

NATIVE AMERICAN CONQUEST



**Native American Conquest:
Background, Trail Brief and
Florida Landing**

By Donald E. Sheppard
Edited by James M. Cooper

Tampa Bay, Florida

October, 2000

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I shall be forever grateful to my uncle, William Goza of Gainesville, for introducing me to stories of Hernando de Soto and the "The Ride of the Thirty Lancers" 35 years ago; To Dr. Brent Weisman of Tampa for showing me, in the fields of Florida, the importance of archaeology, and for his insistence that I write my findings; To Mr. Lee Sultzman of Arizona for sharing his profound knowledge of Southern and Midwestern Native American cultural groups; To Dr. Douglas E. Jones of Huntsville for explaining Alabama's geography and resources while in those fields; To Dr. Lawrence A. Clayton of Tuscaloosa for his wonderful friendship and for sharing his knowledge of DeSoto's activity in Peru; To the late Dr. Frederick P. Bowser of Stanford, and Dr. Thomas J. Nechyba, of Duke, who both painstakingly criticized my work, corrected my grammar and encouraged me to proceed; To Doctors Jeffrey P. Brain of Harvard, Vernon J. Knight, Jr, and Ian W. Brown, both of the University of Alabama, for personally defining realistic considerations for me to keep in mind while tracking DeSoto; To Doctors Francis G. Crowley of Missouri, James J. Miller of Tallahassee, Lynda Norene Shaffer of Boston, and Jose Fernandez of Orlando who listened, read my manuscripts and provided me with practical constraint and realistic insight; To Mr. James M. Cooper, my friend in Tampa who cheerfully edited this document; To Mz. Cheryl Lucente, who drew the cover image; and to those wonderful pioneers who recorded, transported, transcribed, published, translated, annotated, and preserved the DeSoto Chronicles in our libraries; and to the fishermen, firemen, hunters, landowners and common people everywhere who showed me places I could never have otherwise seen or put into perspective with DeSoto's extraordinary journey across this wonderful Country.

D.E.S.

Table of Contents

Title Page	1
Acknowledgements	2
Table of Contents	3
Native America's Background .	4
The Spaniards	8
What They Did Here	9
Lasting Effect on the Natives	19
Locating Conquest Trails . .	21
Expedition Chronicles	26
DeSoto's Background	30
The King's Orders	33
Florida Landings	34
Conquest Lunar Activity . . .	42
References	44
Map of Port	47

Native America's Background

By Donald E. Sheppard and Jeremiah Wolfe, Cherokee

In the heart of the Great Smoky Mountains live a people whose ancestors came to America thousands of years before Columbus. We call them Cherokee Indians. Their ancestors followed large animals over a land bridge from Asia when the seas had frozen into glaciers during the last Ice age, making the oceans shallow. Clans hunted large animals with stone-tipped spears then roasted meat over fires in coastal caves and rustic abodes. Hides were used for clothing, shoes and blankets. Clans moved down the shorelines with the animals and gathered wild fruits and vegetables along the way. Fire was carried from place to place. Fish were caught and seashells were used for knives, tools and utensils. Colorful feathers, gems and shells were strung with animal hide and worn for tribal identity.

When the climate turned warmer, the glaciers melted, the oceans rose, smaller animals prevailed and people moved inland with the oceans. Tropical currents flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, causing rains that kept the Mississippi River, America's largest, full year-round. Fish

and migratory animals ate the foods that grew near that river's bottomlands and thousands of people settled along it and its feeder streams. As the climate became warmer, people fanned farther up that giant river into the mountains. Various tribes gathered to form villages to protect themselves from others and wild animals. Some of them fished, others hunted, some made blankets and clothes from plants and animals, while others gathered wild fruits and vegetables. Pottery was made from clay and seeds were planted in fertile places along the rivers. Houses were made with wood and covered to keep them dry. Fireplaces were built and used to smoke fish and meat for the winter. Crops were gathered and stored in dry places.

