquitoes and gnats—is also engaged in a later chapter.
117. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1959, RG 79, Box 75, NARA II.
118. We return to the matters of interpretation and cultural resources management in subsequent chapters. Preliminary plans for the museum were contained in Albert C. Manucy, "Preliminary Museum Prospectus for De Soto National Memorial," 12 May 1953, DESO Files.
119. Superintendent's Monthly Report, July 1955, DESO Files. For a broader discussion of Mission 66, see Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007).

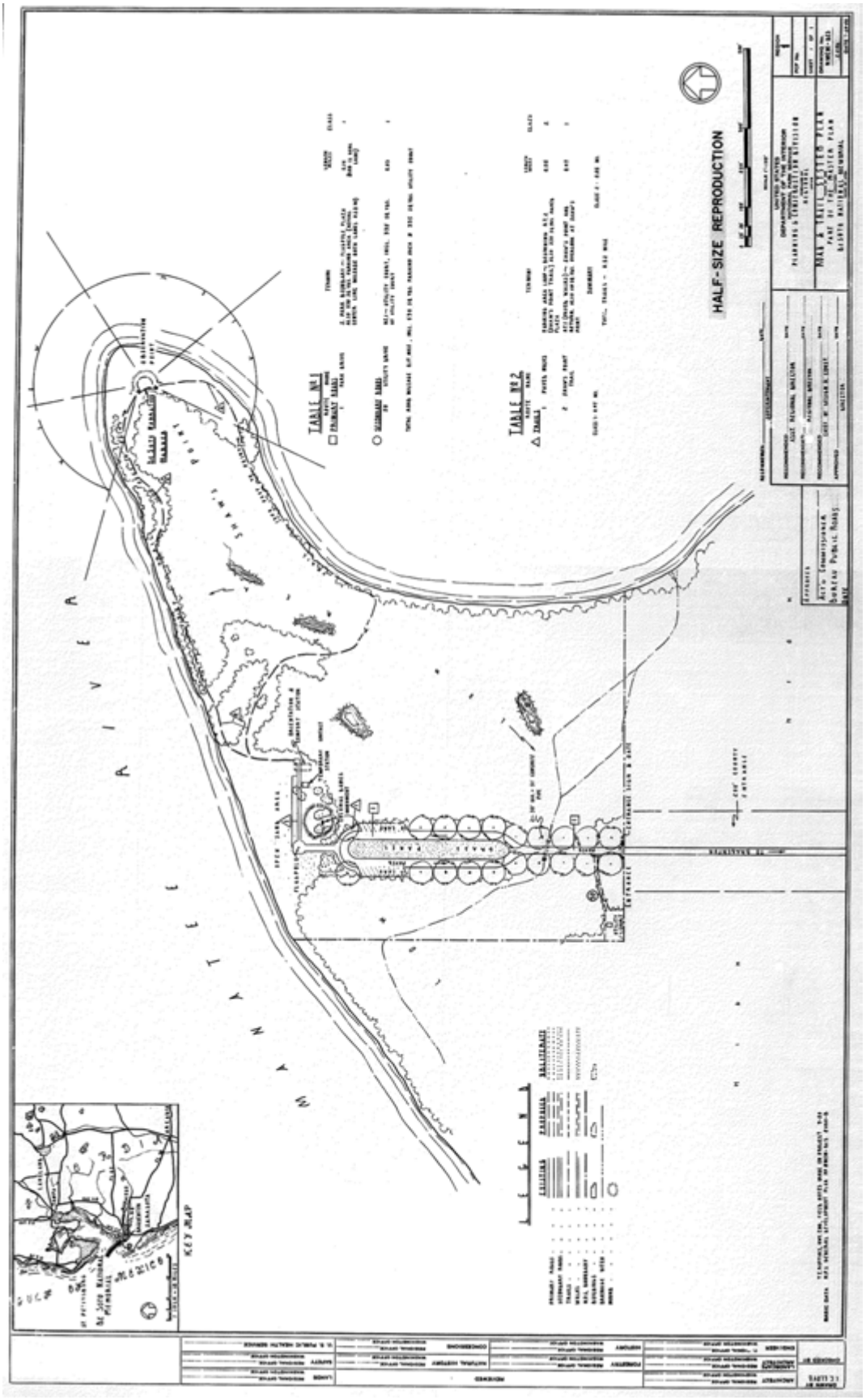


FIGURE 19. Road and trail system plan map, July 24, 1952 (NPS DSC)

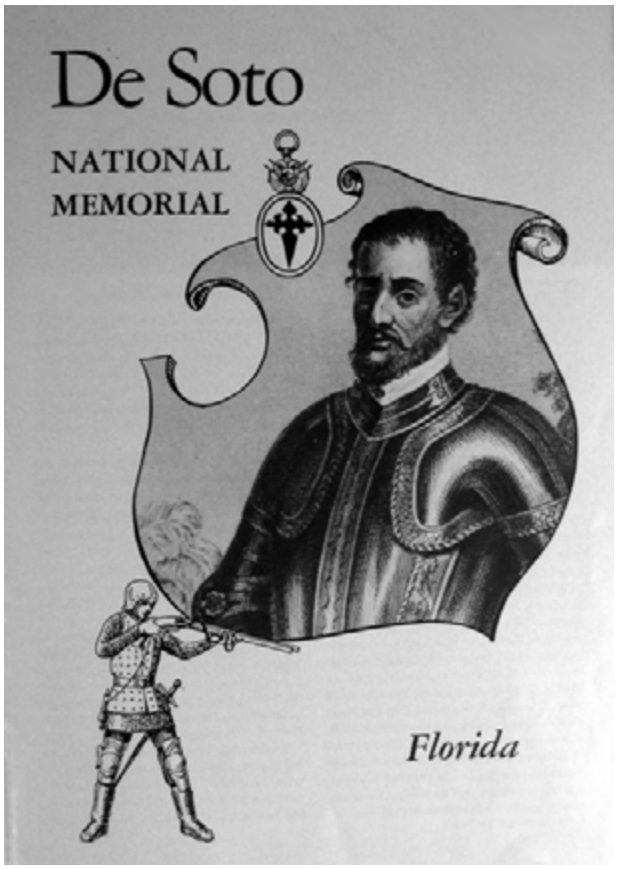


FIGURE 20. De Soto National Memorial visitor booklet, 1950 (NARA PA)

nearly 30 million, but facilities had not grown correspondingly, and maintenance had long been neglected throughout the system.[120] So dire was the situation by the early 1950s—with travel in the parks burgeoning but budgets stagnant—that social critic Bernard DeVoto penned a sardonic essay in *Harper's Magazine* suggesting that since the national parks were not being supported by the government, they should be closed in order to "bring a nationally disgraceful situation to the really serious attention of the Congress which is responsible for it."[121]

Mission 66 was conceived by new NPS Director Conrad Wirth as a massive remediation program to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the National Park Service in 1916. Park Service historian Roy Appleman, author of the early evaluative report prior to the founding of De Soto National Memorial, had a major part in conceiving and designing Mission 66.[122]

Wirth characterized the purpose of Mission 66 as an effort "to make an intensive study of the problems of protection, public use, interpretation, development, staffing, legislation, financing, and all other phases of park operation, and to produce a comprehensive and integrated program of use and protection that is in harmony with the obligations of the National Park Service under the Act of 1916."[123] President Eisenhower said bluntly that "this is a good program; let's get on with it." Congressional committees held hearings in early 1956, and the legislation moved quickly to passage.[124]

The Mission 66 effort stretched over ten years (1956-66), and eventually cost upwards of $1 billion. Across the entire system, it provided new roads, trails, parking areas, campgrounds, and water, sewer, and power systems. It rehabilitated historic structures and provided new park buildings, including many visitor centers. Every park in the system had at least one construction project, and there were also new exhibits and other interpretive programs.[125] New uniform standards concerning entrance areas, numbers of employees, trails, and other amenities insured that visitors would encounter an acceptable level of facilities in every park in the system.[126]

120. Lary M. Dilsaver, *America's National Parks: The Critical Documents* (Lanham MD: Rowan and Littlefield, 1994), 165-166. NPS Director Newton B. Drury's 1943 essay, "The National Parks in Wartime," in Dilsaver, *America's National Parks*, 167-173, carefully framed the competing interests involved in adapting and using national parks and their resources during wartime. Sarah Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type* (Washington DC: National Park Service, 2000), 1.
121. Bernard DeVoto, "Let's Close the National Parks" (1953), in Dilsaver, *America's National Parks,* 183-189.
122. Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 238. For members of the committees involved in forming Mission 66, see p. 240.
123. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, 242.
124. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, 253-256. The inaugural document is National Park Service, *Mission 66 for the National Park System* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956). See also Roy E. Appleman, *A History of the National Park Service Mission 66 Program* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1958). For a broader discussion of Mission 66, see Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007).
125. For a thumbnail sketch, see NPS HFC, Description of National Park Service History Collection RG 23, http://www.nps.gov/hfc/products/library/mission66.htm (accessed 18 June 2007.)

Mission 66 at the Memorial

Superintendent Hopper apparently began working on the De Soto National Memorial's Mission 66 plan as early as mid-1955, revising and shaping it over the next six years.[127] The plan's Preservation and Use policy focused on planning and building an adequate visitor center, maintaining the perennially buffeted and eroded shoreline, protecting the natural state of the mangrove swamps, building maintenance facilities and housing for personnel (the latter never actually realized), and assembling a collection of sixteenth-century "Spanish Military furnishings" for the museum (and presumably for general interpretive purposes). Interpretation was to be focused around self-guided tours of the grounds and exhibits, but no provisions were to be made for "picnicking or other recreational activities," deemed "incompatible with the purpose of the area." Efforts were encouraged to raise the legislative limit on development funds.[128]

Mission 66 developments also highlighted the perennial need to expand the boundary of the

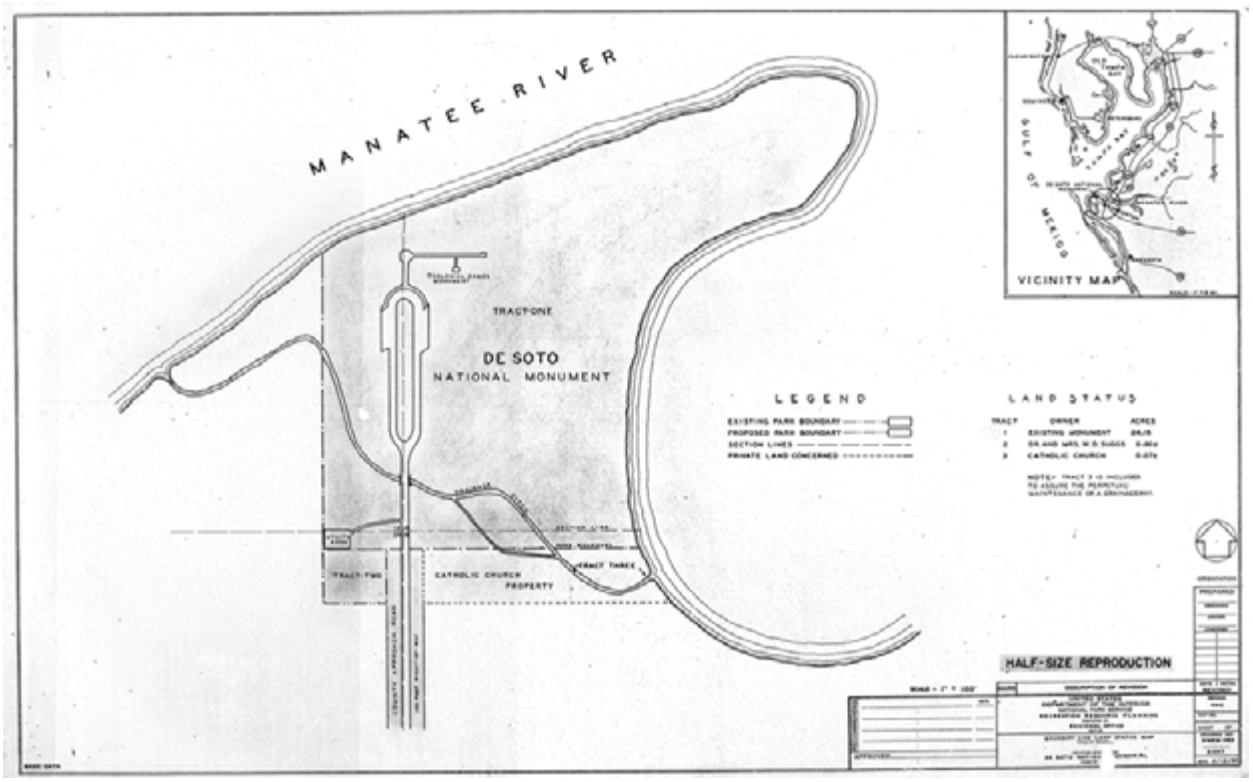


FIGURE 21. Proposed new boundaries, April 12, 1960. The Sugg land (Tract 2) lay to the left of the entrance road, and the Catholic church land to the right. (NPS DSC)

126. Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers,* 4
127. Superintendent's Monthly Report for July 1955, 11 August 1955, DESO Files. How or why Hopper was able to begin work on the Memorial's Mission 66 planning so far in advance is not clear from the record. The De Soto Mission 66 plan appears to have been approved in May 1957. See NPS Associate Director E. T. Scoyen's "Notice of Approval, De Soto National Memorial Prospectus," 1 March 1957, RG 79, SERO Subject Files, Box 25, NARA PA. Available archival sources on De Soto National Memorial include no single, clearly definitive version of the Memorial's Mission 66 plan. Fragments, variously dated, are scattered through several archives. Here we have used primarily two versions of the Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of De Soto National Memorial: Mission 66 Edition from NPS DSC. Some sections may have been written as early as April 1961, but most are dated (individually within the same compiled document) between October 1961 and September 1964. The Memorial's Mission 66 planning document was made up of three volumes, only volumes 1 and 3 of which appear to have survived. Volume 1 (Master Plan Narrative) included chapters entitled Objectives and Policies, Visitor Use Brief, Park Organization Brief, and Park Operations Outline. Volume 3 (General Park Information) included sections entitled Park Origin, Vicinity Data, Public Use Data, Natural History, Protection, Construction Data, Buildings Inventory, Utilities Inventory, and Surveys Data.
128. Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of De Soto National Memorial: Mission 66 Edition, Vol. I, Chap. 1, pp, 5-7. On raising the development limit, see U. S. Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Report No. 380, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 9 June 1959 and S. 1214, signed into law September 8, 1960 (P. L. 86-728; 74 Stat. 856).



FIGURE 22. Stamp issued by U. S. Postal Service to commemorate the 425th anniversary of the De Soto landing (DESO Files)

Memorial beyond the 25-acre limit specified in the authorizing legislation.[129] Senate bill S. 1214, introduced on March 2, 1959, provided for raising the limit to thirty acres.[130] A June 9 Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs report explained that the Park Service wished to acquire a three-acre strip along the south boundary, which would "provide additional needed space for administrative purposes and would preclude undesirable commercial and residential development near the entrance gate." The Service, it added, "has been unable to effect the donation" of the land, so S. 1214 authorized up to $10,000 to buy it.[131] An attached letter from Assistant Secretary of the Interior Roger Ernst, submitted with the Department's request that legislation be introduced, explained that "at the present rate of growth and development in this section of Florida, the approach road to the area may be crowded with home sites in the foreseeable future. Such development would destroy much of the serenity and dignity of the area"—exactly the threat Roy Appleman had predicted a dozen years earlier.[132] S.1214 as passed by the Senate raised the land limit to thirty acres, but did not increase the original $50,000 development ceiling. The amended version passed by the House raised that limit to $175,000.[133] Some senators objected to raising the development limit, but the law enacted on September 8, 1960 (P.L. 86-728; 74 Stat. 856) raised both.[134]

A small (0.6 acre) portion of the now authorized three acres belonged to Dr. Sugg; the Catholic Church owned the rest. Sugg was willing to donate his, but the Church (even after protracted negotiations) was not—hence the necessity for the $10,000 land acquisition fund in S. 1214.[135]

The constrained boundary was only one of the daunting array of problems—many issuing from its location on the shores of the Manatee River on the west coast of Florida—that beset the Memorial: perennial storm, tide, and hurricane damage; encroaching (mostly residential) development; hordes of mosquitoes and the spread of invasive exotic plant species; river, ground water, and air pollution from phosphate mining, processing and shipping; months of record heat and record cold, and days and weeks of record rain and record drought.[136]

129. As noted in the previous chapter, the National Park Service Land Ownership Record of June 1949, based on a report on the Earl Squires survey of December 1948, listed a total of 24.18 acres (Deed Book 255, page 562, MCHRL, Bradenton, FL).
130. S. 1214, 80th Cong., 2nd sess., 2 March 1959.
131. Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Report. No. 380, 80th Cong., 2nd sess., 9 June 1959.
132. Roger Ernst to President of the Senate Richard M. Nixon, 13 February 1959, attached to *ibid.* Ernst also noted that the additional land—to allow space for employee housing—was jointly owned by the persons who donated lands already included in the memorial." The "persons" he apparently referred to were Dr. and Mrs. Sugg.
133. House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Report 1609, 80th Cong., 2nd sess., 16 May 1959.
134. The resistance is noted in Fred A. Seaton to Dewey A. Dye, Jr., 18 August 1960, Eaton Room clipping file, MCPL.
135. A letter from Dewey A. Dye, Jr. to Interior Secretary Fred A. Seaton of 28 March 1960 indicated that Dr. Sugg "is seriously considering donating additional land at the entrance gate." Dye to Seaton, Eaton Room clipping file, MCPL. A month later, Seventh District Congressman James A. Haley wrote to Rep. Gracie Pfost, Chair of the Public Lands Subcommittee of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee that Dr. and Mrs. Sugg had "indicated their willingness" to donate the additional land. James A. Haley to Gracie Pfost, 26 April 1960, MCPL. The church ultimately refused to make the lands available (either by donation or purchase); NPS Assistant Chief of Lands Harry K. Sanders to Director, Region I, 4 October 1960, RG 79 SERO Subject Files Box 22, NARA PA. The Sugg donation (of 29 December 1960) was recorded in Manatee County Official Record Book 67 Pages 282-284; MCHRL. See also National Park Service Land Ownership Record, January 1962, DESO Files. Documents concerning the Catholic Church land transfer (if it did in fact occur) have not yet come to light.
136. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, 1950-1967, DESO Files. These topics are considered in detail in subsequent chapters.

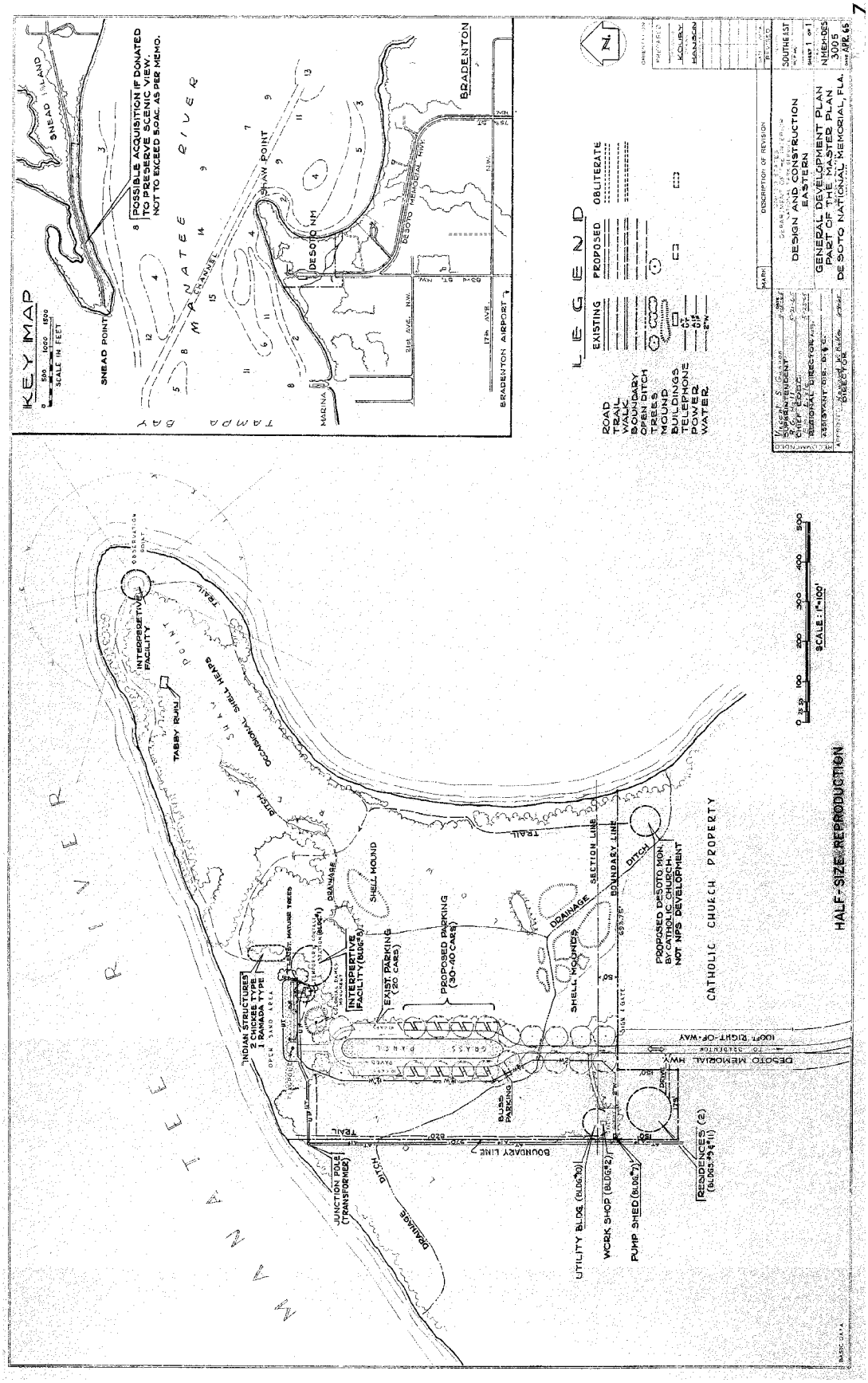


FIGURE 23. General Development Plan Map, April 1965, showing major new structures and expansion of parking area (NPS DSC)

In the 1960s, Memorial staff addressed these challenges with remarkable resolve and ingenuity, but the continuity of all park programs and activities was rendered difficult by the fact that during the last half of the Mission 66 era, the park operated with a series of short-term superintendents (and even shorter-term acting superintendents).

Richard Hopper, the first superintendent, had stayed for slightly more than a decade (1950-1961), but then for a half-dozen years, no superintendent remained for much more than two years.[137] Carl R. Stoddard arrived from Cumberland Gap National Historic Park in Kentucky to replace Hopper in late August, but he left a little more than fifteen months later to become Superintendent of Pipestone National Monument in southwest Minnesota. Lloyd Pierson came from the vastly larger Shenandoah National Park to take the De Soto post in January 1963, but barely two years later left to assume the superintendency of Appomattox Court House National Historic Park in Virginia.[138] Vincent S. Gannon replaced him in mid-March 1965, but departed about twenty-six months later to become Administrative Officer at Cape Hatteras National Seashore.[139] Finally in July 1967, the Memorial acquired a superintendent, Arthur Graham, who stayed for longer than two years (until 1972). Like Lloyd Pierson, Graham's immediate past experience had been at a much larger (and much different) park: the Blue Ridge Parkway in the Virginia and North Carolina mountains.[140]

Carl Stoddard's brief superintendency necessarily focused substantially upon the beach erosion and renourishment problems (considered at length in a subsequent chapter). Lloyd Pierson spent much of his time coping with mosquitoes and the logistical and other issues associated with the annual De Soto landing reenactments at the Memorial (see subsequent chapters).[141] Vincent Gannon took a special interest in these latter issues as well. The Pierson and Gannon superintendencies were bridged by work on the Mission 66 Master Plan.[142]

The Master Plan included a General Development Plan map that showed that major improvements were contemplated: expanding the parking area from twenty cars to as many as sixty; building two employee residences; adding a utility building and a workshop; and acquiring an additional five acres across the Manatee River on the tip of Snead Island to protect the Memorial's viewshed.[143] An associated Resource Management and Visitor Use Plan showed a new "interpretive facility" and a "Bay Observation Point" with onsite interpretation.[144] An Objectives chart focused on visitor use (extended hours during the tourist season and off-season use for educational purposes); resource conservation and developing and maintaining "a collection of historical documents and artifacts" for use in research and interpretive programs); and communication ("to interpret the story of Hernando De Soto's landing in Florida . . . [and] the worldwide significance of the . . . Expedition" and to "supplement [this] primary interpretive theme . . . [by relating] the area's natural history to historic period conditions"). These objectives were designed to reinforce the Memorial's overall purpose "to commemorate De Soto's landing in Florida . . . and the first large-scale, organized European exploration of the southern portion of . . . the United States," and to make known "the significance of the discoveries of the Expedition."[145]

It was a bold and ambitious plan, but the reality on the ground when Arthur Graham arrived as the new Superintendent toward the end of July, 1967 was not

137. After Hopper's departure, Ned J. Haywood served as Acting Superintendent April-July 1961. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, 1961, DESO Files. Haywood had come to the Memorial in 1953 as a clerk-typist.
138. M. R. Van Egmond served for two months as Acting Superintendent after Pierson's departure. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, 1965, DESO Files. Van Egmond had come to the Memorial in 1962; he departed for a new post at Colonial National Historic Park in August 1965, shortly after Graham's arrival.
139. Lee Lissy served as Acting Superintendent from Gannon's departure early in May until Arthur Graham arrived in mid-July. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, 1967, DESO Files.
140. Graham remained almost five years (until April 1972).
141. Telephone interview by David E. Whisnant, September 19, 2006.
142. References to this plan extant in the record stretch from September 1964 through April 1965. See Master Plan Development Analysis chart, April 1965, NPS DSC. Perennial concerns of all these Superintendents such as beach erosion, the local De Soto Celebration and landing reenactment, and the elaboration of an interpretive program are treated in subsequent chapters.
143. General Development Plan Map, April 1965, NPS DSC.
144. Resource Management and Visitor Use Plan map, April 1965, NPS DSC.
145. Master Plan Objectives chart, April 1965, NPS DSC.



FIGURE 24. Visitor Center under construction, November 1967 (DESO Files)



FIGURE 25. Manatee County National Bank De Soto mural, 1961. The mural was later removed, it seems, and has apparently been lost (MCPL)

especially encouraging. Years later Graham recalled that on the day he arrived, the facilities were in fact still rather primitive: "a wooden shack with room for two desks and a filing cabinet," outdoor privies, one interpretive sign that was "in deplorable condition," an open maintenance shed, and "one beat-up station wagon." He contracted with a local sign company to paint a new sign showing De Soto's route, and spent his first weeks watching the new Visitor Center rise.[146]

The $62,000 Center (designed by Bradenton architect Edward Dean Wyke) was the key element of Mission 66 plans for the Memorial that actually came to fruition.[147] The 3,000 square foot Center (apparently opened in late 1967 or early 1968) offered the Memorial for the first time an auditorium (over 700 square feet) with audio-visual equipment, nearly 600 square feet of reception and exhibit space, almost 500 square feet for offices, and (finally) adequate restrooms.

Partly because of the Visitor Center's opening and the steady rise of visitation over the years, but also partly due to the comprehensive planning that had been a central feature of Mission 66, the De Soto National Memorial was now—after nearly twenty years—solidly established and situated to do the explanation, interpretation and commemoration it had been formed to do.

Visitation had risen from about 72,000 annually in 1961 to nearly 99,000 in 1966, and the apparently endless expansion of Florida's west coast tourism promised that those numbers would continue to rise.[148] The park also had some elements of a Master Plan, and an appropriate (though still not complete by NPS standards) set of planning documents.[149] Similarly, the symbiotic relationship between the De Soto commemoration and the Bradenton business community appeared to be resolved and positive. By 1961, a grand De Soto mural appeared in the Manatee County National Bank.[150]

146. Interview by David E. Whisnant, 2 September 2006. A January 1950 drawing shows a half-dozen or more interpretive signs, most located in a small open pagoda, but this structure may have already been removed in preparation for building the Visitor Center by the time Graham arrived. Extant photographs from the 1950s and early 1960s also show more than one sign (including small ones identifying plants along the Nature Trail), but Graham's memory is correct that informational and interpretive signage at the Memorial was still minimal. Bids for the Visitor Center were opened in June 1967. See Superintendent's Monthly Report, June 1967, DESO Files. The Center was built by Cown Construction Company of Sarasota. An adequate new maintenance building was not to be constructed until 1995; Superintendent's Annual Report 1994-95, NPS DSC.
147. Some other related improvements were an equipment storage building, upgraded utilities, grounds improvements, and new signs and exhibits. Contemplated residences for staff were never built. A letter from Seventh District Representative James A. Haley to Dewey A. Dye, Jr., 24 January 1966, Eaton Room clipping file, MCPL indicated that the Department of Interior FY 1967 budget included $147,000 for improvements.
148. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, 1961 and 1967, DESO Files.
149. As late as April 1971, George W. Fry of NPS's Southeast Regional Office noted that "There is no approved files plan . . . [and] no Natural Resources Management Plan for this park"; George W. Fry, Operations Evaluation Report of De Soto National Memorial, April 7, 1971, DESO Files. The lack of a General Management Plan was to persist for another forty years.

But just as the shifting sands of the De Soto National Memorial site itself presented a constant, destabilizing challenge, so did its focal historical figure Hernando De Soto challenge those who undertook to commemorate his expedition and link he commemoration to the developmental aspirations of Bradenton and Manatee County. We turn now to the figure of De Soto: a brief sketch of his life, his epochal expedition, changing scholarly interpretations of him, and the daunting task of commemorating "difficult histories."

150. A contemporary postcard featuring the mural carries the inscription "Manatee National Bank with Trust Department. Bradenton, Florida. The entire center of the north wall in the new Manatee National Bank Building is the beautiful, full colored painting of Hernando De Soto's 1539 discovery of Bradenton. This 20 by 30 foot pictorial is said to be the largest of its type in the world and one of the main points of interest to see when in Bradenton. Mural by Earl La Pan, Dania, Florida," MCPL.

Chapter 3
Difficult Histories: De Soto as Focus

As a park that had its origins in a celebratory commemoration of the arrival of the sixteenth-century (1539-43) North American expedition of Spanish explorer Hernando De Soto, De Soto National Memorial's own history has unfolded in the midst of evolving (and exceedingly complex) public and scholarly understanding of both De Soto and the Spanish conquest. Indeed, the park itself is a direct product of one moment in a much longer effort to untangle the history of this first major European exploration of what became the southeastern United States and grapple with the meaning of its aftereffects.

In 1939, when the Colonial Dames of America in Florida placed their monument at Bradenton's Shaw's Point in the midst of national attention to the De Soto Quadricentennial, the *Bradenton Herald* proclaimed De Soto one of the "high-hearted men who have made history."[151] On the day of the dedication, local official G. B. Knowles noted that although "the assault which they made upon the natives was as ruthless as the spirit of their resolve," De Soto and his men "began unknowingly to blaze the way to a better civilization than that of which he was a conspicuous part."[152] The public, meanwhile, remembered De Soto mainly as the "discoverer" of the Mississippi River (though, of course, native peoples had discovered it long before). But throughout the Deep South, De Soto biographer David Ewing Duncan notes, De Soto has long been "a cult figure venerated as Dixie's first white hero," with many localities—Bradenton among them—trading on their presumed place along the conquistador's route.[153] By 1993, however, optimistic and celebratory portrayals of De Soto and his legacy had given way to greater attention to the Indian side of the De Soto story and to vigorous Native American protests (detailed in a later chapter) that the De Soto expedition should not be celebrated at all, as it had amounted to a genocide that was part of an "American Indian Holocaust."[154]

Along the way, Patricia Galloway observes, "the increasing professionalization of the disciplines of history and archeology has produced a widening gulf between the public that concerns itself with celebration and the scholars who carry out scholarly evaluation." With the demise of what she terms an "exceptionalist, triumphalist view of American history," Galloway continues, a "widening rift" has opened between scholars and the public.[155]

Indeed, scholars have evaluated and re-evaluated De Soto over the years. As David Duncan notes, European and non-Hispanic American historians long dismissed him as a relatively insignificant figure in the history of European entry into North America, since his expedition neither discovered significant material riches nor planted (or even tried to plant) a successful Spanish colony. Yet more recent scholars, focused on learning about the so-called "Mississippian" peoples that De Soto encountered, have found great value in the unique written records that this first major southeastern North American expedition left of those now-vanished cultures, whose people drove out De Soto's

151. Editorial, *Bradenton Herald*, 30 May 1939, p. 4.
152. "Marker to De Soto Is Unveiled Here by Colonial Dames," *Bradenton Herald*, 30 May 1939, p. 1.
153. David Ewing Duncan, *Hernando De Soto: A Savage Quest in the Americas* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1995), xix. The history of commemorative efforts surrounding De Soto is well told in Patricia Galloway, "Commemorative History and Hernando de Soto," in Galloway, ed., *The Hernando de Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and "Discovery" in the Southeast* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 410-435.
154. Wallace Boyd, "Flag, 'Bill' Burned in Protest," [Unidentified Clipping], 18 July 1993; Galloway, *The Hernando de Soto Expedition*, 429. Native American protests against the celebrations mounted in Bradenton by the Hernando De Soto Historical Society will be discussed at length in Chapter 4.
155. Galloway, *The Hernando de Soto Expedition*, p. 411.

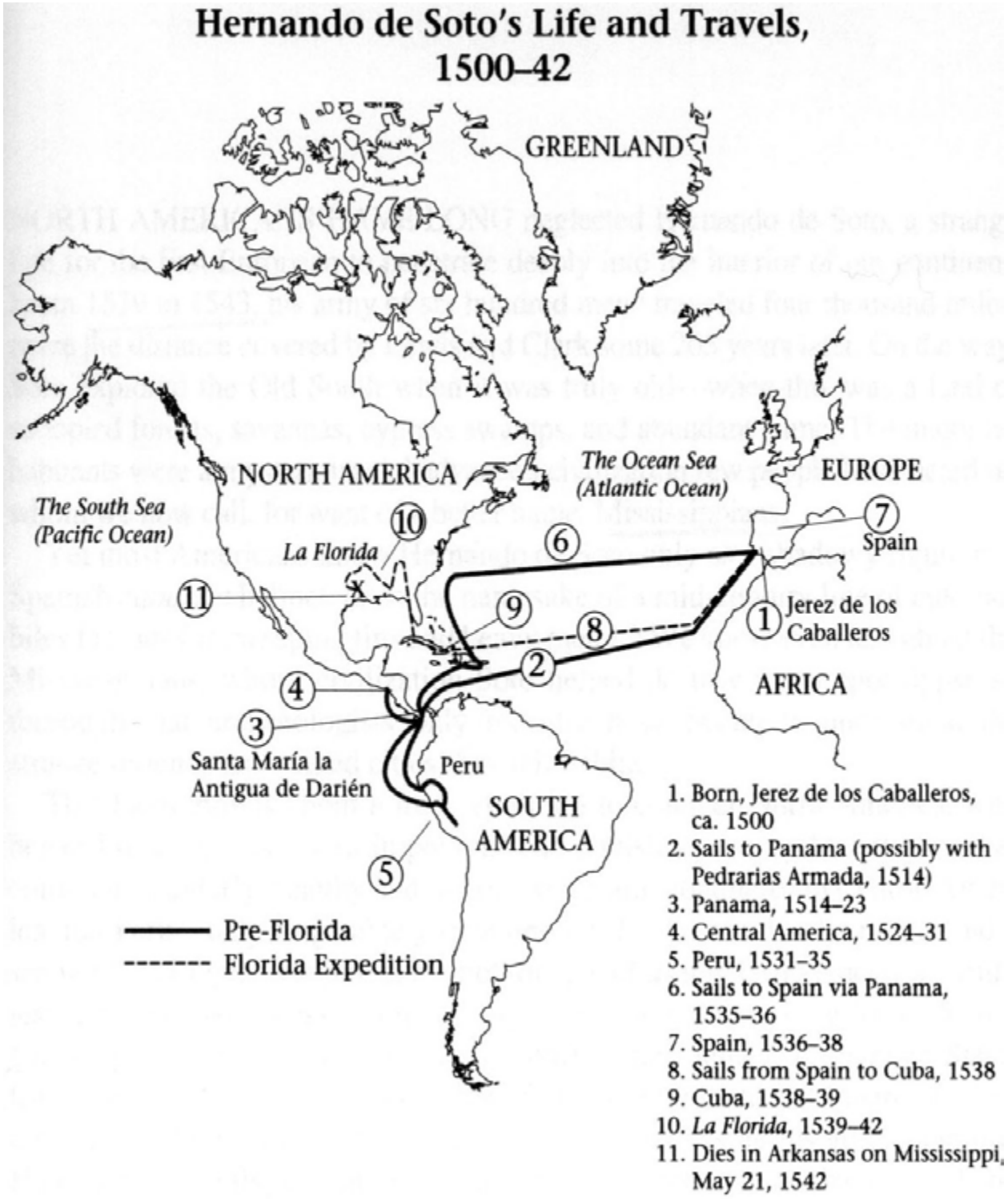


FIGURE 26. Hernando de Soto's Life and Travels, 1500-42. (Duncan, *Hernando De Soto*, xv)

men but who watched their civilizations disintegrate in the expedition's wake.[156] These accounts, indeed, reflect the tragedy of De Soto's expedition and perhaps constitute its greatest legacy. Managing the park in the midst of changing public priorities and shifting scholarly understandings has highlighted the challenges of dealing with the difficult histories of conquest, oppression, and brutality, especially at sites, like De Soto National Memorial, that sprung primarily from a commemorative



FIGURE 27. Spanish Explorers, 1513-43 (Duncan, *Hernando De Soto*, 254)

impulse characteristic of an earlier era. With our national consciousness more attuned now to the far different perspectives on these events offered by those who were conquered, oppressed, and brutalized, the Memorial's mission and focus have had to evolve.

The interpretive and commemorative role of the Memorial has been further complicated by the fact that ongoing scholarship about the expedition has robbed Shaw's Point of its claim to have been the De Soto landing site, the proverbial ground having been washed out from under the Swanton Commission's confident 1939 assessment. The history of De Soto is thus "difficult" in several respects—in the brutal clash of cultures it represented, in the only blurry picture we are able to get of many of its important elements, and in the ongoing uncertainty about specifically *where* the events unfolded. De Soto National Memorial has thus had to operate and develop within an especially challenging historical and historiographical context.

Pearls, War Dogs, and Elusive Gold: A Brief Overview of De Soto's North American Expedition (1539-43)

Hernando De Soto was born around 1500 in "poverty and obscurity," most probably, according to scholar David Ewing Duncan, in the market town of Jeréz de los Caballeros, about seventy miles northwest of Seville, in the Kingdom of Castile, which was in the process of being united with the Kingdom of Aragon to become what we know as "Spain." De Soto went on, according to one of his biographers, to become "one of the toughest, most ruthless, most able conquistadors in the Indies." From Panama, where he arrived at age fourteen, through explorations and plunder in Nicaragua, to Peru (where he became fabulously wealthy as a result of his key role in the Inca conquest), then

156. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, xvii-xxii. Charles Hudson, *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 13—30 summarizes some key observations about Mississippian cultures. Their most important defining characteristic was their organization into "chiefdoms" in which power was consolidated into the hands of chiefs who ranked above their people. This element of social organization seems to have been precipitated after about A.D. 800 by these groups' increasing dependence upon corn agriculture.



FIGURE 28. The Florida Gulf Coast (Milanich and Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians*, 40)

through southeastern North America, the ambitious —even megalomaniacal—De Soto drove himself (and, increasingly, those under his command) relentlessly forward in search of wealth, treasure, and glory. He was, biographer David Ewing Duncan notes, "a colossal paradox of a man in an age of contradictions: grim and engaging, fascinating and contemptible, pious and hypocritical, prudent and reckless, at once enterprising, destructive, arrogant, bold, and savage."[157]

De Soto's life coincided with the period when Spain came into its own as a world power. Shortly before his birth, in 1492, Spain retook its land from the Muslims and sent out Christopher Columbus to "discover" the New World across the Atlantic in the Americas.[158] Through the Caribbean Islands, Panama, the glorious Aztec state in present-day Mexico, through Nicaragua and the advanced Inca culture in Peru, the Spanish blazed a bloody trail across Latin America before turning their sights northward to the vast continent they only dimly conceived.[159]

Several explorers preceded De Soto in making forays into what the Spanish called "*La Florida*," initially in search of slave labor to supply mines, sugar plantations, and cattle ranches in their Caribbean colonies. Juan Ponce de León sailed along the eastern coast in 1513 and attempted (and failed) to found a colony, probably at Charlotte Harbor on the west coast in 1521. Pedro de Salazar (who landed briefly on the coast of present South Carolina in 1514-1515) was followed by Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, who tried (and failed) to establish a colony there in 1526. Pánfilo de Narváez tried again in 1528, landing on present-day Florida's west coast and launching a disastrous months-long overland trek northward along the Gulf of Mexico, which only four members of the expedition survived.[160]

Frustrated by his (apparently permanent) subordinate position to Hernando Pizarro in the Peruvian conquest, De Soto left Peru and returned to Spain in 1536. In his mid-thirties, wealthy, powerful, and in search of new directions and, for the first time, his own command, he soon set his sights on North America as his final frontier.[161] There he hoped to discover another advanced society, perhaps on par

157. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, xxxiii-xxxiv, 3-5, 436. In endnotes on p. 436, Duncan presents detailed evidence that Jeréz Jerde Caballeros is the likely birthplace. In *Knights of Spain* (p. 39), Hudson is less certain about Jeréz as the birthplace town, noting that the town of Badajoz also has a claim on this status. But Duncan refutes this claim by noting that only one primary source document identifies Badajoz as De Soto's birthplace, as against "dozens of documents" that claim Jeréz. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 3-11, has a useful discussion of the development of the politically organized state of Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in which he reminds us that "Referring to De Soto and his men as `Spaniards' is little more than a convenience," because De Soto's life predated the emergence of the modern nation state of Spain. De Soto would have identified himself, Hudson says, primarily as either a Christian or as a citizen of his particular town or region.
158. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 3-11.
159. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 67; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 32.
160. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 32-38. The survivors, however, reported to the king that *La Florida* contained substantial riches, an account that may have helped induce others to join De Soto's expedition. See Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 45-46. See also Jerald T. Milanich and Charles Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 22-26.
161. See Charles Hudson, "A Synopsis of the Hernando De Soto Expedition, 1539-1543," Photocopy in file folder labeled "De Soto Expedition," DESO Files; and Hudson, Knights of Spain, 41-47.

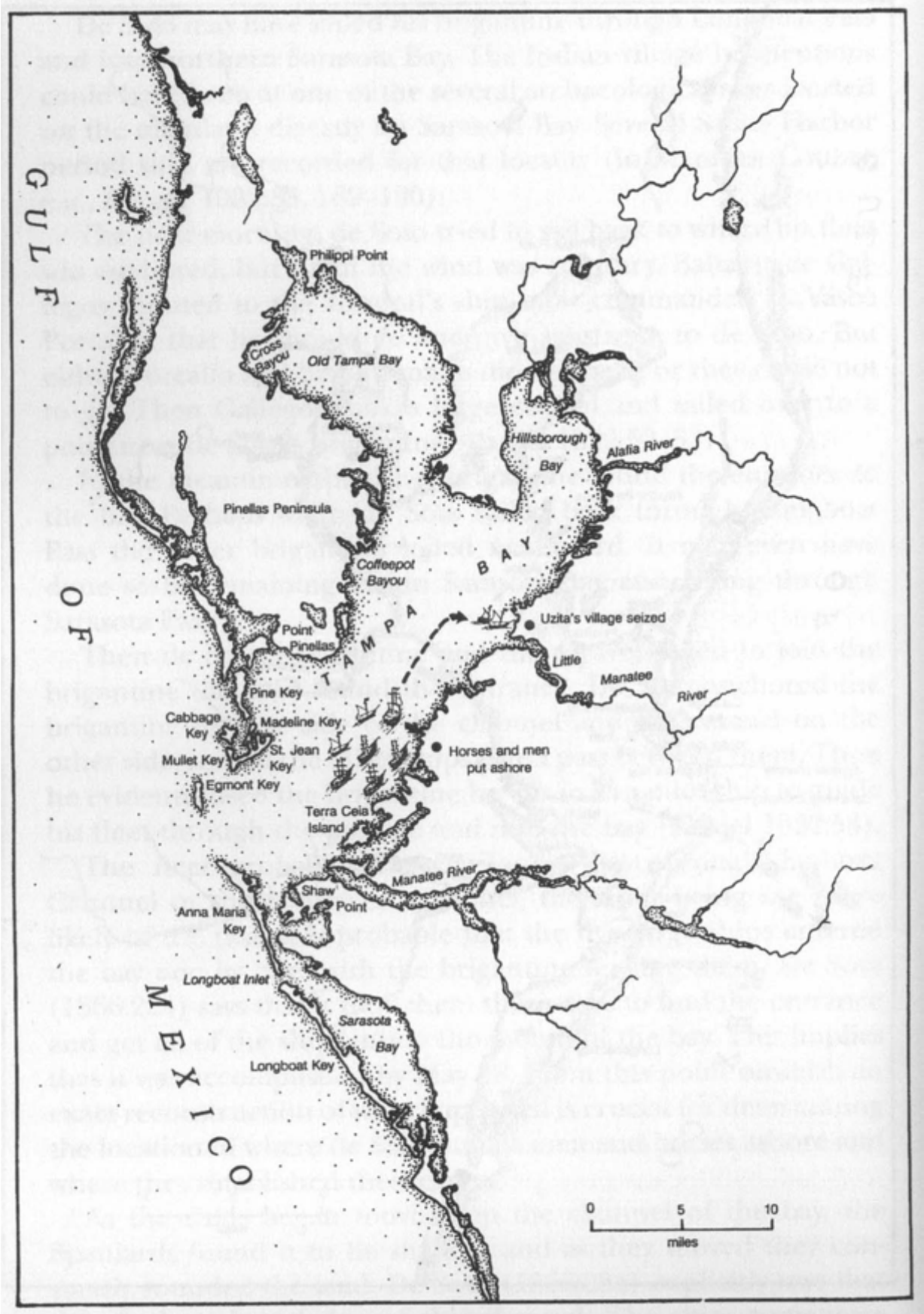


FIGURE 29. Unloading at Ocita (Milanich and Hudson, Hernando de Soto and the Indians, 52)

with the Aztecs or Incas.[162] Instead, he wandered for three years through the southeastern woods, encountering (and battling) numerous chiefdoms, but ultimately dying without fulfilling his hopes. According to the goals set by De Soto (and Spain), the expedition was a failure.

It began auspiciously, however, when in 1537, Spain's Emperor Charles V invalidated all previous royal grants of land to the leaders of the failed *La Florida* missions and appointed De Soto *adelantado* of the new La Florida venture and *marqués* of much of what he would find there. His contract gave him four years to explore La Florida before establishing a permanent colony on lands he would select. He was to convert natives to Christianity and induce them to pledge allegiance to the Spanish crown. He could expect to receive for his personal use additional lands, as well as a substantial portion of any riches he discovered. To help him procure supplies for the venture, he was appointed governor of Cuba.[163]

De Soto departed Cuba on May 18, 1539 with nine ships. Within a few days, they were in sight of the Florida coast, looking for the natural harbor that De Soto's scouts had located for them a few months earlier—a bay that De Soto renamed *Bahía de Espíritu Santo*, which most (although, it is important to note, not all) scholars now agree was probably present-day Tampa Bay and not either Charlotte Harbor (75 miles south) or San Carlos Bay (90 miles south).[164]

On May 30-31, De Soto and his approximately 600 men (and at least two women) and nearly 250 horses disembarked and came ashore on a cleared beach near Piney Point, set amidst a forest of red mangrove trees. In an ominous forewarning of what was to come, they almost immediately skirmished with some Indians, killing two. [165]

The next days were spent unloading supplies (including numerous domesticated dogs and pigs, as well as the horses) and slogging through swamplands to set up a base camp nearby in a recently abandoned Indian village named (for the chief who controlled it) Ocita. Ocita, it now appears, may have been at a location now pinpointed near Ruskin, Florida, at the so-called Thomas Mound site, on the north side of the mouth of the Little Manatee River.[166] Taking up residence in the swampy and primitive forest-surrounded village consisting of several round huts (at least one of which was quite large and set atop a hill or mound within a palisade) fashioned from timber, straw, and mud, De Soto soon dressed up in his finest attire, marched out on the beach and claimed all of North America above Mexico for Spain and for himself.[167]

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162. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 2.
163. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 39-44. A translation of the contract is reprinted in Milanich and Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians*, 28-34. See also p. 35.
164. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 240, 244-45; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 63-64. Also, Milanich and Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians*, note that De Soto would have had ready access to maps and other information that had identified at least two of these bays, Charlotte Harbor (Bahía de Juan Ponce) and Tampa Bay (Bahía Honda). See Milanich and Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians*, 39-41. Jeffrey Brain of the Peabody Museum at Harvard, however, has argued as recently as 1994 that Charlotte Harbor must still not be ruled out (see Jeffrey P. Brain, review of *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida*, by Jerald T. Milanich and Charles Hudson, *Journal of Field archeology* 21: 3 (Autumn 1994): 370.
165. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 62-66; and Milanich and Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians*, 38. Milanich and Hudson note that it is not possible to pinpoint precisely the number of people that accompanied De Soto. See also Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 242-43, 486.
166. Stemming from differences in the names and spellings used in the *Chronicles* themselves, scholars and others have variously rendered the name of the Indian village that became the base camp as "Ucita" (Swanton, "The Landing Place," 154-62, and Swanton, *Final Report*, 134-39, following the Gentleman of Elvas), "Oçita" or "Ocita" (Swanton, *Final Report*, 134-37, following Ranjel, though possibly referring to a second, different town; Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 251, 253-66), "Uzita" (Milanich and Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians*, 49-61), and "Ozita" (Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 66-72). Roy Appleman's 1941 "Report on Shaw's Point" for the National Park Service (p. 8) adopted "Ucita," which the Park Service still employed when Supt. Dick Hite opened the living history village at the park in 1973 (see Hite, Annual Report, 1973). In written comments provided to the authors on 13 November 2006, Supt. Charles Fenwick reported that the preferred name for the living history camp was changed to "Uzita" during his tenure (2001-06) in part to reduce confusion with the New York city of Utica. Our practice in this Administrative History has not been to adopt a standard spelling, but to follow whatever name is being used in the documents we are drawing from at any given point.
167. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 251-52; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 71-72. De Soto was the latest in a string of explorers claiming North America and seeking to explore its interior. In addition to the earlier failed Florida expeditions mentioned above, there were also several Spanish and French expeditions underway concurrently in what became the western United States as well. See Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 253.

De Soto and his army camped at Ocita for about six weeks, organizing themselves for the march into the interior. Spanish exploring parties ventured out to survey the region and capture local Indians to provide information. This effort, however, was mostly met with frustration, as the Spanish quickly clashed with Timucuan Indians who in some cases overpowered them with the help of their deadly accurate longbows. But one day a Spanish scouting party got a key break, when an apparent "Indian" man shouted to them in rusty Spanish. The man was Juan Ortiz, a survivor of the Narváez expedition, who had been captured by Indians. He became De Soto's most important translator and guide. Importantly, Ortiz, who admittedly had not traveled far from where he had been kept since his capture, told De Soto early on that he knew nothing of gold or riches in the region.[168]

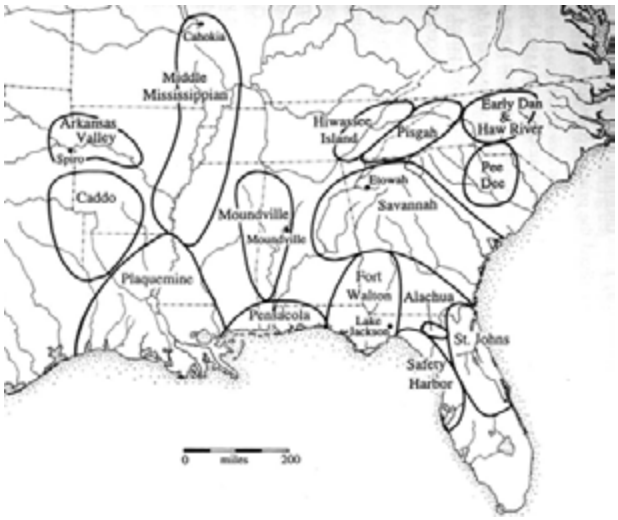


FIGURE 30. Important cultures of the Middle Mississippian period as identified in the archeological record. (Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 29)

Finally, in July of 1539, De Soto and the majority of his army gathered their tents, chain mail, swords, and other supplies and departed Ocita, which they had determined to be an unsuitable location for a permanent settlement.[169] Gathering stories from local Indians about other chiefdoms that lay farther away, the Spaniards set forth. For the next four years, they wandered through parts of what later became ten American states, chasing ever-elusive treasures (as well as plentiful food supplies) always said to be just over the next horizon. In the process, they penetrated a populated land where dwelled perhaps as many as one million Indians, who, David Duncan notes, "knew nothing about the maelstrom about to sweep over them."[170]

De Soto employed brutality and deception both to subdue Indians in his path and to keep his own men in line as they set off northward into what Hudson terms "the lower fringe of the vast southeastern pine forest" that stretched from the eastern Carolinas into central Florida.[171] Everywhere, they encountered villages, chiefdoms, and Indians, who related to one another in a confusing tangle of social, political, or military alliances that sometimes caught the Spanish in the middle of warring groups. At numerous points, Indians staged attacks on the expedition, while the Spanish brutally enslaved or killed many Indians. Meanwhile, the Spanish struggled against starvation, dehydration, and exhaustion as they slogged through the Florida swamps.[172]

While this study will not attempt a complete description of the expedition, it is important to discuss several key sites. The first is Anhayca (also spelled Anhaica) in present-day Tallahassee, the main village in the Mississippian chiefdom of Apalachee, a well known, highly organized, prosperous, somewhat urbanized, and famous kingdom of 25,000 to 100,000 souls that De Soto was determined to conquer, partly because of the promise of food for the winter that the chiefdom offered.[173]

The Apalachee, having learned about the Spanish from their previous bloody defeat of Narváez, met De Soto with spirited and persistent attacks throughout the winter of 1539-40, while De Soto's men lived in the village the Indians had built and fed off the corn and other vegetables they had grown. A notable turning point for De Soto that winter was his men's discovery that Spanish chain mail provided scant protection against a well-aimed Indian

168. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 253-62; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 78-85.
169. Hudson, *Knights of Spain,* 85.
170. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 253; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 89.
171. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 90.
172. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 275.
173. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 278-300. The larger cultural context of pre-contact cultures of the central Gulf Coast will be considered in Chapter 7.



FIGURE 31. Charles Hudson's version of De Soto's Route in La Florida (Duncan, *Hernando De* Soto, xviii)

arrow. Though De Soto enslaved many Apalachee and ruthlessly tried to "pacify" them using torturous methods like cutting off hands and noses, burning at the stake, and throwing them to the army's band of vicious "war dogs," the Apalachee fought on, proving themselves the most tenacious opponents De Soto had yet encountered. Their civilization endured for at least another 150 years.[174]

By spring of 1540, relying upon the reports given by captured local Indians, including one teenage boy, De Soto had convinced himself and his men that gold and other riches awaited in the interior to the North, in the chiefdom of an Indian queen, Cofitachequi. Thus, they set off into present-day Georgia and eventually into South Carolina, where lay the queen's domain. Along the way, relying upon multiply-translated information of varying quality provided by Indian guides, the Spanish became lost and disoriented in a vast forest. Their food dwindling, the party found themselves increasingly exhausted and desperate.

At long last, they reached the kingdom of the "Lady of Cofitachequi," where the Indians at first welcomed them in peace and offered them pearls and food. Inquiring about the gold and silver that had been reported to be present, the Spaniards were crushed to discover only pieces of copper and mica. Ongoing searches for riches alienated the Indians and turned up only a large cache of more freshwater pearls and a good land that was, perhaps due to an earlier insect infestation or recent drought, by this time relatively underproductive.[175] Indeed, it was clear by the time of De Soto's arrival that the formerly grand chiefdom of Cofitachequi was in a state of serious decline.[176]

174. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 297-313.
175. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 312; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 146-183.

Still, many in De Soto's party wanted to remain and colonize the beautiful (and potentially very productive) land of Cofitachequi. De Soto, for his part, pushed the army to press on in search of the elusive gold and more food, taking the now captive Lady of Cofitachequi with them (she later escaped). They ventured northward into the oak-chestnut-yellow poplar forests of the mountains of present-day North Carolina where they encountered Cherokee-speaking peoples but again no gold. From there, they proceeded back southward through another large Mississippian empire of Coosa, where they captured more Indian slaves and replenished their food supplies, so weakening the empire that another Spanish expedition just twenty years later found it severely diminished.[177]

At nearly every stop, De Soto's tactics were the same: approach in apparent friendship, appropriate the people's corn and other foodstuffs, and ask about riches, which were nearly always reported to lie in the next settlement down the road. Often, what began as a relatively peaceful encounter—on both sides—disintegrated into conflict and violence, as foretold wealth failed to materialize and as De Soto demanded more support than the Indians were willing or able to give, often forcibly pressing Indian men and women into service. Quick to anger, hungry, and increasingly frustrated, De Soto lashed out at the very people his expedition often depended upon for information and survival. Frequently, he took the chief or principal leader hostage in hopes of securing cooperation. As time went on, too, the Indians, increasingly forewarned about De Soto's arrival, distrusted the Spanish and mounted attacks of their own.[178]

Calamity awaited in present-day Alabama, in the kingdom of Atahachi, ruled by the great leader Tascalusa, whom De Soto's men enraged when they took him prisoner after the chief balked at a request for porters and women. Plotting his strategy carefully, Tascalusa lured the Spaniards into a trap at the walled city of Mabila in the fall of 1540. There, several thousand Indians attacked, garnering support from Indian captives traveling with De Soto's army. In the end, the Spaniards prevailed, burning the palisaded city and the many Indians who had barricaded themselves inside. But marring the victory was the almost total loss of their own supplies, which the Indians had seized. Gone were most of the army's clothes and equipment. And gone, too, were the pearls of Cofitachequi.

This battle, David Duncan writes, was "one of the bloodiest fought in five centuries of warfare between Europeans and Indians on what would become United States soil," and ended with "heaps of Indians lying dead or dying as men moaned and coughed, and blood soaked the ground." The number of Indian dead may have reached several thousand, and a formerly great society was reduced to rubble. But despite the victory, Duncan cites the slaughter as a turning point for De Soto's expedition as well, an event that "transform[ed] the quest of this brash, heretofore highly successful conquistador from conquest to folly."[179]

After Mabila, De Soto faced a choice. Word had arrived that ships awaited him at a port about 140 miles to the south. De Soto tried to keep this news from his men, but rumors spread through the army. With one in six of their number now dead, many of the men wanted to give up the expedition and go meet the ships. Morale sank. Somehow De Soto prevailed upon the men to keep going northward, however, but after this "near mutiny," one of his biographers notes, De Soto became "embittered" and "began to waste the lives of both the Indians and his own men."[180]

The ragged army pushed northward as the winter of 1540 descended, eventually entering Chicasa country in present Mississippi, where yet another devastating battle ensued. Marching on through a wilderness, the Spaniards arrived in May of 1541 at the Mississippi River, a moment that later Americans chose to celebrate as the river's "discovery." Tired and hungry, De Soto seemed more impressed by the abundant supply of maize that the nearby Indian village harbored than he was by the river, however. Soon, the appearance of an impressive armada of Mississippian warships on the river con-

176. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 338-41.
177. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 185-219; Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 346-369.
178. See, for instance, discussion of the approach to the Atahachi in Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 372-77.
179. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 370-84, 388-90 (quotations from pp. 384 and 377); Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 232-46.
180. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 247-48.

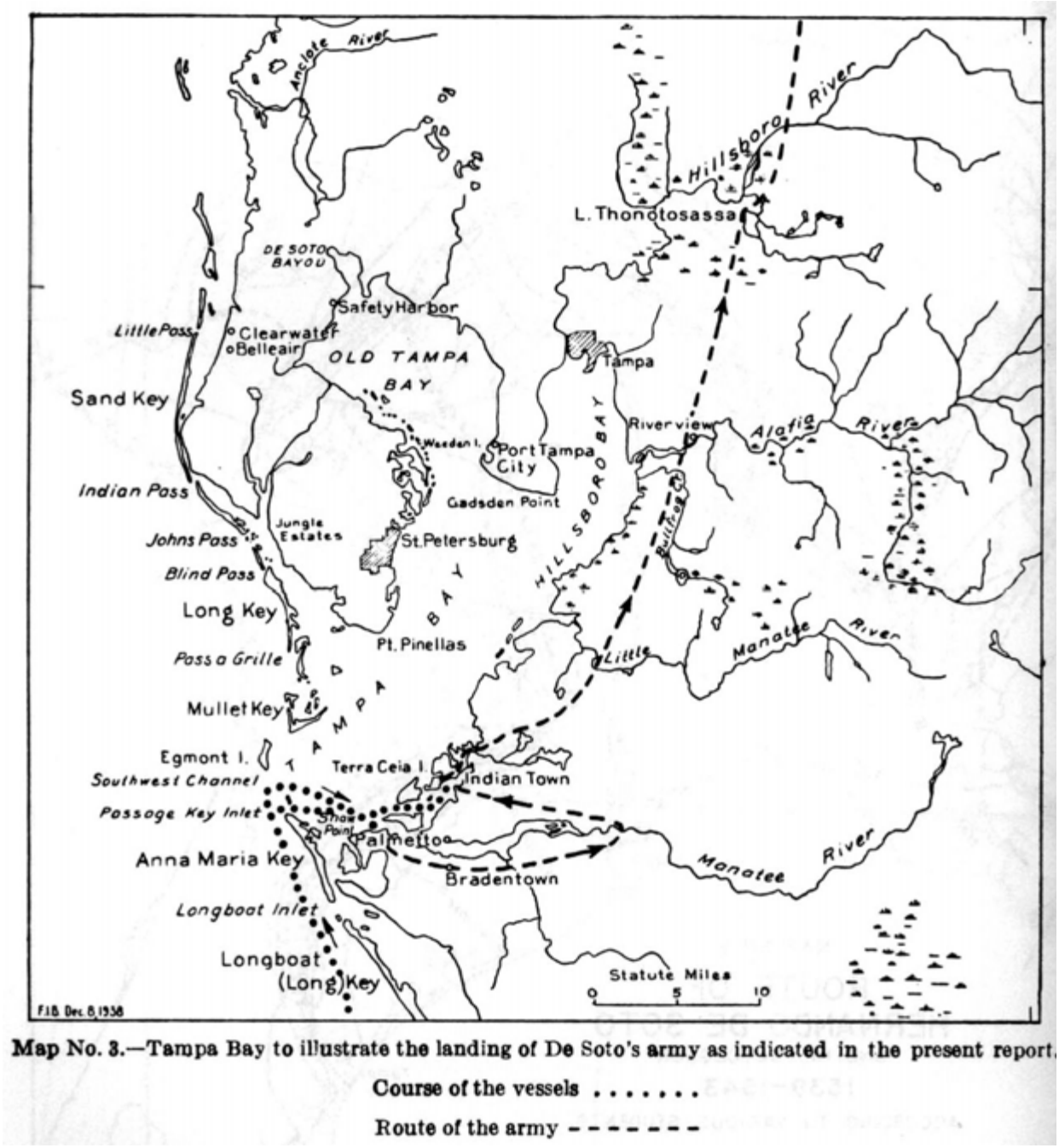


FIGURE 32. Swanton's map of De Soto's landing at Tampa Bay (Swanton, *Final Report,* 1985 reprint, 344)

vinced the Spaniards that perhaps at last they had found a kingdom to match the Inca Empire.[181]

Crossing the river (itself a monumental achievement involving construction of four large rafts), the army soon entered several large, palisaded towns—Aquijo, Casqui, and Pacaha, which, Charles Hudson notes, "were said to be the best the Spaniards had seen since landing at Tampa Bay." Unfortunately, neither these nor the numerous other settlements De Soto's army circulated through in present Arkansas harbored the hoped-for wealth.[182] The expedition floundered, with the army wandering this way and that with little sense of purpose.[183]

181. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 400-404.
182. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 295; Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 405-09.

At last, in October of 1541, De Soto decided to turn back toward the Mississippi where he hoped to establish a camp from which he planned to send ships back to Cuba. The frigid winter of 1541-42, though, brought more disaster, as the expedition's translator, Juan Ortiz, died. Pressing on, the army reached the Mississippi, but found themselves much farther from the Gulf of Mexico than they expected. Across the river lay the large and powerful empire of Quigualtum, whose war canoes menaced the Spanish camp and whose *cacique* declined De Soto's request to be obeyed and served like a god. An angry and humiliated De Soto, meanwhile, fell ill. In a final gruesome act, calculated to demonstrate his power, he dispatched troops to attack another nearby village, Anilco, at dawn. De Soto's mounted troops there carried out "a sickening slaughter" of perhaps a hundred surprised Indian men, women, and children. A few days later, on May 21, 1542, De Soto himself succumbed. Shortly after, in hopes of concealing the death from the Indians, De Soto's men quietly dumped his body into the Mississippi River.[184]

In the year that followed, what remained of the expedition wandered first a thousand miles overland through Arkansas and Texas, seeking Mexico, before turning back toward the Mississippi. Finally, they floated down the great river to the Gulf, where (by at least one account) 311 of them sailed for Mexico, where they arrived in September of 1543.[185]

By almost any measure, the *La Florida* expedition was a colossal disappointment. De Soto squandered many lives, both Spanish and Indian, for very little gain. From the Spanish perspective, De Soto's party failed to find wealthy civilizations, failed to discover gold or other riches, failed to establish a permanent colony, failed to Christianize the Indians or induce them to subject themselves to Spanish rule. The expedition was surely a disaster for the many native peoples that De Soto and his army enslaved, starved, tortured, tricked, stole from, plundered, sickened, or killed during his expedition's four years on the march. De Soto's march left many formerly powerful native societies in ruin.[186]

What Have We Wanted to Know, and How Do We Know What We Know?: Ongoing Scholarship on Hernando De Soto's North American Expedition

There are many things to be learned from Hernando De Soto's North American expedition. The stories and studies emerging from it can focus (and have focused) on biographical studies of De Soto himself, gripping accounts of the adventures and travails of the expedition, detailed attempts to map the route, insights into the broader process of Spanish conquest in the Americas, descriptions of the native peoples that De Soto encountered, studies of the extant archeological and written records, and investigations of the processes and effects of "contact" between native and Spanish peoples (including brutality, epidemic disease, social dislocation, forced acculturation and cultural borrowing).