Villages united into networks bordered by natural barriers. Dugout canoes were invented and networks enlarged into nations of people who shared certain customs and gestures. Culture grew rapidly with the exchange of news, foods, clothing, metals and art. The Cherokee Indians, the upper Tennessee River people, became one of the nations residing along the Great River system - the Mississippi and all of its giant tributaries. Other nations were forming along the Great River's other tributaries: the Ohio, the Missouri, the Arkansas and the Red Rivers. Trade was conducted along the Great River from the Rocky

Mountains to the Appalachians and down to the Gulf of Mexico. Large cities grew where the big tributaries merged. Indian economy focused into the heartland of the continent, with Illinois at the center of trade, not outward across the seas, as was the habit of European nations at the time Columbus discovered America.

The Cherokee Indians lived along the Tennessee River in the Appalachian Mountains. They thrived in the bottomlands from Virginia southward. They built their houses in villages, much like early American settlers did. Villages were separated by day-long walks, houses were built of wood and stone, fields were planted, nuts and berries were gathered, game was cured and tobacco was smoked. The Cherokee people adhered to high ethical standards. "Fire," the center of life, became the Cherokee word for "home."

Rivers between the Cherokees' Smoky Mountains were fed by creeks running from all directions, but flowed north and west into the Great River. A network of roads followed those rivers and streams to connect Cherokee villages. Steep mountain gaps limited routing choices so Cherokee roads converged at certain gaps, just as roads do today in those mountains.

Village chieftains lead and represented their people to the tribe as a whole. They and their people used the

NATIVE AMERICAN CONQUEST

roads to trade and compete with other villages. They continued to grow and flourish well after Columbus discovered America, but when Hernando DeSoto followed their roads into their villages in 1540, everything changed.

DeSoto brought foreign diseases, horses, whips, swords and vicious dogs to America; he took women, food and slaves as he went. Interior North America withstood the onslaught to become the only place in the New World that Spain never colonized. Spain reacted by blaming American Indians for DeSoto's defeat. They conceived a prejudice against Indians that others acquired. Our image of the Devil, a "Red Man with a Spear," was born when DeSoto died in America. It differs substantially from all previous Old World "Devil" concepts. It was used to symbolize the American Indians who resisted European settlement of North America. DeSoto devastated America's Indians with foreign diseases; his people crippled the survivors with an enduring prejudice. The Cherokee, one of the only tribes still living where DeSoto found them in 1540, remember his legacy all too well.

Jeremiah Wolfe, a full-blooded Cherokee, lives in Cherokee, North Carolina. Donald E. Sheppard, a fifth generation Floridian living near Tampa, Florida, wrote and published the remainder of this book on www.FloridaHistory.com.

The Spaniards

We had news that we were going in search of a land that an Indian boy had told us was on another sea....He said that he was from another land....and that a woman ruled it. Her town was of wonderful size....and she collected gold in abundance from her Chiefs....

The King of Spain had given "Governor" DeSoto only four years to colonize and hold America from the Port of Havana, Cuba. DeSoto's long journey through America, searching for riches in order to entice more Spanish settlers to his new colony, was well documented in candid, personal diaries by members of his all-volunteer "army." They stayed longer and traveled farther than any other army of European Explorers. People caught up in something they had little understanding of and no control over wrote their accounts of Native America, as in the above quotation. Their works, misunderstood for centuries, are the only spoils of Spain's "Conquest of America." Our land and Indians would never be the same again; theirs is the only account of what it was like when Europeans first sighted Native Americans. What follows is their story, sketchy in places, incredible in others. It is the story of Spain's failed conquest of this continent.

What They Did Here

DeSoto's people sighted this continent in the spring of 1539, at a port first discovered by Ponce de Leon, one of Columbus' captains. Leon had named this continent "The Island of Florida" but died trying to settle it. Panfilo de Narváez, another Spanish captain, had aimed for that same Florida port but missed it just twelve years before DeSoto sailed. Narváez' ships were blown further up Florida's Gulf Coast where he died when he was deliberately misled by Indians. DeSoto would massacre those Indians for what they did shortly after his arrival.

Six hundred and forty handpicked volunteers from Spain and Portugal landed with DeSoto in south Florida. Two hundred of them brought their own horses; many brought their dogs; all brought their own equipment for hiking, camping and fighting. DeSoto brought tons of supplies--cannon, gun powder and ammunition, crossbows, shields, lances, armor, helmets, bloodhounds, seeds, nails, axes, saws and pigs--to start a Spanish colony somewhere near the Great River, preferably at a place much like Mexico City, with plenty of gold and silver to plunder. Others had made similar attempts, none this big. All had failed.