The 1980s and 1990s saw a flowering of scholarly De Soto studies, especially as the 450th anniversary of the expedition arrived amidst plans for the 500th anniversary of Columbus's 1492 voyage. The best

183. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 412-13.
184. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 417-24 (quotation from p. 422); Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 341-52.
185. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 425. See also Ignacio Avellaneda, Los Sobrevivientes de la Florida: The Survivors of the De Soto Expedition, ed. Bruce S. Chappell (Gainesville, FL: Research Publications of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida Libraries, 1990), online at: http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/deso/index.htm). The Avellandeda account concludes that the number of survivors may have been only 257. The details, like many others, are nearly impossible to nail down precisely, as the surviving accounts of the De Soto expedition provide contradictory information.
186. While the focus here is on the direct actions of De Soto's army, it is important not to overlook the role that unfamiliar diseases that infected native peoples in the wake of European contact played in their civilizations' demise. In his 1997 book *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (pp. 195-214) for instance, Jared Diamond discusses Europeans' "lethal gift of livestock," particularly domesticated cattle (which De Soto did not bring) and the pigs upon which the De Soto expedition relied. Diseases that infected humans through close contact with animals killed vastly more of the native Mississippian peoples De Soto encountered than did the Spaniards' direct brutality, and it is the spread of European diseases that explains the almost complete collapse of their societies between 1492 and the 17th century. On the value of pigs to De Soto's expedition, see Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 76-78.

and most comprehensive biography, which gives attention both to De Soto's upbringing and to his conquests in Central and South America prior to his arrival in La Florida, is David Ewing Duncan's *Hernando de Soto: A Savage Quest in the Americas* (1996).

The most painstaking modern reconstruction of the North American route, blended with extensive discussions of the native societies through which De Soto passed, is University of Georgia anthropologist Charles Hudson's *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms* (1997). Detailed discussions of the Florida archeology are found in Jerald T. Milanich and Charles Hudson's *Hernando De Soto and the Indians of Florida* (1993) as well as Charles R. Ewen and John H. Hann's *Hernando de Soto among the Apalachee* (1998). Archeologist Jeffrey P. Brain (Peabody Essex Museum of Salem, Massachusetts) meanwhile, has published a number of articles and reviews assessing the current state of the archeology of De Soto's expedition. Brain, who also wrote the introduction to the reissue of the Swanton report in 1985, has consistently taken a more skeptical view than most other scholars about the theory that De Soto landed at Tampa Bay. A critical consideration of the historiography of De Soto studies is contained in ethnohistorian Patricia Galloway's edited volume, *The Hernando de Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and `Discovery' in the Southeast* (1997).[187]

All in all, it is clear that thinking about De Soto has evolved as approaches to the study of history and the blending of history and archeology have changed over the past thirty years. The questions we have asked have changed, the analytical tools and techniques have advanced, and we have become at once more optimistic and more humble about the prospect of ever knowing for sure "what happened."

As for De Soto himself, biographer Duncan notes that "assembling a biography of Hernando De Soto presents numerous challenges, not the least of which is untangling the real Hernando De Soto from the man of legend." Yet the sources for studying De Soto's life, his adventures in *La Florida,* and the native peoples he met there are surprisingly rich, though nearly all indirect, since few of them issued directly from the time of the expedition or from De Soto's own hand. The archeological record, meanwhile, remains—after all these years of diligent effort by many hands—rather sparse and inconclusive.[188]

The available primary record can be divided into four categories: voluminous official government and legal documents relating to De Soto's career as a preeminent Spanish explorer, four (more or less) "eyewitness" accounts of the Florida expedition written by *entrada* survivors, one important — though embellished—historical biography of De Soto published in 1605, and more recent archeological excavations along De Soto's route.[189] Nineteenth and early twentieth century De Soto students augmented the documentary record with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources that purported to locate native American place names and other geographical details, although these sources are often not reliable for pinpointing sites, as places with the same name had often moved since the sixteenth-century.[190]

The most important of the governmental and legal records pertain to a lawsuit that Hernán Ponce de León, De Soto's longtime business partner, filed against his wife in 1646, not long after De Soto's death. The records of the four-year suit contain a "treasure trove of De Soto material, ranging from his will and his wife's dowry to detailed testimony by over one hundred people who knew De Soto and worked with him in all stages of his career."[191] These handwritten documents, many of which were

187. All of these books have been cited above except Ewen and Hann's *Hernando De Soto Among The Apalachee : The archeology Of The First Winter Encampment* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998). Brain's especially useful pieces include his review of *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida*, by Jerald T. Milanich and Charles Hudson, *Journal of Field Archeology* 21:3 (Autumn1994): 369-72; and his review of Ewen and Hann's *Hernando de Soto among the Apalachee* in the *Journal of Field archeology* 26:2 (Summer 1999): 245-47. Additionally, Brain wrote a lengthy introduction titled "Update of De Soto Studies since the United States De Soto Expedition Commission Report," in the republication of John R. Swanton's *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 1985).

188. A critical assessment of the state of De Soto archeology may be found in Brain, review of *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida*, 369-72.

189. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, xxii-xxv; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 441-55.

190. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 455-59.

photocopied from Spanish archives in the 1930s, transcribed, translated, and given to the U.S. De Soto Expedition Commission, offer considerable information on the background and aftermath of the expedition. They were mined most fully by historian David Ewing Duncan in constructing his riveting 1996 biography.[192]

More useful for learning about De Soto's travels through *La Florida* and his encounter with the native peoples are five so-called "chronicles"—the four narrative accounts and the biographical history written within the seventy years after De Soto's death. These documents, of varying length, completeness, and reliability, and differing from each other in a number of important details, have provided the basic template with which students of De Soto have tried to reconstruct his route. But the chronicles, Patricia Galloway reminds us, may not be taken at face value as completely reliable reports of "what happened," because they are in all cases works of literature as much as works of history. As such, they followed the writing conventions of their times, possibly relying "incestuously" upon one another, and functioning more as after-the-fact secondary sources than as first-hand accounts.[193] Analysis of these documents, she further notes, has been hindered by the fact that "we *still* [emphasis in original] do not possess critical modern editions, in their language of origin" of these key texts.[194] What we do have is what De Soto scholar Charles Hudson considers the best English translations of all of them, pulled together and published in 1993 by the University of Alabama Press in two volumes as *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando De Soto to North America 1539-1543*.

The longest and most detailed of the chronicles—and the first to be published (in Portuguese, in 1557)—is the one written from memory years after the expedition by the so-called Gentleman of Elvas, an anonymous Portuguese officer in De Soto's army. Elvas's narrative has the virtue of providing the most ethnographical information about the native peoples, as well as the most detailed geographical descriptions.[195] This account and one other, written by the king's royal agent on the expedition, Luis Hernández de Biedma, exist in their entire original form. The Biedma narrative, submitted to the king in 1544, is a short, no-nonsense report that is important for reconstructing the directions in which the expedition traveled, but it lacks day-by-day detail.[196]

Two other chronicles exist in more mediated and fragmentary forms. The first is the daily journal of the expedition kept by De Soto's private secretary, Rodrigo Ranjel. Though the original has not survived, the sixteenth-century royal historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés drew on his own reading of the original to incorporate much of its material into his *General and Natural History of the Indies*. Though two chapters of Ranjel's material are missing, De Soto scholars have generally regarded the Ranjel account—mediated through Oviedo, who occasionally inserts his own judgments into the story—as the most reliable for reconstructing specifics of the expedition, including the route.[197]

The last chronicle is a one-page fragment located in 1982—a portion of what may have been a longer account written by Fray Sebastián de Cañete, a priest who accompanied the expedition. While

191. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, xxiii. Hernán Ponce de León should not be confused with the earlier explorer, Juan Ponce de León, who sighted the coast of Eastern Florida in 1513, named it *La Florida*, and returned in 1521 to attempt to found a colony, which failed and resulted in his death after an Indian attack. See Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 32 and 40-44.
192. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 455; Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, xxiii.
193. Galloway, *The Hernando de Soto Expedition*, xiii, 11.
194. Galloway, *The Hernando de Soto Expedition*, xiii.
195. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, xxiv; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 443-44. According to Hudson, the best English translation of the Elvas chronicle is *True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Don Hernando De Soto and Certain Portuguese Gentleman in the Discovery of the Province of Florida. Now Newly Set Forth by a Gentleman of Elvas*, translated by James Alexander Robertson, in *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando De Soto to North America, 1539-43*, vol. 1, ed. Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon Jones Knight, Jr., and Edward C. Moore (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993): 47-219. This translation was first published in 1933. See Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 447-48.
196. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, xxiv-xxv; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 443. The Biedma account is Luis Hernández de Biedma, *Relation of the Island of Florida by Luis Hernández de Biedma*, trans. John Worth, in Clayton, et al, eds., *De Soto Chronicles,* vol. 1: 221-46.
197. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, xxv; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 441-42. The Rangel account (also spelled Ranjel, by Duncan) is Rodrigo Ranjel, *Account of the Northern Conquest and Discovery of Hernando De Soto*, from Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia General y Natural de las Indians*, trans and ed. John Worth, in Clayton, et al, eds., *De Soto Chronicles,* vol. 1: 247-306.

confirming a few details provided in the other chronicles, it lacks significant chronological data.[198]

The other important De Soto narrative is not an eyewitness account at all—but a subsequent historical biography, *The Florida of the Inca*, published in 1605 by Garcilaso de la Vega, who was the son of a Spanish captain in Peru and an Inca woman. Garcilaso based his account on interviews with at least one expedition survivor and on other unpublished materials that have since disappeared. Shaped by the author's romantic notions of the heroics of the conquest and by his explicit desire to encourage more exploration in *La Florida*, the account is highly embellished and exceedingly unreliable if one is seeking verifiable concrete details, especially marking the route. Yet De Soto scholars acknowledge its importance in providing legends and stories that convey the flavor of certain events.[199]

Within De Soto studies, a major preoccupation has been to reconstruct the expedition's exact route. From the early eighteenth century on, serious attempts to map the route relied mostly on the documents discussed above. But, as preeminent De Soto scholar Charles Hudson pointed out in his 1997 study of De Soto's north American travels, because of the limitations of those documents (and the fact that place names moved around between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries), "it became impossible to reconstruct the route using documentary sources alone."[200]

The most extensive document-based attempt to reconstruct the route was that of John R. Swanton's U.S. De Soto Expedition Commission, which produced the 1939 study that led to the placing of the Colonial Dames commemorative marker at Shaw's Point. Swanton's mapping of the route relied heavily upon Rangel, Elvas, and Biedma and tried to correlate those accounts with known topographical features and native place names dating from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (as noted above, a problematic technique).[201]

Archeological studies were clearly part of the answer, and beginning in the early twentieth century with the work of Smithsonian anthropologist James Mooney, several important scholars tried to link known archeological sites with moments along De Soto's path.[202] With the growing sophistication of southeastern archeology since the 1930s, Hudson notes, Swanton's route "has not fared well at all."[203]As early as 1948, excavations of two key Swanton sites (one of which was Florida's Terra Ceia site, where Swanton had placed the village of Ocita), failed to find evidence that would have been expected to confirm De Soto's presence at either.[204]

Still, only since the 1970s has southeastern archeology been mature enough, in Hudson's view, to make possible a "reasonably accurate solution to the De Soto route."[205]In particular, archeologist Jeffrey P. Brain observes, only during this time have scholars "developed the ability to identify the appropriate artifacts and configurations that discriminate the narrow slices of time within larger contexts." In other words, it is fairly easy to identify artifacts that signal a Spanish presence in Florida in the sixteenth century, but much harder to pinpoint whether those artifacts were left by De Soto or one of the many other Spanish explorers that traversed some of the same areas during that century.

Additionally, Brain points out, finding artifacts traceable to De Soto does not, by itself, make it possible to conclude that De Soto passed through a particular location, as Indian trade practices transported Spanish objects far afield. Brain asserts that

198. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 453; Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, xxv. The Cañete account is Sebastián de Cañete, *The Cañete Fragment: Another Narrative of Hernando De Soto*, trans. Eugene Lyon, in Clayton, et al, eds., *De Soto Chronicles,* vol. 1: 307-10.
199. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, xxv; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 448-53. For Garcilaso, see Garcilaso de la Vega, The Inca, *La Florida*, trans. Charmion Shelby; ed. David Bost, in Clayton, et al, eds., *De Soto Chronicles,* vol. II: 25-562.
200. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 455. Hudson gives a full discussion of the attempts of various eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth-century scholars and students to work out the route on pp. 456-60.
201. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 460-63.
202. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 459-60.
203. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 463.
204. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 463.
205. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 455-56.

"we must identify encampments of the army itself in order to trace the route with precision."[206]

Working for over a decade with many other anthropologists, geologists, historians, and local citizens, Hudson assembled what is probably the most definitive route map yet available, summarizing his findings in his 1997 book *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun*. Parts of his work on the overall route emerged from a fruitful collaboration with Florida archaeologist Jerald T. Milanich with whom he worked to correlate details about the expedition with current archeological discoveries. Predating the publication of *Knights of Spain* was the appearance of Milanich and Hudson's *Hernando De Soto and the Indians of Florida* (1993).[207] Perhaps not surprisingly, Milanich and Hudson's collaboration began in 1983 as part of an initiative by the Florida Division of Recreation and Parks to mark a De Soto Trail along highways in that state. Two years later, the state installed signs and kiosks with a De Soto logo along much of the route.[208]

Hudson and Milanich employed what they describe as a "best fit" approach, combined with what Brain terms the "long ribbon" theory of routing. "Best fit" entailed correlating topographical, cartographic, and documentary information with archeological data, while "long ribbon" thinking dictated considering the route in its entirety and proposed that "best fits" became even better as they added up into something that appeared to produce a unified route.[209]

Importantly for De Soto National Memorial, Hudson and Milanich concurred with Swanton that De Soto landed at Tampa Bay, but Hudson concluded that Swanton's "locations for where the horses and men were put ashore and his location for the base camp were incorrect."[210] Thus, most scholars now seem to agree that Shaw's Point is *not* the landing site, and many concur with Hudson that, as De Soto biographer David Duncan notes, it was instead probably near Piney Point, between Cockroach Bay and Bishop Harbor and that Ocita, the base camp, was located further inland, near present day Ruskin, Florida.[211]

Hudson's work on the route was informed by advances in archeology from the 1970s on that permitted better mapped overviews of known sixteenth-century southeastern archeological sites, improved understanding of the physical geography of the sixteenth-century southeast, and the identification of definitive sixteenth-century diagnostic artifacts such as small copper Clarksdale bells, specific chisels and spikes, and a particular variety of glass beads that linked sites clearly to the sixteenth century and to Spain.[212]

Archeology also underwent a theoretical evolution in this period in which greater attempts were made to link sites so as to make regional social, economic, and political entities visible. Indeed, it was his quest to better understand the social history and geography of the sixteenth-century southeast (that is, to map out who lived where) that led Hudson to De Soto, whose expedition produced the best accounts of sixteenth-century native peoples.[213]

In working on the route, Hudson also correlated what the De Soto chronicles said with available documentation on other contemporaneous southeastern expeditions, including those of Juan Pardo (1566-68), Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón (1526), Pánfilo de Narváez (1528), and Tristán de Luna y Arellano (1559-61).[214]

In their 1993 book, Hudson and Milanich asserted that De Soto could be tracked by locating known De Soto artifacts at Indian sites along what other sources would predict would have been De Soto's route. Working first from written accounts, they sketched a possible route where topography fit what the chronicles reported. That is, if the chronicles recounted that the expedition encountered an

206. Brain, review of *Hernando de Soto among the Apalachee*, 245-47; Brain, review of *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida*, 369.
207. Milanich and Hudson, *Hernando De Soto and the Indians.*
208. Milanich and Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians*, 3.
209. Brain, review of *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida*, 369; Milanich and Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians*, 6-18.
210. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 472.
211. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, 249-51.
212. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 465-66.
213. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 465-66.
214. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 466-68.

Indian village near a lake, followed by a swamp and a river, they sought locations that satisfied all of those criteria. To test the hypothesis that these locations added up to De Soto's route, they sought physical evidence to support De Soto's presence at archeological sites corresponding to known sixteenth-century Indian villages found along the proposed route they had blocked out. The Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research's extensive files of all known archeological sites in the state allowed them to locate prospective sites.[215]

By this means, Milanich and Hudson concluded that De Soto's landing and Ocita base camp place must have been near the so-called Thomas Mound site near the mouth of the Little Manatee River near Ruskin. The site, originally excavated around the turn of the twentieth century, further mined in the 1930s, and ultimately destroyed, included several Indian mounds, Spanish artifacts, shell middens, and possible remnants of earthworks that might have been a Spanish fortification. Yet an archeological survey of the Little Manatee River area done in 1987-88 by University of South Florida faculty and students failed to uncover definite evidence, either at the former Thomas Mound site or elsewhere in the area, of De Soto's Ocita camp. This was disappointing, as the site being sought should have contained the detritus of an encampment where De Soto's entire army bivouacked for six weeks, and where at least 100 of De Soto's men remained for another six months after De Soto and the rest of the army departed. Milanich and Hudson lamented that "the destruction of sites along the Little Manatee River has been too severe."[216]

Jeffrey Brain later asserted, however, that Hudson and Milanich should also have considered "the possibility that they have the wrong location (bay?)."[217] Indeed, Hudson's route, methodology and assess-

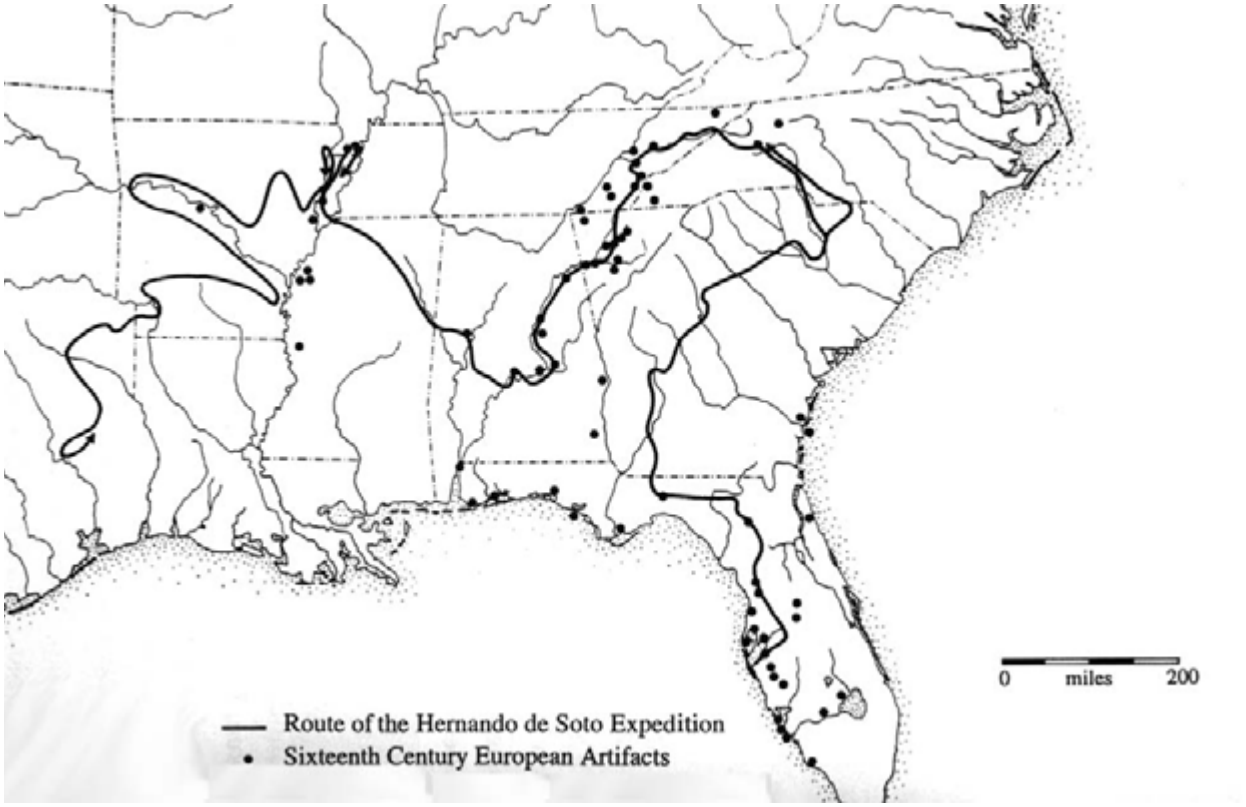


FIGURE 33. Archeological sites of sixteenth-century European artifacts (Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 431)

215. Milanich and Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians*, 13.
216. Milanich and Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians*, 15, 66-70.
217. Brain, review of *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida,* 371. See also Jeffrey P. Brain, "Working Paper Prepared for De Soto Symposium, Gainesville, FL, 22 February 1986," DESO Files.

ments of the supporting documents, have been controversial in some quarters.

One reason for the ongoing debate is that despite decades of work at the mapping task, there is at present only one archeological site that has been definitively linked to De Soto—the Governor Martin site, in downtown Tallahassee, which was likely the location of his army's 1539-40 winter camp. Discovered almost by accident during excavations accompanying construction of an office complex near the state capitol in 1986, the site, according to Duncan, "yielded enough Spanish beads, nails, coins, crossbow quarrels, bits of chain mail, and pottery of the correct date," as well as pig teeth and bones and a structure that may have been built by European-style construction techniques (using sawed posts and wrought nails) to convince most observers that De Soto had at last been pinpointed.[218]

With the archeological record so generally inconclusive, Brain, in particular, has questioned Hudson's apparent certitude about the landing site and the route. In a 1994 review of Milanich and Hudson's book, Brain wrote that a good case could still be made that De Soto landed at Charlotte Harbor rather than Tampa Bay, and that "the identification of the Bahía Honda/Espíritu Santo [the bay where De Soto landed] remains in doubt." Brain furthermore noted that the question "would be quickly resolved if the camp established after landing and garrisoned for more than six months could be discovered" but that "archeology has not been cooperative." He observes, correctly, that Milanich and Hudson had not located any site of European encampment (whether created by De Soto or not) in the Tampa Bay region.[219]

Hudson himself admits that his attempts at mapping De Soto create, in the end, "interpretive reconstructions" aimed at getting "a best fit with available historical and archaeological information." As more information becomes available, maps will be redrawn. The work of uncovering De Soto is ongoing.[220]

The continuing scholarly debates, historiographical discussions, and many of the possibilities for further study are examined in Patricia Galloway's 1997 edited volume, *The Hernando De Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and `Discovery' in the Southeast*.[221] Galloway's authors subject many aspects of De Soto studies to critical review, and, in concert especially with Jeffrey Brain's observations about the thorny problems of locating De Soto in the archeological record, make it clear that trying to comprehend De Soto and his La Florida world requires a careful, interdisciplinary approach that would tax the abilities of nearly any single scholar.[222]

Galloway's De Soto scholars debate and unpack the significance and interpretation of each buttressing piece of archeological or historical information, most importantly the authorship, originating context, and factual reliability of each of the chronicles, which have at many points been taken at face value when perhaps they should not have been. Advancing a notion that is by now commonplace among scholars of other topics, Galloway's authors argue that the chronicles often tell us as much (or more) about their authors and the conventions within which they were working as they do about the facts of the De Soto expedition, their purported subject.[223]

Beyond language and authorship issues, interpretive and technical complexities abound, including, for instance, questions of "how the expedition maneuvered and of how De Soto might have known where he was at any given time." Navigational practices that sixteenth-century Spaniards took for granted, she continues, "were rarely overly documented."[224] Complicating matters further, Galloway notes in a concluding essay, is the long entangled history of De

218. Duncan, *Hernando de Soto*, xxvi; Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 480. A full discussion of the Governor Martin site may be found in Ewen and Hann, *Hernando de Soto Among the Apalachee*. See also. Brain, review of *Hernando de Soto among the Apalachee*, 245-47; and Milanich and Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians*, 224.
219. Brain, review of *Hernando de Soto and the Indians*, 371.
220. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 479-81.
221. Published by the University of Nebraska Press in 1997. See especially the Introduction, pp. xiii-xvi. See also Robert L. Gold, review of *The Hernando de Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and "Discovery" in the Southeast*, ed. Patricia Galloway, *Journal of American History* 86:4 (March 2000): 1748-49.
222. Brain, review of *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida*, 369-72..
223. See the first five articles in Galloway, *The Hernando de Soto Expedition*, 3-177.
224. Galloway, *The Hernando de Soto Expedition*, xiv.

Soto investigation with De Soto commemoration. Yet though she judges that "the definitive history of the expedition itself remains unwritten," she concludes optimistically that "there is no lack of information to make it as well served by historical scholarship as are the Spanish conquest activities in the rest of the Americas."[225] It is within this context of historical ambiguity, ongoing debate, and its own questing spirit that De Soto National Memorial must operate. The challenges are many, while the certainties are few. But by acknowledging and engaging the unknowns, the park has the opportunity to become a rich educational project that draws on the insights of history, archeology, literature, the sciences, and technology to dramatize, illuminate, and engage visitors in seeking to understand the monumental, tragic, and fascinating cultural cataclysm that European and American Indian contact represented and the prospects and limits on our ability ever to comprehend the past.

225. Galloway, *The Hernando de Soto Expedition*, xiv.

Chapter 4

Conquistadors, Catholics, Celebrations and Controversy: The Memorial and Local Institutions and Issues

As foregoing chapters have explained, De Soto National Memorial arose initially from a *national* movement to commemorate the sixteenth-century expedition of a Spanish explorer and entrepreneur whose exploits provided Europeans their first detailed views of what would eventually become the southeastern United States. But the chosen commemorative site and the official Memorial developed within a specific *local* context consisting of many institutions, perspectives, agendas, and component histories.

Through the now more than seven decades since the first stirrings of the De Soto commemorative movement in 1935, Park Service personnel charged with keeping and operating the Memorial have for the most part cooperated and collaborated harmoniously with local actors and stakeholders. But below the public stratum of harmony and synergy, policy and working relationships have on occasion been burdened by tensions, crossed purposes, and divergent agendas.

Exploring those deeper strata is not unlike studying the shell mounds for which the west coast of Florida is justly noted: it is useful to map their locations, configurations, and strata in a general way, for what that may reveal about the overall outlines of aboriginal life and culture, but one must not stop there. Only detailed scrutiny of the rare intact object, the scattered bones, the perplexing broken bit yields a deeper understanding.

Careful scrutiny of major players, stakeholders and institutions is the object of this chapter. Over the years there have been many of them, but the major ones stand out clearly in the record.

First and most presciently, Bradenton's Chamber of Commerce positioned itself in the forefront of efforts to insure that the memorial to De Soto would be located at Shaw's Point. At least through the early 1960s it served as a reliable advocate for maintaining and developing the Memorial.

The South Florida Museum, as will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, emerged as a small, private, amateurish collection of random artifacts in a couple of rooms, but it (and its founder Dr. William Sugg) long harbored aspirations to move to expanded quarters within the De Soto National Memorial. That move never happened, but the negotiations surrounding efforts to cause it to happen provide a useful angle on the history of the Memorial.

Before the Memorial itself even existed and for many years thereafter, the Conquistadors—a group of prominent Bradenton men interested in the De Soto expedition—stationed themselves as a vanguard in the expanding enterprise of commemorating De Soto locally, and played a major role in Bradenton's De Soto celebrations. Their main interaction with the Memorial derived from their annual reenactments of the De Soto landing—conducted for several decades on the park grounds.

The Conquistadors were in turn part of Bradenton's Hernando De Soto Historical Society. As with the Conquistadors, the De Soto National Memorial has



FIGURE 34. Program book for De Soto Pageant Spectacle, organized by Bradenton Chamber of Commerce, February 19-22, 1941 (HDHS Archives)

had a shifting—alternately harmonious or conflicted, close or distant—relationship with HDHS. But for substantial reasons of their own, neither could ever afford to ignore the other.

Exploring the details of these local entities—like reading the individual artifact or making a detailed map or section of a single shell mound—carries one a long way toward understanding how the Memorial arose, why it is where it is, and how it has operated within its larger community. But having done so, one also must then zoom back out and set these separate (and linked) histories into the larger frame of Bradenton, Manatee County, and the Catholic Church on the west coast of Florida.

Bradenton and Manatee County constituted only a small node on the west coast when the Memorial was established, but both had strong aspirations, and were well situated within the west coast developmental system. Moreover, city and county officials grasped early how the De Soto historical-cultural complex could be mobilized to serve the area's developmental aims. The record shows consistently that those officials—somewhat unlike the Conquistadors and HDHS, each of which had something of an interpretive ax to grind—took a "let a thousand flowers bloom" approach to promoting De Soto-linked events and activities in the surrounding area.[226]

The Catholic Church (more properly, the Dioceses of St. Augustine and later Venice) was still larger in scale than the city and the county, but its attitude toward De Soto was decidedly less *laissez faire* than that of those two entities. No serious scholar of sixteenth-century Spanish exploits in the New World would dare neglect the linkage between the Church and the Conquest (hence with any individual *conquistador*), and the Church showed itself repeatedly vigilant and engaged concerning commemorative and interpretive efforts associated with De Soto in Bradenton and Manatee County.

Still larger in some ways than the Diocese or the Catholic Church was Florida's native American community, which was almost completely uninvolved with the Memorial until the late 1980s—anticipating the approach of the (much-contested, as it turned out) national commemoration of the 500th anniversary of Columbus's "discovery" of the New World. The fish guts the native Americans dumped dramatically in the way of Bradenton's De Soto Celebration parade in 1993 signaled that an era of revised relations between the local commemoration of De Soto and Florida's native Americans had opened. These organizations, their relations with the Memorial, and the issues those relations perennially highlighted deserve close scrutiny. We turn now to that.

An Intersection of Interests: The Bradenton/ Manatee Chamber of Commerce[227]

Tickets to the earliest De Soto commemoration staged in Bradenton—a "De Soto Review" presented by the Bradenton Tourist Club in January 1939 (four months before the Colonial Dames placed their eight-ton granite marker on Shaw's

226. A widely used aphoristic phrase derived from the Chinese Communist Party's 1956-57 slogan, "Let a hundred flowers bloom; let the hundred schools of thought contend."

Point)—were distributed by the Chamber of Commerce.[228] And when it shortly came time to prepare the site for the marker, provide a suitable road to Shaw's Point, and arrange the monument-setting ceremony, the Chamber formed a steering committee and again took the lead, as it also did in trying to persuade the Ballard family to donate eighteen acres of land for the marker and surrounding park.[229] Two years later the Chamber threw substantial effort and resources into planning, organizing, and publicizing the city's first annual De Soto celebration (discussed in a previous chapter).[230]

From the earliest days of the Memorial, the Chamber also involved itself aggressively in efforts to boost industrial, commercial and economic growth (especially tourism) in the area—an activity at once central both to the Chamber's mission and essential to the Memorial's continued viability.[231] At the time the Colonial Dames monument was set on Shaw's Point in 1939, Manatee County's population was only about 26,000, but by 1950 it was nearly 35,000. In his monthly report for February 1957, Superintendent Hopper wrote that "the Florida West Coast is having its greatest influx of travelers in history." Memorial visitation was up 15-20% over the prior year, he said. Hotels and motels were full, and people were sleeping in their cars on the beaches.[232] Income from local tourism was reliably estimated at $50-60 million for the 1968 winter season.



FIGURE 35. Bradenton high school girls Norma Mayo (L) and Bebe Alexander (R) as conquistadors at 1941 landing reenactment (HDHS Archives)

By the time the new Visitor Center opened at the Memorial (early 1968), county population stood at 86,000. While that was still only about a fifth of Hillsborough County (Tampa), and substantially less than Sarasota County's 101,000, clearly the vector was pointing upward.[233] Annual visitation at the Memorial, already pushing 100,000 in 1966, rose to over 134,000 by 1970.[234] The Chamber of Commerce's role in that growth had been evident for more than forty years. Consequently it had been crucial to the development of a hospitable climate for the Memorial and a sustainable visitor base.

227. In 1941, when Bradenton's De Soto commemorative pageant started, the organization was called Bradenton Chamber of Commerce; by 1960 it was called the Greater Bradenton Chamber of Commerce; it later became the Manatee Chamber of Commerce. It is currently called the Manatee Chamber of Commerce, but we refer to it as Bradenton/Manatee to evoke its earlier configuration. Bradenton and Manatee County were joined as one unit in 1944. Unfortunately, documentary records of the Chamber's involvement in early De Soto events appear not to have survived, although that involvement is clear in newspaper articles of the period.
228. Unpaged clipping, *Bradenton Herald*, 22 January 1939, MCPL.
229. "Chamber of Commerce Making Plans to Have De Soto Marker Erected at Shaw's Point Where Explorer Landed," *Bradenton Herald*, 12 March 1939, p. 4; "Colonial Dames Official to Visit Monument Site," *Bradenton Herald*, 15 March 1939, p. 5; "Commission Collaborates With Memorial Committee," *Bradenton Herald*, 21 March 1939, unpaged clipping; "DeSoto Marker Unveiling Committee Plans to Make Affair One of Importance," *Bradenton Herald*, 2 May 1939, p. 2; "Plans Completed for Unveiling of De Soto Marker," *Bradenton Herald*, 28 May 1939, unpaged clipping. All clippings are located in the MCPL.
230. "Pre-Pageant Scene at De Soto Park," *Bradenton Herald*, 3 February 1941, p. 4; "Something To Be Proud Of," *Bradenton Herald,* 24 February 1941, unpaged clipping, DESO Files.
231. Superintendent's Monthly Report, May 1950, DESO Files. When a move was afoot to expand the Memorial's boundaries in 1960, the Chamber lobbied their local Congressional representative in favor of it. Seventh District Congressman James A. Haley to R. Irving Blanchard, 18 April 1960; MCPL.
232. Superintendent's Monthly Report, February, 1957, DESO Files. These population figures for Manatee County are confirmed by a glance at the U.S. Census for 1940 and 1950. See "Historical Census Browser," University of Virginia Library, http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/newlong3.php (accessed 18 November 2007).
233. John. L. Douglas and Associates, *Economic Data: Manatee County* (Bradenton: Manatee County Chamber of Commerce, 1968), 4a, 7a, 15a, 36a, DESO Files.
234. Superintendent's Monthly Report, December 1966, DESO Files; George W. Fry, "Operations Evaluation Report of De Soto National Memorial," April 1971, p. 26, DESO Files.



FIGURE 36. Joe Bill Rood as De Soto, 1955 landing re-enactment (MCPL)

Lace Cuffs, Plumed Hats and Tourist Throngs: The Conquistadors and the De Soto Landing Reenactments

More fraught with tension over the years was the relationship between the Memorial and Bradenton's Conquistadors. Part men's club, part Kiwanis-like service organization, part Mardi Gras-like crewe, part social and cultural clique, the Conquistadors formed (and stoutly defended) their own views of De Soto, of his expedition, and of what a suitable public commemoration should consist. Their views were not wholly at odds with those of the National Park Service, but neither were they wholly congruent. As in a classic Venn diagram, the two circles only partially overlapped. To complicate matters, this particular Venn diagram was dynamic: from time to time: the circles expanded and contracted, and the amount of overlap varied.

It is not entirely clear at what point the Conquistadors arose. Some version of the group may have emerged during the Memorial's earliest years, but documentary evidence is lacking. Re-enactments of the De Soto landing began to be staged at Shaw's Point in 1941—years before the Memorial opened. But the 1941 pageant program contained no mention of the Conquistadors. The entire pageant was, it appears, under the direction of the Chamber of Commerce and the John B. Rogers Company of Ohio, professional producer of such public events.[235]

When the celebration resumed in 1948 after the close of World War II, it was headed by Sam Wooten, General Chairman of the (newly founded?) De Soto Celebration Association.[236] The Association sponsored the celebration again in 1949, but in 1953 the program book message from the Chairman of the De Soto Celebration did not mention any association. In 1954, however, the Chairman's message said "a chartered permanent organization is now a reality and will assure the continuation of our celebration."[237]

By 1955, Bradenton's Joe Bill Rood cut a grand figure as De Soto: shiny silk jacket and breeches, lace cuffs and collar, plumed hat, sword at the ready, but apparently the Conquistadors organization was still two years away. Finally in 1957, the De Soto Celebration was officially presented by the Conquistadors, but it was six years later before a photograph of the group, identified as such, appeared in the Celebration program book.[238]

The major interaction the Conquistadors had over the years with the De Soto National Memorial cen-

235. The John B. Rogers Company's role in the Bradenton De Soto celebrations is discussed at length in Chapter 1 above.
236. *Official Souvenir Program, De Soto Celebration and Pageant Spectacle, Bradenton, Florida, March 29-30-31, 1948* (Bradenton: De Soto Celebration Association, 1948), p. 5. The Association's Executive Committee included no women. Presumably the membership of the Association overlapped considerably with the Chamber of Commerce, but direct evidence is lacking. Since the Association's constituent divisions (finance, publicity, etc.) included many women, as the later Conquistadors did not, the two appear to have been conceived and organized differently
237. *De Soto Celebration, March13-21, 1954, Bradenton, Florida* (Bradenton: n. p., 1954), p. 53. No name of the permanent organization was given. It seems reasonable to assume that the Association's officers and membership overlapped considerably with that of the Chamber of Commerce, but a detailed comparison of membership has not proven possible.

tered around the annual De Soto landing reenactments at Shaw's Point on the Memorial grounds. The reenactments began in 1948, two years before the first superintendent arrived at the Memorial. They continued to be staged, usually in mid-March, through the 1950s and beyond.[239]

A surviving reenactment script, probably from 1955, conveys the generally romantic and melodramatic approach Bradentonians took in staging the early landing reenactments:

> NOTICE THE WARRIORS AND BRAVES AT PLAY--TWO ARE PLAYING AT WAR
>
> LOOK AT THE INDIAN FISHERMAN---HE SEES SOMETHING---HE STARES---SHADES HIS EYES---WHAT DOES HE SEE? HE CALLS THE WARRIORS AND BRAVES---THEY TOO STARE IN AMAZEMENT--IT IS A BOAT FULL OF STRANGE FIGURES AND NOT A WAR CANOE FROM UCITA---THE ALARM IS GIVEN---ALL INDIANS RUSH TO WATERSIDE AND STARE---IN THE BOW OF THE BOAT STANDS A COMMANDING FIGURE . . . WHO CAN IT BE--SPANIARDS--THE INDIANS ARE SORE AFRAID---THEY HAVE HAD EXPERIENCE WITH THE SPANIARDS . . . WHO CUT OFF CHIEF HIRRIHIGUA'S NOSE AND THREW HIS MOTHER TO THE DOGS . . . AS THE BOAT NEARS THE SHORE THEY SLOWLY RETIRE TO THE JUNGLE WHERE THEY CAUTIOUSLY PEEP OUT AT THE HATED SPANIARDS.

De Soto then comes ashore, and a priest and a soldier plant the Cross and the Spanish flag. The royal patent is read. After four days, De Soto's army begins its march inland, along a route familiar to the local audience:

> THE ROUTE OF MARCH WAS ALONG RIVERVIEW AVENUE TO ABOUT TWENTY-SIXTH STREET. THENCE SOUTHWARD TO MANATEE AVENUE, THENCE EASTWARD THROUGH DOWNTOWN BRADENTON.[240]



FIGURE 37. The Conquistadors, 1963. (HDHS Archives)



FIGURE 38. De Soto comes ashore in 1948 landing reenactment (MCPL)

There was not a shred of historical evidence for this route of march, but the spectators were not bothered by the lack. They came in large numbers, swelling Memorial visitation in February 1956 to more than 10,000.[241] Large bleachers were erected on the beach to accommodate the crowds, and young high school students garbed as "Indians" filled the scene. As early as 1958, Superintendent Hopper reported that it was "the fourth year for the

238. *De Soto Celebration, February 22-26, 1957, Bradenton, Florida* (Bradenton: The Conquistadors [?], 1957), pp. 13-14. The following year, the organization was described as "an organization of businessmen from Bradenton and Palmetto" dedicated to sponsoring "Manatee County's De Soto Celebration." *De Soto Celebration, March 2-9, 1958; Manatee County, Florida, 419 Years Later* (Bradenton: The Conquistadors [?], 1958), p. 2. Similar language appeared in the 1960 program book.
239. Superintendent's Monthly and Annual Reports, 1951-55, DESO Files and RG 79, Box 75, NARA II.
240. John B. Leffingwell, "Manuscript . . . for De Soto Landing Celebration to Be Staged at De Soto National Memorial 2:00 p.m. March 16, 1955", DESO Files.
241. Superintendent's Monthly Report, February 1956, DESO Files.

script, and it is growing weaker. It is past due for a change."[242]Throughout the early 1960s, both producers and Memorial superintendents worked to improve the script and the means of presentation, but the limits of space, personnel, logistics, funds, and time challenged all of the parties. For the 1961 reenactment, a "you are there" script replaced the melodramatic narrative of the old one. The next year, more than 4,000 people jammed the beach for the ceremony.[243]

As an annual public event that brought many additional visitors to the Memorial, the reenactments were a success. But behind the scene, the views and intentions of the Memorial and the Conquistadors had never been fully congruent. The Memorial's third superintendent Lloyd Pierson, who arrived in January 1963, recalled his worries years later. He had been invited to join the Conquistadors, he said, but declined, "saying it might develop a conflict of interest, especially if I had to say no to some of their antics in the park."[244]

Clearly, between boatloads of grandly attired *conquistadores*, breech-clouted Indians, and bleachered throngs of tourists on the one hand and "antics in the park" on the other yawned a gulf. The printed program for the 1966 reenactment perfectly (though no doubt unintentionally) juxtaposed solemn text and "antics" subtext: armored De Soto, flag in hand and sword planted in the foreground, tiny becalmed *caravel* on the bay, and in the lower right corner the subtextual can-can dancer (present in the Celebration at least since 1948), legs exposed, hair and skirts enticingly awhirl. Beneath the solemnity of the commemoration lurked the Lord of Misrule.

The situation came to a head with the arrival of Superintendent Vincent Gannon on March 14, 1965, the day of the landing reenactment. Gannon was not pleased with what he saw, and the ensuing months did nothing to assuage his concern. In October he sent a memo to the Southeast Regional Director of the National Park Service, alerting him that the Conquistadors were going to Washington the following week to seek Federal assistance for their endeavors, and that the NPS Director should not approach the meeting unaware of the tension between the group and the Memorial.[245]

Fundamental to the conflict, in Gannon's view, was the difference between the Conquistadors' "site based" view of the Memorial (De Soto had landed exactly there, and therein lay the importance of the site and the Memorial) and the Park Service's view that the landing site remained uncertain, and was in any case only peripherally important to the larger (legislatively mandated) purpose of commemorating De Soto and the historical importance of the De Soto *expedition*.[246]

In effect, Gannon asserted, the Conquistadors were asking for "a Federal endorsement of their site theory" in the service of "chamber-of-commerce promotional purposes," and as a result putting the Memorial in the position of appearing to endorse the historical fiction that the De Soto landing site has been established. Implicit, he said, was "the proposition that the National Memorial has the sole function of preserving and paying homage to twenty-five acres of sand and shell."

Focusing on the specific site may, Gannon surmised, "reflect [the Conquistadors'] enduring fear that the Memorial will be 'stolen' by communities with another landing-site theory." There was, he reported, a "perennial squabble between Manatee and Pinellas County . . . over the opportunity to use . . . [De Soto's] place in the nation's history" for community promotion purposes, and "fierce inter-

242. Superintendent's Monthly Report, March 1958, DESO Files.
243. Superintendent's Monthly Report, February 1961 and March 1962, DESO Files.
244. Lloyd M. Pierson, "De Soto National Memorial, Florida, January 1963—January 1965", DESO Files. A letter of transmittal, Lloyd M. Pierson to Superintendent Charlie Fenwick, 29 November 2002, DESO Files, indicates that the account had been written at some unspecified earlier date.
245. Vincent S. Gannon, Notes on De Soto National Memorial and De Soto Historical Society ("Conquistadors"), 5 October 1966, DESO Files. The following discussion is based upon this document
246. While the language of the law establishing De Soto National Memorial does say the park's purpose is to establish "an appropriate memorial to Hernando de Soto," the language of some of the reports and discussion that preceded and accompanied the legislation is broader. For instance, the House of Representatives' Committee on Public Lands February 1948 report accompanying the legislation through the House in 1948 stated that the bill's purpose was to establish a memorial "to commemorate one of the most important exploratory expeditions in the history of the United States." This language was consistent with that included in Under Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman's appended letter to Committee on Public Lands' chair Richard J. Welch explaining the legislation. See U. S. House Committee on Public Lands, Report to Accompany H.R. 4023, 80th Cong., 2d sess., 3 February 1948.

city rivalries" among Tampa, St. Petersburg, Sarasota, and Ft. Myers were in evidence."

More immediately and practically, Gannon observed, the reenactments were boring. "[E]very instance of commercialism, disrespect and bad taste" was displayed, he said, and there was "little genuine interest in quality." The Conquistadors' feeling for history "borders on contempt," he reported; their primary concern was to develop "a more 'spectacular' 'show.'"

The Conquistadors, meanwhile, proclaimed their genuine interest in meticulously accurate historical representation. "Every effort is made by the Conquistadors to document details of historic events," they wrote in the 1965 Celebration program: "Costumes worn by "Hernando De Soto" and members of his Crewe are patterned after authentic 16th Century battle dress, as are armor and swords. The Conquistador helmet is made in West Germany from 15th Century dies . . . ."[247] But Gannon was not convinced. Authentic helmets did not a historically authentic reenactment make. He had watched the reenactments for two years, he told his superior, and could not discover "the first advantage . . . to the National Memorial, the Service, the commemoration of the De Soto exploration, general historical appreciation, or the nation."

Not surprisingly, Gannon had found it difficult to work with the Conquistadors. Four months earlier, he said, he had given them a fifty-page "illustrated scenario" for a reenactment pageant "of reasonable quality and accuracy." But their "chronic defensive smugness" and the large annual turnover in membership of such a large group made him doubt "any certain promise of improvement in the nature or features of this . . . reenactment." Many Conquistadors respond, he confided, "with a display of 'righteous indignation' at any questioning of the quality of their efforts."

Gannon pointedly warned the Regional Director about the requests he anticipated that the Conquistadors might make during their trip to Washington: beach renourishment (to provide a larger stage for their landing pageant), more parking space, a permanent dock for their use, an amphitheater on the Memorial grounds, a role in the interpretive movie being prepared for use with Memorial visitors, and finally "That the Service not only indicate its gratitude to Drs. Sugg and Blake for the donation of the lands, but that it appoint the Conquistadores to serve as the government's agents in carrying out that function."[248]



FIGURE 39. A genteel De Soto greeting a Native American at the 1948 De Soto landing reenactment (MCPL)

Such "circumstances and pressures which bring the Service and the De Soto Celebration into collision with one another" Gannon feared, "are all too likely to increase. . . . The competition for room on the Memorial grounds and [for] telling our two different versions of the story alone threaten decades of hard feelings between the community and the Service." "[T]hey demand, and we reject" again and again, he said, "and the hard feelings grow . . . from year to year." A key figure in the conflict, he felt, was original Memorial land donor Dr. Sugg, who harbored resentment reaching all the way back to 1951, when he "wanted to have a barbecue party at the Memorial and was turned down," and who now appeared to control "every basic decision of the Conquistadors."[249] Broader resentment also flowed from other "local demands for special privileges" that could not be accommodated.

"In general," Gannon concluded toward the end of his eighteen-page single-spaced memo,

247. *De Soto Celebration, Manatee County Florida, March 13 thru 21, 1965* (Bradenton: n.p., 1965), p. 4.
248. We discuss the film at length in a subsequent chapter.
249. Sugg served as Chairman of the landing reenactment in 1953. *De Soto Celebration, March 14-22, 1953, Bradenton, Florida* (Bradenton: n.p., 1953).

> the community made a mistake in 1946-47 in asking for the establishment of a National Memorial here. They had little conception of what a National Memorial was then, and they have little more conception of it today . . . . We believe the community actually wanted, and seeks to retain, a federally subsidized county park, administered by the Conquistadores, maintained by a National Groundskeeping Service . . . ." He felt that an alternative site for the reenactment at Coquina Beach that was under discussion might make sense.

"It may very well be," he suggested, "that disengagement will be far easier now than later." No evidence indicates that the Conquistadors' requests, coming at the height of Mission 66-related activity at the Memorial, influenced plans for the infrastructure development there in those years.

The crowds at the landing ceremony were unfazed, however. Two years later, Gannon's successor Art Graham reported that some 5,000 people had attended the event—watched over by scores of city, county and state police. The event was "very well presented," he said and the Conquistadors helped police the area after its close. "Of major concern," however, was "the large amount of beer" consumed. Graham suggested that a ban on drinking should be considered, to avoid "turning the park into a 'beer garden' during the Celebration."[250]

Graham continued to press for improvements in the reenactment, and the 1971 event appears to have taken a turn upward. Graham himself was listed as Director of the program, entitled "Hernando De Soto's Golden Dream." Gone were the romantic honorifics for the De Soto of earlier reenactments. Scene I set a somber and realistic tone: "The De Soto Expedition ends in failure. . . . They had found no gold, Christianized no Indians, and founded no colonies. Their leader . . . was dead." Nine other scenes recapitulated the glory of its beginnings, the



FIGURE 40. Aerial view of crowd on beach at landing reenactment, March 20, 1960. Indian huts in foreground. (DESO Files)

250. Arthur F. Graham to [NPS] Regional Director, 26 March 1968, DESO Files.

winter encampment near Tallahassee, the mad push onward for non-existent gold, the slaughter of Indians, wintering in Tupelo, the "discovery" of the Mississippi, De Soto's illness and death. And finally the announcement of the 1971 Hernando De Soto from the Conquistadors' Bradenton crewe.[251]

The more decisive "disengagement" mentioned by Graham's predecessor Gannon was to be years in coming: reenactments at Shaw's Point continued through 1992.[252] The reenactments were cancelled in 1993 because of rising protests from Native Americans concerning the commemoration of the De Soto expedition, and were never held again.



FIGURE 42. Local high school students garbed as "Indians" at landing reenactment, March 20, 1960. Photo by Bill and Bob's Photo (DESO Files)

"One of Florida's Top-Rated Winter Festivals": The Hernando De Soto Historical Society and the De Soto Celebration

The Conquistadors, who staged the landing reenactments for all of the more than forty years they were held, were a component group of the Hernando De Soto Historical Society. Exactly when the latter group was formed is unclear.

The 1968 Celebration program book asserts that the Hernando De Soto Historical Society was "chartered" in 1945 "for the dual purpose of commemorating the landing and to compile factual data pertaining to the Explorer and his era."[253] The Society may well have been chartered as early as 1945, but the most credible report says that

> in 1952, the Hernando De Soto Memorial Society (later renamed the Hernando De Soto Historical Society) was chartered . . . 'to investigate . . . the history of Hernando de Soto, and of the historical landing . . . at Shaw's Point . . . and other historic traditions . . . and by appropriate activities, including . . . festivals, celebrations, contests and shows . . . to commemorate said historic landing . . . .'[254]

The boundary between the Conquistadors and the Society is difficult to define, and seems more functional than formal. The Conquistadors name first turns up in the printed record in 1957. The 1965 Celebration program book says that "members of the De Soto Historical Society call themselves 'Conquistadors,'" and that the group "consists of 150 business and professional men . . . independent of any other promotional or civic organization." Members of the approximately thirty-member Conquistador crewe (also at times *crew* or *krewe*) that staged the landing reenactment were elected annually from the larger membership. The 1992 program book says the Society is "the membership organization of today's Conquistadors," and that another entity, the Conquistadors Historical Foundation, has been created for "charitable, literary and educational purposes."[255]

For all practical purposes, the Hernando De Soto Historical Society and the Conquistadors were alternative names for essentially the same large group of men engaged in a wide range of De Soto-

251. 1971 De Soto Landing Pageant program, 21 March 1971, DESO Files.
252. Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1972-1992, RG 79, Entry 7g, Box 18, NARA II, NPS HFC and NPS DSC; "Conquistadors Won't Land in '93," *Bradenton Herald*, 4 April 1993, p. P24.
253. What "chartered" may have meant in this context is unclear. The Florida Department of State Division of Corporations has no record of the Society being incorporated under state law until 1961. On the incorporation see Florida Department of State Division of Corporations, http://www.sunbiz.org/index.html (accessed 7 February 2007).
254. Kay Kipling, "History of a Celebration: Fifty-three Years of History, Spectacle, and Fun," *De Soto Celebration: 1992 Official Program Book* (Bradenton: n.p., 1992), p. 13. Florida Division of Corporations records show that on January 3, 1994 the Hernando De Soto Historical Society (incorporated in some form February 8, 1961) changed its name from De Soto Celebration, Inc. to HDHS. See http://www.sunbiz.org/index.html (accessed 11 February 2007).



FIGURE 43. Can-can dancers at 1948 De Soto Celebration (MCPL)

related public activities. The Conquistadors (more specifically, the crewe) seem to have been primarily concerned with the landing reenactments and with participating in parades and festivals at other locations throughout Florida.[256] The Society functioned in other practical roles: amateur historical society, supporter and contributor of services to the annual De Soto celebration and pageant, tax-exempt mechanism for seeking and disbursing funds related to local De Soto projects, unofficial friends' group for the Memorial, keeper of De Soto artifacts and documents.[257] When and to what degree any given role was foregrounded depended upon circumstances, convenience, and needs. Around 1960, for example, the Society arranged for Bradenton to become a Sister City to Barcarrota, Spain, then thought to be the birthplace of De Soto.[258]

The Society's main function was to organize and produce the annual De Soto Celebration. As previous chapters have explained, local commemoration of De Soto and the expedition began with a granite marker and evolved quickly into an elaborate day-, week-, or month-long community pageant/festival/celebration tied to the promotional agendas of city and county officials and the business community.

The De Soto National Memorial had no official role in the Celebration except to host the landing reenactment for some years. But as a major annual public event that involved virtually the entire community, the Celebration was centrally important in shaping public perception of the significance of the De Soto landing and expedition, defining De Soto iconography, and shaping public discourse about the relationship between the city/county and the De Soto history. Hence following the evolution of the Celebration over the years allows one to map shifts in perception, iconography and discourse, and thus to understand better the public context in which the De Soto National Memorial pursued its mandated mission.

255. *De Soto Celebration, Manatee County Florida, March 13 thru 21, 1965* (Bradenton: n.p., 1965), p. 6. Since this program book account contains a number of demonstrable errors, one cannot rely wholly upon its details. Unfortunately the Society has preserved few records of its early years. The program for the first (1941) Celebration included at least one woman (Jessie Miller) as a member of the De Soto Pageant Spectacle Executive Committee. When the Celebration resumed in 1948, women were members of all of its Divisions for planning and producing the event, but the De Soto Celebration Association's executive board was all male. Similar language about the relationship between the Conquistadors and the HDHS appears in 2007 on the Hernando De Soto Historical Society's web page, where the HDHS is described as "a not-for-profit, community organization of 225 Conquistadors (volunteer members) who celebrate the historical significance of the Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto's landing near the mouth of the Manatee River in May 1539." See Hernando De Soto Historical Society, "Who We Are," http://www.desotohq.com/who_we_are.htm (accessed 20 June 2007.)

256. Long-time member Robert W. Miller reported in 2007 that there are some sixty krewes, attached to a variety of organizations, in the Tampa Bay area. Robert W. Miller, telephone interview by David E. Whisnant, 19 February 2007.

257. The De *Soto Celebration Magazine* (Bradenton: n.p., 1989), p. 43 says, however, that the landing and expedition reenactment is "sponsored by the Hernando De Soto Historical Society." In later years the Conquistador Foundation was chartered to hold the Society's funds and property (including their Spanish Manor House in downtown Bradenton, built in 1989). See "Conquistador Historical Foundation: Preserving the Past for the Future," *De Soto Celebration: 1992 Official Program Book*, pp. 21-22, HDHS Archives. Also see De *Soto Celebration Magazine 1989*, p. 14. Robert W. Miller, telephone interview by David E. Whisnant, 19 February 2007.

258. For information on Sister Cities International, see Sister Cities International, http://www.sister-cities.org (accessed 20 June 2007). Beginning in 1962, De Soto Society and Conquistadors participated in goodwill tours to Barcarrota. De Soto biographer David Ewing Duncan'a succinct 1995 *Washington Post* précis of De Soto's life says unequivocally that "De Soto was not born in Villanueva de Barcarrota . . . as Garcilaso de la Vega claims, with no proof whatsoever. Nor is it likely he was born in Badajoz, capital of southern Extremadura . . . as others have insisted. In the absence of an actual birth certificate or other definitive documentation, the available evidence overwhelmingly suggests Hernando de Soto was a natural, or native, of Jeréz de los Caballeros" (http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/style/longterm/books/chap1/hernandodesoto.htm; accessed November 11, 2007).

The 1941 "Pageant Spectacle," as it was called, focused entirely upon De Soto. Local businesses placed modest advertisements in the program book, but except for the Hotel Dixie Grande ad and another by Tamiami Trail Tours ("See All Florida by Bus"), little else hinted at the De Soto/business/civic booster/tourism synergy that soon emerged.[259]

After the event resumed at the close of World War II, however, the cart quickly overtook the horse.[260] De Soto and his expedition faded slowly into the background to make way for an increasingly generic local/regional tourism promotion effort spurred by the business community. The 1948 De Soto "Celebration and Pageant Spectacle" included a speedboat regatta, "aquatic events," and a golf tournament. The next year a rodeo, shooting exhibition, shuffleboard tournament, travel trailer show, and lawn bowling tournament were added, followed later by a flower show, an art show, stock car races, the Florida State University circus in 1952, an air circus in 1971, and an annual National Band Contest. Other years brought fishing, bowling and horseshoe tournaments, surfing contests, bicycle races, a water ski show—any event at all that could (convincingly or not) be linked to any physical feature, accustomed practice or activity of the local area or Florida west coast region and couched to appeal to current or future tourists. The overriding aim was to develop the De Soto Celebration into—as the 1978 program book put it—"one of Florida's top-rated winter festivals."[261] Years after his own tour of duty at the Memorial, Superintendent Lloyd Pierson recalled it as "a week of parties, events, and nonsense designed to keep the winter visitors a little longer."[262]

By 1986, the De Soto figure adorning the cover of the Celebration program was no *conquistador*, but rather a Merlin-like character standing beneath an explosion of confetti and Disney-like figures (another comic De Soto chasing a comic Indian, Snow White De Soto queen, helmeted geezer kayak racer and white-maned geezer marathoner), announcing the full assimilation of the event into the pop iconography of mainstream culture.[263]

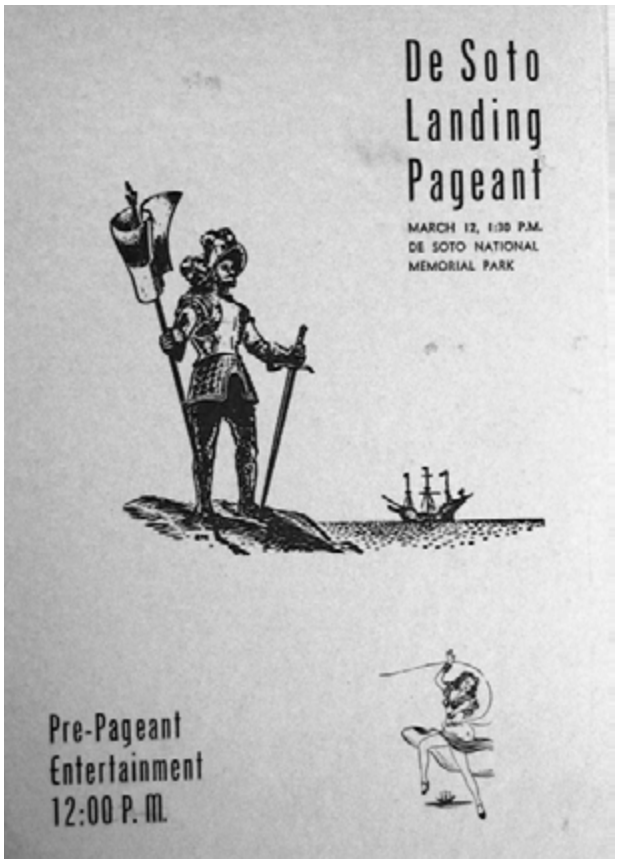


FIGURE 44. Landing reenactment program, March 12, 1966 (DESO Files)

The De Soto Celebration was from the beginning a "popular" event conceived and directed by local elites. Paralleling the drift toward popular rather than historical iconography, however, was the Celebration's move toward a somewhat more inclusive social demographic. This move emerged and developed, however, within a bias in favor of the Bradenton and Manatee County business and social elite, who always directed and controlled both the Celebration and (through the Conquistadors) the landing reenactment.

259. The 1941 spectacle is discussed extensively in a previous chapter.
260. Numerous Celebration program booklets reprint an article asserting that the Celebrations resumed in 1946, but we have encountered no evidence that that was the case. Program booklets themselves reappear only in 1948.
261. *The De Soto Celebration 1978, Bradenton, Florida, March 12-19* (Bradenton: n.p., 1978), p. 11.
262. Lloyd Pierson, "De Soto National Memorial, Florida: January, 1963 - January, 1965," n.d., p. 6, DESO Files.
263. At the urging of Dr. W. D. Sugg, Bradenton native Vernon DeSear became Director of the Celebration in 1976. He was still in that post at least through 1992. Mr. DeSear did not respond to our repeated requests for an interview. See Pam Daniel, "Mr. De Soto," *De Soto Celebration: 1992 Official Program Book* (Bradenton: n.p., 1992), pp. 9-10, HDHS Archives.

Whether it had the conscious intention or not (a fact both impossible to determine and of little import) the Celebration had the effect of both obscuring and idealizing local class and cultural relationships. In that respect it was not unlike its counterparts all across the country. "Organizers of historical pageants," historian David Glassberg notes, characteristically "used history to present an idealized portrait of local social relations." Such pageants "outlined how local residents were to envision the nature of their community, the position of various groups within [it] . . . and their place as a community" within the historical continuum. Most community historical pageants, Glassberg discovered, "depicted local class, ethnic, and race relations as a stable cohesive hierarchy." They portrayed social change "as a nearly organic process, smoothly unfolding" through the historical epochs, despite (or perhaps even because of) salient class, racial or gender differences.[264]

If it was true that the De Soto Celebration drew the local community together annually to display and enact its commonalities, it is also true that the enactment also obscured its differences. Three aspects of the De Soto Celebration over the years focus this paradox: the origin and development of the Celebration by the upper strata of the local social and cultural system, the control exercised over the landing reenactments by the Conquistadors (drawn from the local business elite), and the associated De Soto Queen contest.

Since the primary documentary record of the Celebration is almost non-existent, one must rely upon program books and newspaper coverage. But it is clear that, especially in the early years, the Cele-

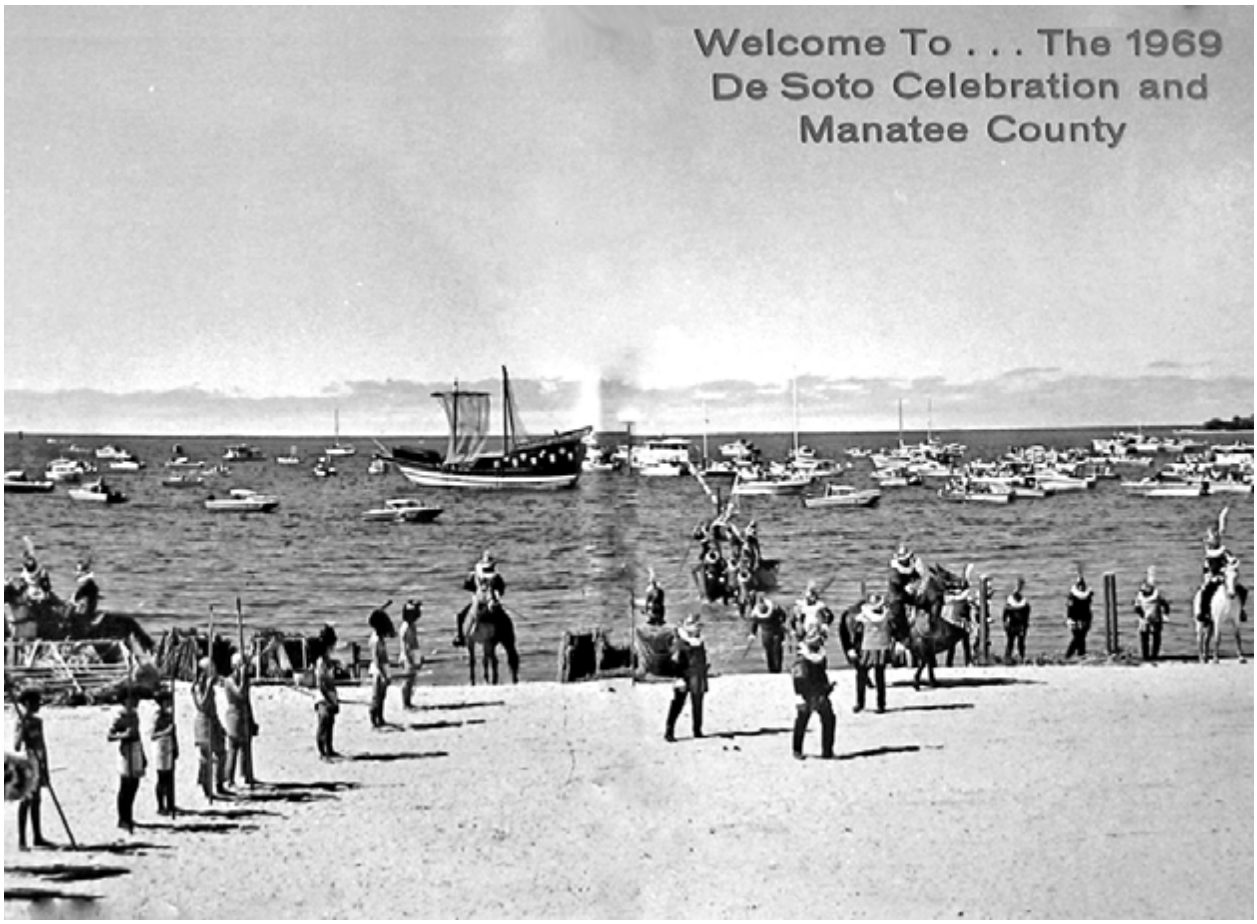


FIGURE 45. Panorama of 1969 De Soto landing reenactment (HDHS Archives)

264. David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 126, 133, 139.

bration was a creation of the elite business and social community. Dues were substantial, and active participation in the Celebration, the Hernando De Soto Historical Society, or the Conquistadors required both money and time not available to ordinary working people.[265] A regular feature of the Celebration for many years was a by-invitation-only Royal Ball (formal dress required), held at the Bradenton Country Club.[266]

Appropriately, the De Soto Queen contest was suffused with debutante-like images of and references to royalty. Queen candidates were sponsored by local groups (Optimists, Jaycees or Kiwanis, social organizations, communities such as Trailer Park or Anna Maria Island), and the candidate for whom the most tickets were sold got to wear the crown.

Their sojourn among the elite as De Soto royalty was brief, however. Biographical statements that accompanied queen candidates' pictures in the annual program books did not give parents' occupations or residence addresses, but it appears that as a group they may have given the Hernando De Soto Historical Society's event its main tie outside its own elite sphere. The young women were for the most part high school, community or junior college students, or business school students. A few attended Florida State University, but none had enjoyed the advantages of boarding schools, or Big Ten or Ivy League colleges. Now and then a candidate reported career aspirations such as medicine or law, and a few were school teachers, but most worked as secretaries, typists, retail clerks, beauticians, or in similar jobs.[267]



FIGURE 46. Hernando De Soto as golfer, 1966 De Soto Celebration (HDHS Archives)

The Catholic Church and the Memorial

The De Soto National Memorial's twenty-five acres lay legally within Bradenton and Manatee County, but culturally the Memorial also lay within (early) the Roman Catholic Diocese of St. Augustine (all of Florida east of the Apalachicola River) or later the Diocese of Venice (ten west Florida counties, including Manatee and Sarasota).[268]

No Catholic priest accompanied Juan Ponce de León when he stepped ashore in Florida in 1513, but priests did come ashore on at least six occasions between 1521 and 1565, including those who landed with De Soto in 1539. The Church dates its

265. Robert W. Miller, telephone interview by David E. Whisnant, 19 February 2007. Mr. Miller, a speech pathologist for local secondary schools, came to Bradenton in 1952 and got involved with the Celebration in the early 1970s through the Kiwanis Club in nearby Palmetto. He directed the children's parade portion of the Celebration for more than twenty years. Miller notes that members of the Conquistadors crewe participated in a growing number of other parades and festivals throughout Florida and beyond—which further limited membership to those who had sufficient time and money at their disposal.

266. *Invitación / Mandato* [1959], DESO Files. By 1963 the coronation ball had been moved into more public venues.

267. In later years so many De Soto queen candidates were students at Manatee Community College that they must have constituted something of a subculture there.

268. See map at Diocese of Venice in Florida, http://www.dioceseofvenice.org/diocese/northern.cfm (accessed 23 February 2007).

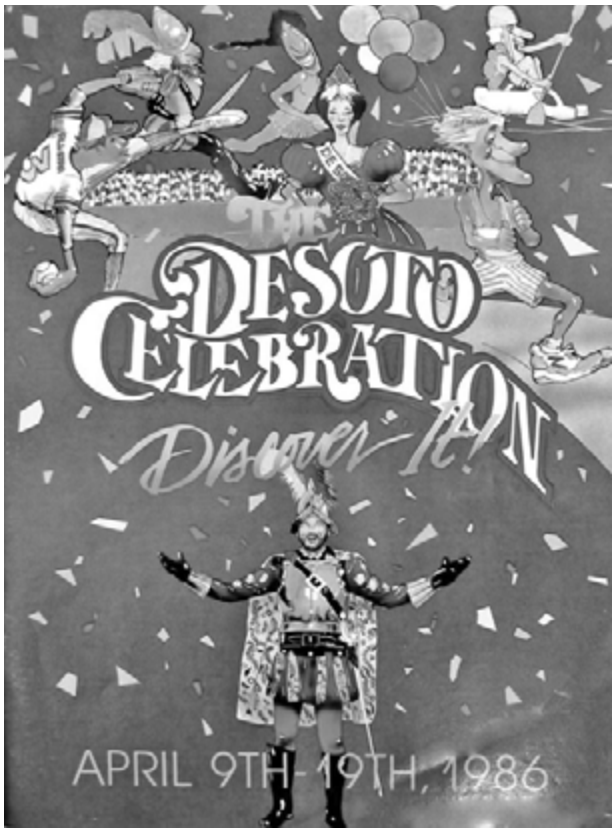


FIGURE 47. De Soto Celebration program book cover, 1986 (HDHS Archives)

founding in Florida from the establishment of the Nombre de Dios mission ground at St. Augustine in 1565, and eighty mission centers were established among eleven distinct Indian groups between 1567 and 1750.[269]

Thus Catholics have been a major religious and cultural presence in Florida throughout its history. By the 1930s, the Diocese of St. Augustine contained slightly over 50,000 Catholics, but by 1952 the number had more than doubled to 125,000 (about 4.5% of the state's population). Fifteen years later there were nearly 200,000 Catholics out of a total population of 3.4 million (5.9%). By 1988 the Diocese of Venice (created in 1984) had 126,000 Catholics, but the percentage had climbed to 12 %, where it remained through 2003 at least, when the Diocese of Venice comprised 217,000 parishioners.[270] The Memorial could no more ignore the Church than it could operate independently of the city and county.

The Church's involvement in the telling of the De Soto story in Bradenton and Manatee County actually predated the Memorial itself. Episode Four in the first (1941) De Soto Celebration book was The Blessing of De Soto's Army (three priests conducting a midnight mass before the expedition set sail), and a priest was included in the *dramatis personae* of the 1948 pageant.[271] Priests were a regular presence in the landing reenactments; the cover for the 1961 De Soto Celebration program book featured a photograph of De Soto and a priest standing on a landing craft, and numerous photos of the reenactments over the years included priests.

In 1958 the Church bought about eleven acres of land just outside the gates of the Memorial.[272] It intended to use the site for "improvements includ[ing] a large memorial cross, a statue of De Soto, and perhaps other exhibits to memorialize the explorer, his priests, and the later Spanish missionaries in Florida." Construction of "a chapel, rectory, convent, a parochial grammar school, parking lot-play area, and a trail with the stations of the Cross" was also contemplated.[273]

By 1964, plans were in hand to place on the site (as Superintendent Pierson's September Monthly Report described it) an "8-foot bronze statue of De Soto on the prow of a ship mounted on a hemisphere of stone . . . a rectangular granite block with

269. John H. Hann, "The Missions of Spanish Florida," in Michael Gannon, ed., *The New History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 78; Michael Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1965), xi-xii; and Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971), especially "Christianizing the Indians," 43-56.

270. *Official Catholic* Directory (n.p.: P. J. Kennedy & Sons) for 1932 (p. 616), 1933 (p. 630), 1934 (p. 647), 1952 (p. 548), 1966 (p. 733), 1967 (p. 756), 1988 (p. 979). Association of Religion Data Archives (ARDA online), http://www.thearda.com/mapsReports/reports/counties/12081_2000.asp (accessed 26 February 2007). ARDA statistics for the nation at large give both Protestant and Catholic membership in 2000 of 62 million.

271. *Official Souvenir Program, De Soto Pageant Spectacle, Bradenton Florida, Feb. 19, 20, 21, 22, 1941*, p. 20; and *Official Souvenir Program, De Soto Celebration and Pageant Spectacle, Bradenton Florida, March 29-30-31, 1948*, p. 13, both in HDHS Archives.

272. Merle D. Geoffrian, Survey of Parcel of Land in NW ¼ of Sect. 19, Twp. 34S, Rge. 17E, Manatee County, Florida, 24 April 1958, DESO Files. The Church had the land rezoned from residential to Church purposes.

273. [National Park Service representative], Unsigned report, 14 December 1959, RG79, Box 1622, NARA II.

bas-relief on both sides. One side will depict a mass and the other side will show priests ministering to the natives." The De Soto statue was put into place, but was damaged repeatedly by vandals, and eventually moved to the South Florida Museum. A sixty-foot memorial cross was also erected on the site in 1996, but like the De Soto statue it suffered from attacks by vandals.[274] Plans for the chapel, school, or other buildings on the Church's land never materialized.[275] Fortunately, through the agency of Manatee County, most of the land eventually became a county park.[276]

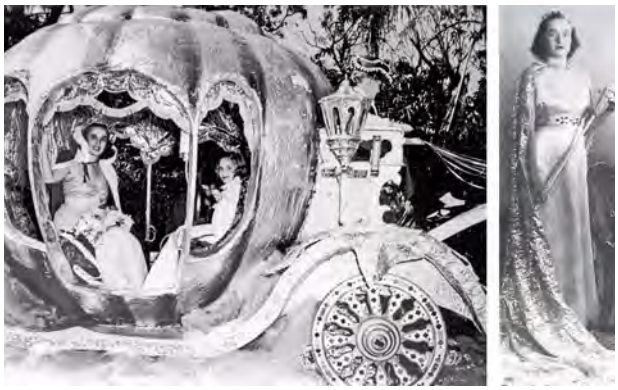


FIGURE 48. De Soto queen Marjorie Crisp in Cinderella coach, 1948 Celebration, left (MCPL); De Soto Queen Elizabeth Dye Diem,1941, right. (HDHS Archives)

Local and National Synergy: Bradenton, Manatee County and the Memorial

Beyond the De Soto Celebration discourse, iconography, and social-cultural system, the De Soto National Memorial operated within the broader arena of Bradenton and Manatee County. It was in the interest of the Memorial, the city, and the county for relationships to be both positive and beneficial. And the record suggests that a harmonious and productive synergy has generally been in evidence.

Bradenton had had some vision of the economic potential of tourism development for some years before the Memorial appeared on the banks of the Manatee River. The development of auto touring (especially after the appearance of Ford's Model T in 1908) brought countless tourists to Florida—some more welcome than others. Those who camped in tents and trailers in De Soto Park outside Tampa organized themselves around 1919 as the Tin Can Tourists. After they came to be considered a nuisance and were evicted, they moved a few miles south to Bradenton, bought thirty-five acres surrounding the ruin of an old plantation house (locally known as Braden Castle), and reincorporated themselves as the Camping Tourists of America.[277]

The Bradenton Kiwanis Club created and ran the nation's first mobile-home subdivision in 1936. Called (aptly enough) Trailer Park, it was designed to appeal to retirees.[278] Very shortly after the De Soto Expedition Commission issued its final report three years later, city and county leaders moved with dispatch—mainly through the Chamber of Commerce, as has been noted earlier—to capitalize on the developmental (tourist and retiree) potential of having a nationally recognized historic site in their midst. The Chamber of Commerce remained the city's *de facto* agent in its dealings with the Memorial. Manatee County, by contrast, managed its own relationships with the Memorial. Superintendents consistently cooperated with county initiatives in areas of mutual concern, and endeavored to mobilize county resources to

274. Photos of both monuments (minus the De Soto statue) and an account of the Memorial's effort to cooperate with the Church in restoring the monuments are available at Diocese of Venice in Florida, "The Florida Catholic: Venice Edition," http://www.dioceseofvenice.org/news/newspar2.cfm?ArticleID=792 (accessed 12 April 2007). The statue was first exhibited at the 1964 World's Fair in New York. In 2003 a search by the Memorial superintendent for a photograph of the statue was unsuccessful. See Carl Mario Nudi, "De Soto Memorial on Hunt for Photo of Statue," *Bradenton Herald*, 21 August 2003, p. 13C, DESO Files.

275. In 1996 the Church erected a sixty-foot cross on the site in honor of the priests who accompanied De Soto. "Bishop to Lead Cross Dedication," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, October 22, 1996; MCPL.

276. On the transfer of the land to the county and the development of the park, see Chapter 6.

277. For an extended account of the development of auto tourism, see Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979). A later version of the Tin Can Tourists organization survives as a group focused on the renovation of vintage mobile homes and travel trailers. See Tin Can Tourists, http://tincantourists.com/index.php (accessed 3 May 2007).

278. Gary R. Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 266.

enhance the Memorial. The county built the entrance road to the Memorial in 1951, and in the mid-fifties, its Anti-Mosquito Control unit visited the Memorial repeatedly to spray.[279]

As Manatee County grew (forty percent between 1960 and 1970), what happened in the area was of ever greater concern to the Memorial's superintendents, who were a familiar presence at board and commission meetings throughout the years, trying to marshal county regulations and regulatory procedures to protect the Memorial against a variety of threats.[280]

By 1980, Superintendent Richard Hite was bringing school groups regularly to the Memorial through the school system's Environmental Education Program, and throughout the decade he worked with county planners to challenge plans for a high-rise condominium development across the river on Emerson Point, and to challenge adjoining landowners' requests to build elaborate boat docks within the Memorial's viewshed.[281] In the mid-1990s, Superintendent Barbara Goodman served as a member of the county's Environmental Lands Management and Acquisition Committee, maintained a close relationship with the Office of Ecosystem and Conservation Lands Management and the Department of Recreation and Parks, and participated in partnership discussions with the Southwest Florida Water Management District and the Manatee County Environmental Education Program.[282]

One crucial instance of cooperation between the Memorial and Manatee County was the development of Riverview Pointe county park on the Memorial's southern border. True to Roy Appleman's 1947 prediction, the Memorial was threatened from the beginning by residential development pressures. Its back to the river and Tampa Bay, bordered on its other two sides by attractive and valuable developable land, and limited by a statutory cap on its size, it could do little more than watch as the subdivisions pushed steadily down 75th Street NW toward its gate.[283]

"Teach the Children the Truth": Native Americans and the Memorial

As early as 1952, the nearly 1,700 people who attended the De Soto landing reenactment heard "an Indian prayer given in the Sioux language by Mrs. N. L. Waelchli who is an adopted member of the tribe." Why a Sioux language prayer was offered on the banks of the Manatee was not explained.[284]

In any case, the Memorial's early landing reenactments, produced by Bradenton's Conquistadors, were not notable for their sensitivity to Native American concerns—still at that time relatively quiescent compared to levels they reached a decade or so later.

At least one local citizen was concerned from quite early, however. By 1960, Elizabeth J. Goodwin of Bradenton was writing to Interior Secretary Seaton to insist that DESO "give the . . . Seminoles the use and permanent occupancy of this [De Soto National Memorial] land." Goodwin said she planned to meet in subsequent days with the Governor and the Seminoles to try to "hurry things along." Assistant Secretary Roger Eaton replied that he would "handle the matter personally," being already in touch with the Governor and attempting to meet with the Seminoles and state officials.[285] But there the record of tension over Native American politics, rights and sensibilities at the Memorial ends until nearly thirty years later, when formal, full-fledged protests over the De Soto celebrations emerged from Native American groups in west Florida and beyond.

After the new Mission-66 Visitor Center opened in 1967, Southeast Regional NPS Director for Operations Fred H. Arnold expressed "some

279. Superintendent's Monthly Report, July 1954, DESO Files.
280. Population figure from Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971), 472.
281. The Emerson Point and dock controversies will receive detailed consideration in a later chapter.
282. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1994-95, p. 2, DESO Files.
283. Development pressures in the form of residential subdivisions will be considered in a subsequent chapter.
284. A similar "prayer of gratitude" by "Morning Star of the Ogala [sic] Tribe of Sioux" was offered the following year. See Superintendent's Annual Report, 25 May 1952, RG79, Box 75, NARA II.
285. Elizabeth J. Goodwin to Fred A. Seaton, 28 March 1960, RG 79, SERO Subject Files, Box 13, NARA PA.

disappointment over the absence of exhibits depicting the Indian role in the De Soto story."[286] Two years later, very young "Indian" boys still struggled on the beach with steel helmeted and chain-mailed *conquistadores* at the landing reenactment, as they continued to do nearly a decade later.

Meanwhile, the cultural-political ground shifted beneath the feet of both Bradentonians and the Memorial. In 1968, Dennis Banks and others founded the American Indian Movement. Native American protests against both historical injustices and the ongoing treatment of Native Americans in the media and in public policy erupted in Indian seizure of the Mayflower replica in 1970, the Trail of Broken Treaties march on Washington in 1972 (culminating in seizure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs), a violent confrontation on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in 1973, and numerous other incidents that focused public attention on Native American issues. Growing international attention resulted in the formation of the International Indian Treaty Council at the United Nations in 1974.[287] Pressure mounted further as the approach of the 500th anniversary of the Columbus expedition focused worldwide attention on the consequences and implications of European conquest and colonization.



FIGURE 49. Priest with conquistadores in landing reenactment, 1967 De Soto Celebration program book cover (HDHS Archives)

Serious public discussion over the possible relevance of these national and international concerns about Indian rights and the representation of Native Americans in public events and institutions appears not to have emerged in Manatee County until the end of the 1980s. Apparently responding to early signs that Native Americans were not entirely pleased with how they were depicted in the De Soto Celebration, a *Bradenton Herald* writer declared in the spring of 1989 that the "fun filled" Celebration was nevertheless "one heck of a good show," and that it "behooves us to keep running with the news and the national importance (plus tourist dollars) it brings. . . . De Soto belongs to Manatee County, and we should never give him up."[288]

After a dozen picketers confronted the governor at the airport as he arrived for the Celebration's governor's luncheon several days later, however, an editorial engaged the issue more seriously. The "light-hearted depiction of the conquest of Native Americans" at the landing reenactment was not a fitting way to represent a conquest that was in fact a "deadly serious confrontation." The writer hoped that the episode "rais[ed] the consciousness" of fes-

286. Fred H. Arnold to Director, 12 October 1967, DESO Files.

287. For further history on the American Indian Movement, see Peter Matthiessen, *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse (*New York: Viking Press, 1983); Kenneth S. Stern, *Loud Hawk: The United States Versus the American Indian Movement* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994); John William Sayer, *Ghost Dancing the Law: The Wounded Knee Trials* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997). Federal concern surfaced quickly in a report from the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws: *Revolutionary Activities Within the United States: The American Indian Movement* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976). The International Indian Treaty Council web site is at http://www.treatycouncil.org/home.htm (accessed 26 February 2007).

288. Nancy Konesko, "De Soto Detractors Missing All the Fun," *Bradenton Herald*, 16 April 1989, p. B5.



FIGURE 50. Young "Indians" battle conquistadores at landing reenactment, March 1969 (DESO Files)

tival planners about "the way the festival deals with history and its makers."[289]

By the following spring, a *Bradenton Herald* article (quoting an encyclopedia entry) said the De Soto celebrated annually was actually "a ruthless, greedy, power-hungry leader" whose primary goals were "riches and power, for which he and his followers killed and tortured many Indians . . . , enslaved Indian men and women, stole their belongings and held Indian chiefs for ransom." Unfazed, De Soto Celebration executive director Linda Valencis countered that "how nasty he was is debatable," and that in any case he only did "what the average conquistador did." We recognize that he killed Indians, she said, "but we're not glorifying any of the inhumane treatment."[290]

Native Americans were not persuaded by Valencis's minimizing of the gravity of the issue. "Protestors from the Peace and Justice Center and the American Indian Issues in Action handed out literature and talked with visitors" at the landing reenactment, Superintendent Hite reported. "One individual from the American Indian group was heard taunting a De Soto Celebration conquistador but there was no serious confrontation."[291]

In a letter to Manatee County Commissioners as the 1991 reenactment approached, Sheridan Murphy, director of the Tiyospaya American Indian Student Organization said "We feel that it is extremely inappropriate to glorify the beginning of a genocide . . . [We] see these re-enactments as a justification of the mass murders of our ancestors." Some changes were indeed made. *Herald* reporter Bart Greenwald noted that "Two years ago, Indians were slaughtered on the beach . . . . Last year, they ran away. This year, they won't even show up." The Celebration's Executive Director Diana French said "We wanted a fun . . . and . . . non-controversial day." Celebration President Dave Quaderer added that the organization honored the views of Native Americans, but "We're simply re-enacting history."[292] Several Native Americans handed out some leaflets, but De Soto and his [Conquistadors] Crewe made "a peaceful landing," the *Herald* reported.[293]

Pressure from Native Americans was even greater the following year. Picketing continued ("Teach the children the truth"; "De Soto did not invent history"; "Don't celebrate genocide" the placards said), but spectators were divided in their response. Some agreed; some took the "It's just history" plea. Celebration chairman David Wilcox blandly defended the event as "a celebration of life in Manatee County."[294]

Taking a retrospective look at the Celebration and the protests at the end of the summer, *Miami Herald* staff writer Lori Rozsa recalled how "Every spring, back in the politically incorrect days of yore" local businessmen garbed themselves as Conquistadors. "Yelling out 'heathen' and 'savage' they wing their genuine Spanish swords and pretend to lop off the

289. "De Soto Revisionism?: Pageant Can Be Improved Without Altering History," *Bradenton Herald*, 19 April 1989, unpaged clipping in DESO Files. Numerous letters to the editor in both Bradenton and Sarasota argued both sides of the issue. In a letter to the *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 24 April 1989, pp. B1, B5, reader John Hamner said the whole was "done with proper dramatic air," and thus not a cause for anyone's concern.

290. Nick Mason, "Historians Say De Soto Was No Angel," *Bradenton Herald*, April 20, 1990, p. P10.

291. Superintendent's Annual Report for 1990, RG 79, Box 18, NARA II.

292. Ellen Moses, "De Soto Won't Be Attacking Indians," *Bradenton Herald*, 30 March 1991, pp. A1, A6.

293. Bart Greenwald, "Indians Not in De Soto Celebration Re-Creation," *Bradenton Herald*, 7 April 1991, pp. B1, B3; Leonard Vazquez, "De Soto, Crewe Make Peaceful Landing," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 8 April 1991, pp. B1, B4. How peaceful the 1991 landing was is not clear. *Bradenton Herald* reporter Ellen Moses said (8 April 1991, B1) that protesters chanted "Never again, never again" and "Go home, go home" as the Conquistadors paraded down the beach.

294. Phillip Thompson, "De Soto Festival Prompts Protest," *Tampa Tribune*, 30 March 1992, p. 1; Kenwyn Caranna, "Native Americans: De Soto a Butcher," *Bradenton Herald*, 1 April 1992, p. P29; John Jenks, "De Soto Greeting Mixed at Landing," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 30 March 1992, p. B1.

heads of high school kids dressed up like Indians." But protests led to scratching "heathen" and "savage" from the script, and then the Indians were eliminated altogether. But that didn't solve the problem, either, said Lois Thomas of the Native American Peoples Information Exchange (NAPIE). "That's as historically wrong as when they had the high school students wearing feathers," she said. A historically accurate portrayal of De Soto's exploits "would include . . . slicing the unborn from the wombs of Indian women and smashing the heads of children against rocks." Some Celebration participants again took the "it's just history" defense. The Celebration is "a rallying point for people in this century to have some fun," said Mark Goodson, 1991's De Soto. A NAPIE spokesperson said perhaps the county ought to choose a different focal image—such as a manatee, but Goodson said he didn't think dressing as a manatee "would have the same impact" as breast plates, helmets and swords.[295]

Still, the stakes were even higher for all parties in 1993. De Soto National Memorial Chief Ranger Brian Loadholtz wrote in the official Statement for Interpretation that one of the Memorial's primary objectives was "To describe the effect of the De Soto expedition on the Native American cultures."[296] Months before the Celebration, Michael McNamara, area director for the Sarasota American Indian Issues and Action Committee, announced plans to try to stop the parade, demanded that the name of the Celebration be changed, and that "all references to De Soto in Manatee County [be] dropped." On the other side of the divide, De Soto Celebration organizers (mainly businessmen as always) were not disposed to drop a parade that was drawing 150 to 200 thousand visitors at the end of the tourist season.[297] The *Bradenton Herald* urged that the parties talk to "find a new understanding about our heritage while continuing to enjoy events that have become annual traditions," but Celebration director Diana French curtly refused to comment.[298]



FIGURE 52. Conquistadores subduing young Indian, 1978 De Soto Celebration landing reenactment (HDHS Archives)

As parade day approached, the *Herald* reported that both sides were "gearing up for a Saturday night confrontation" along the route. Hundreds of Indians were planning to stand "shoulder to shoulder" to block it, and Celebration officials were threatening arrests. A suit filed by the American Indian Movement and Native Peoples Exchange charged that the parade violated U. S. law by "inciting genocide" against Indians; it asked for a restraining order. After a tense meeting with Mayor Bill Evers, Indian leader Darryl Barking Dog said the protest would be non-violent, but Sheridan Murphy said his Tiyospaya American Indian Student Organization would use "any means necessary" to stop the parade.[299]

Days passed, and negotiations continued. Two forums between Indian representatives and Bradenton officials failed to resolve the conflict. Native Americans asked that the name of the Celebration be changed, and President David Wilcox said Society might be willing, but would have to vote on it at its upcoming May meeting. Sheridan Murphy of the American Indian Alliance said his group was planning a "Bash De Soto Day" at the

295. Lori Rozsa, "De Soto's Legacy," *Miami Herald*, 16 August 1992, p. 6B.
296. Brian K. Loadholtz, Statement for Interpretation, De Soto National Memorial, 1993, DESO Files.
297. Sam Starnes, "Protesters Want to Halt De Soto Parade," *Bradenton Herald*, 28 January 1993, pp. A1, A2.
298. Editorial, *Bradenton Herald*, January 31, 1993, p. 4 The editorial noted that Celebration officials had sent letters to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and to the Seminole tribe, but not to the Native American groups involved in the protests.
299. Sam Starnes, "American Indians Set to Block De Soto Celebration Parade," *Bradenton Herald*, 23 April 1993, pp. A1, A2. U.S. District Judge Ralph W. Nimmons denied the request for a restraining order. Nano Riley, "Green Light for De Soto Parade," *St. Petersburg Times*, 24 April 1993, p. 3B.

Memorial, and would likely join the parade protest. Key corporate sponsors of the event were getting nervous. Terry McNorton, director of public relations for Tropicana Products, said the company was asked to drop its sponsorship but would continue it during the current year.[300]

The parade was a tense event. More than 150 protesters and sympathizers, the *St. Petersburg Times* reported, "wound up leading the parade" along a route lined by police, and "two people were arrested for throwing chicken and rotten fish" (the primary image that lodged in public memory of the event). Some protesters carried signs comparing De Soto to Hitler. "I hope we don't have to do this again next year," Darryl Barking Dog said. "These things do tend to get bigger." Serious trouble never erupted, even though "police at times stood nose-to-nose with protesters."[301] The two protesters who spilled fish blood and guts along the parade route (to exercise their First Amendment rights, they maintained) were later convicted of littering and disorderly conduct.[302]

Whether the name of the Celebration was to be changed was a thorny issue. The Hernando De Soto Historical Society scheduled a vote, but Bradenton Mayor Bill Evers said that "as far as I'm concerned, there's no need to change it." After walking through a line of drumming, sign-carrying protesters as they entered the Bradenton Country Club, Celebration directors voted not to change its name, saying they "could not and would not change five decades of tradition." Native American leaders predicted a backlash for the following year, and national Indian leader Russell Means called for a "massive international rally" in Manatee County.[303]

Early in July, negotiations between the opposing groups "appear[ed] to be at an impasse," the local newspaper reported, and corporate sponsors were expressing doubts about continuing to support the event.[304]

In the midst of the lengthening confrontation, the De Soto National Memorial got a new superintendent whose job it necessarily became to try to pour some oil on the troubled waters. The Memorial had actually been without a permanent superintendent during the critical six months since Richard Hite's retirement at the end of December 1992.[305]

Barbara Goodman arrived toward the end of June. A veteran of a dozen years with the Park Service, she had worked in western parks before a five-year stint in NPS's International Affairs office. While at Sequoyia National Park, she had gotten a master's degree in counseling, which would prove helpful in carrying out her charge to calm things down at the Memorial. Since she arrived after the conclusion of the 1993 Celebration, she actually encountered a relatively quiet scene, but nevertheless moved quickly to talk with the Native American leaders of the protests. At a meeting with them, she endeavored to get them to say what they wanted, and offered to help meet their concerns. But they did not follow through, she recalled a dozen years later.[306]

Finally in August, following six weeks of secret negotiations led by William Hansen, Manatee editor of the *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, the Hernando De Soto Historical Society voted (65-21 by secret ballot) to change the name of the Celebration to the Florida Heritage Festival. Native American protesters agreed not to disrupt the 1994 event, two

300. Nano Riley, "American Indians Object to Festival," *St. Petersburg Times*, 17 April 1993, p. 3B; "Indian Groups File Suit to Halt De Soto Parade," *St. Petersburg Times*, 23 April 1993, p. 3B; Beth Muniz, "Bash De Soto Day Set," *Bradenton Herald*, 17 April 1993, p. B2.
301. Mike Mahan, "Protesters lead De Soto Parade," *St. Petersburg* Times, 25 April 1993, p. 1B.
302. Paula Park, "De Soto Group to Rethink Name," *Bradenton Herald*, 4 July 1993, pp. 1B, 3B; *St. Petersburg Times*, 15 July 1993, p. 5B; Annette Gillespie, "De Soto Name to Stay," *Bradenton Herald*, 15 July 1993; unpaged clipping, DESO Files.
303. Paula Park, "De Soto Group to Rethink Name," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 4 July 1993, pp. 1B, 3B; *St. Petersburg Times*, 17 July 1993, p. 1B; Rick Barry, "Indians Promise to Stop Parade," *Tampa Tribune*, 17 July 1993, p. 1; Wayne Poston, "Indian Protesters Won the Battle Over De Soto Celebration Name," *Bradenton Herald*, 18 July 1993, p. B5.
304. *Bradenton Herald*, 8 July 1993; unpaged clipping, DESO Files; Ellen Moses, "Corporate Sponsors Ponder De Soto Celebration Funding," *Bradenton Herald*, 17 July 1993, pp. A1, A3.
305. Between Superintendent Dick Hite's departure and Superintendent Goodman's arrival on June 20, three Acting Superintendents (Richard Clark, Craig Sheldon, and Michael Rikard) and Chief Ranger Brian Loadholtz kept the park running. Superintendent's Annual Report for 1993, DESO Files and RG79, Entry 7g, Box 18, NARA II.
306. Barbara Goodman, interview by David E. Whisnant and Anne M. Whisnant, Timucuan Ecological and Historical Preserve, Jacksonville, FL, 22 December 2006.

Native Americans were added to a five-member advisory board, and Society members were to continue to dress as Conquistadors.[307]

But it was an "uneasy mix," as one newspaper reporter termed it a month later. The Florida Heritage Festival was to be multicultural, but De Soto "will still be the main character . . . and his memory will be kept alive by white men wearing tights and carrying swords." The next landing reenactment was postponed until at least 1995.[308]

Superintendent Goodman continued to work to repair relationships with both the Native Americans, assuming that their major goal "was the education of the general public regarding Soto's treatment of the native populations." Concurrently she worked to "smooth the park's relationship with the De Soto Historical Society." By the end of the year, she noted in her first annual report, the Memorial's relationships with both groups were "amicable."[309]

The 1994 Florida Heritage Festival opened with an Indian Cultural Arts festival at the Memorial. Its stated mission was "to highlight the rich cultural heritage of the southeastern Indian nations, . . . to foster an attitude of shared spirit and understanding . . . [and] demonstrate our collective commitment to broadening the scope of the yearly celebration by recognizing the contributions of some of the southeastern Indian nations." The festival, featuring dancers, medicine men, singers, bead workers and other tribal representatives from among the Miccosukee, Seminoles, Chippewas, Pawnees, and Cherokees, was opened by a Seminole elder who blessed the Memorial grounds.[310]

The larger citywide festival took place among much altered circumstances. De Soto Society President Mark Goodson spoke of "positive changes" and of reaching out to all sectors of the community after the bad publicity, decreased attendance and lost revenues of 1993. A Riverfest event presented diverse musical genres, with proceeds going to United Way and the Boys and Girls Clubs of Manatee County instead of being returned to the Society. The Conquistadors' "capture" events (seizing the local De Soto Mall, the courthouse and other local landmarks) were replaced by an Easter egg hunt and bonnet contest. Putting the best face on the months of difficulty, Goodson insisted that "this is still a celebration of life in Manatee County."[311]

The "Florida heritage" paradigm for the festival continued for a decade or more, but the De Soto focus persisted. The Ellenton Outlet Mall and Demetrios' Pizza House were "captured" by the Crewe in 2002, and each year throughout the 2000s a new De Soto queen was crowned at a fancy invitation-only banquet, the Conquistadors were everywhere in evidence, and a new Hernando De Soto was chosen from the Crewe as always. By 2007, the "heritage" and De Soto emphases were combined into what was called the "De Soto Heritage Festival." At the Festival's Easter egg hunt, "the Easter Bunny meets our modern-day de Soto and his Crewe." In a twist on the traditional Easter sunrise service, organizers planned "a glorious and inspirational service at dawn celebrating Easter with de Soto's Conquistadors in full dress uniform." And the black-tie De Soto Ball, which celebrated "the crowning of the 2007 De Soto Queen and the investiture of the new Hernando de Soto" was still billed as "Manatee County's most prestigious social event."[312]

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307. Sam Starnes, "De Soto Festival Renamed," *Bradenton Herald*, 26 August 1993, pp. A1, A2.
308. Paula Parks, "De Soto Remains Focus of Festival," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 23 September 1993, pp. 1A, 4A.
309. Superintendent's Annual Report for 1993, 10 March 1994, RG 79, Box 18, NARA II. An additional conflict-generating event staged by the Native Americans early in Goodman's tenure was a "Bash De Soto Day," during which the *conquistador* was hanged in effigy.
310. Ellen Moses, "American Indians Join Activities," *Bradenton Herald,* 20 March 1994, p. A1; Shelly Sigo, "American Indians to Display Culture," *Bradenton Herald*, 26 March 1994, pp. A1, A2; Final Plan for March 1994 Festival, 27 March 1994, DESO Files. Meetings began in January 1995 for a second annual event. Paula Park, "Indians Urge Unity, Respect for the Earth," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 28 March 1994, pp. 1A, 4A.
311. Ellen Moses, "Annual Local Spring Festival Has New Focus," *Bradenton Herald*, 20 March 1994, p. A1.
312. Photos and information about the 2002-2007 festivals may be seen at Hernando de Soto Historical Society, http://www.desotohq.com (accessed 28 February 2007).

Chapter 5

Mosquitoes, Mangroves, Red Tides, and Truckloads of Sand: Natural Resource Management and Conservation

No unit within the National Parks system is without its natural resource management and conservation challenges. Hurricanes and floods, siltation and erosion, fire and rot, pests and invasive species, air and water pollution, the ravages of overuse—all have to be addressed, again and again and again. Nor do the challenges bear any simple relationship to the type of unit or its size. The vast acreage of certain parks may afford some margin of environmental integrity and protection, but managing vast acreage is in itself a challenge. Each type of unit—natural areas, historic buildings, battlefields, monuments, memorials, parkways, seashores—presents its own array of problems. And each unit, regardless of its particular circumstances or challenges, has the responsibility—as the 1916 legislation establishing the National Park Service says: "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein . . . in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[313]

Where the Manatee Meets the Bay: The Memorial's Natural Environment

How one strategizes to maintain a park "unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" depends at the most fundamental level upon the larger natural environment within which it lies: coastal or inland; lowlands, piedmont, or highlands; low, moderate or high rainfall and humidity; range of soil types and temperatures; patterns of light and shade; flora and fauna (established or invasive); array of environmental dynamics and change agents. And countless other factors, all shaping and impinging upon the natural system.

De Soto National Memorial lies in an estuarine environment, inhabited over many thousands of years by a succession of native societies before it became a part of the modern state of Florida's developing (hence rapidly changing) central Gulf coast.[314] Shaw's Point projects into the confluence of the Manatee River and Tampa Bay. Humidity tends to be high, and temperatures range from a mean low of 60 degrees Fahrenheit in January to a mean high of 82 in August. The Memorial's small acreage is bordered on the east by a cove and on the north by the river. Rainfall averages from about twenty-six inches at midsummer to about eight inches in winter.

The Memorial reaches across three environmental zones: a flatwoods zone of fairly low ecological diversity (longleaf and slash pine, saw palmetto gallberry), more diverse bottomlands (hardwoods, cypress, bay, ferns and berries), and a coastal man-

313. Quoted in Lary Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994), 1.

314. The following brief description of this environment is drawn primarily from Margo Schwadron's richly detailed *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial* (Tallahassee: National Park Service, Southeastern Archeological Center, 2002), SEAC Technical Reports No. 8, pp. 17-32. All of the data and much of the language are Schwadron's. We chose to avoid the intrusiveness of repeated quotation marks.



FIGURE 53. Photograph of beach area, looking west, at future Memorial site, Shaw's Point, January 1947. Several houses and other structures visible at shoreline, center back. (DESO Files)

grove zone. For the most part, the Memorial's grounds lie at barely three feet above mean low water. Tides raise the water level from approximately two to three feet. Most of the soil is the Estero muck characteristic of tidal mangrove swamps; small areas to the south and southwest are composed of sand or a mixture of sand and loam. The mangrove swamp contains a number of linear shell ridges of archeological interest. Over time, natural hydrologic processes move the shoreline landward or seaward; different sections of the shoreline may move in the same or contrary directions at the same time. Paradoxically, change is the only "constant" in this geomorphologically dynamic region; the rate and character of the change has varied enormously from epoch to epoch.

At the beginning of the sixteenth-century contact period, most of Manatee County, Schwadron says, consisted of palm/palmetto flatwoods. But after contact the ecology of the area was changed dramatically by logging, ranching, agriculture, and widespread land clearing and draining. Such practices continued unchecked (even, indeed, with state approval and subsidy) to the very eve of the establishment of the Memorial.

The Memorial and the Environmental Era

The early development of De Soto National Memorial paralleled the rise of a new (if belated) level of environmental consciousness and the forging of new environmental policy in the state of Florida.[315] The postwar years had brought vast numbers of tourists and inaugurated a phase of boom development for which the state was wholly unprepared: haphazard road and bridge construction, channeled rivers, swamps and coastal lands drained and filled, subdivisions unrolled like so many bundles of sod, water supplies cavalierly interrupted, polluted and squandered, agricultural runoff a non-issue. By the 1970s, leaders of the state's vanguard environmental organization, Conservation 70s, Inc. (C-70s) were warning of "ecocatastrophes" if policy did not catch up with reality.

Major changes followed the inauguration of Governor Reuben Askew in 1971. A series of high-level policy conferences, realignments of existing agencies and the creation of new ones dealing specifically with the environment, new environmental legislation (five major laws in 1972 alone) and major statewide bond issues followed quickly. Since much of the concern and activity focused on Big Cypress Swamp, links to the Federal government were both unavoidable and opportune. Big Cypress National Preserve was established in 1974—the first ever in the National Parks system. Organizational opposition from "property rights above all" landowners and grumblings about "communism" were not able to stem the tide of rising environmental consciousness and policy. By the mid-1970s, Florida had surpassed all other southern states in land and water management policy.

The history of De Soto National Memorial is replete with evidence of the difficulty of developing and maintaining a small national memorial constructed on a built "natural" platform subject to the climatological and environmental conditions of a rapidly developing coastal region. The Memorial's major natural resource challenges took the form of addressing perennial shoreline erosion, controlling mosquitoes, cleaning up the dead fish washing ashore during Florida's notorious Red Tide episodes, managing the mangrove ecosystem, removing invasive exotic species of plants, and conserving and protecting the vertebrate and invertebrate species of

315. This brief summary of the rise of environmentalism in Florida is drawn from Gordon E. Harvey, "'We Must Free Ourselves . . . from the Tattered Fetters of the Booster Mentality': Big Cypress Swamp and the Politics of Environmental Protection in 1970s Florida" in Jack E. Davis and Raymond Arsenault, eds., *Paradise Lost?: The Environmental History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 350-374.

the low-lying coastal environment. Fortunately—especially from the early Askew years onward—state policy and institutions were available to provide a supportive legal and procedural framework.



FIGURE 54. Monument, beach and mangroves on Shaw's Point, December 1949. (DESO Files)

Tides, Storms, Groins and Truckloads of Sand: Shoreline Erosion

The history of shoreline erosion, stabilization, and replenishment at the Memorial is not encouraging. References to shoreline problems begin to appear in Superintendent's monthly reports as early as 1952, and they continue unbroken to the present. By now there is a long list of studies done, plans made, remedies considered and attempted (dredging and filling, rip rap, groins, building berms, planting mangroves), and the usually expensive, unsatisfactory, temporary and ineffective results achieved.

Although the Memorial does not have an open-ocean beach, its erosion problems have been similar in many respects to those suffered on coasts nationwide as they became more and more populated and developed over the twentieth century. Duke geologist Orrin H. Pilkey's numerous books and articles have detailed these problems—and the many solutions tried and generally found wanting—at great length. As Pilkey notes, the movement of coastal sand and thus of beaches is a normal feature of the natural processes generated by weather and moving water. Dread of the beach "washing away," he continues, only comes when areas near beaches are developed in some way that residents wish to be permanent. Strategies to combat shoreline erosion, Pilkey explains, have fallen into three main categories: "(1) hard stabilization, such as seawalls, groins, and the like; (2) soft stabilization, such as beach replenishment; and (3) relocation of threatened buildings." De Soto National Memorial has tried to protect itself through both hard and soft stabilization, but landlocked as it is, relocation has never been an option. In any case, De Soto's difficulties in solving its shoreline erosion challenges form part of a much larger national story of coastline management in America.[316]

Historic survey maps show that Shaw's Point (not unlike many a coastal area) had been unstable for a hundred years at least, as Roy Appleman discovered and reported in 1947, but a photograph taken around 1940 shows a wide beach with several houses and other structures built close to a shoreline that at the time must have been considered relatively stable.[317] A photograph taken in 1947 shows a beach that looked much as it had in 1940. On the eve of the Memorial's opening, the 1939 Colonial Dames monument still sits many yards back from the shoreline.

But the photographs and maps were misleadingly reassuring. Appleman had (as a previous chapter noted) cautioned strongly about the instability and unsuitability of the low-lying, swampy site, and his words would echo hauntingly for years to come. Indeed, during those years, evidence accumulated that much if not most of the shoreline development

316. Orrin H. Pilkey and Katharine L. Dixon, *The Corps and the Shore* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1996), xi, 38. Pilkey has written numerous books and scientific reports critical of attempts at artificial management of American shorelines and barrier islands. See, for instance, Wallace Kaufman and Orrin Pilkey, *The Beaches Are Moving: The Drowning of America's Shoreline* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1979); Orrin H. Pilkey, et al, *Living with the East Florida Shore* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1984); Orrin H. Pilkey, et al, *The North Carolina Shore and Its Barrier Islands : Restless Ribbons of Sand* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).

317. Appleman said that old maps/surveys showed some change in the past 100 years in the "configuration" of Shaw's Point. An 1843 map showed a blunter point, and an 1885-86 survey showed deeper water, but the 1947 shoreline in general appeared similar to that of 1885. A local fisherman reported that the tip of the Point had been augmented fifteen to twenty years earlier by dredging the river and depositing spoil on the tip. Roy E. Appleman, "Report on Shaw's Point, Bradenton, Florida, Site of Proposed De Soto Memorial," 4 April 1947, pp. 4-5, DESO Files.



FIGURE 55. Dike completed at edge of mangrove in preparation for pumping hydraulic fill, June 1950. (DESO Files)



FIGURE 56. Log groins in place to control beach erosion, January 1959. (DESO Files)



FIGURE 57. Log groins submerged, June 15, 1960. (DESO Files)

on the east and gulf coasts of the United States was unwise, unnecessarily destructive, and ultimately unsustainable.

Before the Memorial site preparation could even begin, a Pillsbury Dredging Company dredge pumped over 6,600 cubic yards (400 plus truckloads) of sand to "raise the Plaza beach area for the loop road and parking area. Another 7,600 cubic yards (nearly 500 truckloads) were added a decade later along the shore to increase size of beach.[318] Virtually as soon as the fill was dumped, however, it began washing back out into the water. As early as 1952, Superintendent Hopper was busy repairing and reinforcing log groins constructed earlier to protect the beach, but high waves undermined and washed over them relentlessly.[319] Such work continued throughout the 1950s. In mid-June 1960, the groins were nearly submerged. September brought a new and improved groin design.

Nothing helped very much, or for very long. Record-breaking Hurricane Donna hit in September 1960, tearing out a section of beach. By early 1961, a Park Service engineer had submitted the first of what became an unending series of recommendations to address the erosion problem. As an interim (and ineffective) measure, red mangroves were transplanted into the water along the beach. Meanwhile, bids were invited for dredging and filling along the river shore, and groins were repaired yet again.[320] By August, dredging and filling was under way, but it had hardly been completed before winds and extremely high tides had taken their toll again.[321]

Year in and year out, the damage, repair efforts, and new plans and approaches multiplied. The spring of 1965 brought an evaluation by the Park Service's Assistant to the Regional Director for Development which candidly admitted that "the Point has probably been unstable throughout its history" and that "any reasonable solution to the perpetuation of De Soto National Memorial would necessarily involve periodic expenditures . . . on a more or less

318. This was the equivalent of nearly 900 dump truck loads of fill. Forty additional truck loads built up the trail to Shaw's Point.
319. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, April 1952, May 1953, February 1954, DESO Files; Superintendent's Annual Report, 1959, RG79, Box 75, NARA II. Orrin Pilkey describes "groins" as "walls built perpendicular to the shoreline to trap sand traveling laterally in the surf zone," and says that they can be "built of almost anything." See Pilkey and Dixon, *The Corps and the Shore,* 46.
320. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, January, June, September and October, 1961, DESO Files.
321. Superintendent's Monthly Report, March 1962, DESO Files.

emergency basis."[322] Superintendent Gannon reported in May 1967 that "extremely high tides and NW winds washed over the north side of the Nature Trail . . . destroying five sections of erosion control fence, washing out parts of the trail."[323]

The first twenty years of struggle with the elements at the Memorial had brought no better than a very mixed record. An aerial photo from March 1971 still shows that a wide beach area north of the Visitor Center had survived, but storms, hurricanes, and high tides took their toll throughout the 1970s. Having noted urgently two years earlier that "We are still waiting for our beach erosion project!!!," Superintendent Hite reported in 1974 that a sudden June storm had washed out 120 feet of retaining wall, tossing ten-foot sections as much as forty feet back into the mangrove swamp.[324]

Finally in 1980 (thirty years after the Memorial's founding), the Army Corps of Engineers—the agency that has managed most of America's national shoreline policy and erosion mitigation activity since at least the 1950s—produced an 85-page comprehensive report on the problem, complete with historical data, maps, and photographs.[325] It presented five alternative approaches to the problem, involving some combination of beach fill and renourishment, groins, revetments, and even a 400-foot offshore breakwater. Anticipated costs ranged from initial outlays of $280,000 to $694,000 and annual maintenance costs of from $29,000 to $80,000. Environmental impacts included (for the various approaches) temporary changes in water quality, and some changes in the environments of prominent flora and fauna (manatees, sea turtles, mangroves, pelicans).[326] The Corps recommended beach fill and renourishment (a strategy consistent with what was by the Park Service's post-1972 "no seawall" policy) from an offshore borrow area as most suitable to the Memorial's needs and least disruptive of the environment. Failure to do anything, the report emphasized, would result in "irreplaceable loss."[327]



FIGURE 58. Altered groin design, September 1960. (DESO Files)

A recommendation was one thing; getting the job done was another, and time was of the essence. In mid-July 1981, the *St. Petersburg Times* reported that the landing reenactment that had taken place on the Memorial's beach for decades was possible no more because "there isn't any beach." Forty feet of it had been eaten away by storms, and two to three feet more were disappearing every year. Superintendent

322. W. E. O'Neil to De Soto National Memorial Superintendent, 16 April 1965, RG79, 32c, Box 25, NARA II.
323. Superintendent's Monthly Report, May 1967;DESO Files.
324. Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1972 and 1974, NPS HFC.
325. On the long history of shoreline management as conducted by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, see Orrin H. Pilkey and Katharine L. Dixon, *The Corps and the Shore* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1996).
326. A slightly more detailed environmental assessment of the options was offered in National Park Service, "Environmental Assessment: Shoreline Erosion Control, De Soto National Memorial, Florida," April 1981, NPS DSC.
327. Corps of Engineers. "De Soto National Memorial Shoreline Erosion Control," August 1980, DESO Files. Pilkey notes that in 1972 the National Park Service made a "landmark decision" to resist installing seawalls on beach areas under its management, a policy Pilkey quotes an official as calling the "let nature rip at the shoreline" policy. Although exceptions have been made, this overarching policy may have limited the options at DESO. See Pilkey and Dixon, *The Corps and the Shore*, 3-4.



FIGURE 59. Dredging and filling operation, August 1961. (DESO Files)

Hite expected the Corps renourishment plan to take two or three years to accomplish.[328] Meanwhile the Memorial was experiencing severe budget cuts (doing "more with less") and Hite reported that "storm after storm" had caused "severe damage" to the north shore, creating a "maintenance nightmare." He had submitted an emergency application to dump 2,500 cubic yards of sand on the beach in front of the Visitor Center.[329]

Two years later the Park Service's coastal geomorphologist James Allen completed another assessment of shoreline erosion. He calculated that from 1940 to 1979 erosion had subtracted nearly two-thirds of an acre from the Memorial's beach area, including an eighty foot loss on the north shore due partly to a "long-term sediment deficit." The Visitor Center itself was threatened, as was the mangrove swamp. Some visitor trails were unusable. For the north shore, only long-term periodic beach renourishment (3,800 cubic yards had just been put into place), a rip-rap seawall and adequate saltwater conduits into the mangrove swamp offered any hope of remedying the problem, Allen concluded. The river shore presented a simpler problem, which either a bulkhead or an elevated boardwalk for the trail was likely to solve.[330]

Five years later yet, erosion of the north shoreline continued, and Superintendent Hite was hoping for yet another visit by yet another team of experts—this time from the Park Service's Southeast Regional Office—to recommend yet another plan. Meanwhile, drawings were complete, permits were in hand, and materials had been bought to build a 465-foot boardwalk (as Allen had suggested) through the mangrove swamp to take the place some of the perennially washed-out trails. [331] The boardwalk had been completed at least by March 1990 (in the nick of time, since Hite reported soon thereafter that 600 feet of the old nature trail had "simply washed away"), but erosion continued into the fall.[332]

By the time Superintendent Hite retired at the end of 1992, more than forty years after the Memorial opened, the problem was still nowhere near solution—neither at the Memorial nor on any other beach. His replacement Barbara Goodman did not arrive until six months later, and by then (after a series of short-term acting superintendents) a major storm had caused further damage. With admirable restraint, considering how long the problem had persisted, Goodman noted in her first annual report that "Long term mitigation must be considered."[333]

As they had during the preceding four decades, discussions of "long term mitigation" stretched through the 1990s: more storm and hurricane damage, more erosion, more sand hauled or pumped in, more expert studies, more plans.[334] When nearby Holmes Beach found itself with 4,000

328. "De Soto Wouldn't Be Able to Land on Manatee River Today," *St. Petersburg Times*, July 19, 1981, p. 4B; MCPL.
329. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1982, NPS HFC.
330. James R. Allen, "De Soto National Memorial Shoreline Erosion Assessment," ca. August 1983,, DESO Files.
331. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1988, RG79, Box 18, NARA II. A boardwalk had actually been suggested as early as 1978 in Neal G. Guse, Jr., "Historic Resource Management Plan for De Soto National Memorial," 7 June 1978, IV:1, DESO Files. The boardwalk had been completed at least by March 1990. See Superintendent's Annual Report, 1990, RG79, Box 18, NARA II.
332. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1990, RG79, Box 18, NARA II. Richard Hite, "Statement for Management and Basic Operations Statement," 26 October 1990, NPS DSC.
333. Superintendent's Annual Report for 1993, 10 March 1994, RG79, Box 18, NARA II.
334. Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, DESO Files. September was usually the worst month for storm and hurricane damage. Tropical Storm Harvey brought substantial damage in September 1999, and Hurricane Gordon caused major damage in September 2000. In September 2001, tropical storm Gabrielle knocked over one of the Memorial's fifty-foot gumbo limbo trees, exposing pre-Columbian artifacts. Candace Buckner, "Pieces of History Found," *Bradenton Herald*, 26 July 2002, p. 1C.

cubic yards of excess sand (a pile 230 feet long, 115 feet wide and 20 feet high) dredged from two canals in 2004, Memorial Superintendent Charlie Fenwick held up his hand and called in the dump trucks. At $35 a load, it was a bargain.[335]

But it was as always a stopgap measure. September 2004's Hurricane Frances washed away 140 truckloads of sand only recently placed on the beach, and Hurricane Jeanne took out additional sand, including that replaced after Hurricane Gabrielle (2001), which had come ashore near Venice, thirty-five miles to the south.[336]

Fenwick's 2005 annual report told a familiar tale: shoreline erosion continued, and a coastal geologist from the Park Service's southeast regional office was developing a "long-term shoreline management plan." During the year, 300 tons of rip-rap had been put in place to stabilize the beach in front of the Visitor Center, 120 more tons of sand had been dumped, and 100 tons of crushed shell had been put on the trail. The Memorial had finally bought its own skid loader to help with this never-ending task.[337]

Ditches, Oil, and DDT: Mosquito Fogging and Control

Less dramatic and costly than storm and hurricane damage, but no less persistent and bothersome to staff and visitors, was the problem of mosquitoes and gnats on swampy Shaw's Point. In its perennial fight with mosquitoes, the Memorial shared the state-wide experience of Florida. Manatee County had its own yellow fever epidemic in 1887, and four hundred Jacksonville residents died from a mosquito-borne disease the following year.[338] Hordes of the pests large enough to suffocate cattle were not unknown. Early popular (even picturesque) efforts to control or thwart them included peeling pineapples and impaling them on posts so the



FIGURE 60. Aerial photograph of De Soto National Memorial, March 17, 1971. (MCPL)

335. Carl Mario Nudi, "Holmes Beach Finds Taker for Its Mountain of Sand," *Bradenton Herald*, 2 April 2004, p. 1C; Pat Copeland, "De Soto Memorial to Benefit from Holmes Beach Sand," *Anna Maria Island Sun*, 7 April 2004 (unpaged clipping), DESO Files.
336. Superintendent's Annual Report, 2004;DESO Files.
337. Superintendent's Annual Report, 2005, pp. 4-7, DESO Files.
338. Lillie B. McDuffee, *The Lures of Manatee: A True Story of South Florida's Glamourous Past* (1933; 3rd ed., Bradenton: privately printed, 1967), 281-282.



FIGURE 61. Fogging machine built by De Soto National Memorial maintenance crew 1961. Operated here by long-time maintenance man Marion H. Hughes. (DESO Files)

mosquitoes would gorge, get too heavy to fly, and fall to the ground to be eaten by ants.

Statewide efforts to control or eradicate the pest began with U.S. entry into World War I, when fears that military recruits, concentrated on training bases, would carry malaria to the general population. Much of the effort was centered at the military installation at Jacksonville. George Simons, who became head of the State Board of Health's Bureau of Engineering, moved to the forefront of anti-mosquito efforts. To gain political support, Simons tried to persuade politicians that the state's growth depended upon controlling mosquitoes, and an outbreak of dengue fever in 1921-22 lent force to his efforts. [339]

Miami adopted Simons's model mosquito ordinance early in 1922, and newspapers published daily bulletins on the campaign. Dengue fever nevertheless soared to 200,000 cases in the state during the spring and summer. In Tampa, where no control efforts were being made, there was a major epidemic before city officials finally got moving on it. On December 6, 173 representatives of the state's anti-mosquito forces gathered at the Palmetto Club in Daytona, where the state's chief medical officer told them "this was a battle that would determine the fate of the human race." Even more dramatically, Leland Osian Howard, principal entomologist in the United States, told attendees that "The insect world is a menace to the dominance of man on this planet." Conferees lost no time in taking action: the Florida Anti-Mosquito Association was organized the next day.

Anti-mosquito efforts took a major leap forward with the development of DDT as an insecticide. The chemical had been synthesized as early as 1874, but its insecticidal effectiveness (especially against insects carrying malaria and typhus) was not discovered until 1939 (leading to a Nobel Prize for its discoverer in 1948). Applied as a dust or (since it was not soluble in water) suspended in organic solvents and oils, it began to be used widely against insects early in World War II.[340]

Historian of Florida tourism Gary Mormino explains Florida's key role in its domestic application of DDT: the North Parramore Avenue Experimental Station in Orlando did major development work, and extensive tests followed on a cattle ranch near Lake Jessup (150 miles northeast of the Memorial). Florida Sen. Claude Pepper thought DDT might become "a method for the complete extermination of some of man's most ancient plagues." Eager housewives arranged for the interiors of their houses to be drenched in the chemical.

Aerial saturation spraying followed in many locations. The fishing village of Homosassa (120 miles north of the Memorial) was one of the first towns to be sprayed. Surplus B-25s dumped DDT on Orlando, C-47s drenched Tampa, and a local official in Fort Lauderdale waxed poetic over a "lovely cloud of DDT" sprayed over the city by Navy Avengers from the Naval Air Station.[341]

At the Memorial, Superintendent Hopper noted in his monthly report as early as June 1953, "mosquitoes and gnats were bad, making it necessary for frequent fogging." To control them, he fogged (pre-

339. This discussion is drawn from Gordon Patterson, "The Trials and Tribulations of Amos Quito: The Creation of the Florida Anti-Mosquito Association," in Jack E. Davis and Raymond Arsenault, eds., *Paradise Lost?: The Environmental History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida; 2005), 160-176.

340. Beginning in 1955, the World Health Organization used DDT on a global basis against typhus and malaria.

sumably with DDT, though he never specifically said so) several times a week for much of the Memorial's first three seasons (upgrading to a truck-mounted fogger in 1953). By 1955 fogging was a daily activity—a pattern that continued for years. Hopper reported "heavy fogging" as late as August 1962.[342]

From at least 1954 onward, Hopper also dug ditches in the swamp to allow regular tidal draining and filling to reduce the amount of standing water, and poured oil on what was left. Meanwhile, Manatee County Anti-Mosquito Control District personnel were excavating ditches by dragline on private land west of the Memorial. Oiling and fogging stretched from April through September in 1954, and as late as October county personnel visited again "in regards to using a new mosquito control powder."[343]

The use of DDT locally, nationally, and worldwide dropped sharply after the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962, which called DDT "an elixir of death." In July 1965, new Memorial Superintendent Vincent Gannon commented on a recent report from the Florida State Veterinary diagnostic lab that one of three porpoises that had suddenly keeled over and died at the nearby Floridaland marine attraction had "enough insecticide in [its] liver . . . to kill two animals that size."[344]

The use of DDT was not banned nationally until a decade after *Silent Spring* appeared. On June 14, 1972, Environmental Protection Administration director William Ruckleshaus cancelled almost all remaining Federal registrations of DDT products. The EPA ban on their use went into effect on December 31, 1972. DDT's effects upon flora and fauna in the national parks (especially upon bald eagles and peregrine falcons) persisted for many years.[345]

"We Scarcely Know How to Tackle It": The Red Tide

"Many man hours" had been spent, Superintendent Hopper wrote in his monthly report for January 1954, "clearing our shores of dead fish, victims of the red tide." Every day for more than two weeks, park personnel had picked up more than 400 pounds of dead fish. The Red tide had hit De Soto National Memorial.

The threat had arrived somewhat belatedly, in fact. The first fish kill in Florida suspected to have been caused by Red Tide occurred in 1844, and there were a dozen other occurrences between then and 1935.[346] For nearly a year from late 1946 through September 1947, a severe red tide dumped up to a hundred pounds of dead fish per foot of shoreline from Tarpon Springs (fifty miles to the north of Bradenton) to Marathon. A Florida delegation rushed to Washington, and St. Petersburg's mayor asked for military troops to operate war-surplus machinery to clean up the beaches.[347]

Despite the fact that there had been so many episodes of the Red Tide even before 1935, both the public and public officials seemed mystified when it struck around Clearwater in 1947. "Thousands of dead fish, victims of the mysterious 'red tide' plague,

341. The discussion here is taken from Gary R. Mormino, *Land of Sunshine,* 232-233. For a more extensive account, see Gordon Patterson, *The Mosquito Wars: A History of Mosquito Control in Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004). The clouds had hardly dispelled before early warnings about the possible harmful effects of DDT upon flora and fauna began to appear. See Mormino, *Land of Sunshine,* 234. Some restrictions on the use of DDT were put into place by the Federal government in 1969; http://www.epa.gov/history/topics/ddt/01.htm (accessed June 23, 2007).
342. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, 1953-1962, DESO Files. By 1961, only one report of fogging is in the record, and there were none for 1962.
343. Superintendent's Monthly Report, 1954, DESO Files. What the new powder might have been is not specified in Hopper's reports. It could well have been dieldrin, also developed during the 1940s as an alternative to DDT. Like DDT, however, it was a persistent and deadly pollutant which accumulates and is concentrated as it passes along the food chain.
344. Superintendent's Monthly Report, July 1965, DESO Files. In a telephone interview with David E. Whisnant on 6 September 2006, former Superintendent Lloyd Pierson (who served from January 1963 to January 1965) recalled that he and others were "beginning to worry" about DDT use as soon after his arrival. References to fogging for mosquito control disappear from the available record after 1965, but Superintendent Hite recalls that spraying (including the use of helicopters) continued throughout his tenure, which ended in 1992.
345. The EPA press release on the ban is available online at U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, "DDT Ban Takes Effect," http://www.epa.gov/history/topics/ddt/01.htm (accessed 22 June 2007).
346. One report placed early occurrences of the Red Tide as far back as 500 B.C. on the coast of China. Richard Fay Warner, "Fighting a Freak of Nature," *New York Times*, 24 January 1954, p. X23.
347. "Florida Asks Army Aid in Fish Menace," *New York Times*, 6 September 1947, p. 28.

piled up on Florida's Gulf beaches," the *New York Times* reported, and the county health officer confessed that "we scarcely know how to tackle it."[348]

Researchers scrambled to figure out what was causing the phenomenon. The University of Florida's Charles C. Davis wrote an early description of a new species of dinoflagellate (*Gymnodinium breve*, later called *Karina brevis*) that was generally agreed to be the source.[349] But whatever the scientific explanation, the public encountered the Red Tide as brownish-red water, endless expanses of floating dead fish, tons of dead fish on the beaches, and a pervasive stench. Some bathers developed a skin rash, and some people who ate contaminated shellfish reported paralytic symptoms.[350]

During the latter half of 1952, the Red Tide strewed dead fish over a 400 square mile area from Boca Grande to Sanibel Island. A shrimp boat captain returning from Mexico reported that dead fish were "packed solid" ten miles out.[351] The mayor of Clearwater went so far as to suggest fire-bombing them with napalm to keep them from coming ashore. When the dead fish dispersed in late November, hotel owners rushed to send out reassuring letters to prospective guests.[352] Again from late 1953 through the summer of 1954, there were small Red Tide blooms from Pinellas County (north of Manatee County) south to Sanibel Island.[353]

For the Memorial, 1955 brought moderately good news: the Florida Fish and Wildlife Service reported that the menace had disappeared for the first time since 1951.[354] During the fall of 1957, however, there was another catastrophic outbreak from Anclote Keys (fifty miles north of Bradenton) southward which hit the Memorial hard. De Soto National Memorial workers hauled over 3,000 pounds of dead fish from the beach in December (more than 1,100 pounds in a single day).[355] The worst kill ever reached Tampa Bay in 1963, leaving some 110 tons of dead fish around St. Petersburg and prompting the Florida legislature to take up a bill to allocate $250,000 to Red Tide research.[356]

Another major kill followed in 1971 (the most virulent since the 1947 episode). Concentrations of the *Gymnodinium breve* organism, normally about 15,000 per quart, had reached 2.4 million per quart, and 450 tons of dead fish collected on the beaches around St. Petersburg. "The bay," said one public works administrator, "looks like someone had poured red dye in the water." Beachfront residents were moving to inland motels, and tourists were canceling reservations and leaving. City officials pressed 350 workers into service manning wire nets and oil containment booms to corral the fish; seven shrimp trawlers deployed their nets to assist. The "catch" in twelve days came to 1400 tons. Moderate to severe conditions extended to Bradenton, and the *Gymnodinum breve* organism count reached 20 million per quart in the waters off Tampa.[357]

The impact of the Red Tide on commerce in general and tourism in particular was severe: beaches laden with dead fish, noxious fumes, cutbacks and shutdowns in the commercial and sport fishing industries, and cancelled hotel reservations. Cleanup costs were enormous. A few days after the 1947 outbreak, the Florida Commercial Fishermen's Association estimated losses at $1 million, with production down nearly seventy percent.[358] The 1971

348. "Dead Fish Fowl Beaches," *New York Times*, 10 August 1947, p. 52.
349. In addition to other sources specifically cited, this brief sketch of the history of the Red Tide in Florida draws heavily upon Mote Marine Laboratory, "Chronology of Red Tide in Florida," http://isurus.mote.org/~mhenry/rtchrono.phtml (accessed 19 March 2007). On the causal organism, see Florida Fish and Wildlife Research Institute, "Taxonomic History of Florida's Red Tide Organism," http://floridamarine.org/features/view_article.asp?id=17864.
350. "Poison Shellfish Stir Florida Alert," *New York Times*, 20 November 1973, p. 77.
351. "Fish Die by Millions," *New York Times*, 12 November 1952, p. 31.
352. Paul Martin, "'Red Tide' Abated," *New York Times*, 30 November 1952, p. X19.
353. Mote Marine Laboratory, "Chronology of Red Tide in Florida," http://isurus.mote.org/~mhenry/rtchrono.phtml (accessed March 19, 2007).
354. Superintendent's Monthly Report, May 1955,, DESO Files.
355. Superintendent's Monthly Report, December 1957, DESO Files.
356. Superintendents' annual reports for the Memorial during the 1960s have not come to light. "Study of 'Red Tide' Started in Florida," *New York Times*, 28 April 1963, p. 56.
357. "'Red Tide' Killing Many Fish at St. Petersburg," *New York Times*, 8 July 1971, p. 70; "St. Petersburg Booms Set Up to Repel Dead Fish," *New York Times*, 13 July 1971, p. 66; Jon Nordheimer, "Gulf Coast of Florida Alerted for New Outbreak of Red Tide," *New York Times*, 8 August 1971, p. 50.
358. "'Red Tide' Loss Hits $1,000,000 in Florida," *New York Times*, 16 August 1947, p. 20.