Along for the riches of conquest were carpenters, priests, navigators, lords, engineers, shipbuilders,

blacksmiths, farmers, herdsmen, merchants and prospectors. Some had sold their houses and farms to be with the famous conquistador but most had never been trained as soldiers. Many had never been outside their own villages, much less in a land so vast that even the worldly DeSoto misjudged its size. Spain and Portugal could be walked from one end to the other in less than one month. This "army" would walk North America for four years without seeing an ocean, not one of them ever knowing what they were up against.

Southeastern Trails

Before it was over, DeSoto's expedition would trudge Florida's swamps from Charlotte Harbor to the Apalachicola River and beyond, spend the winter among hostile Indians in rich vegetable fields near Panama City (where they heard about gold from the above-mentioned Indian boy), then enter Alabama, Georgia and the Carolinas. Their initial contact with North America's numerous Indian nations, and the diseases they unknowingly introduced to them, would be destructive of Indian life and habitat. The expedition's descriptions of America's Indians in their natural setting, and the Spanish actions toward them, however, were well recorded

and have been translated into English. Those writings are available at most public libraries.

Unfortunately, America's scholars, who have persistently attempted to locate DeSoto's trail using Indian place-names recorded by DeSoto's people, have never understood their writings. Most Indians, and their place-names, were scattered westward, for the most part, by the diseases that DeSoto introduced to this continent. DeSoto's long-lasting effect on America could not have been appreciated until his route was located.

From their port in South Florida, DeSoto's army journeyed for four years and 4000 miles through America before abandoning their effort to conquer this enormous continent. In the process of exploring, particularly the Mississippi River basin including Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri, DeSoto's army encountered hundreds of thousands of Indians living in organized provinces. His people recorded their journey in order to return to desirable places and homestead once DeSoto founded his colony. Many Indian villages were pillaged in the process of feeding and clothing the army while DeSoto moved overland exploring and collecting valuables.

Indians were a marketable resource for the Spaniards. They were chained around the neck and forced to harvest and carry food for the army. Indian women were

raped. Indian children were abused. The world's diseases infected all. Indians had never seen horses ridden before, and vicious dogs, the likes of which they also had never seen, became their worst enemies. The Spaniards had honed their Indian-gathering skills in Mexico and South America; North American Indians, with primitive spears and arrows, never stood a chance of stopping them.

Perhaps we have not understood this episode in history because we have never given credence to what DeSoto's people wrote. DeSoto died before founding his colony, and his army never found what they needed to lure additional colonists from Spain or Mexico. The Spaniards failed, but other European emigrants would be influenced by the Spanish accounts of our land, resources and primitive Indians. But the Spaniards used terms in their accounts that were unfamiliar to many, given that Spanish lifestyle and terminology varied so greatly from those of the French and English.

To make matters worse, the places DeSoto's people had described in America changed so dramatically in the decade following DeSoto's expedition that Frenchmen and Englishmen never recognized the places described in the Spanish accounts. It had become almost impossible to visualize what DeSoto's people described in America given the total abandonment of Indian villages after the

introduction of foreign diseases by the Spaniards. Indian survivors sought refuge in the hills. Today it is even more difficult to visualize what the Spaniards described here - our forests have been harvested, animals destroyed, plants enhanced, rivers dammed and swamps drained - but our basic geography has withstood the onslaught with enough resilience to allow us to use detailed geographic maps to track DeSoto's army from Florida to Chicago and on to Texas.

Midwestern Trails

A serious problem hindering the understanding of DeSoto arises from a common misconception of his motives. His primary mission was not to find gold and riches here, as has been suggested for centuries. He was already incredibly rich from Incan gold. Rather, he wanted to claim and colonize North America. He sought to control all of it. DeSoto believed that this continent was an island. He planned to control it by controlling its central river, the Mississippi; from its mouth northward to what he believed was the Pacific Ocean. Vasco Nuñez de Balboa had discovered that ocean beyond Panama, DeSoto's boyhood home. Ferdinand Magellan had sailed that ocean to the Orient when DeSoto was twenty-one years old.