Red Tide cost the tourism industry $20 million.[359] By 1974 some tourists were even wearing gas masks on the beach to avoid the stench. In October of that year, the Florida Department of Natural Resources' Marine Research Laboratory convened a Red Tide Conference in Sarasota to assess and plan research.[360] The deaths of more than forty manatees in the Caloosahatchee River were linked to the Red Tide in 1982.[361]

The menace remained essentially unrelenting for decades, and was increasingly reported worldwide.[362] The two-year period between 1989 and 1991 witnessed major episodes in Manatee, Pinellas, and Sarasota counties. The longest Red Tide bloom yet recorded—from September 1994 through April 1996—reached from Tarpon Springs to the Keys. Sixty manatees were killed along the stretch of coast from Venice to Marco Island in 2003.[363] "Red Tide Choking Life from the Gulf," the *St. Petersburg Times* reported in August 2005. The commercial and sport fishing industries were hurting badly, and signs were multiplying that environmental pollution (like wastewater and other pollutants from land runoff) was partially responsible for a phenomenon that was by then at least a century and a half old. Scientific evidence accumulated that the problem was systemic rather than localized and episodic. "This is not like some goldfish dying in your tank and you shed a tear and flush him down the toilet," commented a scuba diver who had seen fish die and drop before his eyes. "This is the tank. This is everything."[364]

Unlike the concurrent mosquito problem, the Red Tide was not something Memorial superintendents could do anything about. All they could do was wait and watch, year by year, and hope that their short stretch of shoreline would be—as the old spiritual has it—"spared over for another year."

The Mangrove Swamp: Historical Paradox and Management Puzzle

There are more than fifty species of mangroves in saltwater environments throughout the world. Florida has more than 450,000 acres of mangrove forests, mostly of the red (*Rhizophora mangle*), black (*Avicennia germinans*), and white (*Laguncularia racemosa*) varieties. A mangrove ecosystem is remarkably productive of both plants and animals, and a critical source of nutrients (dissolved organic matter and organic carbon) for neighboring systems. They trap and recycle organic materials and nutrients; offer nurturing environments to marine organisms, fish, crustaceans, and shellfish; provide food for fish and nesting places for birds and food for mammals; and they protect the coast against winds, waves, and floods. But they also require certain environmental conditions: annual temperatures in excess of about 65 degrees Fahrenheit, the presence of (and daily flushings by) saltwater, low wave energy levels, and relatively anerobic soil conditions.[365]

In the United States, mangroves grow only on the west coast of Florida (predominantly in Collier, Lee, Miami-Dade, and Monroe counties), with red mangroves predominating closest to the water. The Tampa Bay area has lost nearly half of its coast wetlands (including mangrove forests) during the past hundred years.[366]

359. "Red Tide Spreads Over Wide Area of Gulf," *New York Times*, 1 November 1983, p. C10.
360. *Proceedings of the Florida Red Tide Conference, 10-12 October 1974, Sarasota, Florida* (St. Petersburg: Florida Department of Natural Resources, Marine Research Laboratory, 1974).
361. "Manatee Deaths in Florida Linked to Red Tide," *New York Times*, 2 May 1982, p. 36.
362. Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute researcher Donald M. Anderson reported in 1987 that "the literature on . . . red tides documents a global increase in the frequency, magnitude, and geographic extent of these events over the last two decades." Donald M. Anderson, "Toxic Algal Blooms and Red Tides: A Global Perspective" in Tomotosh Okaichi, Donald M. Anderson, and Takahisa Nemoto, eds., *Red Tides: Biology, Environmental Science, and Toxicology* (New York: Elsevier, 1989), 11-16.
363. "60 Manatees Killed by Red Tide," *New York Times*, 18 April 2003, p. A12.
364. Emily Anthes and Curtis Krueger, "Red Tide Choking Life from Gulf," *St. Petersburg Times*, 17 August 2005. Superintendent's annual reports from 1990 through 2005 contain no mention of the Red Tide.
365. Margo Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial* (Tallahassee: National Park Service, Southeastern Archeological Center, 2002), SEAC Technical Reports No. 8, pp. 28-29.
366. *Florida's Mangroves* (St. Petersburg: Florida Marine Research Institute) online brochure: http://www.floridaplants.com/horticulture/mangrove.htm (accessed 22 June 2007).



FIGURE 62. Mall area completed, August 1950. (DESO Files)



FIGURE 63. Planting red mangroves along shoreline, De Soto National Memorial, January 11, 1961. (DESO Files)

Where they do occur, mangroves tend to grow thickly on the coast. In 1539, as Charles Hudson reminds us, the shores of Tampa Bay were dense with red mangroves (*Rizophora mangle*)—some perhaps as much as seventy feet tall. They were especially dense in the Manatee River area. Since such growth would have been a "formidable barrier in getting men and horses ashore," De Soto chose for his landing spot (at least according to predominant current thinking) instead "a stretch of mangrove-free sandy beach around present-day Piney Point."[367] The U. S. Congress was not so wise: it ignored Roy Appleman's cautions about building a park in a swamp, and forged ahead to locate De Soto National Memorial in the midst of the mangroves on Shaw's Point.[368]

Looking back on his five years as Superintendent of De Soto National Memorial in late 2006—nearly sixty years after the park's founding, Charlie Fenwick was of two minds about the mangrove swamp that made up the majority of the twenty-five plus acres he had had charge of. On the one hand, he said, "We're not here to be Mangrove National Park"—to place preservation and nurture of the mangroves above all other objectives. There had to be a way to sustain and develop a viable De Soto National Memorial, rather than sinking (literally and figuratively) into being "Mangrove National Swamp." On the other hand, looking back at the many ultimately useless expert "fixes" all of his predecessors had tried in addressing the perennial and seemingly intractable beach erosion, Fenwick could not escape the conclusion that only "the mangrove ecosystem can stop any storm damage." A major priority, he concluded, "is to protect the beach from erosion long enough to get the mangroves started."[369]

The mangroves had been a puzzle from the beginning. The park's developable land had been literally carved out of the mangrove swamp by clearing mangroves from the area of the future parking area and loop road, and covering over refuse that had been dumped around others.[370] So the big machinery (bulldozers, dredges, road scrapers) were moved in, and by August of 1950, the mall was a dramatically empty plain thrusting out through the mangroves on either side.

With the creation of the mall area and the small adjacent buildable acreage, the first (structural) paradox emerged: without destroying mangroves, there could be no park, but without the mangroves, the park could not continue to exist. A second (historical) paradox, obviously, was that the park was created in the middle of a mangrove swamp to memorialize the expedition of a *conquistador* who himself apparently had had the wit to avoid the mangroves whenever he could.

367. Charles Hudson, *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 64-65.
368. Roy E. Appleman, "Report on Shaw's Point, Bradenton, Florida, Site of Proposed De Soto Memorial," 4 April 1947, pp. 10-11, DESO Files.
369. David E. and Anne M. Whisnant interview with Charlie Fenwick, Fort Pulaski National Military Park, July 11, 2006.
370. Superintendent's Monthly Report, June 1950, DESO Files.

By early 1961, after the first of what would stretch into several decades of fruitless groin-building, groin-repairing and reinforcing, and dumping countless loads of sand for "beach renourishment," Memorial workers stood knee-deep in the water, patiently planting more mangroves. A few months later, park officials spoke hopefully (even a bit disengenuously, one might observe) of "continuing the undisturbed natural state of the mangrove swamps much as they may have appeared when De Soto and his followers landed at Tampa Bay."[371]

That statement may have stretched the history a bit, but the Memorial's second Superintendent, Lloyd Pierson, was correct in observing that "my 24 acres of mangrove swamp would soon be the only swamp left in this part of Florida." As he drove to work every day, Pierson could see housing developments encroaching from both landward sides of the Memorial.[372] An even closer look at the swamp revealed another perennial threat: the persistent growth of numerous exotic species.



FIGURE 64. Transplanted red mangroves, January 21, 1961. (DESO Files)

Carrotwood, Brazilian Peppers and Other Invaders: Exotic Species Removal and Control

A 2001 report from the Florida Department of Environmental Protection listed scores of exotic plant species (from air potato through the ubiquitous kudzu to the winged yam and woman's tongue) that infest 1.5 million acres of the state's remaining natural areas. The state established the nation's first Exotic Pest Plant Council in 1984.

The invasive species problem in Florida is not a recent one. Even the citrus crops that have become so naturalized in the state that they are widely considered "native" are not; they came in with the *conquistadors* as one of the earliest invasive plants in the region. Timucuan Indians along the St. Johns River were growing "citrons" in 1562; intense citriculture arrived with English occupation in the mid-eighteenth century.[373]

As early as 1963, DESO Superintendent Lloyd Pierson saw that exotic plants (especially Brazilian pepper) needed to be removed, so he "set Mr. Hughes [the maintenance man] to doing it." Hughes was a hard worker with a thick Georgia accent ("worth his weight in gold," Pierson said), but he was no match for the invasive plants already well established on Shaw's Point. The next year Pierson reported that the Brazilian pepper plants had been eradicated "in short order and with good results."[374]

But he was too optimistic; Superintendent Hite reported in 1982 that more than 7,000 of the plants had been removed, but they were still being grubbed out one by one the next year—and the next.[375] Throughout the 1990s, Brazilian pepper, carrotwood, and Australian pine were reported as "a serious threat to the mangrove system."

Brazilian pepper (Brazilian pepper-tree; *Schinus terebinthifolius*) is, according to the University of Florida's Center for Aquatic and Invasive Plants, "one of the most aggressive of the invasive nonindig-

371. Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of De Soto National Memorial, Mission 66 edition, 1 April 1961, NPS DSC.
372. Lloyd Pierson, De Soto National Memorial, January, 1963-January 1965, undated manuscript, DESO Files.
373. Christian Warren, "'Nature's Navels': An Overview of the Many Environmental Histories of Florida Citrus" in Jack E. Davis and Raymond Arsenault, eds., *Paradise Lost?: The Environmental History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 177-179.
374. Brazilian pepper has invaded virtually all of Florida, Texas, and California. See U. S. Department of Agriculture's Plants Database, http://plants.usda.gov/java/profile?symbol=SCTE (accessed 27 March 2007).
375. Superintendent's Annual Report 1982, NPS HFC; Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1983 and 1984, RG79, Entry 7g, Box 18, NARA II.



FIGURE 65. Carrotwood tree. (Photo by Chris Lockhart, http://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/EDISImagePage?imageID=871898740&dlNumber=AG111&tag=FIGURE%202&credits=Chris%20Lockhart, accessed June 27, 2007)

enous plants in Florida." Probably introduced as early as the mid-1800s, it is now fully evident on both Florida coasts. It is a small tree (thirty feet or less) with reddish leaves, white flowers and red fruits. [376]

Carrotwood (*Cupaniopsis anacardioides*), a native of Australia, is an extremely invasive plant spread by birds (especially fish crows) who eat the seeds and carry them to coastal areas, including mangrove swamps. It can grow up to thirty-five feet tall. Arriving in Florida a century later than Brazilian pepper, it was present as early as 1955, and was introduced commercially in 1968. By 1990 it was well established on both Florida coasts.[377]

Prior to its classification as an invasive species, Australian pine (*Casuarina equisetifolia L.*) was widely used along Florida's coast as a windbreak, clipped hedge, and even for topiary. It is salt- and drought-tolerant, fast-growing (as much as 5-10 feet per year), and will grow to as much as ninety feet high and forty feet wide at temperatures as low as 25 degrees F. It was also planted for erosion control, and has spread throughout south Florida, the southernmost tip of Texas, and along the entire California coastline.[378] The Plant Conservation Alliance's description of the Australian pine as an ecological threat is stark and dramatic:

> [It] produces dense shade and a thick blanket of leaves and hard, pointed fruits, that completely covers the ground beneath it. Dense thickets of Australian pine displace native dune and beach vegetation, including mangroves and many other resident, beach-adapted species. Because its roots are capable of producing nitrogen through microbial associations, Australian pine can colonize nutrient-poor soils. Once established, it radically alters the light, temperature, and soil chemistry regimes of beach habitats, as it outcompetes and displaces native plant species and destroys habitat for native insects and other wildlife. Chemicals in the leaves of Australian pine may inhibit the growth of other plants underneath it.
>
> The ground below Australian pine trees becomes ecologically sterile and lacking in food value for native wildlife. Unlike native shrubbery, the thick, shallow roots of Australian pine make it much more susceptible to blow-over during high wind events, leading to increased beach and dune erosion and interference with the nesting activities of sea turtles.[379]

Even now, removing these three perennially recurring exotic species from the Memorial itself and from the Catholic Church land on the Memorial's southeast border that was transferred to Manatee County to become Riverview Pointe Park was still a major natural resources management objective.[380]

376. "Brazilian pepper-tree," http://plants.ifas.ufl.edu/schinus.html (accessed 27 March 2007). For a good general overview of Florida's invasive plants, see "IFAS Assessment of the Status of Non-native Plants in Florida's Natural Areas" at http://plants.ifas.ufl.edu/assessment (accessed 27 March 2007).
377. See K.A. Langeland, "Natural Area Weeds: Carrotwood (*Cupaniopsis anacardioides*)," http://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/AG111 (accessed 27 March 2007). Langeland reports that carrotwood has been listed by the Florida Exotic Pest Plant Council as one of Florida's most invasive plant species since 1995 and was added to the Florida Noxious Weed List (5b-57.007 FAC) by the Florida Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services in 1999. General information about carrotwood may be obtained from Edward F. Gilman and Dennis G. Watson" "Cupaniopsis anacardiopsis: Carrotwood," http://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/ST221 (accessed 27 March 2007).
378. Edward F. Gilman and Dennis G.Watson, "*Casuarinas spp.*: Australian-Pine," http://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/ST129 (accessed 27 March 2007). Information given here on the Australian pine is from this source.
379. See http://www.nps.gov/plants/alien/fact/caeq1.htm, accessed March 27, 2007.
380. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1992; NARA II RG 79, Entry 7g, Box 18. Brian K. Loadholtz, Statement for Interpretation (1993), Part II, DESO Files. Resource Management Plan, De Soto National Memorial (May 20, 1993), DESO Files. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1999, NPS DSC. Three additional species (jambolin plum, downy myrtle, and strawberry guava), the Riverview Pointe management document said, "can easily be removed."

Statewide exotic plant control and removal are managed currently by the Bureau of Invasive Plant Management of the Department of Environmental Protection. In 2000, the Department's Upland Invasive Plant Management Program began working with the National Park Service's new Exotic Plant Management Team Program to remove and treat invasive plants inside the eight NPS units that lie within the state.[381] All indications were that controlling invasive species would necessarily remain a permanent natural resource management objective.



FIGURE 66. Map of National Park Service Exotic Plant Management Teams. (National Park Service, http://www.nature.nps.gov/biology/invasivespecies/map.jpg)

Turtles, Manatees, Tree Frogs and Other Critturs: Indigenous, Non-native and Endangered Vertebrate Species

An inventory of terrestrial vertebrates at De Soto National Memorial completed in 2003 reported on 114 species of wildlife: 75 birds, 8 mammals, 11 reptiles, and 7 amphibians. The study turned up fourteen listed species and ten non-native ones. Of special concern was the Cuban treefrog, which displaces native species, and domesticated dogs ("a disturbance of the natural resources") and cats ("devastating predators") from the surrounding residential areas. Lamentably, the investigators had no choice but to observe that "the composition of the natural communities that remain on the site have been effected [sic] by five centuries of Euro-American occupation and is a fragment of the pine flatwoods/bottomland forest communities that occurred in Manatee County when the first Europeans arrived." They urged that removal of non-native species be continued, and that prescribed burning be considered as a means of vegetation management.[382]

Two examples of endangered species have been reported at the Memorial: the West Indian manatee (*Trichechus mantus*) and the Eastern Indigo snake (*Drymarchon corais couperi*).[383] There are also habitats for eleven other listed vertebrate species: the Snowy Egret, White Ibis, Tricolored Heron, Little Blue Heron, Wood Stork, American Oyster Catcher, Brown Pelican, Red Cockaded Woodpecker, Osprey, Common Snook, and Gopher Tortoise. Listed plant species include Christmas berry, Butterfly orchid, Shell mound prickly pear cactus, Cinnamon fern, Royal fern, Inkberry, Giant air plant, and Necklace pod.[384]

381. Florida Department of Environmental Protection., "Non-Native Plants Invade 1.5 Million Acres In Florida" (December 28, 2001); http://www.dep.state.fl.us/secretary/news/2001/01-214.htm, accessed March 28, 2006. Exotic plants are a threat in 2.6 million acres of the National Park system. See Linda Drees, "Exotic Plant Management Teams: An Update on the Successful Model in Action," http://www2.nature.nps.gov/YearinReview/yir2003/01_C.html, accessed March 27, 2007. De Soto National Memorial is included within EPMT's Florida/Caribbean Partnership, which lists both Brazilian pepper and Australian pine as "special emphasis species." Also see National Park Service, *Exotic Plant Management Team: 2005 Annual Report*, p. 29 at http://www.nature.nps.gov/biology/invasivespecies/EPMT_AnnRep_05.pdf, accessed 27 March 27, 2006.
382. Frank Mazzotti, Michael S. Cherkiss, Jocie Graham and Alicia Weinstein, *Vertebrate Inventory of De Soto National Memorial* (Davie, FL: University of Florida Department of Wildlife Ecology and Conservation, 2003), DESO Files.
383. Resource Management Plan, De Soto National Memorial, 20 May 1993, partial copy,, DESO Files. Since the Memorial's boundaries end at the water's edge, there are technically no manatees within the park, but the health of the larger surrounding ecosystem is an unavoidable area of concern.
384. Manatee County Board of County Commissioners. Riverview Pointe: Florida Communities Trust Preservation 2000 Application, April 1998, pp. 13, 20-23, DESO Files.



FIGURE 67. One of numerous pollution warning signs placed near the Memorial by the Florida State Board of Health in the mid-1960s. "WARNING: Polluted shellfish transmit disease. Oysters or clams taken from this area should not be used as food." (Photo by William H. Booth, DESO Files)

Rainfall, Drought, and Phosphate Fever: Perennial Issues with Water

Dramatically changeable rainfall patterns have characterized (and plagued) De Soto National Memorial since its establishment. In the 1950s, Superintendent Richard Hopper reported periods of low rainfall and drought alternating with deluges of rain. One period of drought stretched from early 1956 through the beginning of 1957. It was followed by above average rain that finally brought the water table back near normal by June, 1957.[385]

Drought and excessive rainfall problems continued through the 1960s. Another nine-month drought began in late 1961; rains finally ended it in August 1962.[386] February 1963 was one of the wettest months on record, with more than ten inches of rain, but April was one of the driest (only 0.15 inches), and September was dry again. Many wells in the area were drying up, and farmers were pumping from deep wells, possibly exacerbating the situation.[387] A three-month drought in the spring of 1965 ended in June, and July brought more than ten inches of rain.[388] The Memorial had to close for two days in April 1967 because its own well was dry.[389]

De Soto National Memorial, situated as it is in the midst of a tidal swamp and bounded on two sides by residential subdivisions and on the other two by a bay and a river both of which were substantially polluted before the Memorial was established, has always had to be concerned about its aquatic environment. As early as 1953, the Memorial's first superintendent reported that a special election in the county had approved construction of a new sewage disposal plant for Bradenton, which "will greatly reduce the pollution in Manatee River."[390] The plant may have helped, but signs posted a decade later warned fishermen not to eat what they caught. Still in the mid-1970s, the Memorial's Historic Resource Study noted that "Long standing problems associated with industrial and agricultural pollution have caused the contamination of shell fish in the bay and estuaries."[391]

Larger by far than Bradenton's sewage plant in its implications for the health of the river (thus of the Memorial) was what historian Gary Mormino has called Big Phosphate, an industry driven by worldwide demand for fertilizer.[392] Florida was the heart of America's "phosphate belt." The highest

385. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, 1956 and 1957, DESO Files. Average annual rainfall in the area is slightly above fifty inches. For a statewide map of annual average precipitation in Florida see Oregon Climate Service, http://www.ocs.orst.edu/pub/maps/Precipitation/Total/States/FL/fl.gif (accessed 3 April 2007).
386. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, July and August 1962, DESO Files.
387. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, 1963, DESO Files. The lack of an underground water code in Manatee County rendered local officials powerless to modify the situation.
388. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, June and July 1965, DESO Files.
389. Superintendent's Monthly Report, April 1967, DESO Files. Monthly reports ceased in 1967. Available annual reports from later years do not comment on rainfall or drought. By May 1967 the county had extended its water supply line to the Memorial. Fragmentary Administrative History: De Soto National Memorial, ca. September 1976, p. 6, DESO Files.
390. Superintendent's Monthly Report, December 1953, DESO Files.
391. Historic Resource Management Study for De Soto National Memorial, December 1976, DESO Files.
392. The brief account of the environmental impact of phosphate mining, processing, and shipping is based upon Mormino's *Land of Sunshine,* 215-219. Phosphate was first discovered on the Peace River near Arcadia in 1884. See also Michael Gannon, *Florida: A Short History,* rev. ed. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 98.

point in the state in 1950, Mormino observes, was a 350-foot mountain of phosphate waste in Polk County ("Phosphate Mining Capital of the United States"), to the northeast of Manatee, where radioactive gypsum stacks resembled a moonscape.

The phosphate industry's first great boom in Florida occurred in 1889, with the discovery of major deposits around Ocala and Dunnellon.[393] "Phosphate Fever" hit like an oil boom. There were only eighteen mining operations in 1891, but by the next year there were over 200, and by 1895 there were more than 400. By 1914 only nineteen remained, but World War II brought another boom, and on the eve of World War II Florida produced 82 percent of all U.S. phosphate. Production doubled between 1950 and 1963 as big oil companies bought up the phosphate producers; production tripled again by 1967. And since the late 1940s, air, water, and soil pollution had gotten markedly worse as companies branched out into the chemical processing of fertilizer, which released sulfur, nitrogen, and fluoride by-products.

The state created an investigatory commission as early as 1955, but officials were reluctant to confront the powerful industry. Federal laws were in their infancy, and Federal officials were unwilling to go beyond their very limited mandates. The industry claimed there were no ill effects from their activities. By the end of the 1950s, the public was outraged and increasingly vocal in its demands for significant action, but another decade would pass before the 1970s amendments to the Federal Clean Air Act of 1963 would put any teeth into the regulatory process.

The threat of phosphate mining and processing came to the attention of Superintendent Vincent Gannon during his first months at the Memorial in 1965. "Manatee County, which for decades has been composed of small and quiet communities centered on a tourist and agrarian economy," Gannon wrote, "has recently committed itself to the development of a heavy industry base. A $16 million deep water port is to be built on the shore of Tampa Bay twelve miles northeast from this Memorial . . . and the establishment of the first of the phosphate processing complexes at the port . . . has just been announced."[394]



FIGURE 68. Florida Phosphate Council advertisement extolling the merits of the industry's reclamation efforts. De Soto Celebration book, 1982 (HDHS Archives)

But the threat was even closer than that. The phosphate belt included Manatee County, and its Piney Point (where according to some recent analysis De Soto may have made his initial landing), Mormino says, became "the poster child for phosphate's insoluble problems."[395]

During the early 1980s (even as phosphate mining and processing in Florida appeared to be collapsing), De Soto Superintendent Dick Hite reported that "the phosphate mining companies are winning almost every court battle in their fight to mine in the Lake Manatee watershed." By 1982 one company was mining there, and the following year Hite noted that another company was operating in defiance of county regulations. A dike failure at the site, he pointed out, would threaten the drinking water supply for a quarter of a million people.[396] Meanwhile, the industry regularly purchased full back-cover advertisements in the De Soto Celebration program books to reassure people that the industry really was no environmental threat, and

393. This brief account of the industry and the environmental problems associated with it is based primarily upon Scott H. Dewey, "The Fickle Finger of Phosphate: Central Florida Air Pollution and the Failure of Environmental Policy, 1957-1970," *Journal of Southern History* LX, no. 3 (August 1999): 565-603.

394. Superintendent's Monthly Report, August 1965, DESO Files.

395. When the Mulberry Corporation, operator of the Piney Point installation, went bankrupt in 2001, the county was left with a monumental environmental cleanup challenge, including radioactive gypsum waste and billions of gallons of highly acidic process water, hundreds of millions of gallons of which were still being pumped into shallow Bishop Bay near Tampa as late as 2003. On Piney Point as a possibility for De Soto's initial landing, see Michael Gannon, "First European Contacts" in Michael Gannon (ed.), *The New History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 27.

could even bring such benefits as new wetlands and picturesque subdivisions on reclaimed land.

But the picture was hardly so rosy. When the Mulberry Corporation, operator of the Piney Point installation, went bankrupt in 2001, the county and state were left with a monumental environmental cleanup challenge. It included radioactive gypsum waste and billions of gallons of highly acidic process water, hundreds of millions of gallons of which were still being pumped into shallow Bishop Bay near Tampa as late as 2003.[397] The phosphate industry had a major impact upon the larger economic and environmental framework within which the Memorial operated, as well as upon the bay and river waters that bordered it. As such, it presented Memorial superintendents with a major challenge in the area of natural resources management. A challenge that lay closer to home was that deriving from residential development on the lands immediately surrounding the Memorial. To that set of pressures and issues we now turn.

396. Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1981, 1982, 1983, NPS HFC. Hite was still concerned about the environmental threat of phosphate mining was he neared retirement in mid-1988. See Bill Steiden, "He's Seen 16 Years of Change at Park," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 13 July 1988; unpaged clipping in DESO Files.

397. An excellent summary account of the Piney Point phosphate processing disaster, which stretched over forty years, and its corporate and social history is available in Robert Trigaux, "Executives Turn Their Backs on the Piney Point Disaster," *St. Petersburg Times Online Tampa Bay,* August 18, 2003; http://www.sptimes.com/2003/08/18/news_pf/Columns/Executives_turn_their.shtml.

Chapter 6
Shell Mounds, Viewsheds, Buffers, and Builders: Protecting a Small Park in a Developing County

Major changes to Shaw's Point as a result of residential and other development in the surrounding area were already under way at least forty years before De Soto National Memorial opened, and they continued for more than a half-century thereafter.[398]

Before 1950, the changes took the form of resource extraction. New pressures emerged later as the land became more valuable for residential development. Two new subdivisions altered the area greatly in the late 1950s and early 1980s, and plans for elaborate docks attached to expensive homes to the west of the park emerged between 1989 and 2003.

Victories in the public effort to forestall, contain, or buffer against this development were rare but crucial. The establishment of the Memorial itself after 1948 guaranteed that at least twenty-five acres would be preserved in perpetuity, but the surrounding hundreds of acres of prime land lay awaiting development—its value heightened by the very presence of the Memorial.

For fifteen years beginning in the early 1980s, a coalition of local individuals and groups opposed a developer's plan to build a multi-story condominium at Emerson Point, across the river on Snead Island, which would have seriously degraded the Memorial's viewshed. That land eventually was bought by the county and turned into a magnificent park. Also in the 1990s, local donations and state funds were put together to buy eleven acres on the Memorial's southeastern border that the Catholic Church was in the process of selling to a residential developer. That land became a county park as well.

This chapter details major events and processes in a more than half-century-long effort to protect from encroaching development a fragment of vulnerable coastal land dedicated to commemorating the De Soto expedition. As opportunities to add to the park's land base ebbed with development of much of the surrounding land after the 1980s, the park's priorities turned to protecting its "viewshed" from incursions that would intrude on visitors' ability to imagine themselves in the environment De Soto and his compatriots would have seen in the sixteenth century.

Shell Mounds and Muck Ponds: Before 1948

The 1922 Sanborn map of Bradenton listed the city's population as only 5,000 (Tampa was ten times as large), but the city was already on the move. It was on the route of the new Tamiami Trail (U. S. Highway 41)—begun in 1915 and opened in 1928—that would channel tourist traffic southward from Tampa and then across the state to Miami.

Shaw's Point was relatively remote from 1920s Bradenton, but things were stirring there, nevertheless. In two letters to the Smithsonian's J. Walter Fewkes as early as the winter of 1920, local amateur

398. A list of Shaw's Point landowners from the early nineteenth century onward is to be found in Margo Schwadron, *De Soto National Memorial: Archeological Overview and Assessment* (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, 1998), 48-50.

archeologist Charles T. Earle wrote that "The remains of the great shell heap at Shaw's Point has been bought by Mr. Ed Ballard who has cleared it and intends to have the muck beds lying between the mound and the mainland filled in by a dredge." Two months later, Earle reported that engineers and their dredges would soon start carving a canal through the mangrove swamp in order to drain the "muck pond" so that the area could be "set out in tropical plants." The muck removed in the process was to be piled up "on the higher ground to make a topsoil for lawns."[399]

Earle was concerned about potential damage to the environment for wildlife, and aware that test digging in the area was turning up pre-Columbian artifacts.[400] A few days later he told Fewkes that "all the shell mounds in Florida are being rapidly destroyed for road building."[401] Indeed a large mound on the Point itself had already been almost completely destroyed by 1910.

On May 14 Earle wrote to Fewkes that "dredging at Shaw's Point began yesterday"; digging the canal—seven feet deep and ten feet wide—would take two months.[402] Thus was initiated a double ecological assault on the Point: changing the existing ecological system through drainage, and introducing unspecified "tropical plants."

The record is silent about what happened on Shaw's Point between the early 1920s and the late 1930s, but at the time the Colonial Dames prepared to install their De Soto monument on the Point in 1939, most of the area was—as a previous chapter has explained—still "a tropical jungle not easily penetrated."[403]

But to please the Dames and allow the eight-ton monument to be moved onto the chosen site, the county agreed to build a road—a decision that had the secondary (but ultimately more important) effect of opening the surrounding area to residential development.

As has been detailed in an earlier chapter, local doctors W. D. Sugg and L. W. Blake moved quickly to buy up land on the Point shortly after the mon-

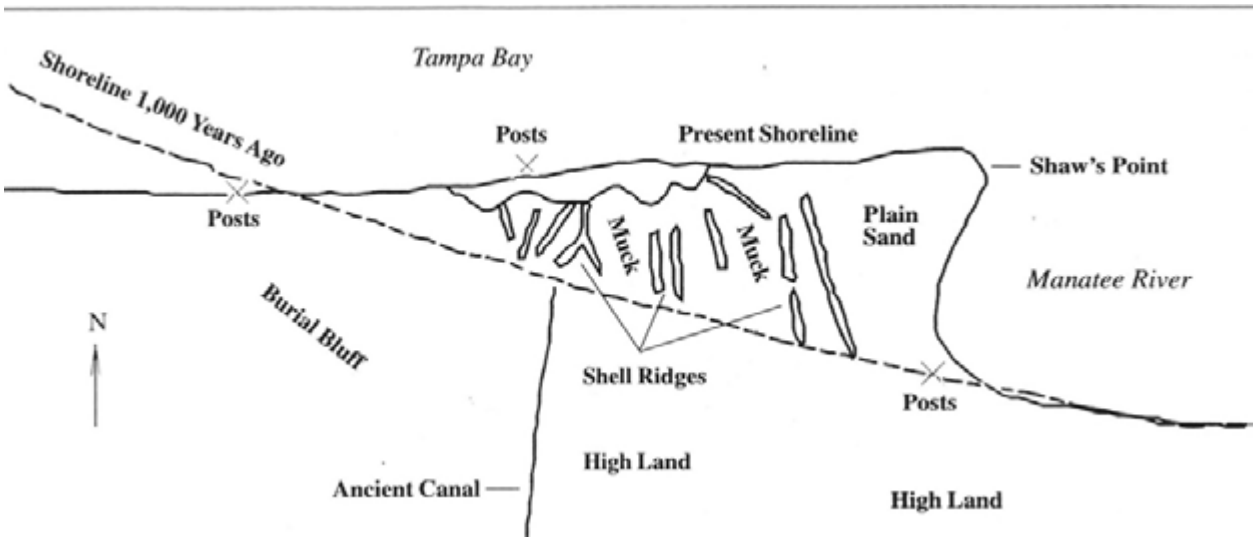


FIGURE 69. Reproduction of Charles T. Earle's map (1920) of Shaw's Point showing shell mound and shell ridges. (Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 209)

399. Earle to Fewkes, 20 February and 19 April 1920, DESO Files. For a fuller discussion of the Earle-Fewkes interaction, see Margo Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, SEAC Technical Reports No. 8 (Tallahassee: National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center, 2002), 59-60.
400. Earle to Fewkes, 4 May 1920, DESO Files.
401. Earle to Fewkes, 9 May 1920, DESO Files. Road building in the state had been minimal until the election of 1924. There were only 724 miles of hard-surfaced roads in the state before then, but by 1930 the state had more than 3,000 miles of highway. See Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables; University of Miami Press, 1971), 279.
402. Earle to Fewkes, 14 May 1920, DESO Files. More than seventy-five years later, archeologist Margo Schwadron analyzed materials from the dredging spoil piles. Margo Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation,* 91-93.
403. "De Soto Landing Park Suggested by Optimist Club," *Bradenton Herald*, 12 March 1939, p. 5.

ument was placed. Roy Appleman's reconnaissance report for the Park Service in 1947 noted that the two owned about 204 acres in the area—"practically the entire shoreline . . . and an area [of] considerable depth back of the shoreline"—which they expected to subdivide and turn to residential uses.[404] The twenty-five acres the doctors donated to the Federal government for the park site amounted to only a little over ten percent of what they owned, leaving nearly 180 acres of commercially developable land whose value could only appreciate in the years to come. As it appreciated, pressure on the Memorial to protect itself and preserve a landscape even vaguely similar to that which De Soto and his men may have seen more than four centuries earlier rose steadily.



FIGURE 70. Remains of large shell mound on Shaw's Point, ca. 1910 (MCPL)

Clearing, Filling, and Building: The Development of the Park's Abutting Lands

Reconnoitering Shaw's Point for the National Park Service at the time the area was being considered as the site for the De Soto National Memorial, Roy Appleman noted that the Point "has not been built on or developed in any way" except for the placing of the Colonial Dames marker and the building of the county road to get to it. "There are," he said, a few buildings and some citrus developments a short way to the west . . . [and] Squatter fishermen have erected shelters and stretched their nets" along the river. But "there is no doubt," he added, "that extensive residential and other types of development will spring up here as soon as the Memorial is established and good roads are brought into the area."[405]



FIGURE 71. Interpretive sign on Memorial nature trail, May 1959: "This unspoiled bit of shoreline is just as De Soto might have seen it 400 years ago." (DESO Files)

Such development became evident as soon as the Memorial opened. Only a month after he arrived on the job, the first Superintendent reported that a drag line was cutting a channel on the southeast side of the Memorial toward a newly built road, and that the adjacent area was being cleared and filled in.[406] As early as February 1952, Superintendent Richard Hopper found himself at a county Zoning Commission meeting concerning the Riverview Boulevard section, leading from West Bradenton along the river past McNeil Point, and then west, where it became 15th Avenue NW.[407]

For the next five years, there was apparently little development activity near the Memorial, but in August 1957, Hopper reported that a 114-acre tract about a half-mile to the east was being developed as a residential subdivision.[408] By October, he said, drag lines were working at the site around the clock, "making waterways and [a] yacht basin." A month

404. Roy E. Appleman, Report on Shaw's Point, Bradenton, Florida, Site of Proposed De Soto Memorial, 4 April 1947, p. 5.
405. Ibid., pp. 3, 4, 12.
406. Superintendent's Monthly Report, April 1950, DESO Files. In August he reported that another road was being cut from "the main road" toward Bishop's Point, east of the Memorial.
407. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, February 1951 and February 1952, DESO Files.



FIGURE 72. Boat canal being cut into "Blalock subdivision" east of the Memorial, January 1958. (DESO Files)



FIGURE 73. Road being cut into "Blalock subdivision" east of the Memorial, January 1958. (DESO Files)

later, the "Elaborate Waterfront Residential Project" (otherwise unidentified but probably located on Bishop Point between 72nd and 74th Streets NW) was being advertised: forty-eight half-acre lots, two-thirds of them fronting on either the inlet to the river, the river itself, or the yacht basin. There were also to be fifty two-acre lots.[409] In January a photographer for the Memorial documented the cutting of roads and a boat canal into the new subdivision.[410]

The 1960s brought several reminders that Bradenton and Manatee County were undergoing relatively rapid growth and change, and that the Memorial could not hope to escape its gathering effects. At the end of October 1960, County Commissioners approved a long-range highway plan that included a bridge from Snead Island across the Manatee River to the Memorial, connecting the island to Florida highway 64 (Manatee Avenue, to the south of the Memorial), but Memorial Superintendent Carl Stoddard informed them that such an intrusion onto park land would be illegal.[411] Stoddard's successor Lloyd Pierson recalled years later that he realized soon after his arrival that "my 24 acres of mangrove swamp would soon be the only swamp left in this part of Florida as housing developments were encroaching."[412] A 1963 plan to incorporate eight square miles of west Manatee County and merge it with Bradenton into a new and larger city to be called Manatee City (of which the Memorial would be a part) was turned down by voters.[413]

But the new vectors of development were not to be deflected. Phosphate mining and processing (treated in a previous chapter) were underway, and constituted a major threat to the bay and the river, as well as to ground water. "The phosphate mining companies are winning almost every court battle in their fight to mine in the Lake Manatee watershed," Superintendent Hite reported at the end of 1981.[414]

As months and years passed, numerous development projects—small and large—cropped up in the area of the Memorial. In May 1967 acting Memorial Superintendent Lee Lissy successfully petitioned the County Commissioners to halt dredging for a planned fish farm across the river on Snead Island.[415]

408. The still relatively undeveloped state of the land to the south, southwest, and west of the Memorial is clearly evident in a 1951 aerial photograph of the area reproduced in Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation*, p. 82.
409. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, August, October, and November 1957, DESO Files. Hopper's Annual Report for 1957 noted that "several new subdivisions" being planned by "overzealous developers" were being hampered by heavy rain and flooding.
410. Lack of legal data makes it impossible to identify the "Blalock subdivision" to which Superintendent Hopper referred as the one of which the photographs were taken, but it seems likely that it was.
411. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, October and November 1961, DESO Files. The commissioners replied by assuring Stoddard that the project would not need to cross park lands.
412. Lloyd Pierson, De Soto National Memorial, Florida: January, 1963—January 1965, p. 10, DESO Files.
413. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, September and November 1963, DESO Files.
414. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1981, NPS HFC.

The most immediate and direct pressure on the Memorial derived, however, from the steady movement of residential development northward from Bradenton's Manatee Avenue (highway 64). Evident to some degree for decades, it began to accelerate in the 1970s.

The main residential development corridor of concern included the area marked on the north by Shaw's Point, Bishop Point, and McNeil Point, on the east by 60th Street, on the west by 85th Street, and on the south by Manatee Avenue West (highway 64).[416] In 1972, when Memorial Superintendent Dick Hite arrived, development in this corridor was still somewhat spotty and irregular. The area between 83rd Street and Bishop Point south to about 17th Avenue was rather fully developed, but the section from 17th on further south to South Loop Road was still undeveloped. From there south to Manatee Avenue on both sides of 75th Street was perhaps sixty to seventy percent developed. Back up closer to the Memorial and west of 83rd Street, however, lay a large area still undeveloped enough to include a small airport.[417] During the next decade, large portions of these areas would be developed for residential purposes.[418]

Still, as late as 1978, however, the Memorial was protected immediately outside its boundary by undeveloped land on both the south and west sides. The land to the south was owned by the Catholic Church, and that to the west by Dr. W. D. Sugg, donor of the Memorial's original twenty-four acres. But as the Memorial's 1978 Historic Resource Management Plan noted, both parcels were located on high ground suitable for residential construction, and single-family dwellings were already in place within 200 yards of the Memorial's border.[419]

During the 1980s and 1990s, three major planned development projects threatened the Memorial: an upscale residential neighborhood to the west, a multistory condominium project across the river on Snead Island, and another subdivision to the southeast. The first was actually built; as a result of pressure from both the Memorial and citizens, the other two were not.

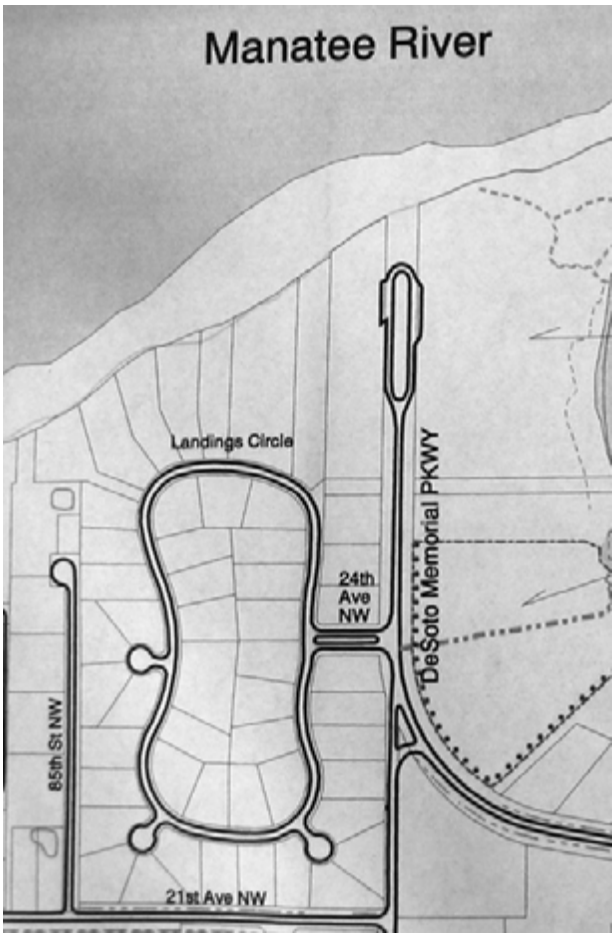


FIGURE 75. Riverview Landings subdivision, 1982. (DESO Files)

The Riverview Landings Subdivision

1981 was a difficult year for the Memorial. Hite's annual report for that year was not a happy one. An archeological mound on the site had been dug up by pothunters. Budget cuts had eliminated the envi-

415. Fragmentary Administrative History: De Soto National Memorial, 24 September 1976, p. 7, DESO Files.
416. Bradenton's numbered avenues run east-west; numbered streets run north-south. The official name of Shaw's Point was changed to De Soto Point in 1966 (USGS Geographic Names Information System feature ID 293982.)
417. Dick Hite, telephone interview by David E. Whisnant, 5 April 2007.
418. As late as 1966, Superintendent Lloyd Pierson reported that a 42-acre tract west of the Memorial was "expected to be developed as a De Soto pageant site and County park in about a year," under the joint administration of Manatee County and the Hernando De Soto Society's Conquistadors. The tract was intended to include "a private historical area, with an amphitheater, large parking lot, information center, and berth for a replica of De Soto's flagship." Superintendent's Monthly Report, January and April 1966, DESO Files.
419. Neil G. Guse, Jr., Historic Resource Management Plan for the De Soto National Memorial, 7 June 1978, p. I:2,, DESO Files.

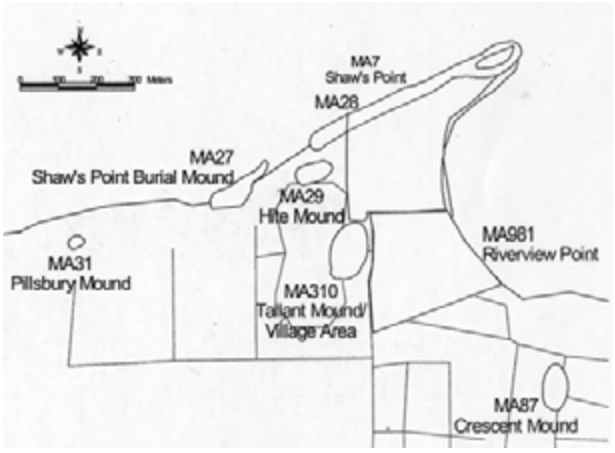


FIGURE 76. Archeological sites on and surrounding De Soto National Memorial. National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, Sec. 7, p. 25 (DESO Files)

ronmental trail walks, solar energy talks, and off-site programs. The living history program schedule had been cut in half. Severe erosion along the nature trail and the north shoreline continued despite all efforts to halt it. Phosphate mining companies in the area were gearing up for major operations that would degrade both air quality and ground water.

And perhaps worst of all, Hite lamented, "a 52 lot subdivision is underway along the park's west and southwest boundaries. For many years we have hoped this property would be given to N.P.S. but again big money won." Within a year, four houses were under construction in the subdivision; the first was completed in March 1983. [420]

The decidedly upscale subdivision was called Riverview Landings, developed by National Development Corporation and lying north of 21st Avenue NW between 83rd and 85th Streets NW. Its first tier of lots adjoined the west side of the Memorial's land, and seven large lots at the north end fronted on the river. Most lots ranged from a half to one acre, and houses tended to be large—3500 square feet and up.

Four main problems were associated with the construction of the subdivision (in addition to the obvious one of rendering a large amount of desirable land unavailable for possible expansion of the Memorial): the impact of the project on wetlands, the presence of valuable archeological remains, the building of long docks out into the river within the Memorial's viewshed, and (later) runoff from residential lots.

In May 1982, early in the project's history, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) recommended that the Corps of Engineers permit for the subdivision be denied because of the potential impact of several shoreside lots (27-30) on fresh and salt water wetlands and their mangrove stands.[421] A month later USFWS amended its complaint to ask only that restrictions be placed upon building on those lots, thus emphasizing that the proposed subdivision was situated within a fragile ecosystem.[422]

The subdivision area was also rich in archeological remains which, since they were on private land, were not subject to state or Federal regulations. Persuading the owners to protect them voluntarily was thus the only option available. At some indeterminable early point, the owners of lots 26 and 27 did indeed agree to protect in perpetuity a burial mound (8Ma27/Mn 12, Tallant 12) located on their property.[423] The subdivision's developer agreed to protect the so-called Pillsbury mound, located on the western side of the area.

A private archeological research company also confirmed that a large (55 feet in diameter and 14 feet high) archeologically valuable mound (8Ma29; the Hite mound, named for Memorial's Superintendent Dick Hite) was located on lots 31 and 32. Although the mound (probably a temple mound, part of the Shaw's Point archeological complex) had long since been disturbed by avocational collectors, it still contained valuable artifacts. The owner said it was "impracticable" to preserve it intact, so the consultants suggested a pre-emptive salvage operation,

420. Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1981 and 1982, NPS HFC. A United States Geological Survey map of 1981 (Anna Maria, Fla. N2730—W8237.5/7.5) showed virtually all of the land west of the Memorial still undeveloped.
421. Joseph D. Carroll, Jr. (USFWS) to District Engineer, U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, 13 May 1982, DESO Files. Carroll pointed out that the project had "the potential to adversely impact a far greater area than is indicated on the public notice"—to fish and wildlife habitat, flood water storage and nutrient removal capacity.
422. Joseph D. Carroll, Jr. (USFWS) to Corps of Engineers, 17 June 1982, DESO Files.
423. Brad William Burger to Alex Weinberg, 19 April 1989, DESO Files. For a technical description of sites near the park, see Margo Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, SEAC Technical Reports No. 8 (Tallahassee: National Park Service Southeast Archeological Center, 2002), 69-74.

which appears not to have been undertaken.[424] Seven years later, the lots' owner agreed to protect the site.[425]

Condominiums in the 16th-Century Viewshed: Snead Island and Emerson Point Park

But Riverview Landings was not the only battlefront in 1981, a year when Superintendent Hite must have felt besieged from all sides. As the subdivision got underway, plans were also announced for an eight-story, 49-unit condominium complex ("Bay River Pointe," it was to be called) for the tip of Snead Island (called Emerson Point), directly across the river from the Memorial.[426] "Historic site may fall to progress," announced the *Sarasota Herald Tribune*. The Mockingbird Hill Development Corporation's plans for the site (which was within the hundred-year flood plain, and included a sewage treatment plant) would compromise "one of the few remaining chances to see native Florida as De Soto and his crew viewed it," the writer asserted. Another seventeen-acre tract on south (Memorial) side of the island had recently been placed on the state's endangered land list[427]

The Mockingbird Hill Corporation was determined to make the upscale development appealing: protruding balconies, a parking lot topped with four tennis courts, outdoor pool and bathhouse, and a racquetball court. Following popular convention, the superfluous "e" on the end of Point denoted "upscale." Unpersuaded, Hite called it an "eight-story vulture" that would dominate and degrade the scene encountered by Memorial visitors.

Joining a group of Snead Island residents, Hite went before the County Commission to speak against the project, which had already received preliminary approval from the Manatee County Planning Department. Residents reminded the Commission that three years earlier it had promised them the area would be turned into a park. [428] Undeterred, the Mockingbird Hill company forged ahead. Sometime during 1983, land was cleared and a construction fence erected.[429]



FIGURE 77. Proposed Bay River Pointe condominium project, Mocking Bird Hill Development Corporation, December 1985

The developers' performance turned out not to match the grand design, however. The building permit was transferred to an entity called the Sunset Pointe Beach Club, and in 1984 the permit was extended again. Since the terms of the original permit regarding construction progress had not been met, however, the site plan and building permit were in danger of being revoked toward the end of 1985. A *Bradenton Herald* editorial urged that the Commissioners "should spare no effort" in revoking the permit for building on an area not only aesthetically and environmentally objectionable but also subject to flooding during high tides.[430] In mid-January 1986, unfortunately, county commissioners admitted they were "forced to allow" the project to proceed under a 90-day permit extension because they had failed to appoint a required group to con-

424. Harry M. Piper and Kenneth W. Hardin (Piper Archaeological Research, Inc.), Limited Archaeological Investigations at Riverview Landings Subdivisions . . . Manatee County, Florida, 4 March 4, 1982, DESO Files.
425. Brad William Burger to Alex Weinberg, 19 April 1989, DESO Files. Whether the lots' 1989 owner was the same one as the 1982 owner is not known. For a technical description, see Margo Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, SEAC Technical Reports No. 8 (Tallahassee: National Park Service Southeast Archeological Center, 2002), 70.
426. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1981, NPS HFC.
427. Tom Tryon, "Historic Site May Fall to Progress," Sarasota *Herald Tribune*, 2 July 1981, pp. 1B, 2B, DESO Files.
428. Greg Spears, "Condo to Detract from Park's Appeal," *Bradenton Herald*, 31 July 1981, p. B1. A new provision of the county's comprehensive plan prohibited sewage treatment within such areas, but it had gone into effect after the plans for the condominiums were approved.
429. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1983, RG 79, Entry 7g, Box 18, NARA II.

sider the developers' appeals.[431] The issue appears to have been moot, though, because the Department of Environmental Regulation permit had already expired at the end of September.[432]

By early 1986 the project—by then renamed Sunset Pointe (the final "e" provided hoped-for continuity)—was in the hands of the Hy Kom Development Company, but by the end of that year Superintendent Hite believed the company was "in serious financial trouble."[433]

The ill-starred project was to drag on for another decade—never as more than a few posts in the ground. A new threat arose early in 1987, as word spread that Hy Kom planned to dispose of the sewage treatment plant's effluent by boiling it. "I cannot believe this would be an odorless operation and consequently it would have a very negative fetid effect on visitors," Superintendent Hite wrote to DER. It is "simply preposterous," he added, to place such an untested technology in operation. Hite requested that a public hearing on the proposal be scheduled.[434] Work on the project stopped again during subsequent weeks.

Shortly thereafter, Hite joined a group of citizens to organize People for Emerson Point (PEP). They raised more than $20,000 for advertising prior to a referendum on a $2.25 bond issue to allow Manatee County to purchase upwards of 360 acres on the western end of Snead Island (including the Hy Kom site) to use as a park. Voters approved the bond issue by 78%, and the property was placed on the state's list of properties to be purchased. Appraisals were completed expeditiously.[435]

By 1991 the purchase was complete, and Manatee County began a major restoration of the site, which had been changed massively through many decades of farming and other uses, and which was currently clogged by exotic plants. Restoration focused on restoring the natural ecosystem, but included trails, shelters, boardwalks, and an education center.[436] In 1998 the County Commissioners secured a start-up grant from the National Association of Counties and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to restore wetlands on the site through an educational and job-training program for young people.[437]

A Park Instead of Another Subdivision: The Catholic Church Land

Had enlightened public policy been as farsighted and strong as it should have been, Riverview Landings would never have become a reality. That it did become a reality permanently removed a prime potential expansion site from the Memorial. Valuable archeological sites and other desirable environmental characteristics could be protected only through moral appeals to the goodwill of private property owners.

Once Riverview Landings began to be developed in 1982, the only possible remaining buffer land for the Memorial lay on its southeast corner: a roughly eleven acre plot owned by the Catholic Church since 1958 and virtually unused for nearly four decades. Finally in 1995, the Church—pressed with high tax payments on the increasingly valuable land—offered to sell it to the National Park Service for $1.5 million. But NPS could not (or did not) come up with the money. When the offer deadline passed in March 1996, De Soto National Memorial Superintendent Barbara Goodman approached the Trust for Public Lands, hoping it would buy the land and make it available to the Memorial. But the Trust

430. "Back to Square One on Emerson Point," *Bradenton Herald*, 27 December 1985, p. B4, DESO Files. This editorial noted that a Florida state senator was investigating the possibility of setting the area aside as a park, using funds from the state's Conservation and Recreational Land Program.
431. Larry Barszewski, "Condos Get OK—Reluctantly," *Bradenton Herald*, 15 January 1986, pp. A1, A13, DESO Files.
432. Dan Duffey, "Expired Permit Halts Sunset Pointe Development," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 17 January 1986, DESO Files.
433. Dan Duffey, "Expired Permit Halts Sunset Pointe Development," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 17 January 1986, DESO Files; Superintendent's Annual Report, 1986, RG 79, Entry 7g, Box 18, NARA II.
434. Richard F. Hite to Richard Garrity, DER, 9 February 1987, DESO Files.
435. Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1988 and 1989, RG 79, Entry 7g, Box 18, NARA II. Various subsequent documents and reports give park acreages ranging from 195 to 360 acres.
436. Kevin Horan, "Émerson Point Regaining Past Splendor," *Bradenton Herald,* undated clipping [ca. January 2000], DESO Files.
437. Environmental Protection Agency, "Emerson Point Park Five Star Restoration Project," http://www.epa.gov/region4/water/wetlands/projects/emerson.html (accessed 16 April 2007).

declined, and the Church announced that it would sell the land to any prospective buyer.[438]

Such a buyer soon appeared. In February 1997, the *Bradenton Herald* reported that developer Tom Mannausa was planning to build fifteen $400-900,000 homes on the land, on which he had purchased an option from the Church. Despite the presence of some valuable archeological remains and the threat to the Memorial, the county planning department approved Mannausa's plans in mid-April.[439]

Within days, residents besieged the County Commission, which responded by imposing a dozen conditions on the developer.[440] Some residents suggested that the Church should donate the land to the Memorial, but a Church spokesman said it "would be fiscally irresponsible to Catholics of Southwest Florida" to do so.[441]

A week later, the Commissioners agreed to take two weeks to study a possible public purchase of the land (then assessed at just over a half-million dollars), which the developer was willing to sell. The developer was willing to give the county two weeks to come up with the money, but the county could not raise the whole amount. The Trust for Public Lands promised to help, but to what extent was unclear. Soon a public campaign emerged to raise the funds—taking pledge cards to businesses, knocking on doors, and holding a fund-raising party at the Memorial.[442]

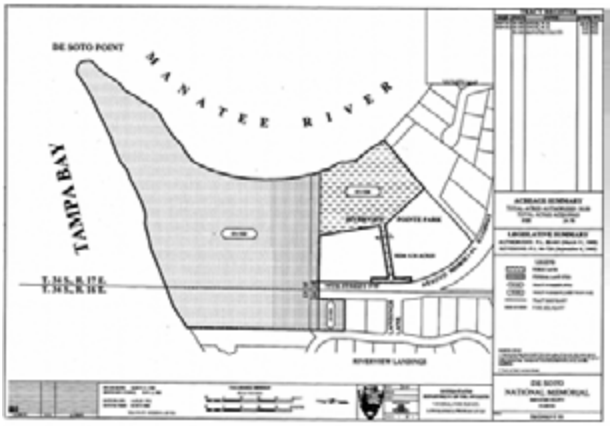


FIGURE 78. Riverview Pointe property, showing encroaching subdivisions to south and southeast and Catholic Church property on southeast corner (DESO Files)

Rising interest in the land had also raised the price; a new appraisal set its value at nearly $1.9 million. The developer offered it to the county for $1.8 million, but pledges lagged at less than $50,000.[443] The county then said that if pledges topped $100,000, they would provide the rest, and a three-hour rain-drenched party at the Memorial raised nearly $30,000 more.[444]

As the two-week deadline approached, it looked likely that either the Trust for Public Lands would buy and hold the land for the county, or that the county itself would buy it immediately.[445] Negotiations continued as time ebbed. The developer

438. Tom Spalding, "Church Asked to Wait Before Selling Land," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, 29 March 1996, p. B1; Kim Atamian, "Money to Save Land a No-Show," *Bradenton Herald*, 10 April 1996, p. B1.
439. Shelly Sigo, "Local Developer Plans Gated Community in Riverview Pointe," *Bradenton Herald*, February 1997, unpaged clipping; Pam Radtke Russell, "Park, Homes Make Odd Couple," *Bradenton Herald*, 24 February 1997; Dale White, "Developer Eyes Site Near Park," *Sarasota Herald* Tribune, 11 April 1997, DESO Files. Initially, the developer had only an option on the land, then still owned by the Church. A later report provided details on the archeological significance of the site, indicating that a January 1996 assessment showed that an important midden (FSF# 8MA981) made the site eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Contemporary analyses identified significant vegetative species and endangered species (gopher tortoise) habitats. Manatee County Board of County Commissioners, *Riverview Pointe: Florida Communities Trust Preservation Application 2000* (April 1998), 17-19.
440. Kevin McDonald, "Residents: Build Somewhere Else," *Bradenton Herald*, 30 April 1997, DESO Files.
441. Dale White,."Subdivision's Future Hinges on Answers," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 1 May 1997, DESO Files. A later report indicated that the Church offered to sell the land to the Federal government for the Memorial in 1995, but the Federal limit on the Memorial's size and lack of funds prevented the purchase. Manatee County Board of County Commissioners, *Riverview Pointe: Florida Communities Trust Preservation Application 2000* (April 1998), 6-7.
442. Karen Schaum and Nick Mason, "County Mulls Purchase of Riverfront Land," *Bradenton Herald*, 7 May 1997; Dale White, "Developer Gives County Another Shot at Acreage," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 7 May 1997, pp. 1B, 7B; Dale White, "Donors Chip in Money for River Land," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, 9 May 1997, pp. 1B, 4B; Dale White, "Group Long Way from Preserving Riverfront Site," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 13 May 1997, pp. 1B, 3B, DESO Files. White's May 9 article reported that the Church had given the National Park Service over a year to raise its asking price for the land (at $1.5 million, triple the assessed value), but we have seen no corroborating evidence of this.
443. Nick Mason, "Appraiser Values Property at $1.9 Million," *Bradenton Herald,* 15 May 1997, p. 4, DESO Files.
444. Sara Langenburg, "Tract's Salvation May Be Near," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 18 May 1997, DESO Files.
445. Dale White, "Riverview Pointe Deadline is Today," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 20 May 1997, pp. B1, B3, DESO Files.

drove a bit of a hard bargain, but seemed willing to find grounds for compromise. There was some hope that the Florida Communities Trust might reimburse the county for most of the purchase, and the Southwest Florida Water Management District considered giving nearly a quarter of a million dollars, which would leave the county a manageable balance of a bit less than that.[446]

Finally at the end of May, developer Mannausa accepted the county's offer of $1.66 million for the property, nearly ninety percent of which was to be covered by state funds. A celebration at the Memorial was scheduled for June 8, and on July 1 the deed was signed, transferring 9.1 acres.[447]

Since the land bordered the Memorial and was of the same type, it made sense to place it under the Memorial's management as a county park. In converting the land to park use, the county intended (in addition to providing new park lands) to protect wetlands, endangered species, and archeological sites; limit population and infrastructure; reduce storm damage and stabilize the shoreline; protect water resources and quality; and maintain buffer zones.[448] In March 1999, the Memorial signed a Memorandum of Understanding with Manatee County, agreeing to manage the new Riverpoint Park for the county.[449]

The park was the culminating victory at the end of nearly twenty years of turmoil over how this tiny park should relate to fast-developing surrounding lands. While the approval of Riverview Landings at the beginning of the period did not bode well for the outcome of the struggle between private and public interests, the Emerson Point and county park victories signaled, at least in part, the park's success in conveying the value of protecting and preserving this small spit of land "unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." For park managers, however, a lesson of the victories was that this preservation required constant vigilance and occasional vigorous political activism to counter the ever-present pressures presented by private developers.

Runoff, Wetlands and Docks: Secondary Effects of Subdivision Development

If major primary impacts of subdivision development were the preemption of possible Memorial expansions lands, the disturbance and filling in of wetlands, potential disturbance and destruction of archeological sites, and disruption of the Memorial's viewshed, an important secondary effect was the degradation of groundwater and marine life through runoff.

In his final annual report before his retirement after twenty years of service in 1992, Superintendent Hite raised concerns about degrading water quality as a result of runoff from the Riverview Landings subdivision, which entered Memorial land at several points, with potentially deleterious effects upon the Mangrove swamp ecosystem.[450] Seven years later a study of the problem was underway.[451]

The viewshed victory at Emerson Point paralleled several other viewshed-related battles with residents of the now maturing Riverview Landings subdivision. As things were winding toward a happy conclusion with Emerson Point at the end of the 1980s, Memorial superintendents for the next fifteen years opposed and negotiated over several threats from docks that owners of shoreside lots in the subdivision wanted to build out into the river.

446. Dale White, "Panel Rejects $1.69 Land Deal," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 21 May 1997, pp. 1A, 12A, DESO Files.
447. Dale White, "Commission Votes 5-1 to Buy Pointe," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 30 May 1997, pp. 1A, 10A; Kevin McDonald, "Transfer of 9.1 Acres to County Completed," *Bradenton Herald*, 3 July 1997, unpaged clipping, DESO Files; Warranty Deed, 1 July 1997, DESO Files. In an interview on 10 May 2007, archeologist Margo Schwadron pointed out that public pressure to acquire the land and forestall development was aided to some extent by the concurrent application to add Shaw's Point (as Shaw's Point Archeological District) to the National Register of Historic Places. That application included the Riverview Point property as part of the District. Margo Schwadron, telephone interview by David E. Whisnant, 10 May 2007.
448. Manatee County Board of County Commissioners, *Riverview Pointe: Florida Communities Trust Preservation 2000 Application* (April 1998), 26.
449. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1999, NPS DSC. We have not discovered a copy of this memorandum.
450. Superintendent's Annual Report 1992, p. 4, DESO Files.
451. Superintendent's Annual Report 2000, p. 3, DESO Files. The referenced study has not come to light in currently available archival records.

The first dock opposed by the Memorial arose in late 1989. Riverview Landings resident Dana J. Weinkle wanted to build a 400-foot long dock with a large covered boat shelter out into the Manatee River from his lot 27 (2423 Landings Circle South, the seventh lot west of the Memorial).[452] Memorial Superintendent Hite immediately entered an official objection.[453] The Florida Department of Environmental Regulation (DER), concluding that Weinkle had provided "reasonable assurance that the project is not contrary to the public interest," issued a permit for the dock, but noted also that a Wetlands Resource Management permit would be required, and attached conditions relating to possible discovery of historical or archeological artifacts during construction, construction procedures, dock height above mean high water (MHW) line, and terminal structure design.[454]

Shortly thereafter, Superintendent Hite appeared before the Manatee County Planning Commission to elaborate his objections, asking that the Manatee County Historical Commission be given an opportunity to comment, and suggesting that construction of the dock would "accelerate the destruction of the historic feeling or scene" that Memorial visitors encounter, and citing the key language of the Park Service's establishing legislation, which required park superintendents to administer their areas "by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[455] In Hite's view, construction of the proposed dock would conflict with that Federal mandate.