The Orient, the greatest market in the world, was waiting for Spain's New World riches. The prospects of opening a trade route through this new colony and to the Orient lured DeSoto into America. DeSoto had observed that a great circle of Earth drawn from Havana, Spain's strongest outpost in the New World, to the Orient went up America's Great River and crossed the Indians' legendary northern sea. Spanish immigrants, first attracted by riches, would surely settle the banks of America's Great River and all of its tributaries once the natives were removed to the mines of Mexico and Peru. Once Spanish settlers were enticed to his new colony, DeSoto could direct them to build a port on the northern sea, then sail that sea to China, thereby opening an East-West world trade route through his new colony.

America's Indians and DeSoto's people called the Mississippi River and its giant tributaries, collectively, the "Great River". It served as the network for commerce between large Indian Provinces and discharged into Spain's Gulf Coast shipping lanes. The Great River was well known to the early Spaniards who sailed between Cuba and Mexico, Spain's New World population centers. The Mississippi River was the largest freshwater discharge in Spain's New World and the primary source of drinking water for coastal seamen. However, its mouth, with dozens

of tangled rivulets flowing over broad, shifting flats, was difficult to locate. A deep-water port near its mouth, Mobile Bay, was selected by DeSoto to fortify in order to mark the mouth of the Great River and protect it from pirates and foreign invaders.

Mobile Bay, according to DeSoto's thinking, would become his home and Spain's mainland headquarters in North America. DeSoto's march from South Florida, where he landed in order to protect his horses from injury at sea on his way from Havana to the Great River, was interrupted, however, at Panama City by the young Indian boy's report that gold could be found to the northeast.

DeSoto's biggest mistakes in America were believing what Indian boy said and underestimating the size of this "Island of Florida" and Native American tenacity. The pearls DeSoto would pillage from Carolina Indian tombs would be lost in a ferocious battle during his second year in America while approaching his awaiting supply ships at Mobile Bay. Indians, captured at that harbor months before while DeSoto wintered in North Florida, led him from the Carolinas into an ambush in lower Alabama. DeSoto would force march his army away from his ships at Mobile Bay in order to preclude news of his defeat from reaching Spain. After wintering in Tennessee, DeSoto's people headed north, down the Tennessee River toward the

Northern Sea, searching for plunder during the summer of 1541. DeSoto believed the north shore of this "Island of Florida" lay just over the next horizon.

He halted his army for one full month before crossing the Ohio River at Henderson, Kentucky, a place he called "Quisquis." That name came from the Incan warrior DeSoto defeated just before entering Peru's City of Gold. Victory over Quisquis had won great fortune and fame for DeSoto throughout Europe; all of his people knew that name; it inspired them across the worst obstacle they would find in America

Chicago

Once beyond the Great River, DeSoto camped at Terre Haute, Indiana. His scouts discovered Lake Michigan, under the full moon, at today's Chicago on July 8, 1541, at the end of their trail.

Lake Michigan, which had been described as an ocean by coastal Indians, had no ocean tides or salt in it. Perceiving that at once, DeSoto's scouts reported that they could find "no road to traverse to the other sea" across it, meaning that no sea-level passage to China could exist across that giant sea into the world's oceans. The Spaniards found nothing to further their interest in North America and, thus, never returned to explore the interior

of this continent any further. DeSoto's hopes were crushed in Indiana. Spain's conquest of the New World ended at Chicago.

Distraught with reality, DeSoto turned his army around and led them back down the Great River. Epidemics, caused by the world's viruses that were introduced to the Indians by DeSoto's army, had already ravaged the Mississippi River's east bank villages from Florida to Indiana. DeSoto led his people south, through Illinois, to the largest village he found in America - which the Spanish called El Dorado - between the confluence of the Mississippi, Ohio and Wabash Rivers. On September 6, 1541, under a full moon, DeSoto moved west across the Mississippi River, described as being "like the Caya (Spain's largest river), of Estremadura," then entered the mountains of Eastern Missouri.

Western Trails

DeSoto found much-needed salt along the Saline River, then searched the Ozark Mountains of Arkansas in a reckless attempt to find enough gold to entice more settlers to colonize America, the job the King had sent DeSoto to do in the first place. Failing that, and losing his only interpreter to sickness that winter, he died at Lake Village, Arkansas, in 1542. His body was placed in nearby

Lake Chicot, a fork of the Mississippi River at that time. His army, confused, not knowing why he had led them so far and so long without settling, made their escape toward Mexico City, Spain's nearest outpost on the continent.