Hearing both Hite and neighbors who added their objections, the Planning Commission voted 4-2 against the dock proposal, concluding that it was contrary to the county's growth management plan, and passing their action along for consideration by the Manatee County Commission.[456] Hite appeared before the Commission to restate his objections. Engaging with the key issue of property rights, he said that he was "a firm believer in property owners' rights . . . for ALL property owners," among whom must be included citizens who have visited the Memorial and would do so in the future. It was the responsibility of both Federal and local governments, he insisted, "to play key roles in protecting our national treasures."[457] Barely a month later, however, the Commissioners issued a permit to the Weinkles to construct their dock. It required only that no wetlands be disturbed, and that the dock be built as near to the western boundary of the lot as possible.[458] The dock was later constructed as proposed.[459]

The second dock of concern to the Memorial—a 420-foot long structure with a large (8 by 31 feet) terminal platform proposed by Riverview Landings resident John Rynerson for his lot 29 (two lots to the west of the Weinkle lot) followed quickly.[460] The Corps of Engineers determined that an environmental impact statement was not required, that the project would not be contrary to the public interest, and that the permit should be granted.[461] The Florida Department of Environmental Regulation thereupon signaled its intent to issue the required permit.[462]

Objections surfaced quickly. Superintendent Hite's year-end report for 1990 complained that the Memorial was "besieged by docks."[463] The National Park Service's Associate Regional Director requested that the Corps of Engineers revoke its permit (90-41524) for the dock (expected to be clearly visible from the Memorial) because it would have "a negative effect on the historic vista" and would thus degrade visitors' experience. The Corps

452. Robert Stetler, Florida Department of Environmental Regulation, to Dana J. Weinkle, 22 November 1989, DESO Files. This is the first instance of which records have come to light. Since building in the subdivision was under way at least six years earlier, there may have been prior instances.
453. Richard F. Hite to Richard D. Garrity, Florida Department of Environmental Regulation, 2 March 1990, DESO Files.
454. DER Intent to Issue Document, n.d. [after 7 March 1990], DESO Files.
455. Hearing Statement of Superintendent Hite before Manatee County Planning Commission, 4 April 1990, DESO Files.
456. Katherine Hutt, "Planners Reject Dock, Boathouse Near Monument," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, 5 April 1990, unpaged clipping, DESO Files.
457. Hite Testimony before Manatee County Commission, 26 April 1990, DESO Files.
458. Manatee County Board of Commissioners Special Permit No. SP-90-06, 22 May 1990, DESO Files.
459. A current aerial photograph may be seen on the Manatee County Tax Appraiser's web site at http://www.manateepao.com, account no. 7309601404 (accessed 9 April 2007).
460. Debora Kohne, DER, to John W. Rynerson, 18 December 1990, DESO Files.
461. Bruce A. Malson, Corps of Engineers, Memorandum of Record, 26 December 1990, DESO Files.
462. DER to John W. Rynerson, Undated fragment of document, DER File No. 411894983, DESO Files.
463. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1990, RG 79, Entry 7g, Box 18, NARA II.

replied that since several private docks already existed in the vicinity, it would not comply with the NPS request.[464]

The case dragged on, and toward the end of June Superintendent Hite wrote to the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Florida Department of Environmental Regulation, arguing that the proposed dock would "seriously degrade the historic scene" for visitors, and suggesting that recent court cases gave weight to such considerations. "The tens of thousands of visitors coming to the Memorial should not have to sacrifice their enjoyment of the Historic Scene," Hite argued, "simply because one family wants a dock!!" Hite also pointed out that, paradoxically, Rynerson himself had some years before attended a public hearing to protest the building of a dock on a nearby lot. Nothwithstanding these arguments, DER issued a construction permit on June 21, 1991.[465]

The case dragged on for months, both in the court and in the media. *Tampa Tribune* reporter Rick Barry wrote a long article in late October, narrating the drama and what seemed to him to be its contradictions:

Rynerson wanted to build such a long dock, Barry pointed out, partly in order "to meet state guidelines for spanning sea grass beds," but also to provide access at low tide for a boat "a bit larger than your average Boston Whaler." Lawyers for both sides wrangled, as Barry understood the story, as Rynerson pressed to build his dock and environmental groups, the Memorial, and the National Park Service opposed it.

Key to the argument was what Barry called the Great Viewshed Debate, involving "esoteric questions of ambience, historical correctness, moods and feelings." Like most people, Barry said, Rynerson had "never heard of a 'view shed.'" "I should be able to go down and get a permit and build my dock," he said. "It isn't hurting anything. But when everybody and his mother comes out and says you're in their 'view-shed,' it gets ridiculous." The whole legal wrangle, Rynerson complained, was so costly that "At some point in this thing I many not be able to afford the boat."

Barry pointed out that even DER's regional director, Rick Garrity, said he understood Rynerson's frustration. "We tell him he has to build a really long . . . expensive dock to protect the sea grasses. Then someone comes back and says it's so long it intrudes on their view.''[466]

After a final hearing in April 1992, Florida's Division of Administrative Hearings issued a Joint Settlement Agreement, which required Rynerson to pay the Memorial $250 to screen the dock from the Memorial, and to insert restrictions in the deed against building any structure on the dock's terminal platform. The National Park Service was required to dismiss its objections to the dock.[467]

Nearly a decade after the Rynerson dock controversy was finally settled, the Memorial was finally able to stop the construction of a dock proposed by Riverview Landings resident Michael Conway.[468] Conway's application for a 400-foot dock (apparently filed in mid-2000) was complicated by the fact that he lived on lot 33, immediately west of the Memorial, where any dock constructed would have maximum impact on the park's viewshed.[469]

Proximity nothwithstanding, Conway received a permit for construction (SAJ20), subject to obtaining a required permit of exemption from the Department of Environmental Protection.[470] Memorial Superintendent Carol Clark objected almost immediately, pointing out that a boat dock and lift recently constructed on lot 29 (the Rynerson dock) impacted the historic view area of the park "worse than imagined."[471]

Clark's departure in mid-2001 left the Conway dock threat to her successor Charlie Fenwick. In a letter

464. W. Thomas Brown to Bruce A. Malson, 13 February 1991; and Malson to Brown, 14 March 1991, both in DESO Files.
465. Richard F. Hite to Richard D. Garrity, DER, 28 June 1991, DESO Files; Joint Settlement Agreement, n.d., DESO Files.
466. Rich Barry, "Trees, Grass and Guarding the 'View-Shed,'" *Tampa Tribune*, 24 October 1991, p. 1
467. Joint Settlement Agreement, n.d., DOAH Nos. 91-005103 and 91-1447, DESO Files;
468. Conway lived at 2411 Landings Circle. He filed an application for construction in mid-2000. Ronald M. Silver to Michael Conway, 5 April 2001, DESO Files.
469. See aerial photo with superimposed map at Manatee County Property Appraiser, http://www.manateepao.com (accessed 24 June 2007).
470. Ronald H. Silver to Michael Conway, 5 April 2001, DESO Files.
471. Carol Clark, Statement in Objection to Conway Dock, n.d. [ca. May 2000], DESO Files.

of official protest to the Florida Department of Environmental Protection (DEP) shortly after he arrived, Fenwick argued that the proposed dock was contrary to the public interest partly because it would adversely affect "significant historical and archeological resources" under Title XVIII, Section 267.061 (1) (a) of Florida law, which aimed to protect "the rich and unique heritage of historic properties" in the state. It would also, he argued, significantly impact listed archeological resources (8Ma28, an extension of 8Ma7, which lay on Memorial grounds). Fenwick added that the fact that docks had already been built on lots to the west of Conway's "is to the shame of us all."[472]

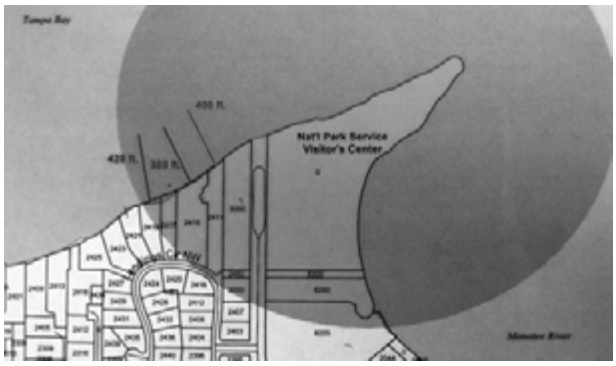


FIGURE 79. Location of Conway dock (and others built previously) within Historic Vista Protection Area of De Soto National Memorial (DESO Files)

A few weeks later, Fenwick elaborated his objections in a letter to DEP, detailing the relationship between the area to be impacted by the dock and the recently designated Shaw's Point Archeological District.[473] Although the Conway dock site lay outside the Memorial's boundary, Fenwick pointed out that archeological site 8Ma28 might prove to stretch over the entire waterfront side of Conway's lot, and that it likely contained human remains protected by both state and Federal legislation.[474]

Toward the end of August 2001, DEP notified Conway that construction of the dock was not authorized and could not be commenced because of "potential impacts to historic properties" and his failure to secure all the necessary permits.[475] Conway's environmental consultant replied with a modified proposal (a slightly shorter dock and a protective berm to help stabilize the shoreline).[476]

Months passed with repeated meetings and the shuffling of various proposals and counter-proposals back and forth among the parties.[477] In mid-June 2002, Conway filed an (amended, apparently) Joint Environmental Resource Permit application with DEP for a 340-foot, 2,893 square foot dock for three boats with a nearly 900 square foot terminal platform.[478] This time Conway agreed to take significant mitigation measures (primarily shoreline plantings) and to establish a "perpetual maintenance" fund with the National Parks Foundation. Judging this to be "a fair and equitable solution," Fenwick withdrew his objection to the dock.[479]

But archeologist Bill Burger, a member of the county's Historic Preservation Board, doubted that the proposed mitigation would be durable or effective.[480] The issue dragged on for nearly another year before the Board, on a 3-2 vote, turned down Conway's request—despite its having been approved by both DEP and the Corps of Engineers.[481]

472. Charles E. Fenwick to Wayne Richardson, DEP, 22 June 2001, DESO Files. Fenwick also cited Section 720 of the Manatee County Land Development Code (which included a provision for protecting and perpetuating "certain vistas") as a basis for his objection. Terry Cartwright to Charles E. Fenwick, 28 August 2002, DESO Files. The codes 8Ma28 and 8Ma7 are official state of Florida designation for listed archeological sites.
473. Shaw's Point was placed in the National Register of Historic Places on 6 April 2001. Janet Snyder Matthews, State Historic Preservation Officer, to Charles E. Fenwick, 12 September 2001, DESO Files.
474. Charles E. Fenwick to George Molinaro, DEP, 16 July 2001, DESO Files.
475. Ronald E. Silver, DEP, to Michael Conway, 29 August 2001, DESO Files.
476. Melissa Reiter, PBS&J Company, to Charles E. Fenwick, 14 September 2001, DESO Files.
477. Two examples are consultants Stephen W. Thompson to Charles E. Fenwick, 11 April 2002; and Amy B. Krebs, PBS&J Co., to Charles E. Fenwick, 5 June 2002, both in DESO Files.
478. Application No. 41-0181207-002, DESO Files.
479. Charles E. Fenwick to Terry Cartwright, DEP, 26 August 2002; Cartwright to Fenwick, 28 August 2002, both in DESO Files.
480. Scott Carroll, "Dock Would Disrupt Park's Vista," *Manatee Herald Tribune*, 3 May 2003.
481. Scott Carroll, "County Denies Request for Dock," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 17 June 2003, pp. 1B, 3B. In response to the denial, Conway sued the county and the Historical Preservation Board. Scott Carroll, "Man Files Lawsuit against County Over Boat Dock," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 22 July 2003, p. 3B. Documents relating to the suit are listed at Manatee County Florida Clerk of the Circuit Court, Court House Information Processing System, http://www.manateeclerk.com/mpa/cvweb2.asp?ucase_id=23952029 (accessed 24 June 2007).

Chapter 7
Cultural Resource Management and Preservation

Despite the words carved in granite on the Colonial Dames monument on Shaw's Point, informing the public that in 1539 Hernando De Soto landed "near here," an unavoidable paradox underlies De Soto National Memorial's sixty years of effort to preserve and manage the site's cultural resources.

Consider three related facts: (1) Archeological resources on the Gulf coast (as in all of Florida) are abundant for the period *prior to* the De Soto landing, and systematic study of them continually yields new insights. (2) For virtually every decade of the now nearly half a millenium *after* the landing, cultural artifacts and data, as well as documentary sources, are also abundant, and are repaying the intense study being devoted to them.

However (we come now to the third paradoxical fact), outside the Governor Martin site in Tallahassee, not one shred of tangible and verifiable evidence that De Soto ever set foot on any particular spot of ground in Florida, much less on boggy Shaw's Point, has yet come to light.[482] Hence at De Soto National Memorial the National Park Service has the perennially challenging task of preserving and managing cultural resources at a site which has yielded not a single artifact traceable to the presence of the historical personage whose epochal expedition it was created to memorialize.

To its credit, the Park Service has been careful to distinguish between a "site specific" memorial and a broader commemoration of the (fortunately unarguable) fact of De Soto's 1539-1543 expedition, beginning somewhere on the Gulf coast of Florida and passing—by some as yet imprecisely known route or other—through the southeastern quarter of the future United States.

What this means is that what the superintendent of the Memorial has to preserve and manage is an array of sites and artifacts of the pre-contact inhabitants of the local area that complex historical processes have left upon and underneath its small plot of land, along with a collection of De Soto-related objects (some authentic, some reproductions) assembled over the years for interpretive purposes, and a single now almost completely decayed ruin of a nineteenth century tabby house. Moreover, in conserving these sites and artifacts, he or she has to contend with the destructive effects of winds, tides, and hurricanes, in addition to (as recently as 1997) casual pot hunters and not so casual looters. For a small staff with a modest budget, in charge of such a small area, it is a daunting task indeed.

From records that are unfortunately somewhat spotty and fragmentary, this chapter synthesizes the results of a number of efforts that have thus far been made to inventory and analyze the Memorial's cultural resources, and to prepare to interpret them to the public.[483]

Fortunately, we are able to draw upon archeologist Margo Schwadron's *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial* (2002)—the only thorough and professional study focusing specifi-

482. The historical figure of De Soto and the history and historiography of his expedition are treated at greater length in Chapter 3 above. Relevant bibliographical sources are included there. Despite the uncertainty of a verifiable link to De Soto, the Memorial has been added to the National Register of Historic Places (site 66000078), as all such NPS units routinely are.

483. The interpretive efforts themselves are reserved for the following chapter.

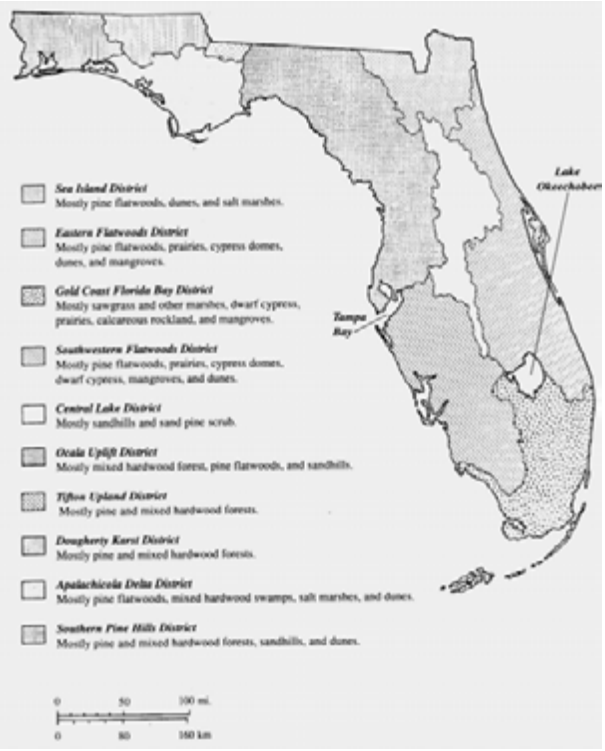


FIGURE 80. Physiographic map of Florida. De Soto National Memorial lies in the Southwestern Flatwoods District on the south shore of Tampa Bay. (Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 19)

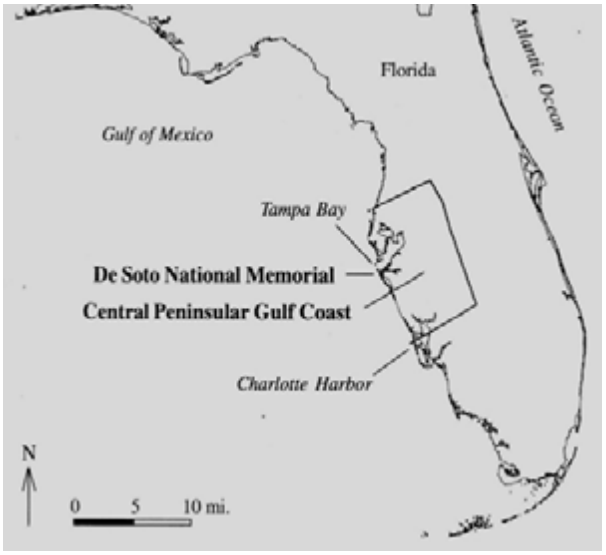


FIGURE 81. Central Peninsular Gulf Coast Region (Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, p. 34)

cally upon the Memorial's history and functioning to appear since its founding six decades ago.[484] We begin with the Shaw's Point site itself. What strata of history (and pre-history) lie there? What sort of cultural resource is the site? What is there that must (under the terms of the establishing legislation and current policy) be managed and preserved?

The Memorial and the Larger Florida Pre-contact Cultural System

The Memorial lies on the south shore of Tampa Bay, within what has come to be called the Central Peninsular Gulf Coast historical cultural region and the Southwestern Flatwoods physiographic district. Although after nearly five hundred years of intensive study it is still not entirely clear (as explained in Chapter 3 above) where Hernando De Soto landed in 1539, this region is the setting of the national memorial established to commemorate his expedition. Its prehistory is critical to an understanding of the conservation / preservation / interpretation task assigned to the Memorial.

Following John Goggin's initial attempt in 1948 to define Florida's prehistoric cultural areas, archeologists have repeatedly refined and adjusted the boundaries of those areas for the Gulf coast. According to the most recent boundaries, De Soto National Memorial lies within the Central Peninsular Gulf Coast area, which runs from Pasco County on the northern end to Charlotte Harbor in the south.

The earliest known Paleoindian sites in the southeastern United States date from about 9500 B.C. Fewer than one hundred of them lie in Florida. Paleoindian culture was marked by hunting, seasonal migration, and temporary settlements. One Early Paleoindian (9500-9000 B.C.) site has been found near Sarasota (Little Salt Springs; 8So18), and a middle period (9000-8500 B.C.) site lies near Tampa (Harney Flats; 8Hi507), but none has been found on the grounds of the Memorial.[485]

484. Margo Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, Technical Reports No. 8 (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, NPS, 2002), 33-53. Much of our actual language here is taken (without the intrusiveness of repeated quotation marks) from Schwadron's skillful synthesis of the most recent and reliable archeological scholarship, as well as her own field investigations.
485. Schwadron, 33-34.

Recovered Archaic period (Early, 8000-5000 B.C.; Middle, 5000-3000 B.C.; Late, 3000-500 B.C.) cultural artifacts include stone, bone, and shell tools of many types, as well as worked wood, baskets, cloth, beads, canoes and (after about 2000 B.C.) pottery. Archaic period Indians built mounds and earthworks, organized themselves into large settlements, and conducted long-distance trade. Shell, bone, and stone was cut and polished for functional and decorative purposes, and more elaborate burial practices developed.

The Archaic period witnessed substantial environmental changes that impacted cultural forms and practices. Early Archaic peoples experienced Pleistocene animal extinctions, changes in vegetation, a warming climate, and rises in sea levels. In the Middle Archaic, sea (and groundwater) levels fell again and the climate became drier. Hot, dry weather like that of the modern era peaked in the Late Archaic.



FIGURE 82. Manasota cultural area (Schwadron [after Milanich], *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 39).

Late Archaic culture developed in a regionalized fashion as people adapted lifeways to regional environmental conditions. Archaic period artifacts have been recovered from village sites, quarries, caves, cemeteries, and middens (refuse heaps). Those sites include Little Salt Springs and Harney Flats. Late Archaic sites occur at various points surrounding the Memorial. The Horr's Island site from 3000 B.C. (8Cr37-42), south of Tampa Bay is, says Schwadron, "the largest permanently occupied Late Archaic coastal village site known," and another is located near Shaw's Point on Perico Island (8Ma6). But again, De Soto National Memorial has no Archaic period site or artifacts.[486]

Compared to the 9000 years of the Paleoindian period, the Woodland period was short. It covered only about the 1400 years from the waning of the Paleoindian to the opening of the Mississippian (A.D. 900)—the cultural system into which De Soto and his men marched. The Woodland period is generally discussed in terms of three successive cultural systems: the Archaic-Woodland transition (500 B.C.-A.D. 200), Deptford culture (500 B.C.-A.D.200), the post-Deptford Weeden Island cultures, and the Manasota and Central Peninsular Gulf Coast cultures (500 B.C.-A.D. 900)

Between about 500 B.C. and A.D. 200, the so-called Archaic-Woodland transition, previously local or small-regional cultural traits and practices (especially pottery-making and –decorating techniques) spread over larger areas. On the Gulf coast, Deptford coastal dwellers produced pottery stamped or marked with cords or fabric, participated in extensive trade networks, and elaborate ceremonial practices expressive of complex religious beliefs.[487]

The Weeden Island cultures are named for the area investigated (at the urging of its owner, Tampa physician Dr. Leslie Weedon) by the Smithsonian's J. W. Fewkes in the 1920s, and proposed by a St. Petersburg group led by *St. Petersburg Times* editor W. L. Straub as the site for a national monument to Hernando De Soto (see Chapter 1). The Weeden Island cultural area includes Sarasota and Manatee Counties.[488] Weeden Island cultures appeared between A.D. 300 and 600, and were marked by new pottery designs and the use of a small triangular projectile point. Characteristic burial practices

486. Schwadron, 35-37.
487. Schwadron, 38.
488. It is apparently the practice among archeologists to spell the name of the island as *Weedon* and the name of the culture as *Weeden*.

included placing grave goods (including human and animal effigies) in dome-shaped burial mounds built over log-lined burial pits. Hunting, fishing and gathering in the coastal, wetlands, and uplands provided subsistence (Schwadron 38-39).

The version of Weeden Island culture most pertinent to De Soto National Memorial is called Manasota (for *Mana*tee and Sara*sota* counties). It extends from north of Tampa Bay almost to Charlotte Harbor in the south, and to near the middle of the state. Archeologists distinguish between early (500 B.C. to A.D. 400) and late (A.D. 400 to 800) Manasota culture, which can be bracketed off from the earlier Archaic and the later Safety Harbor cultures in the Central Peninsular Gulf Coast region by a combination of ceramic and non-ceramic traits.[489] Manasota peoples used bone, shell, and coral tools extensively, and crafted some as well from sharks' teeth, stingray spines, and the bones of large fish such as the now extinct dugong (sea cow). Fishing was their most important subsistence activity, and they buried their dead in shell middens and (later) sand burial mounds.

Manasota sites proliferated adjacent to the region's narrow bays, and to Tampa Bay, which provided easy access to fish and shellfish. Some sites stretched inland into the pine flatwoods. The Manasota coastal areas are marked by numerous shell middens, villages, and burial sites. Those lying closest to De Soto National Memorial are Old Oak (8So51) and Roberts Bay (8So56), both near Sarasota (Schwadron 40-41).

Hernando De Soto and his army came ashore during the Mississippian period, which emerged around A.D. 900. Since De Soto's expedition had such a disastrous effect upon native peoples, this period witnessed the end of southeastern Native American cultural systems whose antecedent forms stretched back more than ten thousand years.

Schwadron characterizes the Mississippian era as "a period of monumental changes in material culture, sociopolitical organization, and religious practices." Those changes included, "the development of settlement systems dominated by platform mound centers." "The use of ritual paraphernalia and religious symbols," she adds, "became widespread." There were two primary subsistence patterns, one along the coast and another reaching inland along the rivers (Schwadron 41).

The Mississippian cultural complex most important for De Soto National Memorial is the Safety Harbor culture (A.D. 900-1500), which developed out of late Weeden Island culture. Safety Harbor culture passed through four phases and developed into four regional variants. Two of the phases predated De Soto's arrival: Englewood (A.D. 900-1100) and Pinellas (A.D. 1100-1500).

The Circum Tampa Bay variant, considered the cultural heartland, includes northern Manatee County and Shaw's Point, where investigations were carried out as early as 1859.[490] The South-Central Safety Harbor region includes southern Manatee County as well. The cultural forms and practices predominant within Safety Harbor culture were those of the Tocobaga Indians (possibly a generic name for most or all of these groups), first encountered by Páfilo Narváez a decade before De Soto's arrival. Within a century, they were extinct (Schwadron 42, 49).

Archeologists have determined that a Safety Harbor town plan characteristically consisted of truncated pyramidal mounds adjacent to plazas, surrounded by village middens and burial mounds. Schwadron says a typical town had:

> A single large flat-topped temple mound, which was periodically rebuilt. The mound served as a base of a wooden and thatched structure, probably the chief's residence. A ramp extended down from the mound to the plaza, which was situated between the mound and the villagers' residences . . . . The village living area appeared to be a linear shell midden paralleling the Gulf or Tampa Bay (Schwadron 42).

Characteristic cultural practices and forms among the Safety Harbor Tocobagas included decorated ceremonial and (mostly) undecorated utilitarian ceramic ware, the Pinellas projectile point, shell tools, stone and shell decorative objects, wooden

489. For a detailed discussion of these traits, see Schwadron, 40-41.

490. Daniel G. Brinton, *Notes on the Florida Peninsula, Its Literary History, Indian Tribes and Antiquities* (Philadelphia: Joseph Sabin, 1859); Jeffries Wyman, *Peabody Museum Third Annual Report* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum of archeology and Ethnology, 1870); and S. T. Walker, "Report of the Shell Heaps of Tampa Bay, Florida," *Smithsonian Institution Annual Report, 1879*, 413-422. All cited in Schwadron, 42, 52.

and bark objects, and textiles, though the later are rarely recovered because of adverse local environmental conditions. The Tocobagas buried their dead (as skeletons from which most or all of the flesh had been removed) in charnel houses (Schwadron 42-44).

Safety Harbor sites are the first from which European artifacts of the contact period have been recovered. The Tatham Mound (8Ci203) in Citrus County (north of Tampa) has yielded numerous artifacts possibly connected with De Soto, and extensive recoveries have been made at the Philip Mound site in eastern Polk County, northeast of Manatee (Schwadron 44).

Which Indian group(s) were present in the immediate area around Shaw's Point is uncertain. Ethnohistorical accounts from the contact period and later refer to such groups as the Calusa, Timucua, Mocoço (or Mocoso or Mucoço), and Uçita (or Ucita, Uzita, or Ocita), but such names are not associated in any clear way with groups whose presence is verifiable through archeological data. Compounding the difficulty is the fact that these groups overlapped spatially. The Calusa were centered in the Caloosahatchee River area to the south of Tampa Bay, but how far north their territory reached is unclear. The Timucua area reached from northeastern Florida to the vicinity of Tampa Bay, and perhaps as far south as the Little Manatee River or Sarasota Bay. Schwadron concludes that the people of the Shaw's Point site were a smaller, unrecognized group or subgroup of either the Calusa or the Timucua (Schwadron 45). The main town of the Tocobagas was located on Old Tampa Bay in Pinellas County.[491]

Much discussion of the De Soto landing since the Swanton report of 1939 has focused around the Uçita, whose main town lay on Terra Ceia Island, about a dozen miles northeast of the Memorial. The Uçita were affiliated with the Timucua, a dialect of whose language they apparently spoke. Their territory reached from the mouth of the Little Manatee southward to Sarasota Bay, and included archeological sites quite close to Shaw's Point: Snead Island (across the river from the Memorial), Pillsbury Mound (8Ma31; a few hundred yards to the west), Bickel Mound (a few miles north), Thomas Mound (8Hi1), the Parrish Mounds (8Ma15) and Whitaker Mound (So-4; near Sarasota) (Schwadron 45-46, 49-50).[492] A description of the town by a member of the De Soto expedition (the Gentleman of Elvas) is arresting:

> The town was of seven or eight houses, built of timber, and covered with palm-leaves. The Chief's house stood near the beach, upon a very high mount made by hand for defence; at the other end of the town was a temple, on the top of which perched a wooden fowl with gilded eyes.[493]

Thus the accumulated archeological evidence, despite the many remaining questions, yields a reasonably full account of the history of Shaw's Point during the pre-contact period. But the history of the four-and-a-half-century period thereafter—until the founding of the Memorial in 1948—is much fuller yet. Until 1821 it was a part of Spanish Florida. For nearly twenty-five years thereafter—until Florida became a U.S. state in 1845—it was a U. S. territory under a shifting set of agreements and conditions that made it, as historian Charleton Trebeau puts it, "a refuge for runaway slaves, renegade whites and Indians, and foreign adventurers and pirates."[494] A brief account of the history of the post-contact period helps one to understand how a small spit of land at the confluence of the Manatee River and Tampa Bay became the historically particular Shaw's Point upon which De Soto National Memorial was established.

The Struggle for Florida: Post-contact to 1821

Juan Ponce de León landed on the east coast of Florida in 1513 and on the southwest coast in that

491. See John W. Griffin and Ripley P. Bullen, *The Safety Harbor Site, Pinellas County, Florida* (Florida Anthropological Society Publications No. 2, 1950).

492. On Whitaker Mound, see Jerald T. Milanich, "Excavations at the Yellow Bluffs-Whitaker Mound, Sarasota, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 25 (March 1972): 21. The Bickel Mound was the first in Florida to be designated a State Archeological Site. See Florida Online Park Guide, http://www.floridastateparks.org/madirabickelmound/default.cfm (accessed 27 April 2007).

493. Quoted in Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 75.

494. Charleton W. Trebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971), 115.

year and again in 1521, making contact with the Calusa Indians of the Charlotte Harbor area.[495] Several other Spanish explorers followed him during the next four years. A more substantial incursion was that of Pánfilo Narváez in 1528. He and his four hundred soldiers marched up the Gulf coast from near Tampa Bay, encountering hostile Indians who forced them to turn back.

Hernando De Soto's landing force of May 1539 was nearly twice as large as that of Narváez eleven years earlier—some 600 men and more than 200 horses. Exactly where the landing occurred is still the subject of lively debate, though it is clear that the force camped for six weeks at Uçita, whose location may correspond with the Thomas Mound site (8Hi1) (Schwadron 50). The only Florida site so far to yield artifacts unarguably from the De Soto expedition is the Governor Martin site (8Le853) in Tallahassee, where De Soto and most of his men spent the winter of 1939-40. It yielded a plethora of artifacts—chain mail links, coins and nails, beads and other objects. The discovery of a shattered pig jaw links the site to De Soto rather than Narváez (who passed through the same area) because De Soto was the first European to introduce pigs into the New World (Schwadron 49).[496] Another site that has yielded Spanish artifacts from the De Soto period is the Tatham Mound (8Ci203) near the Withlacoochee River in Citrus County.[497]

Interest in settling Florida waned for more than fifteen years after the failure of De Soto's expedition, but rose again when the bishop of Cuba urged settlement, and there was a threat that another European power might try to challenge Spain's presence on the peninsula.[498]

In 1557 a royal decree authorized the settlement of the area around the Gulf coast bay of Ochuse (Pensacola) and Santa Elena (Port Royal) on the Atlantic coast. A sizeable expeditionary force landed at the Bay of Ochuse in August 1558, but these and subsequent efforts to plant Spanish settlements failed.

The rise of both English and French power (and their consequent growth of confidence vis-à-vis Spain) changed the dynamics of settlement efforts in Florida. The French established Fort Caroline near the mouth of the St. Johns River in 1564. That effort energized the Spanish king Philip II anew, and he became determined not to abandon Spain's efforts to establish a permanent presence in Florida. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, chosen to head the effort, sailed from Spain in June 1565. He chose Fort Caroline as the initial focus of his thrust, took it by late September, and renamed it San Mateo. That done, he hastened back to St. Augustine, which was also threatened by a hostile group of Frenchmen. He forthwith slew them all except a few Catholics, drummer boys, and other (presumably noncombatant) musicians.[499]

Menéndez hoped to establish seven Spanish settlements on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts of Florida, but those efforts came to little beyond the settlement at St. Augustine—itself sacked and burned by troops under Sir Francis Drake in 1585. Menéndez had died in 1574, and until the end of the century Jesuits and Franciscans endeavored (without much success) to establish Spanish missions.[500] Nevertheless, Florida was to remain a Spanish colony for 236 years (165-1821) except for a brief period (1763-1783) when it was controlled by the British.

During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Spanish endeavored to Christianize the Indians in Florida, establishing an array of Jesuit and Franciscan missions. By the late seventeenth century, several dozen missions stretched in a line from the

495. This section also draws heavily from Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 47-53.
496. On the plague that wild pigs shortly became, see Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, rev.ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 173 ff. More detailed discussion of the De Soto expedition and associated historiography is available in Chapter 3 above.
497. The Florida Museum of Natural History says that "The site was . . . in use at the time of the De Soto *entrada* as evidenced by numerous Spanish artifacts dating to to mid-1500s. The collections include Safety Harbor ceramic vessels, Pinellas points and other lithic tools, and many shell artifacts: gorget, celt, dippers, and beads. Spanish artifacts include: metal beads and pendants, Nueva Cadiz and other glass beads, and metal artifacts including chisels, spikes, and armor fragments" http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/flarch/collections.htm (accessed June 27, 2007).
498. This brief account of the post-conquest period in Florida is drawn primarily from Charleton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971).
499. Tebeau, *A History of Florida*, 32-38.
500. Tebeau, *A History of Florida*, 43-56.

South Carolina coast across northern Florida to the Apalachicola River.[501]

The missionary endeavor became increasingly entangled with the conflict among Britain, France and Spain for control of the southeastern region. That larger conflict was much in evidence in Florida. By 1763, the Spanish controlled only the narrow settled strip at St. Augustine, a small garrison at Saint Marks, and a small village of 100 huts and fort at Pensacola. Forced to admit that it was a pathetic base from which to oppose new British ambition in the area, the Spanish departed, and the British created East (the main peninsula) and West (the panhandle) Florida, which they governed for twenty years. A hundred or so East Florida plantations produced rice, indigo, and sugar with slave and indentured labor. Continually under pressure from the Spanish in Louisiana, West Florida did not experience similar development. By late 1785, the British had evacuated the area.[502]

At the conclusion of the American Revolution, the 1783 Treaty of Paris returned Florida to Spain for nearly forty years (1784-1821), but the occupation was, as Trebeau points out, "only nominally Spanish." In effect, the whole of Florida was up for grabs, and the grabbers included, Tebeau says, "land-hungry citizens of the United States . . . unruly Indians, runaway slaves . . . renegade whites . . . professional revolutionaries and freebooters." St. Augustine was in a serious state of disrepair. The Georgia-Florida border was a lawless frontier. The social, economic, and political situations were kept unstable by an array of policy disagreements and open conflicts over the Indian trade, the status and treatment of blacks (both slave and free), and incursions by growing numbers of adventurers and settlers.[503]

The 1795 Treaty of Ildefonso marked the beginning of the withdrawal of the Spanish, and popular pressure rose thereafter for the United States to acquire the Floridas. In 1811 Congress authorized the president to occupy the area, either peaceably or forcefully. As it turned out, both modes proved repeatedly necessary over the next decade until a treaty transferred the Floridas to U.S. control in 1821.[504]

Developments in the immediate area of the Manatee River and Shaw's Point during this long period are not well documented. The pilot of a Spanish ship out of Havana charted Tampa Bay in the 1750s, and twenty years later Dutch engineer and cartographer Bernard Romans visited the Manatee River area. Beginning in the 1740s, Spanish fisherman from Cuba established seasonal fishing settlements (ranchos) on the Gulf coast. By the 1770s, thirty ships were fishing off the coast, and in the early 1780s permanent ranchos were built. A major one named Angulo was at Shaw's Point (or possibly across the river on Snead Island).[505]

Shaw's Point in the Modern Period: 1821-1948

Before the Civil War, Florida development followed the dominant paradigm of the southeast: Indian removal and the emergence of plantations, and the establishment of large ports and towns.[506] Development was disturbed in the 1830s by the Second Seminole War and the Panic of 1837, but already New England fishermen had discovered the possibilities of the Gulf coast. By 1830 a Connecticut company was shipping fish from the Manatee River to Boston, and in 1834 Maryland seaman Captain William Bunce bought the Angulo rancho, but local political conflict induced him to move his operation to Passage Key two years later.

For several months in late 1840-early 1841, the U. S. Army operated a post at the mouth of the Manatee. By 1842 settlers were moving into the area south of Tampa Bay, drawn by the availability of free land under the Federal Armed Occupation Act of that year. Under that Act, Col. Samuel Reid soon established the Colony of Manatee. An early Virginia-born settler from Key West who filed for a homestead under the Act was William H. Shaw, who took

501. Ibid., 43-56.
502. Ibid., 72-87.
503. Ibid., 89-98.
504. Ibid., 103-115.
505. Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 50-51.
506. Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 51. The brief précis that follows is drawn mainly from Schwadron.

up 165 acres at the mouth of the Manatee which included land later known as Shaw's Point. Violent Indian uprisings in the mid-1850s caused him to move back to Key West. The deep cove adjacent to Shaw's Point was used for about a half-century thereafter to load cattle for shipment to Cuba.

The Civil War brought some military activity to Shaw's Point A tabby house structure on the site was apparently used by local people guarding against a possible attack by Federal ships moving into the Manatee. A very large prehistoric shell mound nearby provided a useful vantage point. The Union Army established a base on Egmont Key, and the Confederate Florida Volunteer Coast Guard manned a station at Shaw's Point. Federal documents of the period report a temporary Confederate installation there consisting of barracks and a wheeled artillery piece mounted on the shell mound. Several Confederate units were stationed at Shaw's Point between September 1861 and June 1862.

Little information remains on the history of Shaw's Point between the end of the Civil War and about 1910, when the shell mounds—like a vast number of others elsewhere in Florida—began to be mined and hauled away for road construction.[507] In the 1920s, the Point's owner, real estate entrepreneur Ed Ballard, dredged a canal from the north beach to the cove in order to make an island of the Point, which he hoped to develop into a resort. The plan was never realized, but Ballard's operations drew the concern of Bradenton resident Charles T. Earle, who brought the historical and archeological threat to the attention of Smithsonian anthropologist J. Walter Fewkes.[508] A little more than a decade later, shortly before the four hundredth anniversary of the De Soto expedition, the United States De Soto Expedition was established, which in turn led to the designation of Shaw's Point as the probable site of the De Soto landing.

The Work of Cultural Investigation, Management and Preservation at Shaw's Point

Beginning nearly a hundred years before the Memorial was established, several investigators briefly explored archeological remains at Shaw's Point.[509] In 1866, Daniel G. Brinton published some results of his investigations (reaching back to 1859) in the Smithsonian Institution's annual report, calling the shell mounds "ancient graves." A few years later, the Peabody Museum of archeology and Anthropology's first curator Jeffries Wyman collected some pot sherds on Shaw's Point while on a trip mainly focused on the Atlantic coast. At the end of the 1870s, Sylvanus T. Walker (apparently the first to use the name Shaw's Point) visited the site and entered a description into the 1880 Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian. Walker described shell mounds fifteen to twenty feet high and nearly 600 feet long, and provided much more detail (including drawings) than any available previously, but he did not excavate or collect artifacts.

Unfortunately, the most intense and sustained attention the Shaw's Point mounds received prior to the opening of the Memorial occurred in the first decade of the twentieth century, when the county mined them for shell to use for road construction. A decade or so later, Charles T. Earle worked with the Bureau of American Ethnology chief J. W. Fewkes, endeavoring to interest the Bureau in saving the remaining artifacts from further depredations.[510] Concurrently with Earle, local amateur archeologist Montague Tallant visited and collected from more than ninety mound sites throughout Manatee County, including some around Shaw's Point.[511] Tallant's field notes refer to a five to six-acre shell midden, five burial mounds, and a cemetery.

507. Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation*, 53.
508. Ibid. See Chapter 6 above for discussion of this episode. Schwadron's investigations of the spoil banks remaining from dredging the canal are discussed briefly below.
509. This discussion presents a brief précis of Schwadron's much fuller account in *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 54-61.
510. See also Chapter 6 above.
511. Many artifacts collected by Tallant formed part of the early collection of the South Florida Museum. His wife later donated others to the National Museum of the American Indian. See Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 61.

Also in the 1930s, the New Deal's Federal Emergency Relief Administration conducted archeological investigations in Florida, as it did in many other places. Field supervisor Marshall T. Newman conducted a "hurried survey" of more than fifty Manatee County sites, including Shaw's Point and nearby Perico Island (site 8Ma6), sending some artifacts from both to the Smithsonian. The last investigator known to have worked at Shaw's Point prior to the establishment of the Memorial in 1948 was Yale-Florida Expedition Survey member John Goggin, who collected nearly two hundred pottery sherds from the Shaw's Point midden (8Ma7) in 1944.

The Memorial was thus established on a historically and archeologically important piece of ground, but one that unfortunately had long since been seriously compromised—both by the elements (as early as 1880, Sylvanus Walker had reported that wave action had cut into the large mound near the shore) and by trucking away the shell from middens and mounds to build roads.

With regard to the cultural importance and possibilities of Shaw's Point as a site for the Memorial, the first Park Service's initial investigator had a mixed reaction. Roy Appleman, who reconnoitered the site in early 1947 accompanied by Montague Tallant, was—despite the mining of the main mound nearly a half-century earlier—still able to observe some "low shell heaps" on the "swampy and wet" property, and pointed out that a half-mile to the west lay a burial mound (the Pillsbury mound, later designated 8Ma31) which he said the De Soto Commission's John Swanton thinks "is the most important Indian burial site in this part of Florida"— one that "might contain material relating to the De Soto expedition." Appleman also reported a very large mound across the river on Snead's Island, and another to the north on the Terra Ceia site, long thought to be the location of the Indian town of Ucita, where De Soto's army encamped for some weeks after they disembarked in Florida.[512]



FIGURE 83. Test excavation of tabby house ruin by Superintendent Lloyd Pierson, caretaker Marion Hughes, and laborer L. M. Powell, March 1964 (DESO Files)

Early work toward getting the Memorial established and operating prevented its tiny staff (a superintendent and a single helper, actually) from paying much attention to the prehistory of (and archeological remains upon) the site.[513] During those years, however, several investigators visited and collected on the Memorial property. In the early 1950s, amateur archeologist William Plowden collected about two dozen artifacts, which he forwarded to the Florida State Museum. About a decade later, he was followed by Ripley P. Bullen, who collected a few artifacts from the surface of one mound while conducting an excavation at the Pillsbury mound nearby.

In 1964, the Memorial's second Superintendent, archeologist Lloyd Pierson, undertook the first (and still the only, apparently) investigation by Memorial staff of historical remains on the property: a test excavation of the much deteriorated remains of a nineteenth-century tabby house located on the property.[514] Park Service Chief Historian Herbert Kahler, visiting the Memorial in early 1958, had urged that the ruin be identified.[515]

The sixteen foot-square ruin—made of what would then have been conventional tabby material (a mixture of lime, sand and shell poured into a

512. Roy E. Appleman, Report on Shaw's Point, Bradenton, Florida: Site of Proposed De Soto Memorial, 4 April 1947, pp. 3-12. Schwadron reports that Appleman was accompanied by Tallant. See Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 64.

513. Fifteen years passed before the Memorial itself was added to the National Register of Historic Places (Site #66000078; listed 1966). See National Register of Historic Places, http://www.nationalregisterofhistoricplaces.com/fl/Manatee/state.html (accessed 2 May 2006).

514. Superintendent's Monthly Report, March 1964, DESO Files.

515. Richard G. Hopper to Director, NPS, 27 March 1958, RG 79, Box 1496, NARA II.

wooden form)—was the subject of many local stories and legends. Pierson cleared the trees and vines that nearly covered it and dug two test pits, turning up mid-nineteenth century transfer-printed English ceramics, ironstone wares, porcelain, glass bottles, clay pipes, pearl buttons, nails and assorted bits of metal.[516]

The tabby ruin presented the Memorial with a dilemma: on the one hand it was the only historic structure on the park grounds, and normally that would have meant that it should have been preserved and interpreted (if indeed not reconstructed). On the other hand, there wasn't much left of it, and it dated from three hundred years after the De Soto landing, which was the Memorial's mandated period of focus.

Vincent Gannon, who succeeded Pierson as Superintendent, was unimpressed. He had located a photo of the structure as it stood in 1895, but conversations with members of the Hernando De Soto Historical Society indicated that it was "only an outbuilding of a principal wooden residence." That lessened even further, Gannon concluded, "its previously marginal value as an object of interpretation." In Gannon's view, it should therefore be removed from the Memorial's master plan "as a secondary interpretive resource."[517]

In any case, no substantial effort with regard to the ruin was undertaken. In mid-1972, NPS's Southeast Regional Director informed the NPS director that "Our judgment is that the De Soto ruin is not worthy of further National Park Service efforts."[518] Even as that judgment was rendered, however, Gannon's successor Dick Hite found himself dutifully clearing vegetation from the site.[519] Thirty years later, archeologist Margo Schwadron conducted a systematic archeological shovel test at the site, analyzing all recovered artifacts. She found essentially the same array of artifacts discovered by Pierson nearly forty years earlier—typical, she concluded, of "domestic occupation," but one probably predating William Shaw's residence there. Her testing also confirmed the presence of an intact Deptford period (500 B.C.-A.D. 200) midden on the site.[520]

Beginning in the mid-1970s, a number of investigators examined various aspects and sectors of the Memorial grounds from a cultural-historical perspective. The Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) archeologist George R. Fischer, while monitoring the digging of a trench for a new sewer line, noted a potentially revealing stratum of black dirt and shell he thought might mark the periphery of the main prehistoric mound. He also examined shell ridges in the mangrove swamp, which he thought might be dredge spoil piles rather than prehistoric features.

In 1977, Superintendent Hite submitted a proposal for an archeological examination of the main mound on the Memorial site, but movement toward making such an examination was slow. Five years passed before Southeast Archeological Center archeologist Ellen B. Ehrenhard urged the need for preparing the cultural resources management plan required by law.[521]

A series of SEAC archeologists conducted brief analyses in the 1980s and early 1990s. Dennis Finch came in 1981 after vandals had dug fourteen holes in the marker mound. Elizabeth Horvath followed him in 1989 during the construction of a boardwalk through the mangrove swamp, taking samples from over a hundred test holes, about a third of which yielded prehistoric artifacts. Ken Wild took eighteen shovel tests in 1990 at the site of a proposed new maintenance building, but discovered no artifacts.[522]

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516. Lloyd M. Pierson, "Tabby Ruin Test Excavation, De Soto National Memorial, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* XVIII (June 1965): 125-136.
517. Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1966, DESO Files. A more significant local tabby structure (not as fully deteriorated) was the 1850s-era Braden Plantation House, later known as Braden Castle, the remains of which are still evident at the center of Braden Castle Park in Bradenton.
518. Southeast Regional Director to Director, 24 July 1972, DESO Files.
519. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1972, NPS HFC.
520. Margo Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 105-112, presents a detailed account of her investigation and its results.
521. Ellen B. Ehrenhard, Archeololgical Data Section for a Preliminary Cultural Resource Management Plan [for] De Soto National Memorial (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, 1982), DESO Files.
522. Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation*, 62-63.

Thus sporadic work by numerous professional and avocational investigators reaching back a century and a half to those of Brinton in the 1850s had yielded considerable knowledge about archeological resources at the Memorial, but until the 1990s no thorough, comprehensive and systematic study of them had ever been undertaken. The work Hite had requested in 1977and Ehrenhard had called for in 1982 was finally undertaken in 1996.

The Schwadron Archeological Investigation, 1996-2002

Fortunately, in 1996 the Southeast Archeological Center's Regionwide Archeological Survey Program (RASP) sponsored an archeological overview and assessment. Margo Schwadron, then a graduate student in anthropology at Florida State University, prepared a research design and undertook a detailed investigation of the shell ridges on the site (8Ma7).[523] Schwadron's final report highlighted the lack of an adequate survey, and scanty information burdened by inconsistencies.[524]

A four-person RASP crew from SEAC conducted a three-week archeological investigation "to locate, identify, and evaluate archeological resources" at the Memorial. It was designed to "(1) examine a series of previously unrecorded linear shell ridges located within the park's mangrove swamp; (2) test and evaluate two possible shell mounds; (3) investigate the historic Tabby Ruins site; and (4) produce an archeological base map of the park."[525]

Schwadron's field investigations summarized previous archeological work done by others at sites in the vicinity of the park, and undertook new detailed analyses of those within the park boundaries.

Sites in the vicinity included the Hite Mound (8Ma29) and Tallant Mound/Village Area (8Ma310),

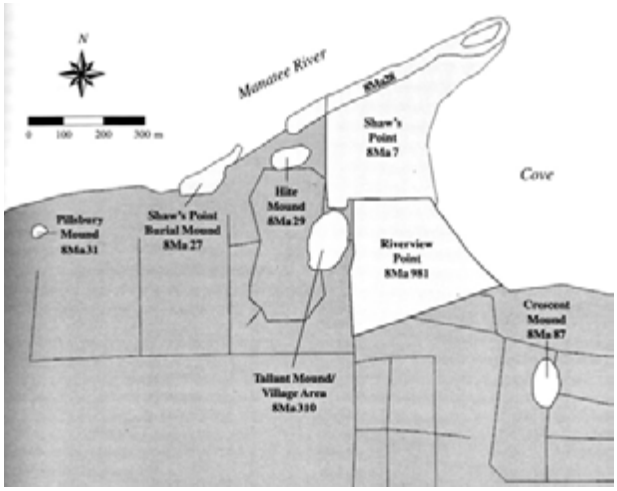


FIGURE 84. Archeological sites in the vicinity of De Soto National Memorial (Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 69)

immediately west of the park boundary; Shaw's Point Burial Mound (8Ma27), Frank Buskirk Parcel (no number) and Pillsbury Mound (8Ma31), slightly further to the west; Riverview Point Midden (8Ma981) to the south; and Palma Sola (8Ma9, 10, and 30) further to the southwest.

Sites Schwadron investigated within the park included Shaw's Point (8Ma7); the Marker Mound, where the Colonial Dames had installed the De Soto marker in 1939; the Remnant Mound, at the northwest corner of the property; a series of seven shell ridges running generally north-south through the center of the property; the Tabby Ruin; an unnamed site (8Ma28), and the De Soto National Memorial National Register Site (8Ma101); a newly discovered mound (named Egret) which lay a hundred meters or so southeast of the Marker Mound; and several shell middens. Limited shovel tests were also carried out in spoil banks remaining from the 1920s dredging operation Charles T. Earle was so concerned about in the 1920s (see discussion above in Chapter 6).

523. Margo Schwadron, *A Research Design for Archeological Investigations at De Soto National Memorial for the Regionwide Archeological Survey Program 1997* (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, 1996) and "An Archeological Investigation of Shell Ridges at Shaw's Point (8Ma7), De Soto National memorial, Bradenton, Florida" (M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, Florida State University, Tallahassee, 1997). The Director of RASP at the time was Guy Prentice. Other team members were Lou Groh and Eliza de Grummond.

524. Margo Schwadron, *De Soto National Memorial: Archeological Overview and Assessment* (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, 1998).

525. Margo Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 13. The balance of our discussion of Schwadron's work at the Memorial is taken from this source. The data, analysis, and conclusions are hers, and some of the language is as well.

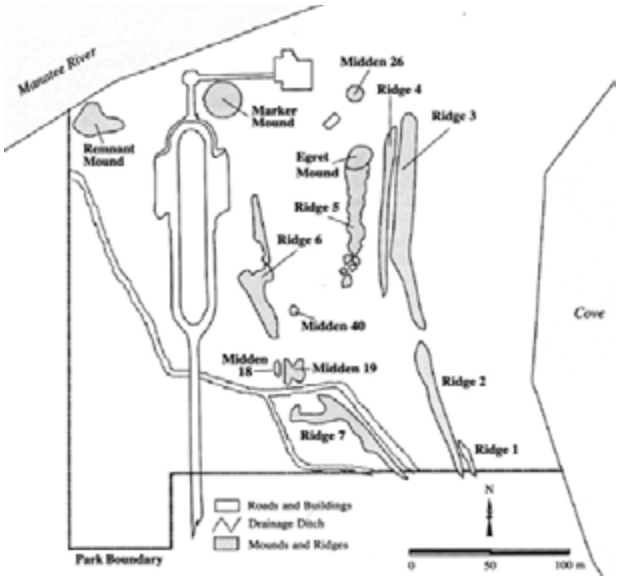


FIGURE 85. Archeological base map showing locations of all known archeological sites on Memorial property (Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 103)

Marker Mound. Excavation of the Marker Mound revealed, Schwadron discovered, "complicated stratigraphy indicative of a series of several modern filling episodes." Radiocarbon samples showed that the mound's base "is the base of part of the original Shaw's Point Mound . . . [dating from] A.D.15 to 345, in the early Manasota period." The remaining base of the mound (whose bottom lay just over five feet below the surface) had been covered by modern fill, probably dating from between1900 (presumably just before shell mining began at the site) and 1939 (when the marker was put into place). Some prehistoric artifacts (shell tools, pottery, worked shell and bone) were recovered.[526]

Remnant Mound. Systematic excavation revealed that part of the Remnant Mound was previously undisturbed. Midden materials (primary shell, radiocarbon dated between about 400 and 900 A.D.) were found as much as five and a half feet underground. Further radiocarbon dating indicated that the mound began to be formed around 45 B.C. to A.D. 250—again, during the Manasota period. Artifacts recovered, Schwadron reported, ranged from "shell tools, including many small fighting conch hammers" to cutting-edge tools to hundreds of pottery sherds.[527]

Shell ridges. Prior to Schwadron's investigation, it was not clear whether the numerous low shell ridges on the property (some rising no more than ten inches or so above ground level) were natural formations remaining from earlier shorelines or resulting from tidal action, or were manmade (and if the latter, from what period and as a result of what purposes). Schwadron thought it likely that they were "intact, prehistoric features." More than three dozen shovel tests (necessarily relatively shallow since the holes began to fill with water at anywhere from eighteen to forty-two inches down) turned up a variety of prehistoric artifacts, mainly faunal material, pottery, and charcoal.

Egret Mound. While investigating the shell ridges, Schwadron discovered a small, circular shell mound unreported by previous researchers. It was about 44 feet (13.5 meters) in diameter, and rose a little more than two feet (70 cm) above ground level. Named Egret Mound by the survey team, the area seems mostly likely to have served as a food-processing or house site.[528]

Shell middens. While surveying and mapping the mangrove swamp, investigators discovered four small circular middens and conducted one shovel test on each, recovering pottery, shell tools, and faunal material. Radiocarbon dating placed the origin of the artifacts at between A.D. 0 and A.D. 730.

Spoil bank tests. Swadron's investigation fortunately encompassed some spoil banks on Shaw's Point remaining from dredging undertaking by the real estate developer whose activities in the 1920s so concerned Charles T. Earle.[529] The spoil banks (rising a foot or two above ground level) were evident on aerial photographs taken a half-century before Schwadron began her work. Although she did not excavate the spoil banks, she mapped them all and shovel tested a number of them. Consisting mostly of sand and crushed shell, they also yielded pottery sherds and faunal remains.[530]

526. Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation*, 94-99. Detailed technical analysis of recovered artifacts appears at113-138.
527. Ibid., 99-100.
528. Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation,* 93, 217.
529. See Chapter 6 for a discussion of those activities.
530. Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation, 99-100.*

Two ancillary studies were also undertaken at the time of the Schwadron archeological study: Donna L. Ruhl of the Ethnobiology Laboratory of the Florida Museum of Natural History carried out archeobotanical investigations, and her colleagues Irvy R. Quitmyer and Elizabeth S. Wing did a zooarcheological analysis of column samples from the Remnant Mound.[531] Ruhl explained that since the mid-1980s,

> archaeobotanical research has gradually become a more integral part of archeological projects with multifaceted research designs. Good preservation results in a better understanding of the subsistence and plant use of historical and prehistoric peoples. This, in turn, fosters broader questions about the social, political, economic, and religious aspects of the cultural groups under study, and helps us address issues of environmental and cultural change.

Ruhl's object at the Remnant Mound was "to consider the changing plant use through time" in order to "reconstruct prehistorical subsistence, site occupation, habitat exploration, and the paleoenvironment."[532] She found far fewer samples than she had hoped to be able to collect. The majority were charred wood (oak, pine, black and red mangrove) probably used for fuel, and there were a few seeds (e.g., fruits and nuts, grasses, prickly pear and cactus), but no evidence of staple plant foods, though Ruhl theorized that parts of trees such as oak, pine and mangrove as well as weedy plants may have been used for food or medicine.

Currently available archeobiological data leave many questions unanswered about Manasota culture, Ruhl admitted: Were they gatherers, or did they cultivate some plants and trees? Did coastal and inland groups vary in that regard? How much interchange was there with bordering cultures?

Quitmyer and Wing's faunal analysis drew data from Remnant Mound column samples.[533] In contrast to the paucity of relevant samples found by Ruhl, Quitmyer and Wing found hundreds of examples of vertebrate and invertebrate remains, including crustaceans and snails of many varieties, fish, sharks, reptiles, turtles, birds, and small animals.[534] They had been deposited between 70 B.C. and A.D. 895, and samples suggested that subsistence patterns had changed relatively little over that time. Quitmyer and Wing's analysis of the samples included framing them within known long-term changes in sea level, salinity, rainfall, and other climatological changes. The investigators ultimately concluded that there had been only "modest changes in the presence of certain animal species over time."

Listing Shaw's Point on the National Register of Historic Places

A by-product of Schwadron's archeological investigation was the creation and listing of the Shaw's Point Archeological District in the National Register of Historic Places in 2001.[535] Toward the end of her study, Schwadron turned to the matter of how natural processes had contributed to the formation of the Shaw's Point site. How, that is, had the site appeared through time? Using "a combination of early site descriptions, historical photographs and drawings, aerial photographs, and the mapped and radiocarbon-dated positions" of archeological remains on the site, she and her colleagues generated a hypothetical model of how the site being nominated came to be.[536]

The Point is bounded by two physiographically distinct shorelines: the north beach (on the Manatee River / Tampa Bay side) and that of the lagoon on the east side. The former is a dynamic area histori-

531. These studies were carried out under contract with RASP. Margo Schwadron, telephone interview by David E. Whisnant, 10 May 2007.
532. This and subsequent quotations are taken from Donna L. Ruhl, "Archaeological Investigations of Selected Samples from Remnant Mound" in Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 139-157.
533. This brief account of their work is taken from Irvy R. Quitmyer, "Faunal Analysis of Remnant Mound Column Samples" in Schwadron, Archeological Investigation, 158-196.
534. See their Table 26, pp. 159-162.
535. The nomination was based on, and drew extensively from, work subsequently presented in Schwadron's Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial (2002). The District included not only the De Soto National Memorial, but also the adjacent Catholic Church property and the county park.
536. Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 218. The précis that follows is drawn from Schwadron.

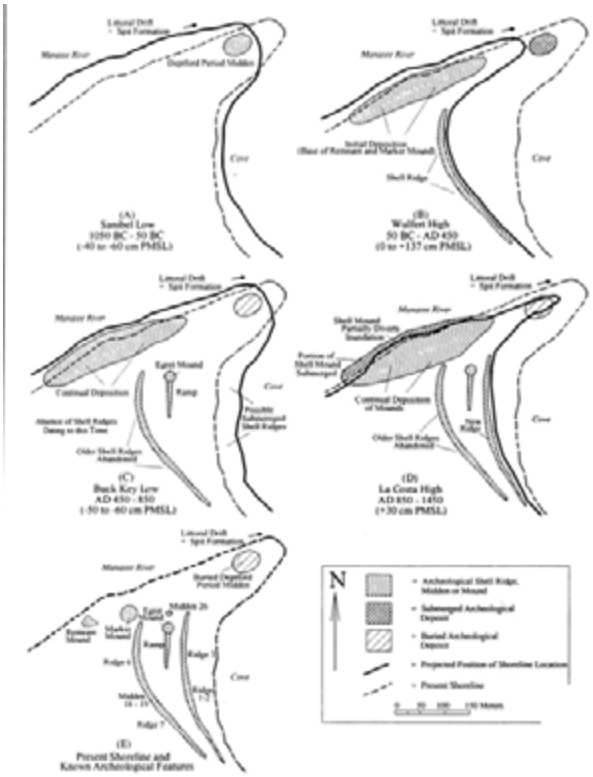


FIGURE 86. Changes in shape and location of Shaw's Point over time as a result of littoral drift and sea-level changes (Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 221)

cally subject to wind and wave action without offshore bars, barrier islands, or dunes to protect it. The north beach area therefore likely once extended much further north than it currently does—the original shoreline now either submerged or eroded away. The beach on the lagoon side, by contrast, is not subject to significant wind or wave action; it would therefore be expected to have remained more stable over time with regard to those factors.

But wind and wave action were not the only historical processes that affected the location and shape of the Point. Two others were also involved: littoral drift and sea-level changes. Schwadron's map of changes in the configuration of Shaw's Point over time is instructive. Her map (A) of the millennium-long Sanibel Low (1050 B.C.-50 B.C.) shows a Deptford period midden at the tip of the Point. But the succeeding 500-year Wulfurt High (50 BC-AD 450; Schwadron map B) shows that a rising sea level submerged the Deptford period midden, and caused minor shoreline recession on the north (river) side, and considerably more recession on the shallower cove side. New Manasota Period shell ridges are evident on the cove side, and the bases of the Remnant and Marker mounds appear on the river side.

The Wulfurt High was followed by the 400-year Buck Key Low (Map C), which left the older shell ridges further inland and brought the Deptford Period mound back on land. The Egret Mound appears to date from this period. The subsequent La Costa High (Map D), which lasted about 600 years (AD 850-1450)—until almost a century before the De Soto landing, brought a sea-level higher than that of the modern period. Another significant shoreline recession occurred on the cove side, where new shell ridges were deposited and part of the large mound on the river side was submerged.

Schwadron's final map (D) shows the known archeological features (mounds, ridges, and middens) within the contemporary configuration of the Point, for which the National Historical Register listing was being sought.

Although the proposed Shaw's Point Archeological District included the De Soto National Memorial, it was for National Register purposes a distinguishable entity. The Memorial itself was first listed in 1966 (8Ma101; revised in 1975).

The Shaw's Point Archeological District includes three listed sites: 8Ma7 (Shaw's Point, which itself includes the Remnant Mound, Marker Mound, Egret Mound, the Shell Ridge Middens, and the Tabby House), 8Ma28 (unnamed), and 8Ma981 (Riverview Point).[537] The nomination summarized the site's claim to worthiness for listing on the Register:

The Shaw's Point Site was a large village occupied from as early as 365 B.C. to A.D. 1395 by peoples of the Deptford, Manasota, and later of the Safety Harbor cultures. . . . [It] consisted of at least several very large midden-mounds, smaller mounds, linear shell ridge middens . . . possible walkways, isolated middens, and according to historical descriptions . . . a cemetery, and several burial mounds. Due to

537. This discussion is based upon United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, prepared by Margo Schwadron and Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer Barbara E. Mattick in February 2001. See Section 7, pp. 2, 10 of the nomination, DESO Files.

the encroachment of modern development, much of the village site has been destroyed . . . It appears that the main part of the village was located in what is now De Soto National Memorial and Riverview Point, and because most of [this] land has never been fully developed, portions of the Shaw's Point village remain intact and undisturbed. Significant historic archeological remains of the William Shaw homestead are also included within this district. Together, these significant archeological resources contribute to the Shaw's point Archeological District.[538] The Shaw's Point Archeological District application was approved and the District created on April 6, 2001.

Toward Interpretation: the Museum Collection

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that, however lacking the De Soto National Memorial is in archeological evidence related to the De Soto expedition, its site has been shown to be rich in pre-contact artifacts appropriate for museum display and interpretation. Such artifacts could have enriched its functioning greatly, especially as changes in public understanding of the cultural politics of the contact experience called for more emphasis upon pre-contact Indian cultures and less upon the heroic figure of a glorified Hernando De Soto.

Until the Visitor Center was finally built in 1967, however, more than fifteen years after the Memorial opened, it had no suitable display space at all—and still relatively little thereafter. Its modest budget further limited what it could do in this regard, as did lack of suitable storage space and curatorial training for its always small staff.

The building of a museum was almost the only concrete activity, besides the "erection of a memorial" that discussion around park's authorizing legislation envisioned. The Congressional reports accompanying H.R. 4023, De Soto National Memorial's authorizing legislation, indeed, noted that "the National Park Service proposes that the memorial shall consist of a museum to house the relics already collected or which may come into its possession in the future."[539] NPS Region One Interpretive Planner Albert Manucy wrote a prospectus for the museum as early as 1953.[540] A museum should be a "basic tool" in the Memorial's interpretive program, Manucy argued; it should present "an orderly, balanced, and graphic presentation of this difficult chapter of history," placing it in "proper historical perspective." A simple museum could communicate "a continuous, clear-cut teaching job of uniform quality," unhindered by weather, large visitor demand, or staff shortages. Manucy recommended that the facility contain administrative offices, a fifty-seat auditorium, an office for the superintendent, a historian's office, 800 square feet of exhibit space, and rest rooms. He estimated that such a facility could be built for $15,000.