They passed through Shreveport, Louisiana, and then followed the Old San Antonio road through Mission Tejas to Austin. Scouts found impassable deserts beyond today's Alamo at San Antonio, so the army marched all the way back to the Great River for escape the next Spring. The villages they had contaminated along their way were avoided while backtracking 400 miles to Arkansas.

Escape to Mexico

That winter, they built boats near Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and then drifted down the Great River on the July Ozark Mountain floods of 1543. Half of the army would survive further attacks at Greenville, Vicksburg and Natchez, Mississippi, pass through Baton Rouge and New Orleans, and then sail along the Texas coastline to Mexico. Their tales of North America, the first eyewitness accounts of our interior, would be published and read by America's prospective European pioneers - primarily the French and the English - for centuries.

Lasting Effect on the Natives

The aftereffects of DeSoto's invasion are obvious once his history is placed into perspective. DeSoto accounts were published throughout Europe and served to entice others to America. Those accounts were the only source of written intelligence about America until French and English explorations much later. The DeSoto accounts of the splendor of America were celebrated in Europe for centuries. Most significant, however, is that DeSoto's peoples' accounts established the precedent for all European relations with America's Indians. That is, DeSoto's people interacted with Native Americans in such a manner as to place them in a role subordinate to humanity. European doctrine would, thereafter, place America's Indians in the same category that DeSoto's people had - as pagan Devil's - nonhumans incapable of ownership.

Beginning with news of Hernando DeSoto's death in the 1540's, today's image of the Devil arose throughout Europe: our tall, red-skinned, body-hairless, dark-eyed, spear-carrying Native Americans were immortalized. European settlers usually called American Indians "Red Devils." That image, born in Spanish Conquest, survives to this day. It varies so much from all previous "Devil"

concepts that its use immediately following DeSoto's death seems indisputable.

Why has it taken so long for us to realize the profound effect DeSoto had on America? The answer is simple. We could not believe the stories about DeSoto, even shortly after the fact, because things had changed so much and so quickly just after DeSoto arrived in America. Indians became itinerants to avoid diseases in population centers; their great nations, their cities and their giant farms, all described by DeSoto's people, no longer existed. Indian cities were abandoned: the people fled for refuge. French and English pioneers, given the tremendous short-term changes in the North America he visited, eventually dismissed DeSoto's accounts. His landing place in southwestern Florida was not even correctly identified until 1994. Only by following his people's precise directions between landmarks, starting at his landfall, could DeSoto's trail through America be located. To make matters worse, their directions were described in terms unfamiliar not only to post-DeSoto, English-speaking, non-seafaring, non-equestrian, and non-military pioneers but to later scholars as well. But DeSoto actually did port at the best possible place he could to preserve his horses from the ravages of a long sea passage from Havana to the Great River and he did follow Indian trails between Indian villages most of the

time he was here. He was a military strategist, not the wandering fool portrayed by many scholars. After all, he had honed his skills in Peru, where he had fought his way straight to a City of Gold.

Locating Conquest Trails

The route taken by Hernando DeSoto through America in the 16th Century continues to attract the attention of scholars and laymen alike. New archaeological evidence has been added to the ancient chronicles, and nearly "definitive" routes have been proposed. However, the archaeological evidence is very thin, and, if anything, scant findings have only added to the confusion and controversy surrounding DeSoto's route. On the other hand, many trailseekers have misinterpreted early 16th Century terms, neglected consideration of once bountiful mineral fields as native population centers, and overlooked important tactical concepts of mariners and mounted expeditionaries altogether. Perhaps a fresh start is in order, beginning with an examination of Spanish terms and concepts.

Moons and Coasts

Moon phases and coasts were important during the Spanish Conquest. The King's agent, traveling with

DeSoto, and Cabeza de Vaca, a chronicler of an earlier expedition, both described their trails through Florida in relation to the coast. To the King of Spain and all professional seamen everywhere, the word "coast" meant navigable water nearest to land, that is, a functional sea-lane. Conquest trailseekers have used the shoreline of our shallow Gulf of Mexico for reference in placing Conquest trails, but that shoreline lays at least fifteen miles inland of Florida's Gulf "coast" as understood by the Spanish. "Definitive" DeSoto trails have, therefore, been placed about that distance inland of his actual trail.