Manucy projected a four-part thematic approach to the De Soto story: I. THE AGE OF DISCOVERY (charting a New World; warrior nobles; search for wealth; failure to establish colonies); II. DE SOTO AND HIS MEN (De Soto leads expedition typical of the period); III. MARCH INTO THE WILDERNESS (state-by-state route of the expedition); IV. THE "CONTINENT OF FLORIDA" (Old World experience and New World lessons).

The museum Manucy and the Park Service originally envisioned did not get built, but even before the Memorial opened, supporters wanted to give the park a collection of artifacts. That gift was never completed, but the collection in question eventually formed the nucleus of what later became the South Florida Museum—an organization with which the Memorial's history intertwined for several decades.

The collection appears to have consisted of an eclectic assortment of objects assembled by W. Montague Tallant, whom Schwadron describes as "the most active local archeologist in Manatee County in the 1920s and 1930s."[541] Already in 1946,

538. National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Section 8, p. 9; Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial*, 223.
539. Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Authorizing the Establishment of the De Soto National Memorial in the State of Florida*, 80th Cong., 2nd sess., 1948, S. Rept. 906.
540. The following discussion is drawn from Albert C. Manucy, Preliminary Museum Prospectus for De Soto National Memorial, n.d. [ca. April 1953], DESO Files.
541. Schwadron, *Archeological Investigation*, 60-61.

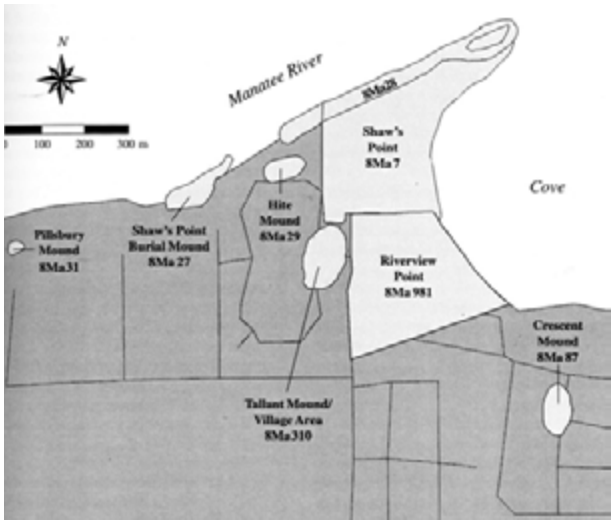


FIGURE 87. Map of Shaw's Point Archeological District (DESO Files)

Tallant's collection had attracted the attention of Dr. W. D. Sugg (donor of the initial De Soto National Memorial land), who with a group of associates formed the South Florida Museum Association.[542]

As early as 1947—while the legislation to establish the De Soto National Memorial was still wending its way through Congress—NPS historian Roy Appleman reported that the Association's members had it in mind to offer the collection to the Federal government "for display in any De Soto Memorial that may be built at Shaw's Point."[543] Superintendent Richard Hopper reported after the March 1950 dedication of the park that "The desire of some local peole to move exhibit from Bradenton Chamber of Commerce building" to the Memorial "is evident."[544]

That intent seems to have persisted, but the "museum" remained rudimentary. A 1959 report described the still small and rather motley collection as containing "Florida mastodon bones . . . costume dolls, campaign ribbons, articles of oriental culture, of early American culture, military souvenirs (ca. 1750-1945), Gen. U. S. Grant's bed, . . . mounted birds, mammals and reptiles, a seashell collection . . . a live manatee . . . shrunken heads, Central American and Caribbean aboriginal relics . . . and Seminole Indian clothing."[545]

Not surprisingly, the report (possibly written by Manucy) cautioned that few of the objects had any relevance to the De Soto National Memorial, but negotiations toward moving it there continued, nevertheless.[546] As late as 1964 the collection was still housed in a building at the end of the Memorial Pier, from which it seems to have moved for a short time to rooms in the Chamber of Commerce building. It had one employee to care for several thousand assorted specimens crowded into small cabinets, and charged a fifty-cent admission fee.[547]

As part of the Mission 66 improvements, a plan was again floated around Bradenton to move the Museum to the Memorial, but NPS officials (both national and local) were not so disposed.[548] Park Service Director Conrad Wirth reported that local Memorial supporter Dewey A. Dye, Jr. "wants [the] S[outh] F[lorida] Museum included, but that he "didn't encourage him on that." Museum partisans persisted, nevertheless. Three years later, Memorial superintendent Stoddard finally noted that Manatee county commissioners had taken steps toward developing a recreational park on nearby Perico Island into which the Museum might be incorporated. Perhaps now, Stoddard observed with some relief, the Museum "will have a home, thus releasing us from explaining why it could not be appropriately housed at De Soto."[549]

542. Robert E. King, *A History of the Practice of Medicine in Manatee County, Florida* (Bradenton : Manatee County Hospital, 1985), 206.
543. Roy E. Appleman, Report on Shaw's Point, Bradenton, Florida, Site of Proposed De Soto Memorial, 4 April 1947, p. 17, DESO Files.
544. Superintendent's Monthly Report, March 1950, DESO Files.
545. Unsigned report, n.d. [ca. December 1959], RG 79, Box 1622, NARA II. The report was written following a tour by the writer and De Soto Superintendent Hopper.
546. Manucy's letter of December 18, 1959 to Regional Director, Region One, recommends against incorporating the Museum into the Memorial, since most of its collection was "foreign to the De Soto story." Manucy to Regional Director, Region One, 18 December 1959, RG 79, Box 1622, NARA II. Region One Director Albert Cox concurred with Manucy's recommendation. See Cox to NPS Director, 1 January 1960, RG 79, Box 1622, NARA II.
547. The available record is contradictory on where the collection was housed prior to the building of the South Florida Museum in downtown Bradenton.
548. Kent Chetlain, "Museum Move to Shaw's Point Again Is Proposed," *Bradenton Herald*, 15 December 1959. See also Conrad L. Wirth to [NPS] Regional Director, Region One, 17 November 1959, RG 79, Box 419, NARA II.
549. Conrad L. Wirth to [NPS] Regional Director, Region One, 17 November 1959, RG 79, Box 419, NARA II.

What happened to the Perico Island project is not clear, but in April 1964 plans for a new $400,000 building for the Museum in downtown Bradenton were announced. It was to include a state of the art planetarium donated by the local Bishop family. Planners projected a museum that would contain "the best collection of Indian artifacts in the world . . . [and] the best archives of the Conquistadore [sic] era anywhere outside of Madrid."[550] While such a grand goal was hardly realizable, the Museum survived and flourished in Bradenton.[551] By the time the Museum got its new home in the mid-1960s, it had shared Bradenton's cultural space with the Memorial for fifteen years. A community of interests had sustained them in a relationship that, while it was in some respects problematic, was also beneficial to both.

Meanwhile, the Memorial had begun slowly to build up its own small and selective collection of artifacts for interpretive purposes.[552] In 1966, a small donation from the Eastern National Monuments and Parks Association, which operated the NPS concession at the Memorial, enabled the purchase of period crossbow and arquebus replicas to use in interpretive presentations.[553]

At the same time, Superintendent Gannon wrote (in an interpretive prospectus for the new visitor center then being planned) that the "study collection" of the Memorial consisted of nineteenth-century and later "potsherds removed from the ruins of the . . . [tabby house] plus a number of undated and unidentified Indian shell implements and arrowheads taken in the vicinity," as well as "a suit of Maximilian armor" and an "Indian bow and arrow."[554]

Little more to augment the collection was done, apparently, until the arrival of Superintendent Hite in 1972. His first annual report indicated that the Memorial had acquired a lance, a windlass for the crossbow, and a revolving pedestal for the suit of armor.[555] These items were essential to the development of the Memorial's living history program from the beginning of Hite's tenure onward.[556]

The collection continued to grow—mostly through accidental finds on the property, it seems. A historic resource management study of 1976 reported that in addition to the armor and related items, the Memorial held "about 200 artifacts"—mostly pottery fragments and shell tools.[557]

Items were slowly added to the collection over the years, but lack of proper storage and conservation facilities hindered the development of an adequate collection. Finally in the mid-1990s, the Memorial acquired storage facilities intended to protect the collection from flood and other hazards. Later, however, the contined lack of curatorial staff and the perennially small budget for collection management impelled Superintendent Charlie Fenwick,

550. *Sarasota Tribune*, 17 April 1964, unpaged clipping in MCPL; "Here's How Our South Florida Museum Will Look," *Bradenton Herald*, 24 June 1964, unpaged clipping in MCPL; Superintendent's Monthly Report, October 1965, DESO Files. The Superintendent's Monthly Report for January 1966 refers to "the new $600,000 South Florida Museum," DESO Files. Arthur Graham, who came as Memorial Superintendent in mid-1967, established a harmonious relationship with the Museum, volunteering to teach a herpetology course for children there. Arthur Graham, interview by David E. Whisnant, 2 September 2006.

551. In 1979 a replica of De Soto's home in Barracota, "a chapel like that in which Columbus worshipped," and an "old Spanish courtyard" were added to the Museum complex. Betty Kohlman, "Museum Building Replicas Old Spanish Buildings," *St. Petersburg Times*, 1 January 1979, unpaged clipping, MCPL.

552. The history of the Memorial's interpretive efforts and programs is the subject of the next chapter.

553. Superintendent's Monthly Report, March 1966, DESO Files.

554. Vincent S. Gannon, Interpretive Prospectus for De Soto National Memorial, 15 June 1966, p. 11, DESO Files. Superintendent Barbara Goodman's Statement for Management of 1993 indicates that the armor had been donated to the Memorial in 1955, DESO Files. Margo Schwadron, *De Soto National Memorial: Archeological Overview and Assessment* (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, 1998), 98-100 has brief accounts of artifacts collected at the Memorial and deposited in offsite institutional repositories.

555. Superintendent's Annual Report 1973, NPS HFC.

556. A detailed discussion of the living history program is reserved for the next chapter.

557. Historic Resource Management Study for De Soto National Memorial, ca. December 1976, DESO Files. A Scope of the Collection statement prepared by Superintendent Hite in 1983 (DESO Files) has no information on the state of collection at that time; it consists entirely of guidelines for the formation of any collection. Oddly, a one-page inventory compiled by Ranger Ferrell Saunders a decade later listed not 200 but only fourteen items: a mural of De Soto's army, a coat of armor plaque, a halberd (long-handled battle axe and pike), a dagger, two shirts of mail, and the previously acquired crossbow and windlass, arquebus, and lance. See Ferrell Saunders, Inventory of Property, 5 October 1987, DESO Files. Presumably the pottery sherds and other items previously reported were by this time not considered significant enough to list.

in cooperation with Nancy Russell at the NPS's South Florida Collections Management Center (SFCMC) at Everglades to remove the DESO collection from the park so it could be adequately protected. The Memorial's archeological artifacts were sent to SEAC; its cultural artifacts were sent to SFCMC.[558]

558. Superintendent's Annual Report, 1993, RG 79, Entry 7g, Box 18, NARA II; Superintendent's Annual Report, 1994-1995, NPS DSC. Summary descriptions of all De Soto National Memorial artifacts housed both on site and in other repositories appears in Margo Schwadron, *De Soto National Memorial: Overview and Assessment* (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1998), 98-100. Off-site repositories listed include the Southeast Archeological Center, the National Museum of Natural History, Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History at Yale University, Peabody Museum of archeology and Ethnology at Harvard University, the National Museum of the American Indian, the Florida Museum of Natural History, and the Museum of South Florida in Bradenton.

Chapter 8

Signs, Living History, Films, Waysides and Trails: Interpreting the De Soto Expedition

Two especially challenging responsibilities have faced every superintendent at De Soto National Memorial: to preserve the site itself in the midst of an inherently dynamic and unstable coastal environment, and to formulate and disseminate a grounded, engaging, and sustainable interpretation of an event whose physical track and historical meaning are still enmeshed in a scholarly debate whose eddies, tides, and currents are not unlike those of the bay and the river.[559]

Viewed broadly, the Memorial's interpretive efforts fall into three phases. The first (1950-1967) consisted of the initial rudimentary interpretive facilities and activities from the park's founding until the building of the Visitor Center in 1967. The second (from 1967 to around 1998) witnessed the fleshing out of a full-fledged interpretive program consisting of the Visitor Center exhibits, the first interpretive film, outdoor trails and exhibits, and the living history program. By 1998, the Visitor Center, its interpretive exhibits, and the interpretive film were nearly thirty years old and increasingly out of date and inadequate, especially in view of the forward movement of De Soto scholarship, archeological work accomplished at the site, and broader interpretive efforts reaching beyond the park itself to embrace much of the entire De Soto route. Beginning in the late nineties, then, considerable effort was necessary to update features of the program that were showing their age, and to add new ones congruent with the best current scholarship and interpretive practice.

Benches, Trail Signs, Maps and Pamphlets: Early Interpretive Efforts

The earliest available plan for interpretation at the Memorial was quite limited. Developed more than fifteen years before the Visitor Center was constructed, it rather vaguely specified the "aim of interpretation" as "a general presentation of this Spanish exploration."[560] A small open shelter, perhaps twenty feet square, located at the north end of the parking area, provided benches and five exhibit panels: a large map of De Soto's route, a



FIGURE 88. Superintendent Hopper giving information to De Soto National Memorial visitors, June 1950. (DESO Files)

559. Chapter 3 above summarizes the scholarly debate.

560. Interpretive Plan Drawing, 25 January 1950, NPS DSC. This drawing (perhaps made by NPS interpretive planner Albert C. Manucy) appears to be a part of a Master Plan of the same date, but now no longer available. Manucy visited the Memorial in January 1953 "to promote the interpretive program." See Superintendent's Monthly Report, January 1953, DESO Files.

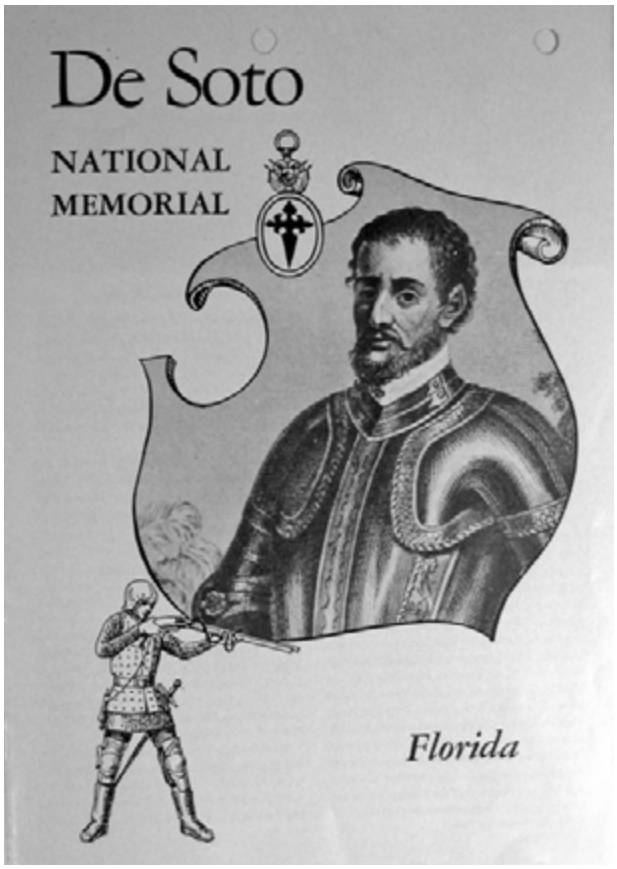


FIGURE 89. Interpretive pamphlet given to Memorial visitors in the early 1950s (NARA PA)

small panel on Indian America, another on Hernando De Soto, an "into the wilderness" panel that presumably described De Soto's army's encounter with the Indians, and a map of Spanish Florida after De Soto.

This main interpretive exhibit area was complemented by an "observation point" at the far end of Shaw's Point: a raised semi-circular platform perhaps twenty-five feet in diameter, a single pictorial panel, and three curved benches.[561] Beyond this array, there was only the original 1939 Colonial Dames granite marker and a small "site marker" informing visitors that "This elevation is all that remains of a prehistoric SHELL MOUND."

The freestanding outdoor exhibits were augmented by an interpretive pamphlet handed to each visitor.[562] The pamphlet called the De Soto expedition "a typical instance of organized Spanish exploration" undertaken by Spain's "warrior nobles" ("hardy and courageous men"), and Hernando De Soto "a typical conquistador" who had had "a brilliant career in Nicaragua and Peru."

Readers learned that as the huge army (200 horses, mounted lancers, 300 crossbowmen) pushed northward after the landing ("apparently at Tampa Bay"), "hidden natives rained arrows upon them." The men seized native chiefs and forced them to supply food, carriers, and guides. The narrative continued with a brief and dramatic account of the expedition: meeting the "comely chieftaness" Cofitachequi near the Savannah River ("the Lady of the Forest" who honored Don Hernando with her pearl necklace), past what they took to be tantalizing signs of gold mines in South Carolina, across the Great Smoky Mountains into Tennessee, southward into Alabama and a humiliating encounter with fierce Indian fighters at Mabila (men and horses slaughtered, supplies and property destroyed, "all of the men of most worth and honor in the army" wounded, and Cofitachequi's pearls lost).

Near the Mississippi River, the Chickasaws made another devastating attack as the army prepared to cross into Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas, where they marched for weeks before turning back to the Mississippi, where after De Soto's death from a fever his men spent the winter building "seven little ships" to carry them back to Mexico. Two brief paragraphs on post-De Soto Spanish Florida rounded out the narrative, which closed with a brief account of the establishment of the Memorial and a map of the expedition's route.[563] "Not all mourned [De Soto's] passing," the pamphlet admitted, but his skill, courage, and caring for his men won respect and devotion.

In view of the usual interpretations of the De Soto expedition (and similar colonial endeavors) at the

561. What was intended to be represented is neither described nor decipherable on the drawing. A Road and Trail System Plan map of 12 April 1954 (Cartographic Room, NARA II) shows the observation point and a "De Soto Narrative Marker" panel located there.

562. This pamphlet is undated, but must date from before 31 March 1951, because it lists Newton B. Drury as Director of the National Park Service. Drury served as Director until that date. The pamphlet was used (only slightly revised in later years) until at least 1967.

563. The map appears to be based upon John R. Swanton's *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (1939).

time the pamphlet was published, the story it offered visitors was more balanced than one might have expected. De Soto's delusory search for gold, his abuse of native people (despite their kindness and generosity), and the ultimate futility of the expedition were described, as was the resourcefulness of the Indians in defending themselves. But the parting, perhaps hyperbolic, reference to De Soto's "skill, courage, and caring for his men" left a positive impression, nevertheless.

A Memorial master plan released by May 1952 presented a brief paradigm for the intended visitor experience at the Memorial: "Visitor walks to flagpole area . . . [and] is greeted and given park leaflet. . . . Here there is a large map outlining the route . . . of the expedition, along with some narrative of its events . . . . Some [visitors] are taken into Superintendent's office for more detailed information from books in library. Proposed is a small unit of historical exhibits . . . [and] trailside exhibits explaining common varieties of shells, plants, and animal life." Visitors (by then some 25,000 per year, nearly 95 percent of them elderly, the plan noted) were to conduct themselves around the trail to see the trailside exhibits.[564]

These documents put the best face on what was in fact a rather embryonic interpretive program. But there were no resources to do more. Two years into the process, the Memorial's staff still consisted of only the Superintendent, a low-level (GS-3) clerk, and a maintenance worker. A request for a "historical aide" had not been honored.[565] By the middle of the decade, staff were reporting "personal interpretive services" or "interpretive contacts" for a quarter to a half of the 2,500 to 4,000 visitors who came through the gate each month, but what those contacts or services consisted of was not recorded.[566]



FIGURE 90. Visitors at interpretive sign, July 14, 1962 (DESO Files)

A few months before he departed in 1961, Superintendent Hopper undertook to construct some

Indian dwellings on the beach as a part of the Memorial's interpretive effort.[567] Though they looked nothing like the more historically authentic ones that followed later, they moved the interpretive effort beyond the vague "interpretive contacts" and self-guided trail walks of its first decade.[568]

Two years later, the Hernando De Soto Historical Society (HDHS) suggested a corollary development just outside the Memorial's western boundary, in the form of "a basin in which to float a replica of De Soto's flagship *San Cristobal*," set in landscaped grounds and with a museum "containing exhibits on Spanish culture," the exhibits to be provided by the Spanish government. The Park Service found this prospect compatible with the mission of the Memorial, and recommended that "all possible encouragement and assistance should be given" to the endeavor. "Neighbors of this type will be an asset," the Master Plan said.[569] An additional advantage, not foreseeable at the time, was that had the HDHS plan been carried out (which it was not), the upscale Riverview Landings subdivision would

564. Master Plan Development Outline, May 1952, pp. 82-83, NPS DSC. This document is appended separately at the end of the 1957 Master Plan document.
565. Master Plan Development Outline: De Soto National Memorial, Florida, 7 June 1952, pp. 76-86, NPNS DSC.
566. Superintendent's Monthly Reports, 1956-58, DESO Files.
567. Whether the example in the illustration was considered to be a permanent feature of interpretation at the Memorial, or was built temporarily as part of the annual landing ceremony produced by the Hernando De Soto Historical Society's Conquistador group is not known.
568. Whether the tepees were built for use during the annual landing reenactments produced by the Conquistadors, or for the Memorial's own ongoing interpretive purposes, cannot be determined from the available record. The Superintendent's monthly reports from the period contain no mention of them.
569. Master Plan for Preservation and Use of De Soto National Memorial, 1 April 1961. The quotation here is taken from a component document dated later (25 May 1963).



FIGURE 91. Indian tepees constructed on beach at De Soto National Memorial, February 1961 (DESO Files)

never have crowded the Memorial's western boundary.

More Than a Name on the Entrance Gate: The First Comprehensive Interpretive Prospectus

Expansive plans for an interpretive program at the Memorial finally got under way in the mid-1960s, in anticipation of the opening of the Visitor Center provided under Mission 66. By December 1965, recently arrived Superintendent Vincent Gannon had written what appears to have been the first comprehensive interpretive prospectus for the Memorial.[570]

Gannon focused the prospectus around two major objectives: (1)"To convey to the visitors . . . an appreciation of the scope of the explorations, their uniqueness . . . , the knowledge of the lands and peoples that was gained despite severe hardships and the continuing frustrations of the explorer's purposes or motives, and the impetus which [that] knowledge may have given to the further exploration and the eventual settlement of the United States," and (2) "to enhance the visitor's appreciation of the role of the North American land mass in the plans and activities of the world powers of the 16th Century; to allow the visitors some acquaintance with the conditions which promoted . . . the great Spanish discoveries and conquests . . . ; [and] to . . . [provide] information on the type, manner and motives of . . . the conquistadors" (1).

Taking a perspective on the best means for achieving these objectives that turned out to be contrary to that of his successors, Gannon argued that since it had not been established that De Soto had landed at Shaw's Point, "the lands forming the Memorial site are not [to be] the subject of the interpretive effort." The shoreline and the wilderness trail, he said, "do not supplement . . . the treatment of a historical event." Instead, "they compete for the visitor's attention and pervert the visitor's interests into preoccupation with . . . a low-grade, miniature 'natural area.'" If De Soto were to be "anything more than a name on the entrance gate," the planned interpretive facility will have to tell the story "with all possible clarity and impact," Gannon insisted (2).

And how was that to be accomplished? Those "four years and 4,000 miles of events" naturally lend themselves best "to treatment in a sound movie," Gannon argued. He envisioned such a movie as not only the proper medium for telling the story, but also as a device whose appeal would be obvious to the Memorial's particular configuration of visitors. "Most don't know the De Soto story," Gannon had observed in his first months on duty. They "do not visit with the intention of gaining information on historical events, much less an inspirational experience." Three-quarters of them, he had quickly learned, spent a half-hour or less on the site, and half of them came between December and April. "The trails, however short, and their 'wilderness' character, however artificial," might keep some visitors longer, but rain, heat, and mosquitoes shorten stays and "limit the usefulness of outdoor interpretive devices" (5).

The prospectus nevertheless urged an array of interpretive methods: an "audio installation" to provide information for visitors during their walk from the parking lot to the interpretive facility, an "exhibit alcove" in the lobby containing weapons and further information, an "electric map" showing the De Soto route and some principal sites on it, weapons demonstrations on the beach, an audio-assisted display about the Indian mounds, self-guiding markers for the trail, and a basic geo-

570. The discussion that follows is based on this Interpretive Prospectus, held by NPS DSC. Page numbers in parentheses in the text refer to pages in Gannon's prospectus, not to those in the compiled document.

graphical and topographical map at the end of Shaw's Point (8). The movie was nevertheless to be the centerpiece of the interpretive effort.

Boots: The First De Soto Interpretive Film

In considerable detail, Gannon sketched out how the film was to be constructed.[571] Opening with a historically contextualizing statement, it was to examine the conquistadors' reasons for coming to the New World, provide a synopsis of the efforts of those who preceded De Soto, characterize De Soto, follow his journey and reflect upon "what came of it all" (2).

Whether a single short movie could reasonably be expected to accomplish this or not, the Memorial could not hope to provide one-on-one interpretive services with its staff of two: a GS-9 Superintendent and a single GS-4 Park Guide who mainly did the typing. A GS-7 historian would be a boon, Gannon said, but there was no evidence that adding one was contemplated (17). Moreover, when he came to write the section on "Research Status," he could only admit that there hadn't been any research so far (14). Nor would the budget sustain a major interpretive effort; a total of $32,000 was allocated for interpretation, of which about a third was earmarked for the film.

NPS reviewers of Gannon's prospectus were divided on the merits of making a film. Assistant Regional Director E. M. Lisle said it was probably "the best means to convey the sweep and drama" of the expedition. But Roy Appleman, who had watched the Memorial closely since before it opened, judged that the prospectus placed "too great an emphasis on [the] movie to the detriment of other interpretive media." Such a movie would be "very difficult to make," he said, especially in view of the uncertainty about the De Soto route. He argued that developing a movie should be delayed until more historical research was done.[572]

Appleman's reservations notwithstanding, however, plans for the movie moved ahead during the superintendency of Arthur Graham, who arrived from his previous assignment on the Blue Ridge Parkway in mid-1967. By September, a final script had been approved.[573]

In an interview nearly forty years later, Graham recalled that he spent much of his first year at the Memorial working on the movie. Some scenes were shot at the Memorial itself, but those of De Soto's men coming ashore (in a longboat borrowed from the Hernando De Soto Historical Society's Conquistadors) were filmed on nearby Anna Maria Island. After the film crew traveled to the Great Smoky Mountains and on to the Mississippi River to film the crossing scene (at the approximate site of the actual De Soto crossing), the project ran out of money and stalled for a while. Then the producer found a way to allow the project to piggyback on another, better-funded one, and they resumed filming, this time in Texas, where the Rio Grande stood in adequately for the Brazos called for in the script. A Belgian musical ensemble was engaged to play the music because they would work at a cheaper rate.[574]

The twenty-two minute movie, made in collaboration with the Park Service's Motion Picture Unit through Harpers Ferry Center, was produced by Carl Degen and directed by Rick Krepela (both of the Motion Picture Unit). Arthur Graham served as technical advisor. The Memorial received its first copy of *De Soto: The Legacy of a Legend* in March 1970.[575]

The low-budget effort did not allow for elaborate re-enacted scenes. In treating the four-year, 4,000-mile De Soto expedition, the film relied upon a small handful of cinematically simple devices: successive establishing shots (bay, mangrove swamp,

571. Interpretive Prospectus, pp. 24-27, 37-61. Subsequent references in parentheses in the text.
572. E. M. Lisle to Director, NPS, 28 December 1965; and Roy Appleman to Chief, Division of Interpretation and Visitor Services, 26 January 1966, both attached to the Interpretive Prospectus cited above.
573. Draft administrative history, De Soto National Memorial, September 1976, p. 7, DESO Files.
574. Arthur Graham, interview by David E. Whisnant, 2 September 2006.
575. The cinematographer was Tom Gray and the film editor was Joe Gyovai. Carl Degen rose to become Chief of Audiovisual Arts for the Harpers Ferry Center. He was internationally acclaimed for his work in making more than 200 films. *The View* (Harpers Ferry Historical Association), Summer 2004, p. 5. Degen and Krepela worked together on many documentary films.



FIGURE 92. Indian chickee hut constructed in living history camp area, December 1972. (DESO Files)

interior forests, streams and rivers, mountains, desert landscapes), sepia-toned facsimiles of period drawings (prepared by Norman Kohn) of people and scenes from the expedition, a pair of boots (worn by Arthur Graham) marking pedometer-like the steps of the long march, an increasingly battered helmet graphing the downward turn of the expedition's prospects, and a few swords vibrating upright after being shoved into an Indian's body or (ultimately) cast upon the ground in despair. Omniscient narrator John Flynn provided narrative continuity, and Spanish actor Ferrnando Lamas added dramatic lines from the chronicles of the expedition.[576]

With considerable skill, economy, and effect, the film sketches the outline of the expedition. "This is a story of . . . a search for gold in a golden kingdom that doesn't exist," the narrator begins. The Florida De Soto and his men enter is a legendary one. At any moment "they may see a unicorn, or a monkey with feathers, or even the devil himself." Boots walking over a mangrove-shrouded landscape. Ominous music. Indians "everywhere and nowhere." Indianized survivor from previous expedition Juan Ortiz spared for his usefulness as an interpreter. Northward through steaming marshes, swamps, rivers, oppressive heat. Five months of slogging forward, morale flagging, Indians attacking relentlessly. Beautiful Lady of Cofitachequi offers friendship, food, shelter and mounds of pearls, but gold is the irresistible magnet, and De Soto orders them on. Gold lies *that* way, each tribe urges as they press further into the interior. North to the Great Smokies, Tennessee, but still no gold. Back south toward where ships await in the bay with supplies. Eighty men dead, others deserting to join the Indians. Devastating losses battling the Indians at Mabila. But fearing mutiny if the men reach the ships, De Soto turns his back on them and heads westward again, across the great Mississippi and into Arkansas, determined to find the seven fabled cities of gold and the mines of Solomon. Fevered, delusionary and delirious, De Soto dies on the banks of the river, and his successor Mocoso leads the half-naked and half-starved remnant south to Mexico and homeward.

And how, ultimately, did the film ask viewers to understand De Soto and his quest? Throughout the film, Fernando Lamas reads intermittently from the *cronistas*, and what he reads conveys ambivalence at best. Repeatedly De Soto rejects and mocks his soldiers' reasonable and realistic desire to stop the insane quest and take up farming, or board the supply-laden ships in the harbor and head for home. "We are not "tillers of the soil," he tells them, but *conquistadores*. That fact later takes the form of two thousand charred Indian bodies lying on the ground at Mabila—mute testimony to the brutality and madness of the quest. "De Soto our noble and proud leader became obsessed with his vision," echo the *cronista's* words:

> He would not let us give up the search. . . . I very much fear for our safety. Over half of our men were dead or too sick for battle, and yet De Soto pushed us on. He chided and threatened. . . . Those final days were a nightmare. . . . It was a desperate effort.

The "voice of God" narrator has the last word, however. De Soto's implacable search for gold is deluded and abusive of both his own men and the Indians, the narrator admits, and the expedition is by any reasonable measure a failure. But the expedition is redeemed to some degree by the testamentary and evidentiary value of what the *cronistas* wrote of it, and by the quests of those who followed. "Later generations," the narrator says,

> found a real legacy in the reports the survivors brought back. Unlike the false legends that had spurred De Soto to failure and death, these reports were true. The land *was* rich. There were rivers alive with fish, forests sheltering an abundance of game, lush, fertile valleys. These

576. Kohn was an Atlanta artist who had been an art student at Auburn University in the 1950s.

> facts were not lost among the tales of hardship and defeat. It remained for later men, men prompted more by vision than avarice, to realize the real treasure from this land.

Later vision redeems avarice, and history marches onward and upward. Implicitly, romantically construed national history balances conquistadorean delusion.

For about two years, it appears, *De Soto: The Legacy of a Legend* remained more or less the centerpiece of the Memorial's interpretive program. It was shown in the auditorium of the newly constructed Visitor Center, and was augmented by new historical displays in the lobby exhibit space: a full suit of German armor on a revolving stand and a large mural, together with smaller exhibits of period artifacts.[577] Even as the film began to be shown, however, and exhibits in the Visitor Center developed, another program was becoming the major means by which De Soto and his expedition were represented to Memorial visitors.

Chickees, Crossbows, Chain Mail and Black Powder: Living History at Camp Uzita

Initial steps toward developing a living history program at the Memorial emerged in the 1960s. In mid-1968, a historian was at last added to the small staff, giving a boost to the interpretive enterprise. About eighteen months later, the Eastern National Monuments and Parks Association, which operated the small concession at the Memorial, donated $1,500 toward preparations for the program, but months later the entire costume wardrobe still consisted of only one pair of boots, a shirt of chain mail, and a sword. A working model of a crossbow was soon acquired, however, and the first public firing took place during the Fourth of July holiday in 1971. Even after the addition of other costumes, an early report admits, "the demonstrator was still without breeches but was modestly clothed in pants of a later period.[578]



FIGURE 93. Early Memorial volunteer Bernard Harris demonstrates crossbow in living history area, ca. 1973. Photo by Paul Hartley Photography Inc., Bradenton, Florida. (DESO Files)

Major staff changes at the Memorial coincided with and urged forward the development of the living history program. Terry Maze replaced Kathleen Kirby as historian, new Superintendent Richard Hite arrived in July 1972, and Anne Castellina replaced Maze in June 1973. Hite knew that there were more than 200 living history programs operating in other parks (including a very successful one at Jamestown), and he thought it would work well at the Memorial.[579]

Living history as an interpretive method had become fashionable in the mid-1960s. Its origins in the National Park Service reached back into the 1930s, but the Service moved more formally into living history after 1966. An early and successful effort took place at the Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial in Indiana. Barry Mackintosh, historian of the living history movement, notes that NPS "requested that all regions experiment with interpreters in period dress during the summer of 1967." By 1974, over 100 parks were experimenting with the technique.[580]

By the end of 1972, Hite had built a large rectangular Indian chickee hut (more historically appropriate than the earlier tepees on the beach). Once Castellina arrived, the staff undertook to develop the Memorial's living history program more fully, moving the living history area from the cove side of the property to a more central location near the Visitor Center. Cooking and blacksmithing demon-

577. Draft administrative history, De Soto National Memorial, September 1976, p. 19, DESO Files.
578. Memorial historian Kathleen A. Kirby arrived June 30, 1968. See Draft administrative history, De Soto National Memorial, September 1976, p. 10, DESO Files.
579. Carl Nudi, "De Soto Program Has History of Its Own," *Bradenton Herald*, 15 December 2002, pp. 1C, 3C.

strations were added, and by mid-summer, daily living history presentations became a regular feature of the Memorial's interpretive effort. A central demonstration area was constructed and named Camp Uzita for the Indian village at which De Soto and his army had encamped briefly after they came ashore.[581]

Camp Uzita was formally opened in December 1973, but the next several years of its development are not documented. A few photos dating from the national bicentennial year of 1976 give evidence of its continued operation and elaboration, but the advent of the Reagan years in 1980 resulted in substantial budget cuts for Federal programs, including the National Park Service. Reagan's first year in office brought drastic cuts to the Memorial's budget. Budget cuts in 1980 had already caused the cancellation of the entire three-month summer season and the first two weeks of the 1981 season, which subsequently had to be cut by almost half. Environmental trail walks and solar energy talks were also eliminated.[582]

By 1982 the living history program appears to have been back on course, with nearly five hundred programs presented to almost 17,000 visitors. Hite reported the next year that it was "back in full operation," and by 1985 he was describing living history as "the backbone of our interpretive program"—an evaluation that persisted for two decades thereafter, even as budget cuts returned in the mid-1990s and forced partial reductions in the number of presentations.[583]

From the beginning, the living history program depended heavily upon the participation of both seasonal employees and volunteers. The Memorial inaugurated its volunteer (VIP) program in January 1972 with two volunteers serving as interpretive assistants. Two years later there were ten who contributed more than 1,000 hours of time to the Memorial. The number of volunteers fluctuated considerably; there were only four the following year, and only one in 1979, but by 1982 there were fourteen. Numbers continued to rise in 2000, when sixty-seven volunteers contributed more than 3,000 hours to the work of the Memorial. Many of them assisted with mounting more than 550 living history presentations to over 11,000 visitors.[584]

For several years after 2001, the living history program at Camp Uzita was considerably hampered by a series of arson attacks.[585] Efforts were quickly organized to restore the Camp, and planning began for a complete rebuilding.[586] By October 2001, partly through the efforts of local volunteers from the Hernando De Soto Historical Society, the destroyed chickee huts and palisade had been rebuilt. The arson episode contributed to a substantial drop in Memorial visitation for the year (from over 221,000 to about 164,000), but at a mid-December re-opening ceremony, Superintendent Charles Fenwick announced that "We are back and open for business."[587]

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580. Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective*, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/mackintosh2/directions_living_history.htm (accessed 24 May 2007). Living history was not without its critics. Mackintosh reports that Frank Barnes, interpretive specialist for the Northeast Region, told a group of NPS officials in 1973 that "Our currently over-stressed living history activities may just possibly represent a tremendous failure on the part of our traditional interpretive programs—above all, a cover-up for lousy personal services." Criticisms voiced by others included charges that much of what passed as living history was faddish, poorly and/or inaccurately done, detracted from (or even subverted) more serious interpretive efforts, was in effect sanitized history, and was ultimately impossible to accomplish because of the unalterably contemporary perspectives of living history interpreters and presenters. In its subsequent *Interpretive Guideline* (NPS-6) of 1980, NPS endeavored to address some of these criticisms through carefully crafted guidelines for such presentations.
581. Draft administrative history, De Soto National Memorial, September 1976, p. 19, DESO Files; Superintendent's Annual Report, 1972, DESO Files. Castellina remained at the Memorial until May 1975. As noted in previous chapters, the name of the Indian town was spelled in several ways in contemporary records. The Memorial's living history area bore the name Camp Ucita from 1972 until around 2001, when it was changed to Uzita by new Superintendent Charles Fenwick, who found that *Ucita* was frequently mispronounced by New Yorkers as *Utica*. Charles Fenwick, interview by David E. Whisnant and Anne M. Whisnant, 11 July 2006; Charles Fenwick, e-mail to Tommy Jones, 13 November 2006.
582. Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1980 (RG 79, Entry 7g Box 18, NARA II) and 1981(NPS HFC).
583. Superintendent's Annual Reports 1982 (NPS HFC), 1983 (RG 79, Entry 7g, Box 18 NARA II), 1985 (NPS HFC), 1994-95 (NPS DSC).
584. The number of volunteers has fluctuated considerably over the years. See Superintendent's Annual Reports 1972, 1974, 1975, 1979, all in NPS HFC; Superintendent's Annual Report 2000, NPS DSC.
585. Timothy O'Hara, "Arson Fire Burns 2 Huts at De Soto History Camp," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, 22 February 2001, p. 3B; Nevy Wilson, "Officials: De Soto Park Fire May Be Arson," *Bradenton Herald*, 22 February 2001, p. 1 (Local & State).
586. Staff reports, *Bradenton Herald*, 10 March 2001, pp. 1 and 8 (Local & State).

Late in 2003, arsonists struck again, though damage was somewhat less extensive.[588] A third attack perpetrated by two teenage girls followed in April 2005, destroying the main chickee hut, a portion of the palisade fence, and several interpretive displays. A contribution from local developer John Neal allowed expeditious rebuilding.[589]

Fortunately, no evidence ever emerged that any of the arson episodes derived from local hostility to the Memorial. Superintendent Fenwick's explanation seemed apt: within an urban environment, the Memorial offered an unsupervised green space during evening hours—attractive to local teenagers, not all of whom could be relied upon to behave responsibly.[590]

The Camp Uzita living history program remains the major interpretive effort of the Memorial. It is unique within NPS in offering sixteenth-century crossbow and black powder demonstrations.[591] More broadly, the living history effort allows the small park, which lacks significant historical structures, arresting natural features, or dramatic archeological sites, to offer engaging, entertaining, and educational programs to a diverse public.

As the Camp Uzita enterprise was developing and maturing, other features of the interpretive program were showing their age. In the 1990s, Superintendent Barbara Goodman undertook a thorough long-range planning effort to address the evident need for assessing and revising the Memorial's interpretive efforts.

De Soto in a New and Broader Frame: A Long Range Interpretive Plan

The move toward revising and updating those efforts arose partly from a nationwide move within NPS to overhaul the entire interpretive effort within the parks. That move derived partly, in turn, from broad shifts in historical scholarship generally, and more specifically with regard to the importance of class, ethnicity, race, and gender within American history. At De Soto, the late 1990s was a particularly good time to re-evaluate park interpretation, as the previous decade had seen the publication of several important new studies about the De Soto expedition.[592]

Section 1209 of Public Law 101-628 (104 Stat. 4469) of 1991 directed that the National Park Service:

> In coordination with the major scholarly and professional organizations associated with the disciplines of history, archeology, architecture, and closely related fields . . . undertake a complete revision of [its] "Thematic Framework" to reflect current scholarship and research on (1) American history and culture, (2) historic and prehistoric archeology, and (3) architecture. . . . [Such] revision . . . shall ensure that the full diversity of American history and prehistory are represented.[593]

In response to this directive, the Memorial produced a new long-range interpretive plan, which endeavored to frame the task of interpretation within this broad new mandate, and particularly to incorporate the insights of social and cultural history, new domains of work that had developed during recent years.[594]

The newly foregrounded thematic framework, the plan noted, was based upon current research, encouraged interdisciplinary dialogue between interpretive and resource-oriented functions within the park, increased the opportunity to "tell integrated, compelling stories," and used holistic stories to connect the various parks to one another. Taken together, these characteristics helped park managers and planners to face "the increasingly complex challenge of . . . interpretation" (4).

587. Tim W. McCann, "Local Volunteers Plan to Revitalize Memorial," *Bradenton Herald*, 28 September 2001, p. 1C (Local & State); Staff report, *Bradenton Herald*, 13 October 2001, p. 1C (Local & State); Carl Mario Nudi, "Park Set to Rededicate Camp Ucita Today," *Bradenton Herald*, 14 December 2001, p. 1C (Local & State).
588. Brian Haas, "Fire Damages De Soto Park Hut," *Bradenton Herald*, 30 November 2003, p. 1C (Local & State).
589. Superintendent's Annual Report, 2005, p. 4, DESO Files; Carl Mario Nudi, "Developer and Son Put $5000 Toward Park's Restoration," *Bradenton Herald*, 26 April 2005, p. 6C (Local & State); Stephen Majors, "Fire Starters, 13 and 14, Committed," *Bradenton Herald*, 22 June 2005, p. 9C (Local & State).
590. Charles Fenwick, interview by David E. Whisnant and Anne M. Whisnant, 11 July 2006.
591. Charles Fenwick, e-mail to Tommy Jones, 13 November 2006.
592. This historiography is discussed in Chapter 3.
593. This crucial section was part of the Arizona Desert Wilderness Act of 1990.



FIGURE 94. Revolutionary war fusilier from troops of Spanish Field Marshall Gálvez at the Battle of Pensacola, during the Spanish reconquest of Florida. Camp Ucita, August 1976 (DESO Files)

Major thematic foci of the plan (as best we have been able to reassemble them) were:

- Hernando De Soto was a product of his times, a conquistador who opened the southeastern North American continent to European influence.
- The expedition brought about devastating upheaval and relocation of American Indian populations and . . . led to the assimilation or destruction of some historic tribes.
- The political climate in Europe, spawned by Spain's success in the New World, encouraged world-wide expansion.
- The Story of Hernando De Soto and his expedition is one of conflict and violence between polar opposite cultures.
- The Catholic Church exerted a powerful influence on the government of Spain and its priests; in the same manner, they influenced the De Soto expedition as chroniclers, combatants, and evangelists.
- Traditional weapons and tactics used by the expedition and American Indians against each other failed. The result was new weaponry, better navigational skills, and more accurate maps.
- The expedition brought about significant biological exchange between Europe and the New World.[595]

Within these broad thematic foci, a number of specific historical and cultural factors were singled out for emphasis: the "close encounter" character of De Soto's arrival in the Tampa Bay area; the "pillage, plunder, rape, and village seizures" that ensued; De Soto's failure either to find gold or to establish colonies; the "trickery, guerilla tactics and intertribal conflict" used by Indians to move Spaniards from their land; the power of the Catholic Church in sixteenth-century Spain, and its fusion with the secular government; the typicality for the times of the "warring practices" of both Spaniards and Indians; the concept of conquest and national power on a world scale that originated in Spain and spread throughout the world; the culture, "primarily in its religious form and expression," that drove Spanish politics; the modification of the environments of both continents through biological exchange during the Conquest; and finally the fact that the expedition "reinforced the potential of and illustrated the value of imperialist politics" (9-14).

594. "De Soto National Memorial: Long Range Interpretive Plan" (Atlanta: Southeast Regional Support Office, Summer 1998), DESO Files. The discussion that follows is based upon this document, from which the analysis and much of the language are derived. Page numbers are given in parentheses within the text. Unfortunately, the only copy available to us is apparently an early, somewhat fragmentary draft—lacking considerable detail in some of its sections. A general statement on such plans is available at National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center, "Long-Range Interpretive Plans," http://www.nps.gov/hfc/products/ip-lrip.htm (accessed 25 May 2007). The Long Range Interpretive Plan is one component of the Comprehensive Interpretive Plan; the other is an Annual Implementation Plan. See National Park Service, Northeast Region, "Interpretation and Education," http://www.nps.gov/nero/interpanded/core_mission/resources.htm (accessed 25 May 2007).

595. From the Long Range Interpretive Plan, pp. 8-9.

Assessing the current state of the Memorial's site and facilities, the long-range plan emphasized that the Memorial itself, as a result of rapid residential growth and expansion on its borders (still very much in evidence in the late 1990s), had taken on the character of a "neighborhood park" which many visitors did not know was even a National Park at all. The site was compromised by decades-long problems of erosion that had not been solved; exotic plants, fought diligently for years by a succession of superintendents, still flourished. Wayside exhibits had been "developed at random" without an overall plan, and presented a "fragmented visual impression." In the thirty year-old Visitor Center exhibit and office spaces were cramped, the interpretive film, shown to tens of thousands of visitors since 1970, was "very dated," and the museum exhibit (drawn from a substantial but inadequately stored and curated collection) needed "major rehabilitation."

Ties to the local community needed improvement: few Hispanics (increasingly in evidence in the area) were visiting the park, even though the Memorial was "a key site in the story of Spanish exploration and settlement in the New World," and off-site interpretive possibilities (school programs, video links, an Internet presence) needed to be explored. The plan suggested that a park friends group could be formed from the large local community of affluent retirees, and that expansion of the sales outlet and bookstore should be investigated. The only aspects of the existing interpretive program viewed as adequate were the visitor brochure and an accompanying handbook ("excellent interpretive publications") (18-30).

To its great credit, the Memorial undertook major efforts in several of these areas: redesigning Visitor Center exhibits, preparing a new interpretive film, redesigning the wayside exhibits, and joining with other parks and organizations to link its own interpretive efforts and programs to those beyond the Memorial's borders—especially the emerging efforts to define and develop historic trails.

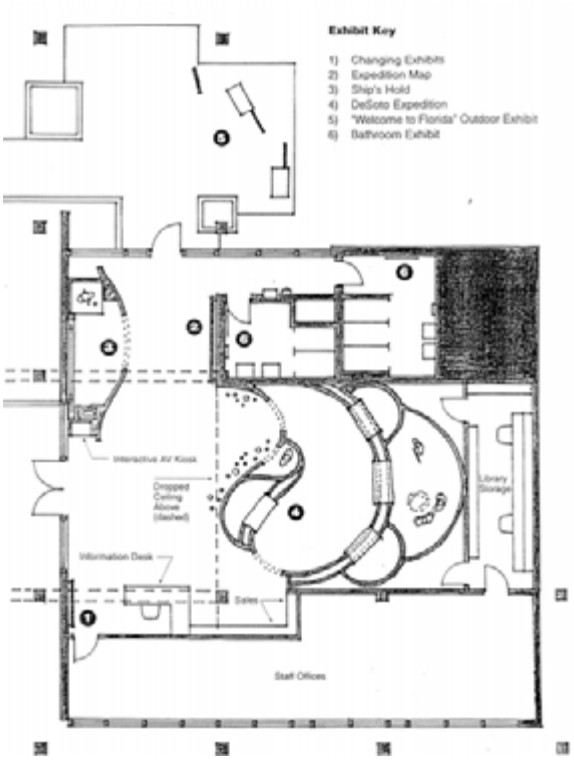


FIGURE 95. Floor plan, Exhibit Scheme C, Visitor Center exhibit redesign, showing auditorium converted to exhibit space, ca. March 1998. (DESO Files)

The Richness of the Expedition in a Small Space: Redesigning the Visitor Center Exhibits

In mid-1997 the Howard-Revis firm from Washington D.C. was engaged to design and plan new exhibits—primarily for the Visitor Center, but potentially for the area immediately outside it as well.[596] The design planning group included Memorial staff and volunteers (some with years of experience as living history presenters), a local film maker, a graphic designer, and NPS archeologist Margot Schwadron, who had recently completed an archeological survey of the Memorial.

After a brief review of current interpretive programs (primarily living history) and the outdated film (unfortunately still in use), Acting Superintendent Brian Loadholtz summarized the strengths and

596. The following discussion is drawn from a memorandum on a July 14-15, 1997 planning meeting held at the Memorial, DESO Files. The Memorial's new superintendent Carol Clark arrived from Gulf Islands National Seashore at the end of August. She supervised the remainder of the redesign and installation process.

weaknesses of the current exhibits: restrooms located so as to channel heavy traffic through the exhibit area; a bookshop cash register located just inside the door, suggesting that viewers had to pay a fee to enter (which they did not); signage that led some visitors to conclude that the Memorial was a state park, rather than a national one; too many visitors who used only the grounds without even entering the Visitor Center; exhibits that short-changed the Indians' side of the story in favor of a focus on the Spanish that was too weapons oriented; and little attention to the social and cultural context of the historic encounter.

Discussions turned later to available artifacts, the potential role (and cost) of audiovisual exhibit components, and important themes that should be foregrounded in any new designs. Assisted by University of Georgia anthropologist Charles Hudson, whose new book *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms* had just been published, the group worked at extracting focal elements of the expedition history as the basis for new exhibits:

- Juan Ortíz as pivotal cross-cultural character
- Historical-cultural, rather than object-oriented focus
- Fact-based, non-judgmental presentation of the Spanish conquistadors
- Non-monolithic character of Indian groups encountered
- Focus on cultural background of Spain, years of expedition, and aftermath for Indians

Hudson also emphasized that the expedition represented "the bruising, cutting edge of the modern world," whose mechanics it was important to understand; that the expedition was possible only because of European know-how and state organization; that because of poor maps and limited information it was "true exploration," and that there was never to be another like it; and that it was essential to what happened to native societies, which were never the same after contact, and which are lost to us.



FIGURE 96. Visitor Center exhibit area: Ship's prow with "hoisted horse" in background. Photo by David E. Whisnant, 2006

The central challenge of the new Visitor Center exhibit plan was to "portray the richness of the De Soto expedition story within the confines of a small exhibit space and limited budget."[597] The plan presented four possible exhibit schemes, each organized around the central intention to "provide an overview of the . . . expedition, focusing on broad movements and major events" as well as "the mechanics of conducting the expedition."[598] Whatever scheme was chosen was to pay more attention to the Spanish background (defeat of the Moors, the rise of a centrally-organized Christian state, the age of exploration), native civilizations, and the expedition's aftermath (Spanish missions, decimation of the native population through disease).[599]

Three of the four schemes involved converting the existing auditorium to exhibit space. The most elaborate of them (Exhibit Scheme A) featured a walk-through replica of the hold of a Spanish ship, designed to display period artifacts and to present textual information on the social and cultural context of the expedition (expulsion of the Moors, methods of warfare, the Catholic state, living conditions aboard ship, and means of navigation). A visually arresting full-size replica of a horse was to be suspended on the east wall, "with an explanation of this device and a description of the importance of

597. This discussion is based on a plan (prepared by Howard-Revis Design Services under contract with NPS's Harpers Ferry Center) for revising Visitor Center exhibits, unfortunately missing its title page, but dated ca. March 1998, DESO Files. Subsequent references will refer to the Howard-Revis plan.
598. Howard-Revis plan, 7.
599. Ibid., 9

horses to the expedition." Opposite the main entry the visitor was to encounter (in the former auditorium space) a series of theater-like "curved layered panels" forming "full-color mural alcoves" (focusing on "scenes from Indian life or elements of the expedition story from the Indian perspective") were intended to encourage visitors to enter rather than remain outside, as so many had done previously[600].

Throughout this new exhibit, spatial and lighting devices (e.g., curved reflectors and backlighting that would produce an "eerie glow") were intended to draw visitors into a visual experience that suggested aspects of the world encountered by De Soto and his party. In the mural alcoves, visitors would "weave their way through thick vegetation to discover Indian villages."[601] "Shadow-and-light patterns of mangrove leaves, branches, ripples of water" were to be projected on the floor to "heighten the moody atmosphere." Inside the alcoves, low-volume recordings of native languages would "enhance the visitor's sense of discovery." The elaborate Exhibit Scheme A for addressing the restroom location issue was to reproduce sixteenth-century John White drawings of a native male and female on the doors, and to use Indian "graffiti"—"line art drawings culled from etched pottery, stone and shell fragments"—to "adorn the bathroom stalls."[602]

Three other proposed schemes preserved the general conceptual and thematic focus of Scheme A, but were scaled down in various respects, depending upon budget, the amount of space to be allocated to offices and the sales area, and whether or not the existing auditorium was to be retained. Only the least elaborate of the four schemes (D), envisioned retaining the auditorium space as then configured, and was judged achievable within the projected $100,000 budget.

The exhibit scheme eventually installed—at a cost of $270,000—resembled Scheme D much more than A. The auditorium remained, but the exhibit incorporated some scaled-down features of the more elaborate schemes, including a mockup of a ship's prow in the main exhibit area (instead of a walk-through ship's hold), adjacent to the life-size "hoisted horse."[603] There was a single trunk of artifacts instead of multiple casks suspended from the ceiling, and a small wall map of the expedition rather than a large one on the floor. Immediately upon entering, visitors encountered a larger-than-life depiction of a mounted *conquistador* with captive Indian porters visible in the background.



FIGURE 97. Mounted conquistador in Visitor Center exhibit area. Captive Indians as porters visible through cutout. (Photo by David E. Whisnant, 2006)

Sensitive to recent shifts in both scholarship and public awareness of the negative impacts of the whole sixteenth-century colonial enterprise, the new exhibit communicated frankly and openly the conquistadors' tendency to denigrate and abuse native peoples. The "Encounters with Native Americans" text panel told visitors that De Soto's men "trekked . . . from settlement to settlement stealing [the Indians'] food, occupying their homes and villages, and enslaving them to serve as porters." There were exotic Spanish images of Indians with extra fingers and deformed bodies, and an outdoor panel explained that De Soto cut off Indians' noses and hands. The expedition's disastrous demographic impact upon the Indians was featured in a panel entitled "Death March"– called especially to public attention by an article in the *Bradenton Herald*.[604]

600. Ibid., 10.
601. Ibid.
602. Ibid., 11.
603. Carol Clark, Superintendent of the Memorial at the time, recalls that the auditorium space was not converted partly because of cost, but also partly because it was deemed essential for showing the interpretive film. Expanding the Visitor Center was considered but proved too costly. Carol Clark, telephone interview by David E. Whisnant, 1 June 2007.
604. Matthew Henry, Park Unveils New Exhibits," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, 20 November 1999.

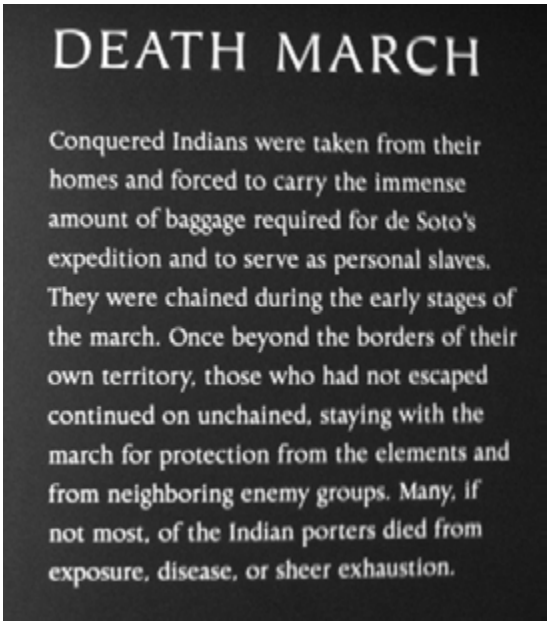


FIGURE 98. "Death March" panel from new Visitor Center exhibit, ca. 1999. (Photo by David E. Whisnant)

Taken together, the elements of the new exhibit went far—despite the (mainly spatial) limitations—toward implementing the Howard-Revis design concept, which in turn incorporated much recent scholarship and archeological research concerning the De Soto expedition and its historical and cultural context.

Hernando De Soto in America: Beyond the Boots Film

From the time of the earliest discussions about new exhibits, the plan included production of a new interpretive film. As with the Visitor Center exhibits, thirty years of new research and scholarship were in hand to assist with reconceptualizing the interpretive task and constructing the film.

From the outset, serious efforts were made to incorporate the most up-to-date, solidly grounded interpretive perspectives. Historians Charles Hudson and Jerald Milanich helped with historical issues. Assistance from the Native American side came from Bill Day, Native American Affairs Advisor with the Tunica Biloxi tribe; Billy L. Cypress came from the Seminole Museum; the NPS Southeast Regional Office sent ethnographer Tony Paredes to help with such matters as clothing and face painting for Seminole Indians who appeared in the film. Anthropologist Nicholas A. Hopkins also assisted.[605] The film was produced with donated funds by a private contractor (Pompano Beach, Florida's Venture Productions) working under the direction of Harpers Ferry Center.[606]

Hernando De Soto in America opens with Indian music behind a narrator's voice admitting that although there is no archeological evidence that Hernando De Soto landed here, "it is highly likely that he began his expedition somewhere near here." Birds take flight as bare-bodied Indians run through mangroves to the water's edge, and painted Indian faces peer through dense vegetation at Spanish ships anchored in the bay. Helmeted and chain-mail clad Spanish soldiers row ashore and disembark. One keen-eyed soldier, photographed from a low angle for heroic effect, plants his flag and surveys the landscape as the title slides into view. Side-by-side, priests and war dogs follow the soldiers ashore.[607]

A quick two-minute précis of the post-fifteenth-century growth of the Spanish empire follows: the end of Moorish rule; establishment of the unified Christian state under Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile; and the colonial drive for expansion. Cut to men in the crow's nests of grand sailing ships and a white-robed priest blessing their intrepid pursuit of "America's wealth of treasure." An image of a grand pre-conquest city provides the backdrop for a brief narrative of the Cortez and Pizzaro expeditions that made Hernando De Soto a fabulously rich man. "Having plundered his share of Inca gold and silver," we are told, De Soto longed for another expedition—one that would both swell his fortune and make him a royal governor within the Spanish empire.

605. Superintendent's Annual Report 1999, NPS DSC; Carol Clark, telephone interview by David E. Whisnant 1 June 2007.
606. The director was Jim Duffy; associate producer was Bo Yao.
607. Footage of the Spanish ships was taken from a recent NPS film project associated with the Columbus quincentenary of 1992. Period-costumed Spanish soldiers and the landing boat were supplied by the local Conquistadors group from the Hernando De Soto Historical Society (see Chapter 4 above). Carol Clark, telephone interview by David E. Whisnant, 1 June 2007.

The remaining three-quarters of the twenty-one minute film chronicle De Soto's misbegotten four thousand-mile trek through the southeastern swamps, forests and deserts before he dies on the banks of the Mississippi, having squandered his fortune, his horses and supplies, the lives of all but a ragged remnant of his men, and much of the human, material and cultural riches of the native tribes.

Along the way, Indians appear and disappear like ghosts—on bad days tortured, plundered and decimated by the Spanish and their superior weaponry and horses, on good days deceiving, misleading (the gold, they cunningly reported, was always a bit further on), ambushing and killing them despite their technological advantage.

"To this day," the narrator says at the end, "the De Soto expedition is controversial. He is thought of by some as a brilliant cavalryman and fighter and by others as destructive, arrogant, and brutal. What we do know is that the story of Hernando De Soto continues to provide us with a unique and valuable insight into the history of America." While stopping far short of throwing the flag over De Soto's misdeeds, this statement may nevertheless subliminally (at least) imply that the event's contribution to "America" (as a whole?, the United States in particular?) at least partially justifies its mistakes, losses, excesses and injustices.

As a presentation of the many dimensions and conflicted implications of the De Soto expedition itself, the film was probably about as successful as could have been hoped for. But in its almost exclusive focus upon the narrative of the expedition, it neglected to engage equally pressing interpretive issues—especially the fact that the Memorial itself was a product of a particular moment in the long unfolding of popular and scholarly understanding of the De Soto Expedition and the role of the Memorial and both public and private institutions in Bradenton in shaping public understanding of the expedition. Watching the new film in the darkened auditorium of the Memorial, a visitor would have had little idea that the Memorial, the Hernando De Soto Historical Society, Manatee County or the Bradenton Chamber of Commerce had for nearly a half-century been selecting, shaping, and putting their various stamps upon that story, or that the Memorial itself had arisen from a particular moment in trying to uncover and—yes—celebrate that story.

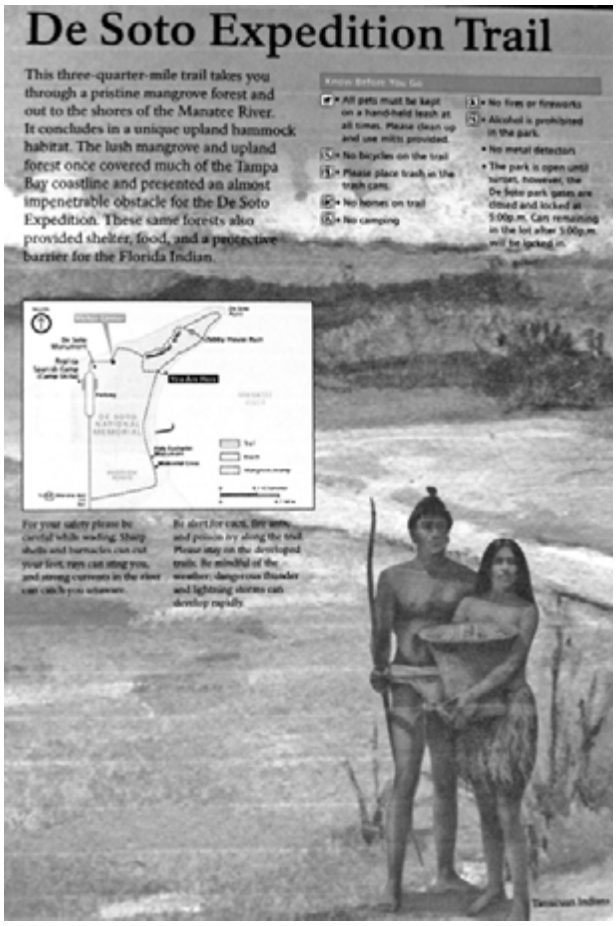


FIGURE 99. De Soto Expedition Trail (DESO Files)

Waysides and "Exterior Non-traditional Exhibits": From Nature Trail to De Soto Expedition Trail

After the arrival of Charles Fenwick as Superintendent in early 2001, the Memorial undertook a major redesign of its outdoor interpretive areas and signage.[608] Coming as he did from the much larger and more developed Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, Fenwick had participated in a mature and elaborate interpretive program. Early on, he turned attention to the Memorial's outdoor wayside exhibits.[609]

608. Fenwick arrived on February 25, 2001.

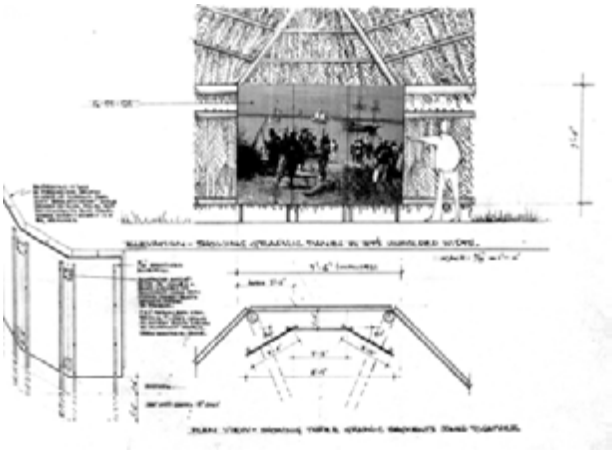


FIGURE 100. Plan for panorama of De Soto expedition entrada inside chickee hut, 2003. (DESO Files)

The Park Service promotes the use of waysides for a variety of reasons. They are simple, low-tech, visually arresting, always available, and designed so as to both to draw visitors into a particular park feature and to guide them to successive ones. At the same time, they provide information about park facilities, services, and management policies, alert visitors to safety or resource management issues, and help protect park resources by establishing an official presence at remote, unstaffed locations. Compared to other interpretive options, they are economical, easy to maintain, durable, relatively inexpensive to repair, and easily replaceable.[610]

In the mid-nineties, besides the usual bulletin board informing visitors about park hours and the like, the Memorial had only about thirty or so waysides—a mixed lot of items from several generations of interpretive efforts: the 1939 Colonial Dames monument, a large map, the tabby house ruins, a small feature on De Soto [Shaw's] Point, several panels on the plaza related to De Soto's life and landing, and twenty signs along the nature trail that named local plants and speculated about how native Americans may have used them.[611]

In 2003 a thorough reconfiguration of the waysides transformed the decades-old nature trail into the De Soto Expedition Trail, linking the natural and the cultural environments and producing a "dramatic change in the way the trail appeared to the public."[612]

Designed by a team drawn from the Memorial's own staff, Harpers Ferry Center, and NPS's Southeast Regional Office, the trail was to offer a "balanced interpretation of Native American and Spanish cultures of the era in the context of the contemporary environment of Florida," using the environment "as a key element to compare and contrast differing perspectives." [613] The new interpretive scheme was to explain, for example, how Native Americans "were well acclimated and adapted" to a local environment that presented difficult challenges "for Spanish travel, tactics, and survival instincts." The overall aim of the conversion was to turn the existing nature trail into "a metaphor for the entire 4,000 mile expedition," highlighting "the meeting of two cultures and the important impacts that resulted."

The $200,000 project included a reconfiguration of the Camp Uzita living history area, a new chickee hut built authentically by local Seminole Indians and situated between that area and the shoreline in order to channel visitors toward the Visitor Center (especially during the six or more months a year when the living history programs were not operating). The hut's displays—a panoramic view of the De Soto *entrada* on one side and an Indian temple mound on the other, with appropriate quotations from the chronicles—were designed to evoke the

609. Waysides fall within NPS's broad category of "Non-personal interpretive services . . . that do not require the presence of staff." In addition to waysides, these include publications, museum and visitor center exhibits, web pages, audiovisual presentations, and radio information systems. See National Park Service, Northeast Region, "Interpretation and Education," http://www.nps.gov/nero/interpanded/core_mission/resources.htm, chapter 7.3.2 (accessed 4 June 2007).
610. See National Park Service Harpers Ferry Center, "HFC Wayside Exhibits," http://www.nps.gov/hfc/products/waysides (accessed 4 June 2007).
611. Brian Loadholtz, Statement for Interpretation: De Soto National Memorial, 1993, DESO Files.
612. This trail within the Memorial should not be confused with the multi-state De Soto National Historic Trail, an outgrowth of the De Soto National Historic Trail Study Act of 1987 and the slightly later De Soto Expedition Trail Commission, both discussed below.
613. Charles Fenwick, Superintendent's Annual Report, 2004, pp. 4-5, DESO Files. The planning group included, besides Fenwick, William Brown, Susan Haines and David McLean of Harpers Ferry Center, the Southeast Region's Chief of Interpretation Don Wollenhaupt, NPS interpretation specialist John Beck, and De Soto Chief Ranger Ray Hamel. Charles Fenwick, interview by David E. Whisnant, 5 June 2007.

cultural chasm between De Soto's expeditionary force and Native Americans. Outside Camp Uzita, strategically placed bulletin boards clarified the Memorial's status as a part of the national park system, oriented visitors to its ongoing programs, and highlighted current and upcoming events. Other panels defined its relationship to the Catholic memorial on its southeast corner and to the adjacent Riverview Point county park.

New interpretive elements that contrasted sharply with previous signage were a series of lifelike (and lifesize) figures from the contact period placed around the former "nature trail." Unlike traditional NPS waysides—intended to explain or interpret a feature (object, structure, scene) that a visitor is seeing—the new "exterior non-traditional exhibits" at the Memorial were intended to evoke and explain features or events that were *no longer* present, but nevertheless important to the larger interpretive metaphor.[614]

For dramatic effect, these exhibits were placed around turns and back among the mangroves on the trail to recreate the impact that each of the two cultures would have had upon each other at first encounter. Rounding a particular turn, visitors would be surprised (even startled) by a mounted Spanish conquistador with war dogs, a foot soldier with a crossbow and war dog, an Indian staring from among the mangroves, two chained Indians bearing De Soto's supplies. Around another turn stood two Indian figures, one holding a spear, the other a bow and arrow. Later participants in the history of the site (eighteenth century fishermen, nineteenth century homesteaders, cattlemen) were evoked by appropriate historical figures and explanatory panels.[615]



FIGURE 101. De Soto Expedition Trail exhibit. Conquistador with crossbow and war dog (NPS HFC)

The Larger Interpretive Framework: De Soto (and Other) Trails

By the turn of the twentieth century, sixty years had passed since the quadricentennial De Soto commemoration of 1939. The Memorial's interpretive program was fully developed, but it was not the only site at which the history and ongoing implications (not to mention the tourist potential) of the De Soto expedition could appropriately be interpreted. De Soto and his army had passed through parts of ten southeastern states, in each of which there was interest in marking and interpreting the expedition. Public interest at both state and national levels in once again demarcating some kind of national De Soto trail—an idea that traced its roots back at least to the Swanton report of 1939—was intensified by both the quincentennial of the Columbus discovery and the 450th anniversary of De Soto's expedition.[616]

An appropriate National Park Service category for such a trail already existed. The National Trail Systems Act of 1968 (P.L. 90-543) had created a national trail system "consisting of scenic, recreation, historic and side or connecting trail components." To be included, a trail had to be

614. Bill Brown and Dave McLean to Bob Griggs, 21 April 2003, DESO Files.
615. Comprehensive Plan for Heritage Trail, DESO Files. Some of these images, dated 1999, were taken from Harpers Ferry Center files, and thus predate Fenwick's arrival.



FIGURE 102. Two Indians with spear and bow and arrow. De Soto Expedition Trail exhibit. (NPS HFC)

"established by historic use and . . . historically significant as a result of that use." It also had to be of national significance and to have "significant potential for public recreational use or historic interest." During the ensuing years a number of such trails were established, some of them passing through a half-dozen or more states.[617]

In preparation for marking a De Soto trail, individual states established their own study groups and commissions to locate their portion of the route. Florida established a task force in 1983 which fairly quickly reached consensus (except for the landing site), for a route leading from Inverness in central Florida northward to Tallahassee. Alabama created a De Soto Commission two years later. It focused considerable attention on the contentious issue of the location of Mabila, where De Soto's forces had had a calamitous battle with the Indians. Scholars, amateur partisans, and individual towns and cities on (or close to) the route conducted spirited (and finally unresolvable) debate about where the official Alabama route should lie. Georgia's commission (established in 1989) quickly reached consensus on most of a route proposed by Charles Hudson. Mississippi's group (established the same year) never issued a report, and no formal commission was appointed in either Louisiana or Arkansas, though two symposia were held in the latter.[618]

In 1988, the governors of the ten southern states established a regional commission charged with promoting research on the expedition and coordinating state and National Park Service initiatives toward a De Soto National Historic Trail. The following year the commission approved a De Soto highway trail paralleling the actual De Soto route.[619]

Meanwhile, parallel efforts were under way at the national level. In October 1986, a provision of P.L. 99-500 authorized a feasibility study for more than three dozen trails, the De Soto trail among them. The Park Service was given a little more than a year (until December 11, 1987) to conduct the study. The De Soto National Trail Study Act was introduced May 29, 1987 as S.1297 ("to amend the National Trails System Act to provide for a study of the De Soto Trail"). The Act wisely declined to engage on the issue of the exact route, saying only that De Soto passed through ten southern states, but its central purpose was to study the trail for possible

616. The following narrative of the various state and Federal activities around the De Soto expedition trail depends substantially upon Charles Hudson, *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 472-481, and Patricia Galloway, ed., *The Hernando de Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and "Discovery" in the Southeast* (Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press,1997), 410-411, 426-435.

617. For a map of the system see National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center, "National Trails System Map and Guide," http://www.nps.gov/hfc/carto/nps-trails.htm (accessed 24 June 2007).

618. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 472-476. Papers from the Arkansas symposia appeared in Glorida A. Young and Michael P. Hoffman, eds., *The Expedition of Hernando de Soto West of the Mississippi, 1541-1543: Proceedings of the De Soto Symposia, 1988 and 1990* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1993).

619. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 477.

inclusion in the National Trails System. It was unanimously reported out by the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources on September 25, 1987. The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs reported it favorably on November 18, 1987.

Beginning in 1988, NPS's Southeast Regional Office (assisted by the Southwest Regional Office) conducted the Congressionally required De Soto Historic Trail Study, working primarily from a map prepared by University of Georgia anthropologist Charles Hudson. Several hundred people attended a series of fifteen sometimes acrimonious public meetings—all of them urging that the trail be established. Disappointingly, however, NPS ultimately declined to back the plan. No currently definable route, NPS argued, could be precise enough to meet the required criteria for designation as a national historic trail under the terms of the 1987 Act. In April 1989 the National Park System Advisory Board recommended against the designation because "it fails to meet the criterion regarding trail integrity due to the lack of both data on the route and . . . consensus among scholars regarding [its] actual course."[620]

Scholar Patricia Galloway observed later that behind the negative decision lay "a struggle over ways and means" among professional historians and archeologists with a stake (professional standing, future research funds and "turf") in certain interpretations of the admittedly fragmentary and inconclusive evidence then in hand. Historians wanted to heighten the importance of documentary evidence and lower that of archeological data; archeologists wanted the opposite. Meanwhile, lay public participants in the discussion "fastened onto any admission of uncertainty by the experts to claim that experts who could not agree could not, in fact, be experts," and interested Indian artifact hunters weighed in with their opposition to regulation of their hobby. The inability of these diverse stakeholders to agree on the route—or even on what



FIGURE 103. Florida state De Soto Trail brochure. (MCPL files)

method(s) could best be used to establish it—has meant, Galloway concludes, that "no warm and fuzzy consensus on the marking of the trail, or even on what to celebrate, has been achieved." [621]

In the legislative arena, however, the celebratory/commemorative mode remained ascendant, untroubled by emerging critical arguments over either methodology and its implications or the larger issues of public celebration and commemoration. In the days just prior to the NPS Advisory Board's decision not to recommend further work on the De Soto route, Robert Graham (former Florida Governor, by then a U. S. Senator) introduced a bill (S. 555) to establish a national De Soto Trail Commission "for the purpose of marking the historic path of Hernando De Soto's expedition."[622] Graham reminded his colleagues in the Senate that "knowledge of the past is a treasure more priceless

620. National Park Service, De Soto Trail: De Soto National Historic Trail Study: Final Report Prepared by the National Park Service as required by the De Soto National Trial Study Act of 1987 ([Atlanta]: National Park Service Southeast Regional Office, 1990), 13-16, 143. Public commentary leaned more in the direction of a "commemorative highway route" than toward establishing a historic trail along De Soto's actual route.

621. Galloway, *Hernando De Soto Expedition*, 427-431. Artifact hunters, Galloway notes, founded their own journal (*The Soto States Archeologist*) to promote their views and challenge those of the "experts."

622. See Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, *Hearing . . . on S. 555 To Establish . . . the De Soto Expedition Trail Commission* (S. Hearing 101-288), 101st Cong., 1st sess., 8 June 1989; and Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, *De Soto Expedition Trail Commission Act of 1989,* 101st Cong., 1st sess, 1989, S. Rept. 101-232.

than gold," that De Soto "altered . . . the pattern of western civilization," and that "as we retrace his footsteps we will uncover pieces of our own history as fragile and as enduring as the links of armor found at [his] winter campsite in Tallahassee."[623]

Notwithstanding the Park Service's unwillingness to back the move for a De Soto National Trail, Congress enacted Graham's legislation (S. 555) establishing the De Soto Expedition Trail Commission (P.L. 101-607; 104 Stat. 3105) on November 16, 1990. In addition to coordinating state, Federal, and private efforts, the Commission was to provide technical assistance. It was given four years to do its work. Having created the Commission, however, Congress declined to fund it, and it never held a meeting.[624]

While all of this regional and national drama had unfolded, Florida had pressed on with its own commemorations. Senator Graham had in 1989 led the ceremony in which the state dedicated its own De Soto Trail, a project that had been in the works since he was Governor.[625] By that time, the state's system of roadside markers and interpretive exhibits had already been in place for three years.[626]

In Florida, the controversies over De Soto's route had been especially intense and protracted because of the central conundrum of the landing site, and also because there was still only one archeologically authenticated De Soto trail site (at Tallahassee). " If Hernando De Soto were alive today," *St. Petersburg Times* writer Cynthia Mayer had playfully asked in late 1987, "would he travel north on U.S. 41 to stop for a burger at Wendy's, or cross over to U.S. 301 where traffic is lighter?" Scholars still don't know, she observed, but Florida stakeholders want the official route to be up U.S. highway 301 through Manatee and Hillsborough counties—a faster, less cluttered road that gives "a better sense of the Florida wilderness encountered by the conquistador." Florida workers were soon to start marking the route with "Florida De Soto Trail" signs every five miles—an undertaking that would please those living near the route, but that was called "some kind of twisted political decision" by a resident of Safety Harbor (also a strong contender, according to some scholars), who opined that ''The whole thing was put together to accommodate the tourist trade, and not to solve a historical controversy.'' He was joined in his dismay by citizens of Punta Gorda and Fort Meyers beach.

De Soto scholar and archeologist Jerald T. Milanich observed that ''It's just like the Columbus landing. . . People would like to have the routes marked right through their downtowns.'' In any case, the committee resolved (with one crucial member more than half of its members present) that the official Florida route would start in Bradenton, go east on State Road 64, north on highway 301, and then to Tallahassee before continuing into Georgia. Committee member and Harvard scholar Jeffrey Brain refused to vote, saying the judgment was premature and that he was "astounded" by his colleagues. There was political pressure, he said, to get the deed done while (then Governor) Graham was still in office.[627]

Looking back at the De Soto trail controversy a decade later, Patricia Galloway observed that "Those of us who are comfortable with our societies as they are" use such public commemorations "to reinforce the rationale for the status quo . . . through the celebration and portrayal of the past not 'as it happened' but as it ought to have happened—or as we might prefer that it had happened, one might add—if it is to justify conditions of the present day" and to reinforce accepted views of reality. She noted further that the recent growing separation between professional historians and the "educated lay public" over the long-accepted "exceptionalist, triumphalist view of American history" leads in turn to disagreement over what constitutes history—hence, how (and where) it is appropriate to interpret (not

623. *Congressional Record*, 101st Cong., 1st sess., 9 March 1989, 135 S 2502. The Tallahassee site had been discovered by State Archeologist B. Calvin Jones in 1988. For an account of the discovery, see Charles R. Ewen and John H. Hann, *Hernando de Soto among the Apalachee* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), pp. 27-36.
624. Hudson, *Knights of Spain*, 478.
625. The ceremony took place on May 27 at the Memorial.
626. National Park Service, *De Soto Trail: De Soto National Historic Trail Study: Final Report Prepared by the National Park Service as required by the De Soto National Trail Study Act of 1987* ([Atlanta]: National Park Service Southeast Regional Office, 1990), 30-37.
627. Cynthia Mayer, "The Trail of De Soto Is Marked By Dispute," *St. Petersburg Times*, 26 October 1987, p. 1B. Mayer reported that the committee actually decided that De Soto most probably landed in Ruskin, a few miles north of the Memorial, but decided to start the route in Bradenton because the Memorial was already there.

to mention celebrate) it. For the De Soto National Memorial, however, the issue was ultimately a practical one: the Memorial's charge was to preserve the federally designated commemorative site and to interpret the De Soto expedition in the most sensitive and sophisticated way it could. And it sat on Shaw's (now called De Soto) Point, at what was in effect the trailhead of the expedition.[628]

After the revamping of the Memorial's local interpretive exhibits was finished in 2003, Superintendent Fenwick was able to turn substantial attention to the larger De Soto trail issue. During the summer of 2005, he helped organize a meeting of nearly fifty interested local, state and Federal officials in Gainesville who wanted to revitalize Florida's De Soto Trail highway markers program (mostly forgotten and unused). The hope was to expand the series of fourteen markers to thirty-seven interpretive kiosks—one at each De Soto encampment site, sponsored and maintained by nearby communities. Enterprising communities might use the kiosk sites as a focus for local festivals or celebrations.[629]

In early 2007, this vision moved closer toward fulfillment when the Florida Department of Transportation advanced nearly a half-million dollars to help redesign and enhance the Florida De Soto Trail leading from the Memorial to the winter encampment site in Tallahassee. When fully developed, the Trail is to consist of some forty kiosks, a virtual web site, interpretive exhibits, and living history programs on a route that runs through Lakeland, Dade City, Gainesville, and a half-dozen or so smaller towns and cities.[630]

Beginning with the placement of the Colonial Dames monument on Shaw's Point in 1939, it had taken nearly seventy years to firm up the Florida section of De Soto's expeditionary trail, however imprecisely known. Paradoxically, in the meantime, as Patricia Galloway observes, "scholarly focus [had] turned almost wholly to the story of indigenous peoples" and correspondingly away from the older narratives of European conquest.

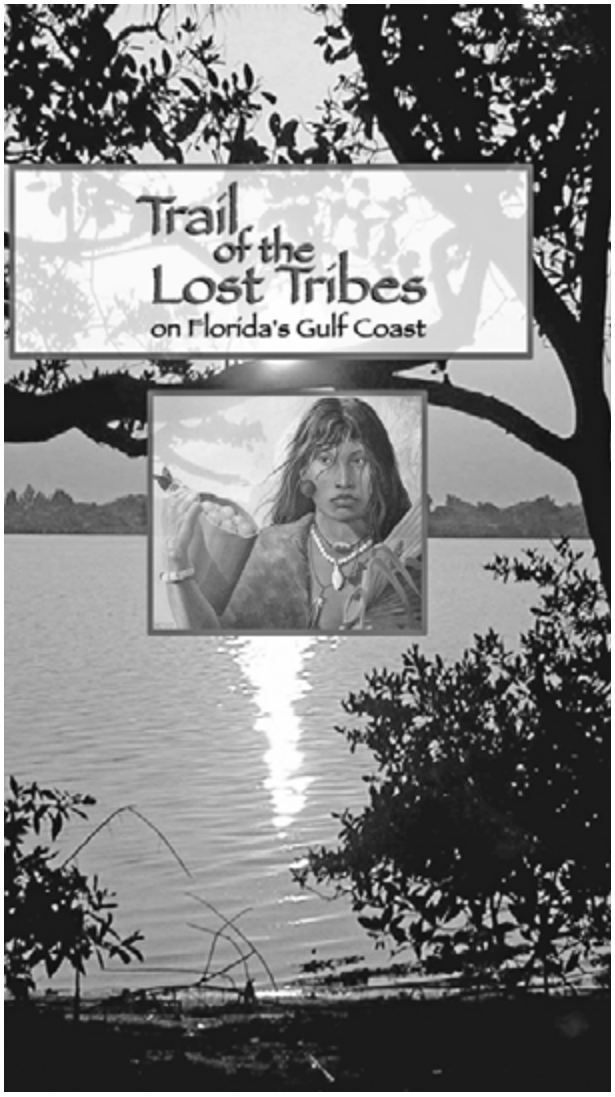


FIGURE 104. Early Trail of the Lost Tribes promotional brochure (www.trailoffloridas indianheritage.org/History_of_the_Trail.htm; accessed December 5, 2007)

That shift was reflected to some degree in the formation of the Trail of the Lost Tribes, designed to coordinate and promote a variety of Florida sites and organizations (the Memorial among them) important in the state's Native American history. Moves to create and promote that trail in turn focused increased attention upon a number of critical issues—for scholars, for the public, and for public and private institutions—that lie at the inter-

628. Galloway, *Hernando De Soto Expedition*, 410-11.
629. Carl Mario Nudi, "Groups Seeking to Perk Up Trail to Trace De Soto's Florida Journey," *Bradenton Herald*, 26 August 2005, Local & State p. 1C; and "Charting De Soto's Course," *Bradenton Herald*, 28 August 2005, p. 1A. Fenwick's role in this enterprise ceased when he departed the Memorial for another NPS assignment at the end of December 2005.
630. De Soto National Memorial Press Release, "Florida De Soto Trail Receives Big Boost from FDOT," 4 January 2007, http://www.visittallahassee.com/vendorimages/leoncountytdc/pressreleasedraftawardfromfdot.pdf_ (accessed 12 June 2007)

section of cultural preservation, tourism, and public understanding of the cultural past.

At that intersection, and nourished by the ever-expanding tourism market, several new hybrid forms have flourished: heritage tourism, cultural tourism, and ecotourism. On the long-popular Gulf coast of Florida, those forms now parallel the older, purely commercial (and frequently culturally and environmentally destructive) forms for which Florida is famous.[631]

In 2000, Sarasota naturalist Marty Ardren and ecotourism promoter Karen Fraley were captivated by Manatee County's new Emerson Point Park, created only a few years earlier when the county bought land across the river from the Memorial, which included the Portavent Temple Mound site (the largest remaining one on Tampa Bay), threatened until then by construction of a multi-story condominium development. Arden and Fraley suggested to scholars, cultural resource managers, business people, and amateur archeologists that a network of archeological sites and museums might be formed to promote responsible tourism while highlighting the need for cultural preservation. Response was immediate and positive; representatives of fifteen organizations attended the initial meeting in Bradenton, and the new network came to be called the Trail of the Lost Tribes.[632]

The group quickly produced a brochure, organized a speaker series (2,500 people attended the first event), and shortly thereafter filed for 501(c)(3) nonprofit status. Efforts were soon aided by grants from the Florida Humanities Council, VISIT FLORIDA, and the Frank E. Duckwall Foundation. During its first several years, series speakers addressed women in Florida's prehistory, bioarcheology, numerous archeological issues and projects, and Weedon Island Center's virtual archeology web site. Margo Schwadron, who had done the seminal work on archeology at the Memorial, also appeared.[633]

Approximately two-dozen separate sites and organizations—including De Soto National Memorial—eventually joined the Trail network: nine museums, seven history and science centers, eight mounds and other archeological sites, and several tours and living history presentations.[634]

The ongoing cultural politics surrounding the interpretation of the history and culture of Florida's native groups led the Trail to change its name in 2006. At the time the network was formed, "lost" referred to "Florida's original native people who were devastated, and were presumed to have completely vanished from the historical record . . . due to war, disease and persecution following European contact." After Florida's Seminoles and Miccosukees objected to being called "lost" tribes, considering themselves fully alive and involved with their native culture, the network changed its name to the Trail of Florida's Indian Heritage.[635]

The Trail's remarkable growth and success are exemplary, to be sure. Meanwhile, critics of the newer tourism paradigms (especially heritage tourism) remind us that (as anthropologist Uzi

631. See Gary R. Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005) and Jack E. Davis and Raymond Arsenault, eds., *Paradise Lost: The Environmental History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005).

632. The following discussion is drawn primarily from Uzi Baram, "A New Route in Heritage Tourism on Florida's Southwest Coast," *SAA Archaeological Record* (May 2005): pp. 20-22 and an account of the Trail organization's history at Trail of Florida's Indian Heritage, "History of the Trail of the Lost Tribes," http://www.trailoffloridasindianheritage.org/History_of_the_Trail.htm (accessed 14 June 2007). The endeavor received early support from the Florida state archeologist and the Florida Anthropological Society.

633. See Weedon Island Center at http://www.weedonislandcenter.org (accessed 14 June 2007).

634. The museums are Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum, Indian Temple Mound Museum at Fort Walton Beach, Florida Museum of Natural History, May-Stringer Heritage Museum at Brooksville, Safety Harbor Museum of Regional History, South Florida Museum in Bradenton, Museum of Florida Art and Culture in Avon Park, Museum of the Islands in Lee County, and Collier County Museum at Naples. The history and science centers are Tampa Bay History Center, Science Center of Pinellas County in St. Petersburg, Sarasota County History Center, Historic Spanish Point at Osprey, Charlotte County Historical Center, and Randell Research Center at Pineland, Tarpon Bay Explorers. The mounds and archeological sites are Mount Royal at Welaka, Madira Bickel Mound at Terra Ceia, Safety Harbor Mound, Anderson-Narvaez Mound, Portavant Temple Mound at Emerson Point, Indian Mound Park, the Mound House at Fort Myers Beach, Weedon Island Preserve, and Mound Key Archaeological State Park at Estero Bay. Tours and living history presentations include Around the Bend Nature Tours, Florida Frontiers in St. Petersburg, and Heritage of the Ancient Ones at Hildreth. Brief descriptions of and links to these sites may be found at Trail of Florida's Indian Heritage, http://www.trailoffloridasindianheritage.org/trail_sites.html (accessed 12 June 2007).

Baram puts it), the package is mixed. On the one hand, "Archeologically based presentations challenge the silences of history, raising the profile of the indigenous past, but also contain conflict between academic concerns and tourist appetites for easier access to complex issues." At the intersection of archeology and heritage tourism, Baram explains, one discovers "the paradoxical implications of such heritage tourism, with success leading to superficial presentations or exoticism."[636]

Conclusion

Through the now nearly sixty-year long history of the Memorial, some problems have proved perennially vexing and virtually unresolvable. Little can be done about the high tides, storms, and hurricanes that threaten year after year to flood the grounds and buildings or blow away the exhibits. One "solution" after another has failed to stem the loss of beachfront areas. Most of the land around the Memorial that once could have buffered its small acreage is permanently built up in subdivisions, their waterfront areas spiderwebbed with docks.

With regard to interpretation, however, the story is more encouraging. The Memorial has managed over the years (always with limited space, staff and money) to take the difficult (and ever changing) story of a none-too-savory historical figure's obstinate, fantasy-driven, and phenomenally destructive expedition through the Southeast, and develop around it a fair, historically grounded, critically balanced, engaging, publicly appealing and educational interpretive program. Far larger and better funded units of the National Parks system have sometimes accomplished less.

635. Roger Block, "The Trail Has a New Name!" *Trail of Florida's Indian Heritage Newsletter* I (Spring 2007), http://www.trailoffloridasindianheritage.org/newsletter.html (accessed 12 June 2007). The name was officially changed in December 2006. Superintendent Fenwick points out that neither the Seminole nor the Miccosukee were "lost tribes" in the sense the Trail organizers originally intended because neither tribe was a native Florida tribe, both having migrated into the state from the north in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. In a contemporary effort, the Memorial partnered with New College and the Florida Humanities Council to initiate a Traces of Our Past program, a day of activities (and later a speakers series) designed to engage the public in an exploration of the history of the Manatee River and its surrounding communities. "Learn Local History: New College Program," *Bradenton Herald*, March 11, 2006 (http://www.bradenton.com/mld/bradenton/news/local/14072196.htm; accessed March 28, 2006).

636. Baram, "A New Route in Heritage Tourism," 22. For an extended discussion of the problematics of heritage tourism, see Richard Francaviglia, "Selling Heritage Landscapes" in Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, eds., *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 44-69. Also pertinent are Paul A. Shackel, *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001) and David Glassberg, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001)

Appendix A: Legislation

March 11, 1948 Establishing legislation

[CHAPTER 109]

AN ACT

March 11, 1948
[H. R. 4022]
[Public Law 441]

To authorize the establishment of the De Soto National Memorial, in the State of Florida, and for other purposes.

De Soto National Memorial, Fla.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purpose of establishing an appropriate memorial to Hernando De Soto, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized, in his discretion, to acquire on behalf of the United States, by donation, by purchase with donated funds when purchaseable at prices deemed by him reasonable, or by condemnation with donated funds, such lands and interests in land within an area of not to exceed twenty-five acres as he may select in the vicinity of Tampa Bay and Bradenton, Florida, and to construct thereon a suitable memorial structure, together with such connecting roads and public facilities as may be desirable.

SEC. 2. Upon a determination by the Secretary of the Interior that sufficient land has been acquired by the United States for the memorial, such property shall be established as the "De Soto National Memorial", and shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior, through the National Park Service, for the benefit of the people of the United States. An order of the Secretary of the Interior, constituting notice of such establishment, shall be published in the Federal Register.

Publication of order in Federal Register.

Insofar as applicable and not in conflict with this Act, the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), providing for the establishment of a National Park Service, as amended and supplemented, shall govern the promotion and development of the national memorial.

16 U. S. C. §§ 1-4, 22, 43.

SEC. 3. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums, not to exceed $25,000, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Appropriation authorized.

Approved March 11, 1948.

August 11, 1949 Federal Register entry

ALCOHOL TAX DIVISION OF OFFICE OF CHIEF COUNSEL

3. Section 57 (formerly § 600.57) *Field organization of the Office of the Chief Counsel* is amended by changing paragraph (a) *Alcohol Tax Division* to read as follows:

(a) *Alcohol Tax Division.* The field personnel of this Division of the Chief Counsel's Office consists of attorneys-in-charge and other attorneys stationed at some district offices of the Alcohol Tax Unit (see section 55, formerly § 600.55). These attorneys prepare notices of contemplated denial of applications for permits and orders to show cause why permits should not be annulled, suspended, or revoked, prepare proposed findings of fact and conclusions of law and the orders based upon the findings of fact and conclusions of law of hearing examiners in such proceedings, prepare legal memoranda and opinions, briefs, libels, and other pleadings, assist at trials, review proposed compromise settlements, petitions for remission of forfeitures and other legal documents, and orally advise District Supervisors and members of their staffs on legal questions.

[SEAL] THOMAS J. LYNCH,
Acting Secretary of the Treasury.

[F. R. Doc. 49-6564; Filed, Aug. 11, 1949; 8:50 a. m.]

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Office of the Secretary

ORDER ESTABLISHING DE SOTO NATIONAL MEMORIAL

Whereas, satisfactory title has been vested in the United States to 24.182 acres of land, more or less, hereinbelow described, which have been selected by the Secretary of the Interior in the vicinity of Tampa Bay and Bradenton, Florida, for the establishment of the De Soto National Memorial pursuant to the act of March 11, 1948 (62 Stat. 78, 16 U. S. C., 1946 ed., Supp. II, sec. 450dd), and

Whereas, section 2 of the act of March 11, 1948, provides that upon execution of the provisions of section 1 of the said act relating to the establishment thereof, the De Soto National Memorial shall be established by order of the said Secretary which shall be published in the FEDERAL REGISTER:

Now, therefore, *It is ordered*, That the De Soto National Memorial be and the same is hereby established and shall consist of the following-described lands, with the structures now or hereafter placed thereon:

That certain parcel of land lying and being in the County of Manatee and State of Florida, conveyed to the United States of America by W. D. Sugg and Ruth Dickinson Sugg, his wife, and L. W. Blake and Persis Blake, his wife, by deed dated January 5, 1949, and recorded on March 22, 1949, in the Circuit Court of Manatee County, Florida, in Deed Book 255, at page 522, more particularly described as follows:

Beginning at a point on the South line of Government Lot No. 2, Section 12, Township 34 South, Range 16 East, which point is 226 feet West of the SE Corner of said Government Lot 2; thence go North along a line which is 226 feet West of and parallel to the East line of said Government Lot 2 a distance of 770 feet to a point on the shore of the Manatee River; thence go North 61 degrees 00' East along the Manatee River a distance of 257 feet to a point; thence go North 74 degrees 00' East along the Manatee River a distance of 118 feet to a point; thence go North 58 degrees 30' East along the Manatee River a distance of 585 feet to a point; thence go North 59 degrees 45' East along the Manatee River a distance of 350 feet to a point; thence go North 80 degrees 05' East along the Manatee River a distance of 170 feet to a point; thence go South 29 degrees 10' West along the Manatee River a distance of 284 feet to a point; thence go South 44 degrees 10' West along the Manatee River a distance of 168 feet to a point; thence go South 50 degrees 35' West along the Manatee River a distance of 478 feet to a point; thence go South 8 degrees 50' West along the Manatee River a distance of 347 feet to a point; thence go South 9 degrees 45' East along the Manatee River a distance of 350 feet to a point, this point being 50 feet South of the South line of Section 18, Township 34 South, Range 17 East, produced East; thence go West a distance of 643.7 feet to a point which is 50 feet South of the SW Corner of Section 18, Township 34 South, Range 17 East, which point is on the West line of Section 19, Township 34 South, Range 17 East; thence continue West on a line which is 50 feet South of and parallel to the South line of Section 13, Township 34 South, Range 16 East, a distance of 225 feet to a point; thence go North a distance of 50 feet to the point of beginning, and including all other contiguous land between the above described line and the high water mark of the Manatee River together with any and all riparian rights belonging or appertaining to the above described land, but excluding any portions of the Manatee River that might be included in the above description.

This order shall be published in the FEDERAL REGISTER.

Issued at Washington, D. C., this 5th day of August 1949.

[SEAL] J. A. KRUG,
Secretary of the Interior.

[F. R. Doc. 49-6536; Filed, Aug. 11, 1949; 8:45 a. m.]

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

[Docket Nos. 8891, 8892, 9231, 9382]

MARION BROADCASTING CO. (WMRN) ET AL.

CORRECTED ORDER DESIGNATING APPLICATION FOR CONSOLIDATED HEARING ON STATED ISSUES

In re applications of Marion Broadcasting Company (WMRN), Marion, Ohio, Docket No. 9382, File No. BP-7023; E. Harold Munn tr/as HICO Broadcasters, Jonesville, Michigan, Docket No. 8231, File No. BP-8885; The Fort Industry Company (WJBK), Detroit, Michigan, Docket No. 8891, File No. BP-8215; James Gerity, Jr. (WABJ), Adrian, Michigan, Docket No. 8892, File No. BP-8259; for construction permits.

At a session of the Federal Communications Commission, held at its offices in Washington, D. C., on the 13th day of July 1949;

The Commission having under consideration the above-entitled applications of

May 16, 1960, House report 1609, raising spending limit to $175,000

86TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT
2d Session } { No. 1609

DE SOTO NATIONAL MEMORIAL, FLA.

MAY 16, 1960.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mrs. FROST, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany S. 1214]

The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1214) to amend the act of March 11, 1948 (62 Stat. 78), relating to the establishment of the De Soto National Memorial, in the State of Florida, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with an amendment and recommend that the bill as amended do pass.

The amendment is as follows:

Page 2, strike out all of lines 1 to 6, inclusive, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

> B. By striking from section 3 of said Act, as amended, the figure "$50,000" and inserting in lieu thereof the figure "$175,000".

PURPOSE

S. 1214 amends the act of March 11, 1948 (62 Stat. 78), to allow the Department of the Interior to acquire a small strip of land for addition to the De Sota National Memorial in Florida. It is the committee's understanding that this land will be donated to the United States. The bill, as amended, also increases the amount authorized to be appropriated for the memorial from $50,000 to $175,000 in order to provide for its suitable development.

NEED

The De Soto National Memorial was established in 1948 to commemorate the explorations of Hernando de Soto. These were the first major explorations on the North American Continent. Existing

law limits the acreage of the memorial to 25 acres and places a limitation of $50,000 on expenditures for development of the area.

The National Park Service desires to acquire a 3-acre strip lying along the south boundary of the memorial which will afford a suitable protective zone at the entrance gate and provide additional space for administrative purposes. Acquisition of this land will preclude undesirable commercial and residential development near the entrance.

COST

Information furnished the committee after receipt of the Interior Department's executive communication on the bill is to the effect that the owner of the 3-acre strip of land will donate it to the United States. Accordingly the authorization of $10,000 for this purpose which was contained in the Senate-passed bill is not needed and has been stricken.

Under the committee amendment, the present appropriation limit of $50,000 for development of the memorial and related purposes is raised to $175,000. This latter amount is the estimated total development cost of developing the memorial and includes past expenditures for this purpose.

DEPARTMENT REPORT

The executive communication from the Department of the Interior follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., February 13, 1959.

Hon. RICHARD M. NIXON,
President of the Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Enclosed is a draft of a proposed bill to amend the act of March 11, 1948 (62 Stat. 78), relating to the establishment of the De Soto National Memorial, in the State of Florida.

We suggest that this bill be referred to the appropriate committee for consideration, and we recommend that it be enacted.

This bill would permit a small increase in the presently organized acreage for this area, and would remove the existing limitations on the use of appropriated funds.

The De Soto National Memorial, which was established pursuant to authority contained in the act of March 11, 1948 (62 Stat. 78), commemorates the explorations of Hernando de Soto, who conducted the first major expedition to explore the North American Continent. In about 4 years De Soto and his companions crossed some 4,000 miles of wilderness in what is now southern United States, recording valuable information about the interior lands and native life of the new world.

The land proposed to be acquired for the memorial is a 3-acre strip which lies along the south boundary of the memorial. This additional land is needed to provide a suitable protective zone at the entrance gate to assure administrative control of an important drainage ditch, and to provide additional space for administrative purposes.

At the present rate of growth and development in this section of Florida, the approach road to the area may be crowded with homesites in the foreseeable future. Such development would destroy much of the serenity and dignity of the area that visitors now experi-

November 10, 1978 PL 95-625 raising spending limit

Public Law 95–625
95th Congress

An Act

To authorize additional appropriations for the acquisition of lands and interests in lands within the Sawtooth National Recreation Area in Idaho.

Nov. 10, 1978
[S. 791]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978.

SHORT TITLE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978".

16 USC 1 note.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Sec. 1. Short title and table of contents.
Sec. 2. Definition.
Sec. 3. Authorization of appropriations.

TITLE I—DEVELOPMENT CEILING INCREASES

Sec. 101. Specific increases.
Agate Fossil Beds National Monument.
Andersonville National Historic Site.
Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.
Biscayne National Monument.
Capitol Reef National Park.
Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site.
Cowpens National Battlefield Site.
De Soto National Memorial.
Fort Bowie National Historic Site.
Frederick Douglass Home, District of Columbia.
Grant Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site.
Guadalupe Mountains National Park.
Gulf Islands National Seashore.
Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.
Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.
Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore.
John Muir National Historic Site.
Lands in Prince Georges and Charles Counties, Maryland.
Longfellow National Historic Site.
Pecos National Monument.
Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial.
San Juan Island National Historical Park.
Sitka National Historical Park.
Statue of Liberty National Monument.
Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home National Historic Site.
Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site.
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TITLE II—ACQUISITION CEILING INCREASES

Sec. 201. Acquisition ceilings.
Big Cypress National Preserve.
Buffalo National River.
Cumberland Island National Seashore.
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TABLE OF CONTENTS—Continued

TITLE VII—WILD AND SCENIC RIVERS ACT AMENDMENTS—Continued

Subtitle D—Amendments to Public Law 90-542

Sec. 761. Technical amendments.
Sec. 762. Federal lands; cooperative agreements.
Sec. 763. Miscellaneous technical amendments.
Sec. 764. Lease of Federal lands.

TITLE VIII—RECOGNITION OF THE HONORABLE WILLIAM M. KETCHUM

Sec. 801. Recognition of the Honorable William M. Ketchum.

TITLE IX—JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

TITLE X—URBAN PARK AND RECREATION RECOVERY PROGRAM

TITLE XI—NEW RIVER GORGE NATIONAL RIVER

TITLE XII—FORT SCOTT NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

TITLE XIII—REPORT AND BOUNDARY REVISION

Sec. 1301. Beaverhead or Gallatin National Forests.
Sec. 1302. Hampton National Historic Site.

DEFINITION

SEC. 2. As used in this Act, except as otherwise specifically provided, the term "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Interior.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

Effective date.

SEC. 3. Authorizations of moneys to be appropriated under this Act shall be effective on October 1, 1978. Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, authority to enter into contracts, to incur obligations, or to make payments under this Act shall be effective only to the extent, and in such amounts, as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.

TITLE I—DEVELOPMENT CEILING INCREASES

SPECIFIC INCREASES

Appropriation authorizations.

SEC. 101. The limitations on funds for development within certain units of the National Park System and affiliated areas are amended as follows:

16 USC 431 note.

(1) Agate Fossil Beds National Monument, Nebraska: Section 4 of the Act of June 5, 1965 (79 Stat. 123), is amended by changing "$1,842,000" to "$2,012,000".

(2) Andersonville National Historic Site, Georgia: Section 4 of the Act of October 16, 1970 (84 Stat. 989), is amended by changing "$1,605,000" to "$2,205,000 for development.", and by deleting "(March 1969 prices), for development, plus or minus such amounts, if any, as may be justified by reason of ordinary fluctuation in construction costs as indicated by engineering cost indices applicable to the types of construction involved herein.".

(3) Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, Tennessee: Section 3 of the Act of December 11, 1963 (77 Stat. 350) is amended by changing "$266,000" to "$286,000".

16 USC 450qq-4

(4) Biscayne National Monument, Florida: Section 5 of the Act of October 18, 1968 (82 Stat. 1188), is amended by changing "$2,900,000" to "$6,565,000".

(5) Capitol Reef National Park, Utah: Section 7 of the Act of December 18, 1971 (85 Stat. 739), is amended by changing "$1,052,700 (April 1970 prices)" to "$1,373,000 for development.", and by deleting "for development, plus or minus such amounts, if any, as may be justified by reason of ordinary fluctuations in construction costs as indicated by engineering cost indexes applicable to the types of construction involved herein.". 16 USC 273f.

(6) Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site, North Carolina: Section 3 of the Act of October 17, 1968 (82 Stat. 1154), is amended by changing "$952,000" to "$1,662,000".

(7) Cowpens National Battlefield Site, South Carolina: Section 402 of the Act of April 11, 1972 (86 Stat. 120), is amended by changing "$3,108,000" to "$5,108,000".

(8) De Soto National Memorial, Florida: Section 3 of the Act of March 11, 1948 (62 Stat. 78), as amended, is further amended changing "$3,108,000" to "$5,108,000". 16 USC 450dd note.

(9) Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Arizona: Section 4 of the Act of August 30, 1964 (78 Stat. 681), is amended by deleting "$550,000 to carry out the purposes of this Act.", and inserting in lieu thereof: "$85,000 for land acquisition and $1,043,000 for development".

(10) Frederick Douglass Home, District of Columbia: Section 4 of the Act of September 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 435), is amended by changing "$413,000" to "$1,350,000".

(11) Grant Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site, Montana: Section 4 of the Act of August 25, 1972 (86 Stat. 632), is amended to read as follows: "SEC. 4. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act, but not to exceed $752,000 for land acquisition and not to exceed $2,075,000 for development."; the additional sums herein authorized for land acquisition may be used to acquire the fee simple title to lands over which the United States has acquired easements or other less than fee interests.

(12) Guadalupe Mountains National Park, Texas: Section 6 of the Act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 920), is amended by changing "$10,362,000" to "$24,715,000", and by adding the following new sentence at the end of the section: "No funds appropriated for development purposes pursuant to this Act may be expended for improvements incompatible with wilderness management within the corridor of the park leading to the summit of Guadalupe Peak.". 16 USC 283e.

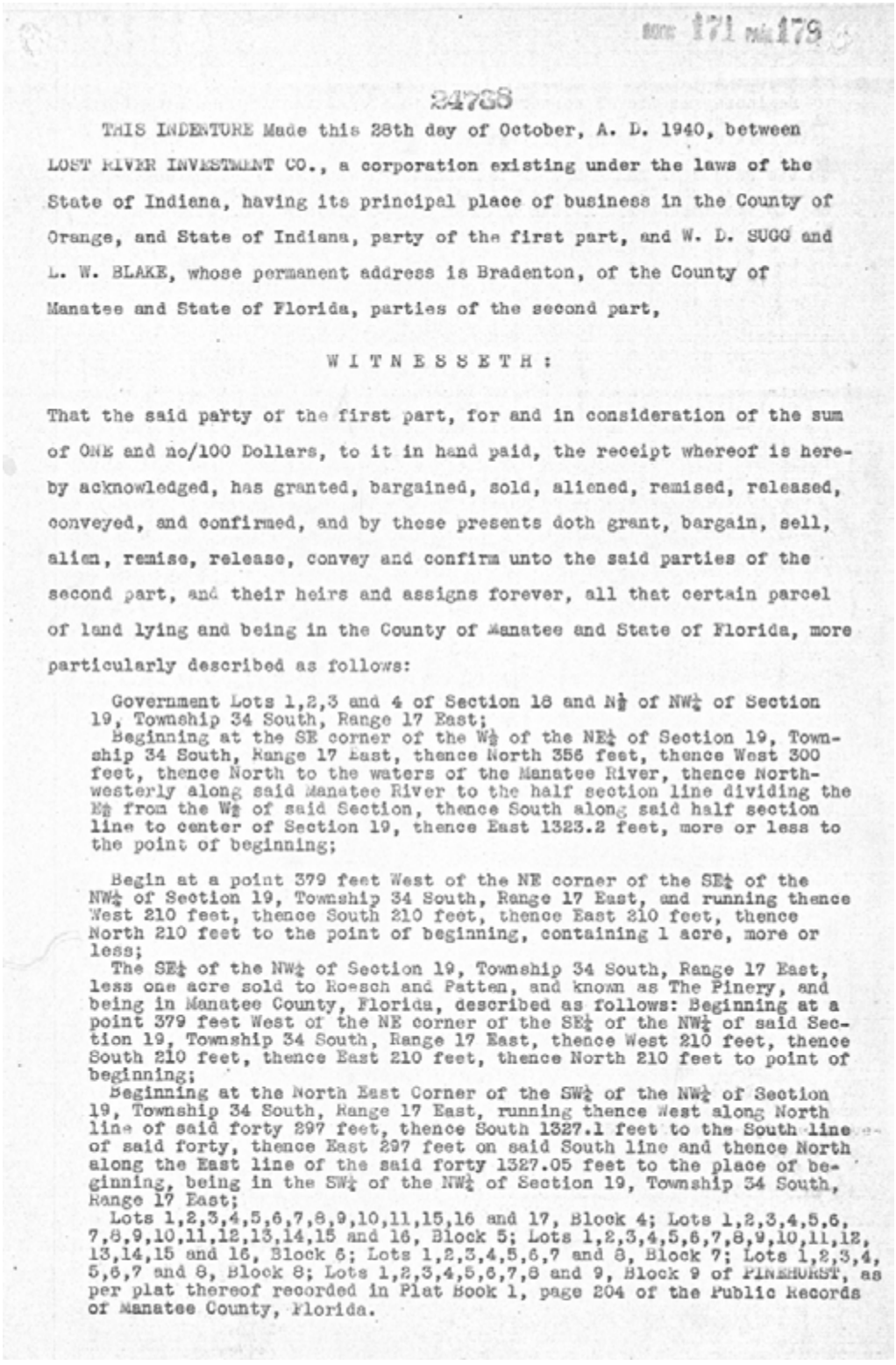
(13) Gulf Islands National Seashore, Florida-Mississippi: Section 11 of the Act of January 8, 1971 (84 Stat. 1967), is amended by changing "$17,774,000" to "$24,224,000", and by deleting the phrase "(June 1970 prices) for development, plus such amounts, if any, as may be justified by reason of ordinary fluctuations in construction costs as indicated by engineering costs indices applicable to the types of construction involved herein.", and inserting in lieu thereof "for development.". 16 USC 459h-10.

(14) Harper's Ferry National Historical Park, Maryland-West Virginia: Section 4 of the Act of June 30, 1944 (58 Stat. 645), is amended further by changing "$8,690,000" to "$12,385,000". 16 USC 450bb note.

(15) Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Arizona: Section 3 of the Act of August 28, 1965 (79 Stat. 584), is amended by changing "$952,000" to "$977,000". 16 USC 461 note.

Appendix B: Land Records

Deed dated October 25, 1940 transferring land from Lost River Land Company of Indiana to W. D. Sugg and L. W. Blake; Manatee County Historical Records Library, Deed Book 171, pp. 179-181



BOOK 171 PAGE 179

24788

THIS INDENTURE Made this 28th day of October, A. D. 1940, between LOST RIVER INVESTMENT CO., a corporation existing under the laws of the State of Indiana, having its principal place of business in the County of Orange, and State of Indiana, party of the first part, and W. D. SUGG and L. W. BLAKE, whose permanent address is Bradenton, of the County of Manatee and State of Florida, parties of the second part,

W I T N E S S E T H :

That the said party of the first part, for and in consideration of the sum of ONE and no/100 Dollars, to it in hand paid, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, has granted, bargained, sold, aliened, remised, released, conveyed, and confirmed, and by these presents doth grant, bargain, sell, alien, remise, release, convey and confirm unto the said parties of the second part, and their heirs and assigns forever, all that certain parcel of land lying and being in the County of Manatee and State of Florida, more particularly described as follows:

Government Lots 1,2,3 and 4 of Section 18 and N½ of NW¼ of Section 19, Township 34 South, Range 17 East;

Beginning at the SE corner of the W½ of the NE¼ of Section 19, Township 34 South, Range 17 East, thence North 356 feet, thence West 300 feet, thence North to the waters of the Manatee River, thence Northwesterly along said Manatee River to the half section line dividing the E½ from the W½ of said Section, thence South along said half section line to center of Section 19, thence East 1323.2 feet, more or less to the point of beginning;

Begin at a point 379 feet West of the NE corner of the SE¼ of the NW¼ of Section 19, Township 34 South, Range 17 East, and running thence West 210 feet, thence South 210 feet, thence East 210 feet, thence North 210 feet to the point of beginning, containing 1 acre, more or less;

The SE¼ of the NW¼ of Section 19, Township 34 South, Range 17 East, less one acre sold to Roesch and Patten, and known as The Pinery, and being in Manatee County, Florida, described as follows: Beginning at a point 379 feet West of the NE corner of the SE¼ of the NW¼ of said Section 19, Township 34 South, Range 17 East, thence West 210 feet, thence South 210 feet, thence East 210 feet, thence North 210 feet to point of beginning;

Beginning at the North East Corner of the SW¼ of the NW¼ of Section 19, Township 34 South, Range 17 East, running thence West along North line of said forty 297 feet, thence South 1327.1 feet to the South line of said forty, thence East 297 feet on said South line and thence North along the East line of the said forty 1327.05 feet to the place of beginning, being in the SW¼ of the NW¼ of Section 19, Township 34 South, Range 17 East;

Lots 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,15,16 and 17, Block 4; Lots 1,2,3,4,5,6, 7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15 and 16, Block 5; Lots 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12, 13,14,15 and 16, Block 6; Lots 1,2,3,4,5,6,7 and 8, Block 7; Lots 1,2,3,4, 5,6,7 and 8, Block 8; Lots 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8 and 9, Block 9 of PINEHURST, as per plat thereof recorded in Plat Book 1, page 204 of the Public Records of Manatee County, Florida.

BOOK 171 PG 130

Beginning at the SE corner of Fractional Section 13, the same being the SE corner of Government Lot 2, thence West along the South line of said Section to a point 176 feet East of the NE corner of the NW¼ of the NE¼ of Section 24, Township 34 South, Range 16 East, thence North to the waters of Tampa Bay or the Manatee River; thence in a Northeasterly direction along the sinuosities of the shore line of the said Bay to the intersection with the Range line dividing Ranges 16 and 17, thence South along said Range line to the SE corner of said Section 13, to the point of beginning;

Commencing at the NE corner of Section 24, Township 34 South, Range 16 East, thence West 993 feet, thence South 1325.13 feet to the South line of the NE¼ of the NE¼ of said Section, thence East 992.7 feet to the SE corner of said forty acres, thence North to the point of beginning;

The SE¼ of the NE¼ of Section 24, Township 34 South, Range 16 East;
The SW¼ of the NE¼ of Section 24, Township 34 South, Range 16 East;
The NW¼ of the SE¼ of Section 24, Township 34 South, Range 16 East;

Beginning at the SE corner of the SE¼ of the NW¼ of Section 24, Township 34 South, Range 16 East, the same being the center of said Section, thence West 909 feet to a point, thence North 661.3 feet, thence West 15 feet, thence North 661.4 feet to the North line of said 40 acre tract, thence East to the NE corner of said 40 acres, thence South to point of beginning, together with all riparian rights belonging or appertaining to any and all of the above described property.

TOGETHER with all the tenements, hereditaments and appurtenances, with every privilege, right, title, interest and estate, reversion, remainder and easement thereto belonging or in anywise appertaining: TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the same in fee simple forever.

And the said party of the first part doth covenant with the said parties of the second part that it is lawfully seized of the said premises; that they are free of all incumbrances, and that it has good right and lawful authority to sell the same; and the said party of the first part does hereby fully warrant the title to said land, and will defend the same against the lawful claims of all persons whomsoever.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said party of the first part has caused these presents to be signed in its name by its Vice President, and its corporate seal to be affixed, attested by its Secretary, the day and year above written.

(Corporate Seal)

LOST RIVER INVESTMENT CO.,

By Harry Bacon
Vice President

ATTEST: Winifred Daly
Secy

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in Our Presence:

Mrs. Carl Fricks

Grace Bateman

STATE OF INDIANA

COUNTY OF ORANGE

I HEREBY CERTIFY, That on this 28th day of October, A. D. 1940, before me personally appeared Harry Ballard and Winifred Daley, respectively Vice President and Secretary of LOST RIVER INVESTMENT CO., a corporation under the laws of the State of Indiana, to me known to be the persons described in and who executed the foregoing conveyance to W. D. SUGG and L. W. BLAKE, and severally acknowledged the execution thereof to be their free act and deed as such officers, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned; and that they affixed thereto the official seal of said corporation, and the said instrument is the act and deed of said corporation.

WITNESS my signature and official seal at West Baden Springs in the County of Orange and State of Indiana, the day and year last aforesaid.

My Commission expires:

Sept 19 1943

Notary Public (SEAL)



Filed for record the 23rd day of November, 1940
at 12:47 o'clock P. M. in the book noted above.
Iveson Lloyd, Clerk Circuit Court, Manatee County, Florida.
By Lynda M. Beall Deputy Clerk.

Memorandum dated August 8, 1948 from Drs. Sugg and Blake agreeing to sell land for the Memorial; De Soto National Memorial files

W. D. SUGG, M. D.
PROFESSIONAL BUILDING
BRADENTON, FLORIDA

August 8, 1948

To Whom it Concerns.-

We, Dr. Lourie W. Blake, and Dr. W. D. Sugg agree to deed the land outlined in the Squires blueprint of July 1948 comprising approximately 22.6 acres to the United States Department of Interior without compensation, it being understood that this land is to be used and developed as De Soto National Monument and that in the final contract there be included a clause which, in the event that such development should fail in a reasonable length of time to take place the land should revert to us. We do not specify the type or extent of development, but if within a reasonable period of time, if no appropriation for development and no concrete steps have been taken, we would like this assurance that this tract not be allowed to stand as an abandoned wasteland for years. If the actual inclusion of such a clause in the contract would hazard the acceptance of the donation, by the government, we will accept simple assurances of those in authority that such development will actually be made.

Dr L.W. Blake
/s/Dr L.W. Blake
Dr W.D. Sugg
/s/Dr. W.D. Sugg

C O P Y

Deed dated January 3, 1949 from Drs. Sugg and Blake for land for Memorial; Manatee County Historical Records Library, Deed Book 255, pp. 562-564

BOOK 255 PAGE 562

67021

WARRANTY DEED

THIS INDENTURE, Made this 3rd day of January, A. D. 1949, between W. D. SUGG and RUTH DICKINSON SUGG, his wife, and L. W. BLAKE and PERSIS BLAKE, his wife, of the County of Manatee and State of Florida, parties of the first part, and UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, party of the second part, WITNESSETH, that the said parties of the first part, for and in consideration of the sum of Ten and no/100 Dollars, and other good and valuable considerations to them in hand paid, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, have granted, bargained, sold and conveyed, and by these presents do grant, bargain, sell, convey and confirm unto the said party of the second part, all that certain parcel of land lying and being in the County of Manatee and State of Florida, more particularly described as follows:

Beginning at a point on the South line of Government Lot No. 2, Section 13, Township 34 South, Range 16 East, which point is 225 feet West of the SE Corner of said Government Lot 2; thence go North along a line which is 225 feet West of and parallel to the East line of said Government Lot 2 a distance of 770 feet to a point on the shore of the Manatee River; thence go North 61 degrees 00' East along the Manatee River a distance of 257 feet to a point; thence go North 74 degrees 00' East along the Manatee River a distance of 118 feet to a point; thence go North 68 degrees 30' East along the Manatee River a distance of 665 feet to a point; thence go North 69 degrees 45' East along the Manatee River a distance of 350 feet to a point; thence go North 80 degrees 05' East along the Manatee River a distance of 170 feet to a point; thence go South 22 degrees 10' West along the Manatee River a distance of 284 feet to a point; thence go South 44 degrees 10' West along the Manatee River a distance of 163 feet to a point; thence go South 50 degrees 35' West along the Manatee River a distance of 478 feet to a point; thence go South 8 degrees 50' West along the Manatee River a distance of 347 feet to a point; thence go South 9 degrees 45' East along the Manatee River a distance of 350 feet to a point, this point being 50 feet South of the South line of Section 18, Township 34 South, Range 17 East, produced East; thence go West a distance of 643.75 feet to a point which is 50 feet South of the SW Corner of Section 18, Township 34 South, Range 17 East, which point is on the West line of Section 19, Township 34 South, Range 17 East; thence continue West on a line which is 50 feet South of and parallel to the South line of Section 13, Township 34 South, Range 16 East, a distance of 225 feet to a point; thence go North a distance of 50 feet to the point of beginning, and including all other contiguous land between the above described line and the high water mark of the Manatee River together with any and all riparian rights belonging or appertaining to the above described land, but excluding any portions of the Manatee River that might be included in the above description.



Together with all the tenements, hereditaments and appurtenances, with every privilege, right, title, interest and estate, dower and right of dower, reversion, remainder and easement thereto belonging or in anywise appertaining: TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the same in fee simple forever.

BOOK 255 PAGE 304

STATE OF FLORIDA
COUNTY OF MANATEE

I HEREBY CERTIFY, That this day in the next above named State and County before me, an officer duly autnorized and acting, personally appeared L. W. BLAKE and PERSIS BLAKE, his wife, to me well known and known to me to be the individuals described in and who executed the foregoing deed, and they acknowledged then and there before me that they executed said deed.

AND I FURTHER CERTIFY, That the said PERSIS BLAKE, known to me to be the wife of the said L. W. BLAKE, on a separate and private examination, taken and made in the above named State and County by and before me, separately and apart from her said husband, did this day acknowledge before me, an officer authorized to take acknowledgments of deeds, that she executed the foregoing deed freely and voluntarily and without any compulsion, constraint, apprehension or fear of or from her said husband.

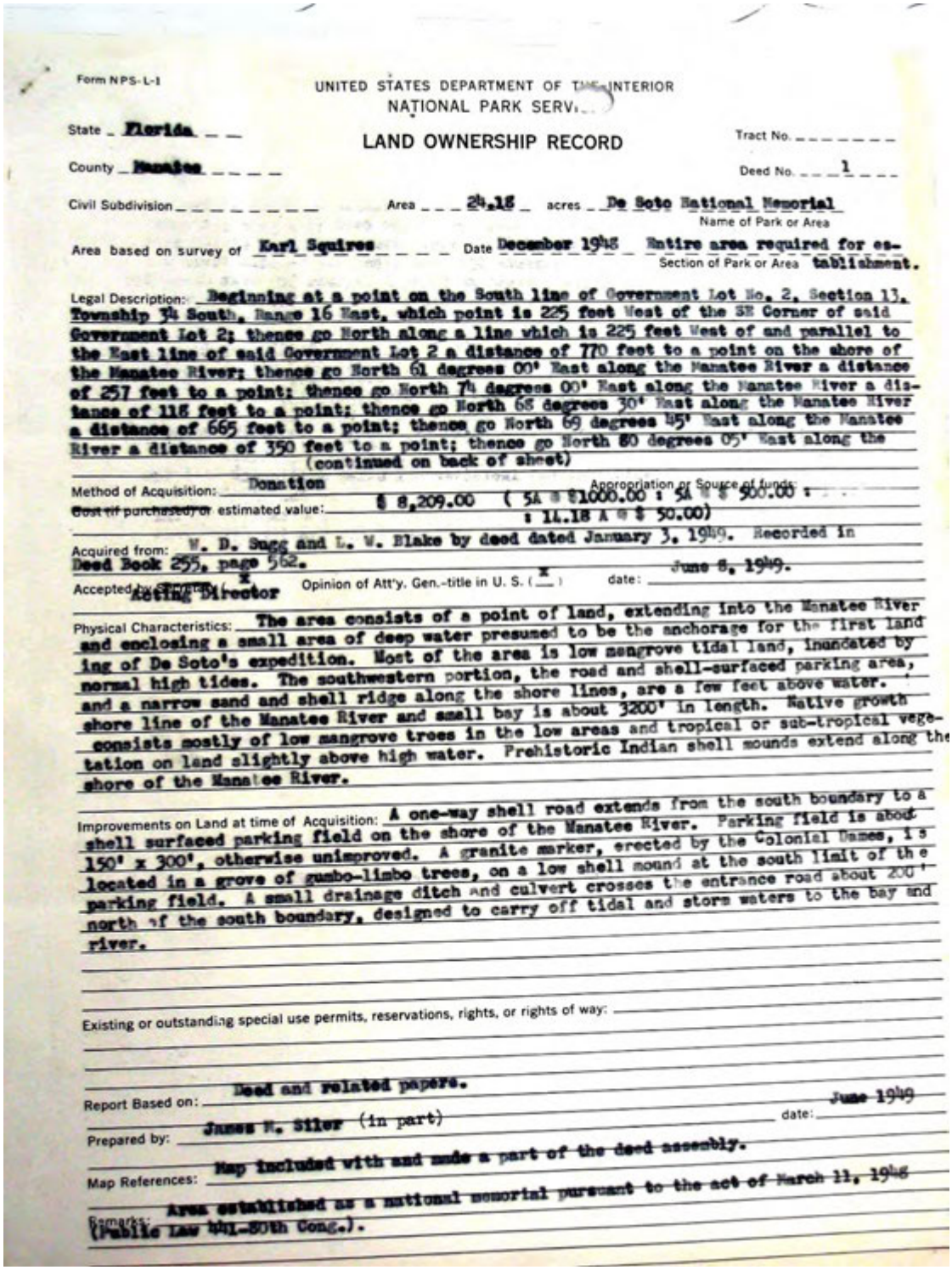
WITNESS my hand and official seal this 3rd day of January, A. D. 1947.

Jane E. Powell
Notary Public

My Commission expires:
NOTARY PUBLIC, STATE OF FLORIDA AT LARGE
MY COMMISSION EXPIRES JULY 2, 1949

FILED FOR RECORD March 18 49
3:00 O'CLOCK P. M. AND RECORDED
March 22 1949
LLOYD M. MICKS, CLERK CIRCUIT COURT
by Beulah Hunt D.C.

National Park Service Land Ownership Record, June 1949; De Soto National Memorial files



Form NPS-L-1

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

LAND OWNERSHIP RECORD

State Florida Tract No.

County Manatee Deed No. 1

Civil Subdivision Area 24.15 acres De Soto National Memorial (Name of Park or Area)

Area based on survey of Karl Squires Date December 1948 Entire area required for establishment. (Section of Park or Area)

Legal Description: Beginning at a point on the South line of Government Lot No. 2, Section 13, Township 34 South, Range 16 East, which point is 225 feet West of the SE Corner of said Government Lot 2; thence go North along a line which is 225 feet West of and parallel to the East line of said Government Lot 2 a distance of 770 feet to a point on the shore of the Manatee River; thence go North 61 degrees 00' East along the Manatee River a distance of 257 feet to a point; thence go North 74 degrees 00' East along the Manatee River a distance of 118 feet to a point; thence go North 68 degrees 30' East along the Manatee River a distance of 665 feet to a point; thence go North 69 degrees 45' East along the Manatee River a distance of 350 feet to a point; thence go North 80 degrees 05' East along the (continued on back of sheet)

Method of Acquisition: Donation Appropriation or Source of funds:

~~Cost (if purchased) or~~ estimated value: $ 8,209.00 (5A @ $1000.00 : 5A @ $ 500.00 : 14.18 A @ $ 50.00)

Acquired from: W. D. Sugg and L. W. Blake by deed dated January 3, 1949. Recorded in Deed Book 255, page 562.

Accepted by: Acting Director Opinion of Att'y. Gen.-title in U. S. (X) date: June 8, 1949.

Physical Characteristics: The area consists of a point of land, extending into the Manatee River and enclosing a small area of deep water presumed to be the anchorage for the first landing of De Soto's expedition. Most of the area is low mangrove tidal land, inundated by normal high tides. The southwestern portion, the road and shell-surfaced parking area, and a narrow sand and shell ridge along the shore lines, are a few feet above water. shore line of the Manatee River and small bay is about 3200' in length. Native growth consists mostly of low mangrove trees in the low areas and tropical or sub-tropical vegetation on land slightly above high water. Prehistoric Indian shell mounds extend along the shore of the Manatee River.

Improvements on Land at time of Acquisition: A one-way shell road extends from the south boundary to a shell surfaced parking field on the shore of the Manatee River. Parking field is about 150' x 300', otherwise unimproved. A granite marker, erected by the Colonial Dames, is located in a grove of gumbo-limbo trees, on a low shell mound at the south limit of the parking field. A small drainage ditch and culvert crosses the entrance road about 200' north of the south boundary, designed to carry off tidal and storm waters to the bay and river.

Existing or outstanding special use permits, reservations, rights, or rights of way:

Report Based on: Deed and related papers.

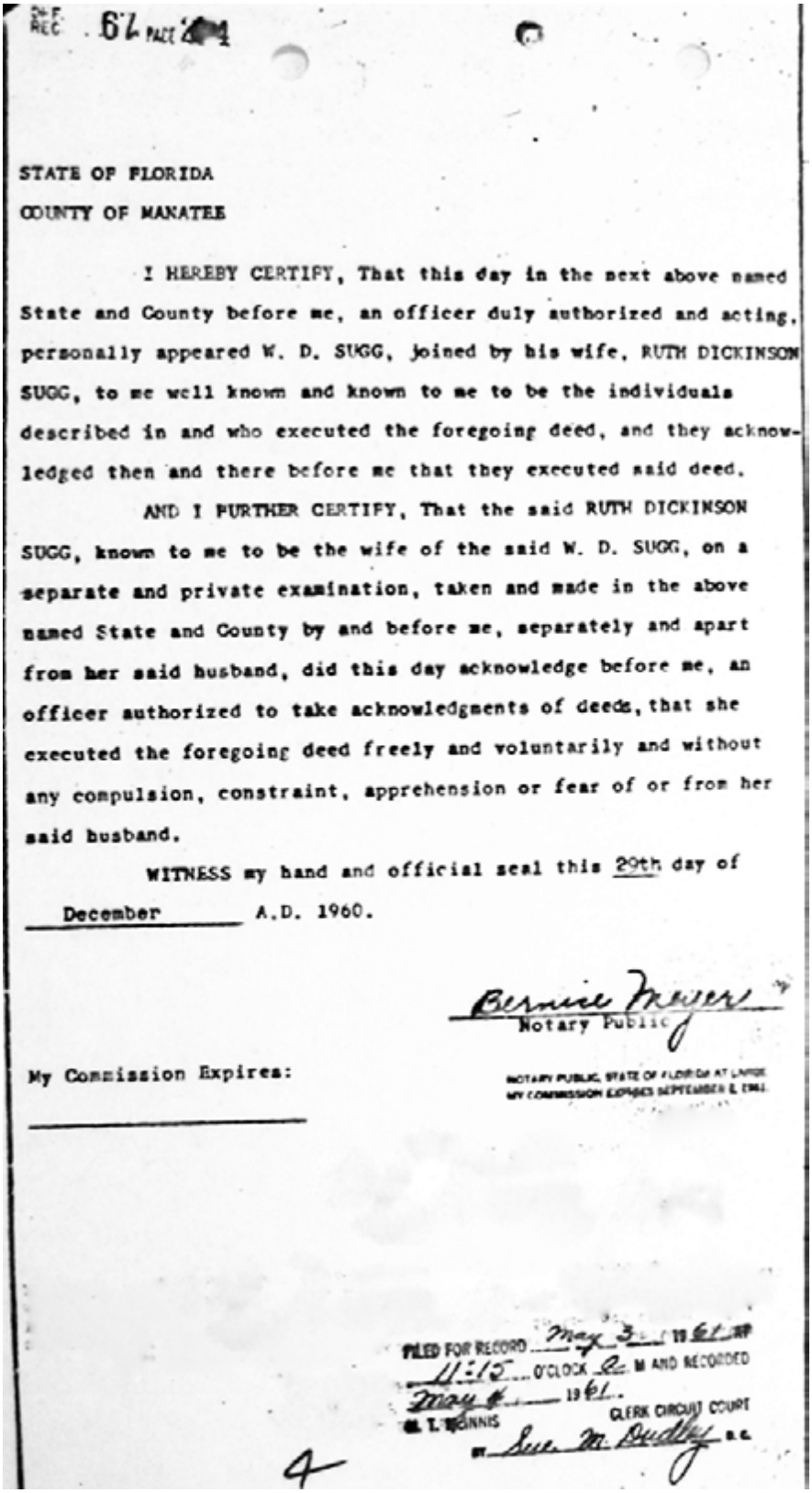
Prepared by: James M. Siler (in part) date: June 1949

Map References: Map included with and made a part of the deed assembly.

Remarks: Area established as a national memorial pursuant to the act of March 11, 1948 (Public Law 447-80th Cong.).

Manatee River a distance of 170 feet to a point; thence go South 22 degrees 10' west along the Manatee River a distance of 284 feet to a point; thence go South 44 degrees 10' West along the Manatee River a distance of 163 feet to a point; thence go South 50 degrees 35' West along the Manatee River a distance of 476 feet to a point; thence go South 8 degrees 50' West along the Manatee River a distance of 347 feet to a point; thence go South 9 degrees 45' East along the Manatee River a distance of 350 feet to a point, this point being 50 feet South of the South line of Section 18, Township 34 South, Range 17 East, produced East; thence go West a distance of 643.75 feet to a point which is 50 feet South of the SW Corner of Section 18, Township 34 South, Range 17 East, which point is on the West line of Section 19, Township 34 South, Range 17 East; thence continue West on a line which is 50 feet South of and parallel to the South line of Section 13, Township 34 South, Range 16 East, a distance of 225 feet to a point; thence go North a distance of 50 feet to the point of beginning, and including all other contiguous land between the above described line and the high water mark of the Manatee River together with any and all riparian rights belonging or appertaining to the above described land, but excluding any portions of the Manatee River that might be included in the above description.

Deed dated December 29, 1960 from W. D. Sugg, donating additional land for Memorial; Manatee County Historical Records Library, Deed Book 67, pp. 282-284



REC. 67 PAGE 284

STATE OF FLORIDA
COUNTY OF MANATEE

I HEREBY CERTIFY, That this day in the next above named State and County before me, an officer duly authorized and acting, personally appeared W. D. SUGG, joined by his wife, RUTH DICKINSON SUGG, to me well known and known to me to be the individuals described in and who executed the foregoing deed, and they acknowledged then and there before me that they executed said deed.

AND I FURTHER CERTIFY, That the said RUTH DICKINSON SUGG, known to me to be the wife of the said W. D. SUGG, on a separate and private examination, taken and made in the above named State and County by and before me, separately and apart from her said husband, did this day acknowledge before me, an officer authorized to take acknowledgments of deeds, that she executed the foregoing deed freely and voluntarily and without any compulsion, constraint, apprehension or fear of or from her said husband.

WITNESS my hand and official seal this 29th day of December A.D. 1960.

Bernice Meyer
Notary Public

My Commission Expires:

NOTARY PUBLIC, STATE OF FLORIDA AT LARGE
MY COMMISSION EXPIRES SEPTEMBER 8, 1961.

FILED FOR RECORD May 3 1961 AP
11:15 O'CLOCK A. M AND RECORDED
May 4 1961.
R. T. DENNIS CLERK CIRCUIT COURT
BY Sue M. Dudley D.C.

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REC 67 PGE 283

run thence South along an extension in a Southerly direction of the West line of said lands conveyed to the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. as aforesaid a distance of 150 feet to a point, run thence East parallel to the South line of said lands conveyed to the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA as aforesaid a distance of 175 feet, more or less, to the West line of the right of way of said DE SOTO MEMORIAL HIGHWAY, run thence North along the West line of the right of way of said DE SOTO MEMORIAL HIGHWAY, a distance of 150 feet, more or less, to the POINT OF BEGINNING, said lands lying and being in Section 24, Township 34 South, Range 16 East.

Together with all the tenements, hereditaments and appurtenances, with every privilege, right, title, interest and estate, dower and right of dower, reversion, remainder and easement thereto belonging or in anywise appertaining:

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the same in fee simple forever.

And the said W. D. Sugg, party of the first part does covenant with the said party of the second part that he is lawfully seized of the said premises, that they are free from all encumbrances and that he has good right and lawful authority to convey the same; and the said party of the first part does hereby fully warrant the title to said land, and will defend the same against the lawful claims of all persons whomsoever.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said parties of the first part have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year above written.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered
in our presence:

Bernice Meyers
Lena B. Sanders

W D Sugg (SEAL)
Ruth Dickinson Sugg (SEAL)

218866

WARRANTY DEED

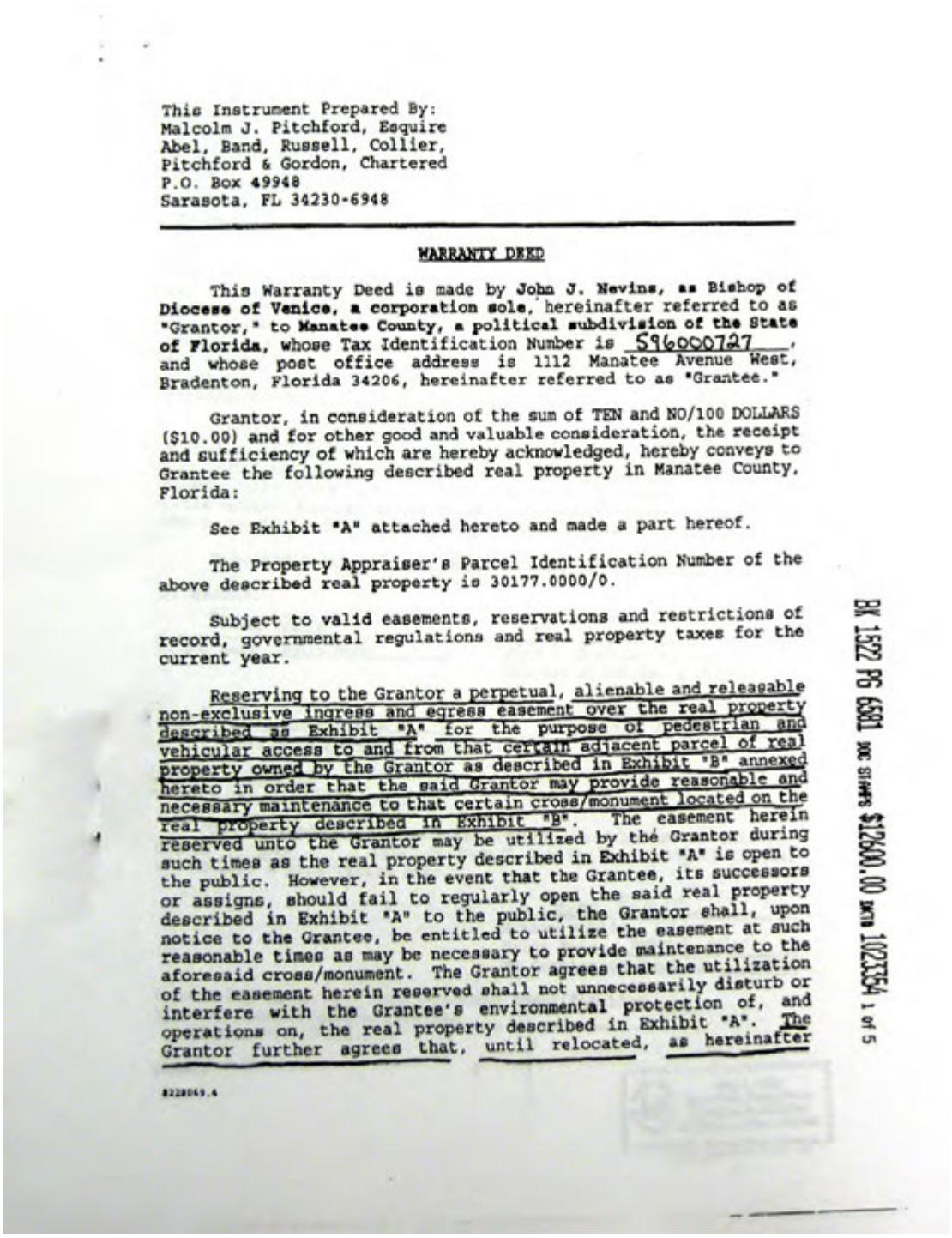
THIS INDENTURE, Made this 29th day of December, A.D. 1960, between W. D. SUGG, joined by his wife, RUTH DICKINSON SUGG, of the County of Manatee and State of Florida, parties of the first part, and the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, party of the second part:

WITNESSETH, that the said parties of the first part, in consideration of the establishment of the DeSoto National Memorial have granted and conveyed, and by these presents do grant, convey and confirm unto the said party of the second part, and its assigns, as a donation for the extension of the said Memorial, all that certain parcel of land lying and being in the County of Manatee and State of Florida, more particularly described as follows:

Commence at the Southeast corner of Government Lot No. 2, Section 13, Township 34 South, Range 16 East, same being the Southeast corner of said Section 13, and same being the Northeast corner of Section 24, Township 34 South, Range 16 East, run thence South along the East line of said Section 24 a distance of 50 feet to a point on the South line of the lands heretofore conveyed by W. D. Sugg and Ruth Dickinson Sugg, his wife, and I. V. Blake and Persis Blake, his wife, to the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA by deed dated January 3, 1949, filed for record March 18, 1949, and recorded in Deed Book 255, page 562 of the public records of Manatee County, Florida, run thence West along the South line of said lands conveyed to the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA as aforesaid a distance of 50 feet to the point where the West line of the right of way of DE SOTO MEMORIAL HIGHWAY intersects the South line of said lands conveyed to the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA as aforesaid, the point thus reached being the POINT OF BEGINNING, run thence West along the South line of said lands conveyed to the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA as aforesaid a distance of 175 feet, more or less, to the Southwest corner of said lands conveyed to the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, as aforesaid.

MANATEE COUNTY STATE of FLORIDA DOCUMENTARY STAMP TAX 020

Deed for sale of Catholic Church land to Manatee County, July 1, 1997; Manatee County Historical Records Library, Deed book 1522, pp. 6581-6585



This Instrument Prepared By:
Malcolm J. Pitchford, Esquire
Abel, Band, Russell, Collier,
Pitchford & Gordon, Chartered
P.O. Box 49948
Sarasota, FL 34230-6948

WARRANTY DEED

This Warranty Deed is made by **John J. Nevins, as Bishop of Diocese of Venice, a corporation sole,** hereinafter referred to as "Grantor," to **Manatee County, a political subdivision of the State of Florida,** whose Tax Identification Number is 596000727, and whose post office address is 1112 Manatee Avenue West, Bradenton, Florida 34206, hereinafter referred to as "Grantee."

Grantor, in consideration of the sum of TEN and NO/100 DOLLARS ($10.00) and for other good and valuable consideration, the receipt and sufficiency of which are hereby acknowledged, hereby conveys to Grantee the following described real property in Manatee County, Florida:

See Exhibit "A" attached hereto and made a part hereof.

The Property Appraiser's Parcel Identification Number of the above described real property is 30177.0000/0.

Subject to valid easements, reservations and restrictions of record, governmental regulations and real property taxes for the current year.

Reserving to the Grantor a perpetual, alienable and releasable non-exclusive ingress and egress easement over the real property described as Exhibit "A" for the purpose of pedestrian and vehicular access to and from that certain adjacent parcel of real property owned by the Grantor as described in Exhibit "B" annexed hereto in order that the said Grantor may provide reasonable and necessary maintenance to that certain cross/monument located on the real property described in Exhibit "B". The easement herein reserved unto the Grantor may be utilized by the Grantor during such times as the real property described in Exhibit "A" is open to the public. However, in the event that the Grantee, its successors or assigns, should fail to regularly open the said real property described in Exhibit "A" to the public, the Grantor shall, upon notice to the Grantee, be entitled to utilize the easement at such reasonable times as may be necessary to provide maintenance to the aforesaid cross/monument. The Grantor agrees that the utilization of the easement herein reserved shall not unnecessarily disturb or interfere with the Grantee's environmental protection of, and operations on, the real property described in Exhibit "A". The Grantor further agrees that, until relocated, as hereinafter

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BK 1522 PG 6581 DOC STAMPS $12600.00 INST 1023354 1 of 5

provided, the easement shall be located over and across the existing shell road located on the real property described in Exhibit "A". The Grantee reserves the right to relocate, by specific legal description, the easement provided, however, that the easement, as relocated, continues to provide adequate and actual access to the real property described in Exhibit "B". Such designation of a specific easement location shall be evidenced by the recordation thereof in the Public Records of Manatee County, Florida. The easement herein reserved unto Grantor shall include the right to maintain, repair and replace, at Grantor's expense, any conduits, wiring or other appurtenances providing electrical service to the aforementioned cross/monument. In the event that the easement shall be relocated by Grantee as provided for above, the Grantor shall have the right to relocate such conduits, wiring and electrical appurtenances, as Grantor's expense, in order that electrical service may continue to be provided to the said cross/monument.

Grantor hereby covenants with Grantee that Grantor is lawfully seized of the property in fee simple; that Grantor has good right and lawful authority to sell and convey the property; that Grantor hereby fully warrants the title to the property and will defend the title against the lawful claims of all persons whomsoever; and that the property is free of all encumbrances not set forth herein.

Executed on the 1st day of July, 1997.

WITNESSES:

Betty Adler
Print Name Betty Adler

Linda Saraceni
Print Name Linda Saraceni

John J. Nevins, as Bishop of Diocese of Venice, a corporation sole
Address P. O. Box 2006
Venice, FL 34284-2006

STATE OF FLORIDA
COUNTY OF SARASOTA

The foregoing instrument was acknowledged before me this 1st day of July, 1997, by John J. Nevins, as Bishop of Diocese of Venice, a corporation sole.

Notary Public
Print Name: Betty L. Adler
My Commission Expires: 11/3/2000

Personally Known X (OR) Produced Identification ____
Type of identification produced ____
(MJP/leg:8424-1/WD.3)

833883.1

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Betty L. Adler
Notary Public, State of Florida
Commission No. CC 584748
My Commission Exp. 11/03/2000

BK 1522 PG 6582 2 of 5

EXHIBIT "A"

FROM THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF SECTION 19, TOWNSHIP 34 SOUTH, RANGE 17 EAST, RUN SOUTH 00°42'55" WEST ALONG THE WEST LINE OF SAID SECTION 19, A DISTANCE OF 200.00 FEET; THENCE SOUTH 89°18'31" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 50.00 FEET TO THE EASTERLY RIGHT OF WAY LINE OF DESOTO MEMORIAL HIGHWAY ALSO BEING THE POINT OF BEGINNING; THENCE SOUTH 89°18'31" EAST PARALLEL WITH THE NORTH LINE OF SAID SECTION 19, A DISTANCE OF 524.00 FEET; THENCE SOUTH 66°18'17" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 51.20 FEET; THENCE SOUTH 00°42'55" WEST, A DISTANCE OF 39.60 FEET; THENCE SOUTH 45°00'00" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 57.30 FEET; THENCE SOUTH 89°18'31" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 35.00 FEET; THENCE NORTH 47°41'54" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 66.00 FEET TO THE MEAN HIGH WATER LINE OF THE MANATEE RIVER; THENCE SOUTHEASTERLY ALONG SAID MEAN HIGH WATER LINE THE FOLLOWING SIX COURSES: SOUTH 44°52'37" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 4.17 FEET; THENCE SOUTH 80°47'28" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 23.40 FEET; THENCE SOUTH 28°29'20" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 44.23 FEET; THENCE SOUTH 27°15'31" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 57.77 FEET; THENCE SOUTH 35°47'39" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 51.69 FEET; THENCE SOUTH 52°21'09" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 27.83 FEET TO THE END OF SAID MEAN HIGH WATER LINE; THENCE SOUTH 47°41'32" WEST ALONG THE NORTHWESTERLY LINE OF THE COVE SUBDIVISION RECORDED IN PLAT BOOK 26, PAGE 72, PUBLIC RECORDS OF MANATEE COUNTY, FLORIDA, A DISTANCE OF 783.91 FEET TO THE NORTHEASTERLY RIGHT OF WAY LINE OF SAID DESOTO MEMORIAL HIGHWAY ALSO BEING A POINT ON A CURVE TO THE RIGHT WHOSE RADIUS POINT LIES NORTH 32°12'30" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 523.69 FEET; THENCE NORTHWESTERLY ALONG SAID NORTHEASTERLY RIGHT OF WAY LINE OF DESOTO MEMORIAL HIGHWAY ALSO BEING ALONG THE ARC OF SAID CURVE TO THE RIGHT, A DISTANCE OF 534.76 FEET THROUGH A CENTRAL ANGLE OF 58°30'25"; THENCE NORTH 00°42'55" EAST ALONG SAID EASTERLY RIGHT OF WAY LINE OF DESOTO MEMORIAL HIGHWAY, A DISTANCE OF 296.91 FEET TO THE POINT OF BEGINNING.

LYING AND BEING IN SECTION 19, TOWNSHIP 34 SOUTH, RANGE 17 EAST, MANATEE COUNTY, FLORIDA.

SUBJECT TO PERTINENT EASEMENTS, RIGHTS OF WAY AND RESTRICTIONS OF RECORD.

CONTAINING 9.16 ACRES, MORE OR LESS.

TOGETHER WITH AND INCLUDING THE FOLLOWING DESCRIBED PARCEL OF LAND:

DESCRIPTION: EXCHANGE PARCEL B

FROM THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF SECTION 19, TOWNSHIP 34 SOUTH, RANGE 17 EAST, RUN SOUTH 00°42'55" WEST ALONG THE WEST LINE OF SAID SECTION 19, A DISTANCE OF 943.45 FEET; THENCE SOUTH 89°17'05" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 300.12 FEET TO THE NORTHWESTERLY CORNER OF THE COVE SUBDIVISION AS RECORDED IN PLAT BOOK 26, PAGE 72 OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF MANATEE COUNTY, FLORIDA, ALSO BEING A POINT ON THE NORTHERLY RIGHT OF WAY LINE OF DE SOTO MEMORIAL HIGHWAY; THENCE NORTH 47°41'32" EAST ALONG THE NORTHERLY LINE OF SAID THE COVE SUBDIVISION, A DISTANCE OF 652.33 FEET TO THE POINT OF BEGINNING; THENCE NORTH 47°41'28" EAST CONTINUING ALONG A PORTION OF SAID NORTHERLY LINE, A DISTANCE OF 131.57 FEET TO THE MEAN HIGH WATER LINE OF THE MANATEE RIVER; THENCE SOUTH 42°54'55" EAST ALONG SAID ORDINARY HIGH WATER LINE, A DISTANCE OF 3.84 FEET; THENCE SOUTH 49°21'44" WEST, A DISTANCE OF 131.67 FEET TO THE POINT OF BEGINNING.

LYING AND BEING IN SECTION 19, TOWNSHIP 34 SOUTH, RANGE 17 EAST, MANATEE COUNTY, FLORIDA.

CONTAINING .01 ACRES, MORE OR LESS.

OR 1522 PG 6583 5 of 5

LESS AND EXCEPT THE FOLLOWING DESCRIBED PARCEL OF LAND:

DESCRIPTION: EXCHANGE PARCEL A

FROM THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF SECTION 19, TOWNSHIP 34 SOUTH, RANGE 17 EAST, RUN SOUTH 00°42'55" WEST ALONG THE WEST LINE OF SAID SECTION 19, A DISTANCE OF 943.45 FEET; THENCE SOUTH 89°17'05" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 300.12 FEET TO THE NORTHWESTERLY CORNER OF THE COVE SUBDIVISION AS RECORDED IN PLAT BOOK 26, PAGE 72 OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF MANATEE COUNTY, FLORIDA, ALSO BEING A POINT ON THE NORTHERLY RIGHT OF WAY LINE OF DE SOTO MEMORIAL HIGHWAY, ALSO BEING THE POINT OF BEGINNING AND ALSO BEING A POINT ON THE ARC OF A CURVE TO THE RIGHT WHOSE RADIUS POINT LIES NORTH 32°12'30" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 523.69 FEET; THENCE NORTHWESTERLY ALONG THE ARC OF SAID CURVE, A DISTANCE OF 15.21 FEET THROUGH A CENTRAL ANGLE OF 01°39'51"; THENCE NORTH 59°41'59" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 37.17 FEET; THENCE NORTH 47°36'01" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 432.11 FEET; THENCE NORTH 50°02'02" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 187.87 FEET TO A POINT ON THE NORTHERLY LINE OF SAID THE COVE SUBDIVISION; THENCE SOUTH 47°41'32" WEST ALONG SAID NORTHERLY LINE, A DISTANCE OF 652.33 FEET TO THE POINT OF BEGINNING.

LYING AND BEING IN SECTION 19, TOWNSHIP 34 SOUTH, RANGE 17 EAST, MANATEE COUNTY, FLORIDA.

CONTAINING 0.10 ACRES, MORE OR LESS.

NET AREA 9.07 ACRES, MORE OR LESS.

BK 1522 PG 6504 4 of 5

EXHIBIT "B"

Commence at the Southeast corner of the NW 1/4 of Section 19, Township 34 South, Range 17 East; thence run South 89°37' East along the South line of the NE 1/4 of said Section 19 a distance of 50 feet; thence North 0°05' West 30 feet to the intersection of the East right of way line of DeSoto Memorial Highway with the North right of way line of Palma Solo North Loop Road; run thence North 0°05' West along the East right of way line of said DeSoto Memorial Highway 713.29 feet to the P.C. of a curve in said Highway, run thence along said curve diverging to the left and along said right of way line an arc distance of 867.93 feet to the P.T. of said curve (said curve in its entirety having a radius of 623.69 feet, a delta of 79°44' and a total arc length of 867.93 feet); run thence North 79°49' West along the Northerly right of way line of said DeSoto Memorial Highway and along the tangent to said last mentioned curve a distance of 1728.70 feet to the P.C. of a curve in said Highway; run thence along said curve diverging to the right and along said right of way line an arc distance of 195.14 feet (said curve in its entirety having a radius of 523.69 feet, a delta of 79°49' and a total arc length of 729.53 feet) to the most Westerly corner of the lands heretofore conveyed to Karl L. Smith et ux by deed recorded in Deed Book 273, page 491 of the Public Records of Manatee County, Florida, the point thus reached being the POINT OF BEGINNING; run thence North 47°25 East along the Northwesterly line of said lands conveyed in said deed recorded in Deed Book 273, page 491 aforesaid 717.20 feet to an iron rod, said iron rod being hereinafter referred to for convenience as Iron Road "A"; thence continue North 47°25' East along the Northwesterly line of the lands conveyed in said deed recorded in Deed Book 273, page 491 aforesaid 43 feet more or less to the mean high water mark of the Manatee River; run thence in a Northwesterly direction along the mean high water mark of the Manatee River as it meanders a distance of 390 feet more or less to a point 50 feet South of the South line of Section 18, Township 34 South, Range 17 East, produced East, said point being the Southeast corner of the lands heretofore conveyed to the United States of America in deed recorded in Deed Book 255, page 562 of the Public Records of Manatee County, Florida, run thence Westerly parallel to and at a distance of 50 feet South from the South line of said Section 18 and along the South line of said lands conveyed in said deed recorded in Deed Book 255, page 562 aforesaid a distance of 22 feet more or less to an iron rod being North 26°02'10" West 448.67 feet from Iron Road "A"; thence continue Westerly along the same line and along the South line of said lands conveyed in said deed recorded in Deed Book 255, page 562 aforesaid 580.95 feet to a point on the East right of way line of DeSoto Memorial Highway, which point is 50 feet South of the south line of said Section 18, Township 34 South, Range 17 East; run thence southerly along the East right of way line of said Desoto Memorial Highway 440.90 feet to the P.T. of a curve in said Highway; run thence along said curve diverging to the left and along said right of way line an arc distance of 534.39 feet (said curve in its entirety having a radius of 523.69 feet, a delta of 79°49' and a total arc length of 729.53 feet) to the POINT OF BEGINNING.

LESS AND EXCEPTING THEREFROM THAT CERTAIN DESCRIBED PROPERTY ATTACHED HERETO AS EXHIBIT "A".

BK 1322 PG 6605 FILED AND RECORDED 07/02/99 08:07PM 5 of 5
R.B. SHORE CLERK OF CIRCUIT COURT MANATEE COUNTY FL

Deed for easement on Catholic Church property, December 12, 2001; De Soto National Memorial files

This instrument prepared by:
Patricia McVoy, Esquire
Senior Assistant County Attorney
Manatee County Attorney's Office
Post Office Box 1000
Bradenton, Florida 34206

WARRANTY DEED

This Warranty Deed is made by John J. Nevins, as Bishop of Diocese of Venice, his Successors and/or Assigns, as their interest may appear, a Corporation Sole, hereinafter referred to as "Grantor," to Manatee County, a political subdivision of the State of Florida, whose Tax Identification Number is 596000727, and whose post office address is 1112 Manatee Avenue West, Bradenton, Florida 34205, hereinafter referred to as "Grantee."

Grantor, in consideration of the sum of TEN and NO/100 DOLLARS ($10.00) and for other good and valuable consideration, the receipt and sufficiency of which are hereby acknowledged, hereby conveys to Grantee the following described real property in Manatee County, Florida:

See Exhibit "A" attached hereto and made a part hereof.

The Property Appraiser's Parcel Identification Number of the above described real property is 3017700059.

Subject to valid easements, reservations and restrictions of record, governmental regulations and real property taxes for the current year.

Reserving to the Grantor a perpetual, alienable and releasable non-exclusive easement over the real property described as Exhibit "A" for the purpose of pedestrian and vehicular access to and from the easement reserved by Grantor in O.R. Book 1522, Pages 6581-6585 to the real property delineated on Exhibit "B" annexed hereto in order that the said Grantor may provide reasonable and necessary maintenance to that certain cross/monument located on the real property delineated on Exhibit "B." Grantor shall have an exclusive easement, including the right to exclude others by reasonable means, which may include fencing, from the areas around the cross and monument shown on Exhibit "B" by a distance not exceeding fourteen (14') feet from the outside edges of the cross and monument The cross and monument shall be considered personal property under the ownership of Grantor and Grantor shall maintain the cross, monument and any appurtenant structures in a safe and orderly condition. Grantor shall have the right to replace the cross and monument with the same or similar structures. The easements herein reserved unto the Grantor may be utilized by the Grantor during such times as the real property described in Exhibit "A" is open to the public. However, in the event that the Grantee, its successors or assigns, should fail to regularly open the said real property described in Exhibit "A" to the public, the Grantor shall, upon notice to the Grantee, be entitled to utilize the easements at such reasonable times as may be necessary to provide maintenance to the aforesaid cross/monument. The Grantor agrees that the utilization of the easement herein reserved shall not unnecessarily disturb or interfere with the Grantee's environmental protection of, and operations on, the real property described in Exhibit "A." The Grantor further agrees that, until the access easement is relocated, as hereinafter provided, the easement shall be located over and across the existing shell road located on the real property described in Exhibit "A." The Grantee reserves the right to relocate, by specific legal description, the access easement provided, however, that the access easement, as relocated, continues to

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LEGAL DESCRIPTION

A PORTION OF SECTION 19, TOWNSHIP 34 SOUTH, RANGE 17 EAST, MANATEE COUNTY, FLORIDA, BEING MORE PARTICULARLY DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:

COMMENCE AT THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF SAID SECTION 19; THENCE SOUTH 00°42'55" WEST, ALONG THE WEST LINE OF SAID SECTION 19, A DISTANCE OF 50.00 FEET; THENCE SOUTH 89°18'31" EAST, PARALLEL WITH THE NORTH LINE OF SAID SECTION 19, A DISTANCE OF 50.00 FEET TO A POINT ON THE EAST RIGHT OF WAY LINE OF DESOTO MEMORIAL PARKWAY, SAID POINT BEING THE POINT OF BEGINNING; THENCE CONTINUE SOUTH 89°18'31" EAST, PARALLEL WITH THE NORTH LINE OF SAID SECTION 19, A DISTANCE OF 636.81 FEET, TO THE MEAN HIGH LINE OF THE MANATEE RIVER; THENCE SOUTHEASTERLY ALONG SAID MEAN HIGH WATER LINE THE FOLLOWING THREE(3) COURSES; (1) SOUTH 16°00'35" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 45.86 FEET; (2) SOUTH 30°05'22" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 84.95 FEET; (3)SOUTH 00°31'32" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 87.74 FEET TO A POINT ON THE NORTHERLY LINE OF RIVERVIEW POINTE, AS RECORDED IN OFFICIAL RECORD BOOK 1522 AT PAGE 6581 OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF MANATEE COUNTY, FLORIDA; THENCE ALONG SAID NORTHERLY LINE OF RIVERVIEW POINTE THE FOLLOWING SIX(6) COURSES; (1) THENCE SOUTH 47°41'54" WEST, A DISTANCE OF 66.00 FEET; THENCE NORTH 89°18'31" WEST, A DISTANCE OF 35.00 FEET; (2) THENCE NORTH 45°00'00" WEST, A DISTANCE OF 57.30 FEET; (3) THENCE NORTH 00°42'55" EAST, A DISTANCE OF 39.60 FEET; (4) THENCE NORTH 66°18'17" WEST, A DISTANCE OF 51.20 FEET; (5) THENCE NORTH 89°18'31" WEST, A DISTANCE OF 524.00 FEET, TO THE EAST RIGHT OF WAY LINE OF DESOTO MEMORIAL PARKWAY; THENCE NORTH 00°42'55" EAST, ALONG SAID EAST RIGHT OF WAY LINE, A DISTANCE OF 150.00 FEET TO THE POINT OF BEGINNING.

CONTAINING 2.552 ACRES, MORE OR LESS.

provide adequate and actual access to the cross and monument delineated on Exhibit "B." Such designation of a specific easement location shall be evidenced by the recordation thereof in the Public Records of Manatee County, Florida. The easement herein reserved unto Grantor shall include the rights to maintain, repair and replace, at Grantor's expense, any conduits, wiring or other appurtenances providing electrical service to the aforementioned cross and monument. In the event that the easement shall be relocated by Grantee as provided for above, the Grantor shall have the right to relocate such conduits, wiring and electrical appurtenances, at Grantor's expense, in order that electrical service may continue to be provided to the said cross and monument.

Grantor shall have the unassignable right to use the Property described in Exhibit A for Diocesan Events ten (10) days annually, provided that the planned activities are consistent with Grantee's necessary and reasonable rules governing the use of the Property, the Property is not required for other events, and the Diocese indemnifies and holds the County harmless from any loss, injury or damages arising from the activities conducted by the Diocese. Grantee shall have the right to require reasonable insurance and a written agreement consistent with similar agreements used by Grantee for such uses.

Grantor hereby covenants with Grantee that Grantor is lawfully seized of the property in fee simple; that Grantor has good right and lawful authority to sell and convey the property; that Grantor hereby fully warrants the title to the property and will defend the title against the lawful claims of all persons whomsoever; and that the property is free of all encumbrances not set forth herein.

Executed on the 12th day of December, 2001.

WITNESSES:

Mary E. Williams

Print Name: Mary E. Williams

Catherine N. Buster, S.P.

Print Name: Catherine N. Buster, S.P.

John J. Nevins, as Bishop of Diocese of Venice, his Successors and/or assigns, as their interest may appear, a Corporation Sole

Address 1000 Pinebrook Road
Venice, FL 34292

STATE OF FLORIDA §
COUNTY OF SARASOTA §

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me this 12th day of December, 2001, by John J. Nevins, Bishop, who

x is personally known to me or

___ produced _____ as identification

CATHERINE N. BUSTER, SP
NOTARY PUBLIC STATE OF FLORIDA
My Comm Exp. 12/12/03
No. CC 0894189
Personally known ☐ Other I.D.

Signature of Notary Public

Catherine N. Buster, S.P.
Print Name of Notary Public

I am a notary public in the State of Florida, and my commission expires on 12/12/03
Commission # CC0894189

Appendix C: Timeline of Notable Events

1500	Hernando De Soto is born
May 30, 1539	Hernando De Soto and approximately 600 men, at least two women, and numerous horses, dogs, and pigs disembark in *La Florida*
May 21, 1542	De Soto dies and his body is dumped in the Mississippi River
September 1543	Remainder of De Soto's expedition arrives in Mexico
1544	Luis Hernández de Biedma, the king's royal agent on the expedition, submits his short account to the king
1557	First published "chronicle" of De Soto expedition appears: "Gentleman of Elvas" account is published in Portuguese
1605	Garcilaso de la Vega publishes *The Florida of the Inca*, a second-hand account of the expedition
1889	First industrial phosphate boom in Florida
June 28, 1919	Tampa physician Leslie Weedon writes to NPS Director Stephen T. Mather concerning a possible monument or park honoring Hernando De Soto on Weedon Island in Tampa Bay
February-May 1920	Local amateur archeologist Charles T. Earle corresponds with Smithsonian Institution archeologist J. Walter Fewkes concerning disturbance to archeological sites on Shaw's Point
March 1930	De Soto National Monument authorized on Weedon Island, St. Petersburg
1935	United States De Soto Expedition Commission authorized
August 26, 1937	FDR signs joint Congressional resolution providing for U. S. participation in (and Federal funds for) Pan American Exposition to be held in Tampa to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of De Soto's landing "in Tampa Bay"
January 3, 1939	*Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* published ("Swanton Report"). Places De Soto's landing at Shaw's Point in Tampa Bay.
February 1939	Pan American Hernando De Soto Exposition, Tampa, FL
May 30, 1939	400th anniversary of De Soto's landing in *La Florida;* ceremony installing Colonial Dames marker on Shaw's Point, Bradenton, FL
October 28, 1940	Bradenton physicians William Daniel Sugg and Lowry W. Blake buy Shaw's Point lands from the Lost River Investment Company (an Indiana corporation)
1941	Florida producing 82 percent of all phosphate in the United States

February 19-22, 1941	First De Soto Celebration in Bradenton, FL (included landing re-enactment at Shaw's Point)
December 12, 1946	Park Service officials examine Shaw's Point site with local De Soto park promotion committee
1947	Periodic Red Tide outbreaks begin to plague Florida's Gulf Coast
January 1947	Park Service regional historian Roy E. Appleman visits Shaw's Point site
April 4, 1947	Appleman's "Report on Shaw's Point, Bradenton, Florida, Site of Proposed De Soto Memorial" submitted
July 2, 1947	Florida Senator Spessard Holland introduces Senate Bill 1554 "to authorize the establishment of the De Soto National Memorial in the State of Florida"
1948	Archeological excavations at two key sites identified by Swanton (including the supposed Ocita site at Terra Ceia) fail to uncover evidence of De Soto's presence
March 11, 1948	De Soto authorizing legislation becomes law (P. L. 441; 62 Stat. 78; 16 U.S.C. 450dd, 450dd–1). Authorizes park no larger than twenty-five acres.
1948	Probable date of founding of De Soto Celebration Association; De Soto landing reenactments begin at Shaw's Point
March 29-31, 1948	De Soto Celebration resumes after WWII hiatus
August 8, 1948	William Daniel Sugg and Lowry W. Blake agree to donate 22.6 acres for De Soto National Memorial
January 3, 1949	Deed transfers 24.182 acres of land from Drs. Sugg and Blake to the National Park Service
June 8, 1949	NPS Assistant Director A. E. Demaray recommends to the Secretary of the Interior that notice of establishment of De Soto National Memorial be published in the Federal Register
August 5, 1949	Secretary of the Interior signs Order Establishing the De Soto National Memorial and orders that it be published in the Federal Register
August 11, 1949	Order of establishment filed in Federal Register
March 11, 1950	First superintendent (Richard Hopper) arrives at De Soto
March 24, 1950	De Soto National Memorial dedication ceremony includes representatives from Bradenton, NPS, and the Colonial Dames
1952 (?)	Hernando De Soto Historical Society "chartered" in Bradenton
February 22-26, 1957	De Soto celebration officially presented by the Conquistadors
1956	Mission 66 development effort for national parks begins
August 1957	Superintendent Hopper reports that a 114-acre tract about a half-mile to the east is being developed as a residential subdivision
1958	Catholic Church purchases eleven acres of land outside Memorial's boundary

September 1960	Hurricane Donna destroys a section of the beach at DESO
September 8, 1960	P.L. 86-728; 74 Stat. 856 enacted, raising land limit for DESO to thirty acres and development ceiling to $175,000
April 15, 1961	Richard Hopper's term as Superintendent ends
August 26, 1961	Carl Stoddard becomes Superintendent
1961	Florida Department of State Division of Corporations records chartering of Hernando De Soto Historical Society
December 15, 1962	Carl Stoddard's term as Superintendent ends
January 1963	Superintendent Pierson makes first effort to eradicate exotic plants
January 6, 1963	Lloyd Pierson becomes Superintendent
January 16, 1965	Lloyd Pierson Superintendency ends
March 14, 1965	Vincent Gannon becomes Superintendent
August 1965	Superintendent Gannon reports that a deep water port and phosphate mining complexes are to be built twelve miles northeast of the Memorial
October 1965	Plans announced for new South Florida Museum in downtown Bradenton
December1965	Superintendent Vince Gannon writes park's first full interpretive prospectus
October 5, 1966	Superintendent Vince Gannon sends eighteen page critique of the Hernando De Soto Historical Society and the Conquistadors to the NPS Southeast Regional Director
October 1966	Conquistadors representatives lobby Washington officials for infrastructure improvements to support their activities at De Soto National Memorial
May 5, 1967	Vincent Gannon superintendency ends
July 16, 1967	Arthur Graham becomes Superintendent
1967/68	Visitor Center built / opened
1968	Annual visitation exceeds 100,000 for first time
1968	First historian is added to park staff
March 1970	Memorial begins showing new interpretive film, *De Soto: The Legacy of a Legend*
July 3, 1971	First public crossbow firing
1972	DDT banned
April 1, 1972	Arthur Graham superintendency ends
January 1972	VIP program launched
July 9, 1972	Superintendent Dick Hite arrives

December 9, 1973	Formal opening of Camp Ucita and expansion of living history programs
1980	Army Corps of Engineers produces comprehensive report on DESO's shoreline erosion problems
1981	Work on Riverview Landings subdivision begins
July 1981	News emerges on planned high-rise condominium development at Emerson Point on Sneads Island
1982	Phosphate mining under way in Lake Manatee watershed
1983	Annual visitation exceeds 200,000 for first time
1983	Florida De Soto trail commission formed
1984	State of Florida establishes Exotic Pest Plant Council
1986	Definitive archeological evidence of De Soto's 1539-40 winter encampment found at Governor Martin site in Tallahassee, FL
1987-88	University of South Florida archeological investigation of the former Thomas Mound site near Ruskin, FL, fails to uncover definitive evidence of De Soto's Ocita camp.
1987	De Soto National Trail Study Act passed, launching 1988 NPS study of the possible trail
1988	Ten-state regional commission formed to coordinate efforts to establish a De Soto National Historic Trail
1989	National Park System Advisory Board recommends against establishment of De Soto National Historic Trail, due to lack of scholarly consensus around the route and lack of route integrity
March 1989	Senator Bob Graham introduces bill to establish national De Soto Trail Commission
April 1989	Native American objections to De Soto commemoration emerges
May 27, 1989	Ceremony at DESO dedicates Florida's De Soto Trail
November 1989	First of a series of controversies over permits to build docks on adjacent lands
March 1990	Boardwalk to replace portions of nature trail completed by this date
November 16, 1990	De Soto Expedition Trail Commission Act of 1990 becomes law (P.L. 101-607)
1990	Protesters from the Peace and Justice Center and the American Indian Issues in Action hand out literature and talk with visitors at the landing reenactment
March 1991	Sheridan Murphy of Tiyospaya American Indian Student Organization writes Manatee County Commissioners protesting perceived glorification of genocide in De Soto Celebration
1992	Native American protesters carrying placards picket the De Soto Celebration
December 31, 1992	Richard Hite superintendency ends
1993	Native American groups demand changes in the Celebration; more than 150 protestors disrupt the annual parade by throwing chicken and rotten fish in the street

1993	Jerald T. Milanich and Charles Hudson publish *Hernando De Soto and the Indians of Florida*. They agree with Swanton that Tampa Bay was the landing site, but pinpoint De Soto coming ashore at Piney Point, rather than Shaw's Point, and place Ocita near Ruskin at the Thomas Mound site.
1993	University of Alabama Press publishes best modern edition of the De Soto chronicles as *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando De Soto to North America 1539-1543*.
June 30, 1993	Superintendent Barbara Goodman arrives
August 1993	De Soto Society votes to change name of the Celebration to the Florida Heritage Festival while Native American protesters agree not to disrupt the 1994 event
1994	First "Florida Heritage Festival" held; includes Indian Cultural Arts festival at the Memorial
1994	Annual visitation exceeds 250,000 for first time
March 1996	Emerson Point property on Snead Island transferred to Manatee County
1996	David Ewing Duncan publishes most comprehensive biography of De Soto to date: *Hernando de Soto: A Savage Quest in the Americas*
October 27, 1996	Memorial cross dedicated on Catholic Church lands adjoining De Soto National Memorial
1997	Charles Hudson's *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms* appears, giving the most painstaking attempt to date to reconstruct De Soto's entire route
1997	Patricia Galloway's edited volume, *The Hernando de Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and `Discovery' in the Southeast*, appears, summarizing the historiographical debates around De Soto
February 1997	Plans announced for gated Riverview Pointe community on Memorial's southwest border; public opposition emerges
June 7, 1997	Barbara Goodman superintendency ends
July 1997	Catholic land on Memorial's southwest border transferred to Manatee County for park; planning begins for revised Visitor Center exhibits
September 1997	Superintendent Carol Clark arrives
1998	Charles R. Ewen and John H. Hamm publish *Hernando de Soto among the Apalachee*
1998	New Long-Range Interpretive Plan completed for DESO
November 1999	New Visitor Center exhibits unveiled; new interpretive film (*Hernando de Soto in America*) debuts
2000	Movement that created Trail of the Lost Tribes (Trail of Florida's Indian Heritage) begins
July 2000	Carol Clark superintendency ends

February 21, 2001	First of several arson attacks on Camp Ucita during four-year period
February 25, 2001	Superintendent Charles Fenwick arrives
2002	Margo Schwadron's *Archeological Investigation of De Soto National Memorial* published
2003	New wayside exhibits installed along park's "nature trail," which becomes De Soto Expedition Trail
2003	Camp Uzita augmented by new chickee hut
2003	Vertebrate inventory for DESO completed
September 2004	Hurricane Frances washes away significant amounts of sand from Memorial's beaches
2005	Superintendent Fenwick convenes meeting to investigate revival and expansion of Florida's De Soto Trail
January 7, 2006	Charles Fenwick superintendency ends
October 25, 2006	Superintendent Scott Pardue arrives
January 2007	Florida Department of Transportation allocates funds to redesign and enhance Florida De Soto Trail from DESO to Tallahassee

Appendix D: Staff History

This table includes all currently available information about the staff history of De Soto National Memorial, assembled from office records, Superintendent's Annual Reports, telephone interviews, and other sources. Dates are given as completely as available information permits.

NAME	POSITION	ARRIVAL	DEPARTURE
Alvino, Angie	Administrative Officer, Acting Superintendent from June through September 2005	February 20, 2005, from Everglades National Park	still in service as of June 30, 2007
Baldwin, Mary	Administrative Assistant	December 4, 1988, from Cape Cod National Seashore	April 1992, to Chickamauga/ Chattanooga National Military Park
Bauman, Diana	Visitor Use Assistant/VIP coordinator	June 6, 1999	still in service as of June 30, 2007
Brue, Sandy	Acting Superintendent	March 12, 2006, from Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site	June 1, 2006, to Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site
Carson, Howard Paul	Chief Ranger	July 18, 1999, from Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve	January 26, 2002, to Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail
Castellina, Anne	Park Historian	May 1973	May 1975 to Gulf Islands National Seashore
Clark, Carol	Superintendent	September 1997 from Gulf Islands National Seashore	around July 15, 2000, Big Cypress National Preserve
Clark, Richard A.	Acting Superintendent	1993	March 12, 1993
Cupp, Robert	Maintenance Worker	January 19, 1981	
Delgado-Lago, Esther	Ranger	1992 from San Juan National Historic Site	
Escobar, Evelyn	Park Aide		September 29, 1979
Fenwick, Charlie	Superintendent	February 25, 2001, from Independence National Histrical Park	January 8, 2006, to Fort Pulaski National Monument
Gannon, Vincent S.	Superintendent	March 13, 1965,	May 7, 1967, to Cape Hatteras National Seashore as Administrative Officer
Goodman, Barbara	Superintendent	June 20, 1993, from International Affairs Office, NPS	June 7, 1997, to Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve
Graham, Arthur	Superintendent	July 20, 1967, from Blue Ridge Parkway'	April 1, 1972, to Gulf Islands National Seashore as Superintendent
Hamel, Raymond	Ranger; Chief Ranger	December 2000 from Castillo de San Marcos National Monument	October 2004 to Arkansas Post National Memorial
Haywood, Ned J.	Clerk-Typist; Acting Superintendent	July 1, 1953; Acting Superintendent April - July 1961	October 1961 to Underground Railroad
Hite, Richard	Superintendent	July 9, 1972 from Fort Matanzas National Monument	December 31, 1992, retired
Hopper, Richard C.	Superintendent	March 11, 1950	April 15, 1961
Hughes, Marion H.	Laborer	March 11, 1950	March 31, 1971

NAME	POSITION	ARRIVAL	DEPARTURE
Jackson, Sheri	Adminstrative Officer	around October 1, 2000, from Martin Luther King, Jr., National Historic Site	to Underground Railroad
Kevill, Cliff	Chief Ranger	November 13, 2005, from Ft. Pulaski National Monument	in service as of June 30, 2007
Kirby, Kathleen	Park Historian	June 30, 1968	
Kretschmer, Wilson R.	Clerk-Typist	October 13, 1952	May 23, 1953
LaChine, Guy	Lead Park Technician	October 6, 1980	Ocmulgee National Monument
Lissy, Lee W.	Park Guide; Acting Superintendent	December 7, 1965; Acting Superintendent May 6, 1967	
Loadholtz, Brian	Chief Ranger	May 1992 from Blue Ridge Parkway	March 26, 1999 to Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve
Mangum, Neil C.	Park Historian; Supervisory Ranger	August 3, 1975, from Petersburg National Battlefield	
Martin, Jay	Park Ranger	November 28, 2004	April 26, 2007
Maze, Terry	Park Historian	Fall 1970	May 1973 to Moore's Creek National Battlefield
Moriyasu, Patricia E.	Administrative Assistant	June 26, 1994, from Redwood National Park	June 20, 1999
Pardue, Scott	Superintendent	October 25, 2006, from Great Smoky Mountains National Park	in service as of June 30, 2007
Pierson, Lloyd	Superintendent	January 6, 1963, from Shenandoah National Park	January 16, 1965 to Appomattox Court House National Historic Site
Ramirez-Diaz, Elias	Park Technician	April 20, 1980, from San Juan National Historic Park	
Rieley, Mike	Chief of Maintenance	February 28, 1988	September 2, 2006, to Bureau of Reclamation
Riggins, Thomas W.	Administrative Services Assistant	March 30, 1975, from Cumberland Island National Seashore	
Rikard, Michael	Supervisory Park Ranger	May 1993	to Cape Lookout National Seashore
Saunders, Ferrell	Lead Park Technician	1978 and 1984	April 19, 1980 to Blueridge Parkway and 1991 to Russell Cave National Monument as Superintendent
Sheldon, Craig	Acting Superintendent	April 1993	
Shepke, Nancy			November 19, 1988
Sorg, David	Laborer	April 1971	
Spear, Denise	Ranger	August 17, 1998, from Roger Williams National Memorial	July 16, 2000, to Fort Frederica National Monument
Stoddard, Carl	Superintendent	August 26, 1961, from Cumberland Gap National Historical Park	December 15, 1962, to Pipestone National Monument as Superintendent
Van Egmond, M. R.		October 21, 1962	August 21, 1965, to Colonial National Historical Park

NAME	POSITION	ARRIVAL	DEPARTURE
Walker, Lila	Administrative Assistant	April 1992, from Chattahoochee National Recreation Area	
Ward, Nancy			November 1974 to Cape Hatteras National Seashore
Washington, John W.	Maintenance Worker		January 12, 1980
Williams, Morgan	Clerk-Typist	around March 11, 1950	August 1952
Young, Bruce F.	Maintenance Worker	May 6, 1999	in service as of June 30, 2007

Appendix E: Visitation Statistics

Monthly and annual visitation statistics, January 1951- June 1991 from Public Use Statistics Office, National Park Service, http://www2.nature.nps.gov/stats/ (accessed 19 June 2006)

DESOTO NATIONAL MEMORIAL VISITATION

Fiscal Years	Fiscal Year Total	Cuaulative Fiscal	Months Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Calendar Years	Calendar Year Total	Cuaulative Calendar
1951	19432	19432	2523	3302	5004	1952	1280	1096	2182	1207	886	1173	1724	3955	1951	26284	26284
1952	36933	56365	5378	7647	7740	2545	1435	1172	1150	1835	1179	1296	2621	4210	1952	38208	64492
1953	45842	102207	7167	8588	9437	3696	1881	1750	1862	1906	1428	1485	3094	4723	1953	47017	111509
1954	44662	146869	6462	8196	8331	3274	2058	1833	1932	1771	1503	1959	2926	4707	1954	44952	156461
1955	45591	192460	6709	8172	8166	3580	2029	2024	2050	1849	1420	2304	3042	4749	1955	46094	202555
1956	50460	242920	7481	10835	6728	4303	2030	2317	2662	2083	1926	2566	4272	7169	1956	54372	256927
1957	64793	307713	8452	13050	10608	4751	3087	2923	2797	2550	2568	2590	3414	6510	1957	63300	320227
1958	64156	371869	6882	9588	13545	5777	3284	3518	3376	3258	2414	2763	4304	5058	1958	63767	383994
1959	62451	434320	6698	13197	8576	4494	3254	3307	4121	4002	2677	3312	4977	7490	1959	66105	450099
1960	77564	511884	9045	11186	16892	6090	3935	3775	4195	3604	3063	4511	5577	6908	1960	78781	528880
1961	73871	585755	8553	9950	14722	5866	3515	3613	3761	3984	2911	3222	4825	6910	1961	71832	600712
1962	73133	658888	8741	12093	15569	5499	3145	2809	3159	4022	3139	3402	4967	6221	1962	72766	673478
1963	75279	734167	8195	9182	16576	7364	3571	3388	4700	4122	3591	4146	5471	7907	1963	78213	751691
1964	79496	813663	9362	12610	16725	6373	3736	3190	3365	3435	3176	3617	6098	6550	1964	78237	829928
1965	88791	902454	9820	12093	19030	7185	4663	4815	5837	5313	3770	4526	5964	8193	1965	91209	921137
1966	97082	999536	8787	9218	22035	8916	5004	7156	6671	5871	4741	5124	7140	8101	1966	98764	1019901
1967	89748	1089284	9335	10375	18246	7223	2610	3360	7438	5577	5219	5122	8048	9729	1967	92282	1112183
1968	109343	1198627	13221	16912	24975	9074	4272	4456	4988	4886	3660	3866	4814	6400	1968	101524	1213707
1969	78785	1277412	8452	11009	15610	7049	2865	3871	5159	5042	4608	4365	8867	9521	1969	86458	1300165
1970	130053	1407465	10708	13568	32389	10711	8254	8478	9733	7766	5693	7279	9394	10372	1970	134345	1434510
1971	141046	1548511	14438	17045	32056	14006	9230	8355	7366	6542	4963	5169	7071	9229	1971	135470	1569980
1972	133255	1681766	11450	14383	32976	12848	8113	8245	10092	7717	5962	7061	9000	11387	1972	139234	1709214
1973	145364	1827130	15072	16114	36333	12453	8590	7759	7811	6749	7035	7068	8083	10560	1973	143627	1852841
1974	111748	1938878	13248	9146	16978	10128	7843	6950	9248	7251	5245	8394	9629	10736	1974	114796	1967637
1975	139486	2078364	12467	18493	25495	10398	8237	9818	10260	8602	6957	7754	11420	13667	1975	143568	2111205
1976	167290	2245654	17562	21891	31302	14090	10923	9743	11122	9849	7967	9145	10681	12098	1976	166373	2277578
1977	155603	2401257	16637	20058	30289	15445	8397	8852	9198	8017	6786	11459	10644	11521	1977	157303	2434881
1978	146544	2547801	15483	16690	22772	14424	8914	9171	10123	8111	7232	8778	8961	11549	1978	142208	2577089
1979	167487	2715288	18237	21274	23168	31849	8521	9231	9837	8184	7898	13180	12894	15465	1979	179738	2756827
1980	177024	2892312	16749	21467	23302	26139	11890	9320	9580	8969	8069	10583	11615	15249	1980	172932	2929759
1981	174379	3066691	16862	21169	25106	26222	11327	9028	9736	8586	8896	7538	9643	11253	1981	165366	3095125
1982	180308	3246999	17344	21584	26515	26900	14133	10008	11974	12887	10529	13845	15737	15816	1982	197272	3292397
1983	220274	3467273	22261	22796	33703	26729	15390	13066	13634	14573	12724	15481	16149	14215	1983	220721	3513118
1984	220292	3687565	20684	26415	30104	31430	15488	13969	12648	12113	11596	15086	15444	16527	1984	221504	3734622
1985	206182	3893747	18767	22577	29197	23884	14236	13170	15168	11751	10375	12011	14716	16017	1985	201869	3936491
1986	206762	4100509	18323	22100	29637	28699	16587	13575	12487	11832	10778	12978	16083	16319	1986	209398	4145889
1987	214253	4314762	21004	24447	30219	24979	15271	14438	15028	12464	11023	12489	14240	14262	1987	209864	4355753
1988	176037	4490799	20067	23393	29717	26800	14576	4942	5236	4901	5414	5155	5792	6228	1988	152221	4507974
1989	107844	4598643	9586	10382	15335	12624	9561	5722	6921	10774	9764	10625	8226	7194	1989	116714	4624688
1990	138611	4737254	11859	16653	18563	18695	10361	8503	9223	8362	10347	9397	12041	13671	1990	147675	4772363
1991	140952	4878206	17741	21164	25281	18989	12112	10556							1991	105843	4878206

Appendix F: Vertebrate and Butterfly Inventory List

From Frank Mazzotti, Michael S. Cherkiss, Jocie Graham, and Alicia Weinstein, *Vertebrate Inventory of De Soto National Memorial* (Davie FL: University of Florida, Department of Wildlife Ecology and Conservation, 2003).

Key to Abbreviations:

FWC - Designation Florida Fish and Wildlife Conservation Commission
FWS - Designation by U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service
E - endangered
T - threatened
X - exotic
SSC - species of special concern

Birds

common name	**species name**	FWC	FWS	**location (trail)/habitat**
blackbird, red-winged	*Algelaius phoeniceus*			*pine flatwoods, mangroves*
bunting, indigo	*Passerina cyanea*			*pine flatwoods*
cardinal, northern	*Cardinalis cardinalis*			*parking lot, mangroves*
catbird, gray	*Dumetella carolinensis*			*workshop area*
chuck-will's-widow	*Caprimulgus vociferus*			*pine flatwoods*
collared dove, Eurasian	*Streptopelia decaocto*		X	*parking lot, mangroves*
cormorant, double-crested	*Phalacrocorax auritus*			*flying offshore*
crow, American	*Corvus brachyrhynchos*			*mangroves*
crow, fish	*Corvus ossifragus*			*mangroves*
cuckoo, yellow-billed	*Coccyzus americanus*			*pine flatwoods*
dove, mourning	*Zenaida macroura*			*pine flatwoods, parking lot, mangroves*
duck, mottled	*Anas fulvigula*			*flying offshore*
eagle, bald	*Haliaeetus leucocoephalus*	T	T	*flying offshore*
egret, cattle	*Bubulcus ibis*			*shoreline, mangroves*
egret, great	*Casmerodius albus*			*shoreline*
egret, reddish	*Egretta rufescens*	SSC		*shoreline*
egret, snowy	*Egretta thula*	SSC		*shoreline*
flycatcher, great-crested	*Myiarchus crinitus*			*pine flatwoods*
frigatebird, magnificent	*Fregata magnificens*			*flying overhead*
gnatcatcher, blue-grey	*Polioptila caerulea*			*pine flatwoods*
goldfinch, American	*Carduelis tristis*			*pine flatwoods*
grackle, boat-tailed	*Quiscalus major*			*pine flatwoods*

common name	species name	FWC		FWS	location (trail)/habitat
grackle, common	*Quiscalus quiscula*				*pine flatwoods*
gull, laughing	*Larus atricilla*				*shoreline*
hawk, red-shouldered	*Buteo lineatus*				*pine flatwoods*
heron, great blue	*Ardea herodias*				*shoreline*
heron, little blue	*Egretta caerula*	SSC			*shoreline*
heron, tri-colored	*Egretta tricolor*	SSC			*shoreline, mangroves*
ibis, white	*Eudocimus albus*	SSC			*mangroves, shoreline*
jay, blue	*Cyanocitta cristata*				*pine flatwoods*
killdeer	*Charadrius vociferus*				*shoreline*
mallard	*Anas platyrhynchos*				*flying offshore*
martin, purple	*Projne subis*				*pine flatwoods*
merganser, common	*Mergus merganser*				*shoreline*
merganser, red-breasted	*Mergus serrator*				*pine flatwoods*
mockingbird, northern	*Mimus polyglottos*				*pine flatwoods, parking lot, mangroves*
night heron, black-crowned	*Nycticorax nycticorax*				*shoreline*
night heron, yellow-crowned	*Nycticorax violaceus*				*shoreline*
osprey	*Pandion haliaetus*	SSC*			*flying offshore, pine flatwoods*
oystercatcher, american	*Haematopus palliatus*	SSC			*shoreline*
parakeet, monk	*Myiopsitta monachus*		X		*flying over pine flatwoods*
pelican, American white	*Pelecanus erythrorhynchos*				*flying offshore*
pelican, brown	*Pelecanus occidentalis*	SSC		E	*flying offshore*
plover, black-bellied	*Pluvialis squatarola*				*shoreline*
plover, semipalmated	*Charadrius semipalmatus*				*shoreline*
robin, American	*Turdus migratorius*				*pine flatwoods*
sanderling	*Calidris alba*				*shoreline*
sandpiper, least	*Calidris minutilla*				*shoreline*
sandpiper, solitary	*Tringa solitaria*				*shoreline*
sandpiper, spotted	*Actitis macularia*				*shoreline*
screech owl, Eastern	*Otus asio*				*pine flatwoods, parking lot*
spoonbill, roseate	*Ajaia ajaja*	SSC			*shoreline*
stork, wood	*Mycteria americana*	E		E	*shoreline*
tern, common	*Sterna hirundo*				*shoreline*
tern, Forster's	*Sterna forsteri*				*shoreline*
tern, least	*Sterna antillarum*	T		E	*shoreline*
tern, royal	*Sterna maxima*				*shoreline*
tern, sandwich	*Sterna sandivicensis*				*shoreline*

common name	species name	FWC	FWS	location (trail)/habitat
turnstone, ruddy	*Arenaria interpres*			*shoreline*
vulture, black	*Coragyps atratus*			*flying overhead, pine flatwoods*
vulture, turkey	*Cathartes aura*			*flying overhead*
warbler, black-and-white	*Mniotilta varia*			*pine flatwoods*
warbler, blackpoll	*Dendroica striata*			*pine flatwoods*
warbler, Cape May	*Dendroica tigrina*			*mangroves*
warbler, hooded	*Wilsonia citrina*			*pine flatwoods*
warbler, palm'	*Dendroica palmarum*			*pine flatwoods, mangroves*
warbler, prairie	*Dendroica discolor*			*pine flatwoods*
warbler, yellow-rumped	*Dendroica coronata*			*pine flatwoods, mangroves*
waxwing, cedar	*Bombycilla cedrorum*			*pine flatwoods*
willet	*Catoptrophorus semipalmatus*			*shoreline*
woodpecker, downy	*Picoides pubescens*			*pine flatwoods*
woodpecker, pileated	*Dryocopus pileatus*			*pine flatwoods*
woodpecker, red-bellied	*Melanerpes carolinus*			*pine flatwoods*
wren, Carolina	*Thryothorus ludovicianus*			*pine flatwoods, mangroves*
yellowthroat, common	*Geothlypsis trichas*			*pine flatwoods*

* applicable only in Monroe County

Mammals

common name	species name	FWC	FWS	location (trail)/habitat
armadillo	*Dasypus novemcinctus*			*pine flatwoods*
opossum	*Didelphis virginiana*			*pine flatwoods*
mole, Eastern	*Scalopus aquaticus*			*pine flatwoods*
rabbit, marsh	*Sylvilagus palustris*			*pine flatwoods*
squirrel, eastern grey	*Sciurus carolinensis*			*pine flatwoods*
dog	*Canis familiaris*		*X*	*entire property*
cat	*Felis catus*		*X*	*workshop area*

Reptiles

common name	species name	FWC	FWS	location (trail)/habitat
anole, brown	*Anolis agrei*		*X*	*pine flatwoods, parking lot*
turtle, snapping	*Cheldydra serpentina*			*culvert on roadside*
snake, black	*unknown*			*roadside*

common name	species name	FWC		FWS	location (trail)/habitat
snake, red rat	*Elaphe guttata*	*SSC**			*mangroves*
skink, southeastern five-lined	*Eumeces inexpectatus*				*pine flatwoods*
tortoise, gopher	*Gopherus polyphemus*	*SSC*		*T*	*pine flatwoods*
gecko, indo-pacific	*Hemidactylus garnoti*		*X*		*Visitor Center*
turtle, mud	*Kinosternon subrubrum*				*culvert by workshop area*
turtle, box	*Terrapene carolina*				*pine flatwoods*
iguana, green	*Iguana iguana*		*X*		*driveway to workshop area*
iguana spiny-tailed	*Ctenosaura similis*		*X*		*pine flatwoods at park entrance*

* applicable only in lower Florida Keys

Amphibians

common name	species name	FWC		FWS	location (trail)/habitat
frog, greenhouse	*Eleutherodactylus planirostris*		*X*		*call heard in workshop area*
frog, southern leopard	*Rana sphenocephala*				*culvert by entrance*
tree frog, barking	*Hyla gratiosa*				*call heard from parking lot*
tree frog, cuban	*Osteopilus septentrionalis*		*X*		*parking lot*
tree frog, squirrel	*Hyla squirella*				*call heard in workshop area*
frog, southern cricket	*Acris gryllus*				*call heard in workshop area*
toad, southern	*Bufo terrestris*				*culvert by entrance*

Fish

common name	species name	FWC		FWS	location (trail)/habitat
killifish, marsh	*Fundulus confluentus*				*boardwalk creek, culvert by entrance*
killifish, gulf	*Fundulus grandis*				*boardwalk creek, culvert by entrance*
mosquito fish	*Gambusia holbrooki*				*culvert by entrance*
mosquito fish	*Gambusia sp.*				*boardwalk creek, culvert by entrance*
molly, sailfin	*Poecilia latipinna*				*culvert by entrance*

Butterflies

common name	species name	FWC	FWS	location (trail)/habitat
buttefly, gulf fritillary	*Argraulis vanillae*			*pine flatwoods*
butterfly, zebra	*Heliconinus charithonius*			*pine flatwoods*
butterfly, black swallow-tail	*Papilio polyxenes*			*pine flatwoods*
butterfly, cloudless sulphur	*Phoebis sennae*			*pine flatwoods*
butterfly, dorantes skipper	*Urbanus dorantes*			*pine flatwoods*
butterfly, great southern white	*Ascia monuste*			*pine flatwoods*
butterfly, spicebush swallowtail	*Papilio troilus*			*pine flatwoods*
butterfly, Eastern tiger swallowtail	*Papilio glaucus*			*pine flatwoods*

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(Abbreviations used in notes)

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