When DeSoto's Thirty Lancers, 30 experienced and trusted horsesoldiers, made a journey back down his trail to North Florida, following the route taken by both Cabeza de Vaca and DeSoto, they composed the only complete description of that trail through Florida. The length of their reported ride, however, has been discredited and shortened by DeSoto trailseekers by an amount assumed by them to have been exaggerated by a 16th Century transcriber of the horsesoldiers' journals. We know now that Harvest Moon occurred at the midpoint of the Thirty Lancers' journey. This meant they could easily make long overnight passages, unknown until recently, between points confused by earlier trailseekers. They rode the long, moonlit distances that they said they did!

The moon affects tides as well. Certain Florida harbors were impassable to large Spanish galleons except on particular moon phases. "Spring Tides", which only occur near new and full moon increase the tide's amplitudes, making Florida harbors navigable for large Spanish ships. DeSoto and Narváez' biggest mistakes in approaching Florida arose from ignoring that fact. It cost them dearly during their landings. The moon's phase, from then on, would be taken into account on every tactical decision both DeSoto and Narváez made (see the Lunar Activity Table, below). Precise lunar intelligence of the early 16th Century became available with the advent of atomic time measure, radar telescopes and digital computers. Only now can we focus on DeSoto's foolish mistakes and extraordinary accomplishments.

How Far Did They Go?

Distance-measurement and pastureland location were important to Conquest Navigators and Captains. To most of us, distance traveled is the mileage we read on an odometer. To early 16th Century colonizers, however, it meant the actual distance between places, along a straight line, measured in Spanish judicial leagues by pacers and plotted by cartographers for eventual land title. By today's standard, there are 2.6 "legal" statute miles per Spanish

judicial league or "legua legal". All of Florida's land, even today, is titled in reference to a grid similar to the one DeSoto planned, with statute miles our units of "legal" measure. That land-titling concept was inherited from the Romans. DeSoto's people knew that he could claim only lands inland of two hundred leagues of coast for his colony and that they could claim homesteads only within the boundaries of that colony. Accordingly, they kept track of desirable locations, some in their personal journals, and described the army's movements in the process. Modern detailed maps allow us to follow their directions with precision.

Hungry Horses

DeSoto's army had over 200 horses, each requiring adequate food every day. Horses were so important to his mission that pasturelands or Indian villages with stored food were always his intermediate destinations. But American Indians had no horses or cattle, so their lifestyles were not accommodating to DeSoto's. To make allowance for this, DeSoto marched his army in six divisions; each camped separately on Florida's small fields and at Indian villages. DeSoto's army was strewn across the landscape as it advanced, its divisions' campsites often at great intervals. Horsemen provided DeSoto with

intelligence for selecting desirable campsites for each, then "posted" his marching orders accordingly. Horses were kept fit and Captains were kept aware of the proximity of other divisions in case of attack. Accurate distance measure was DeSoto's key to these ends, and would serve as the foundation of land title once his planned colony was selected. DeSoto trailseekers have tended to ignore precedent land title, equestrian lifestyle, nautical terminology and colonial lunar concept.

Rich Fields

Florida's 130,000-acre rock phosphate ridge and its giant pebble phosphate fields are almost forgotten today. Most were mined out well before many of us were born. The phosphate from them was ground into fertilizer for America's crops. In DeSoto's time, however, Florida's phosphate ridges and fields were the centers of life on peninsular Florida's west side and afforded large enough pastures and sufficient maize to support his entire army and its livestock. DeSoto's army rested on them until the food ran out due to consumption or packing for the road ahead. Unfortunately, archaeologists will never get to study most of them as surface mining has destroyed most.

Today's Tracking Technology

Detailed satellite photographs, accurate lunar tables and laser-defined topography did not exist until recently. For that matter, neither did effective mosquito repellent, reliable all-terrain vehicles, snakebite antivenins or deep-probe metal detectors to use in locating sites. Today we have the benefit of these tools plus newly annotated translations of the DeSoto's chronicles available at most public libraries.

Chronicles of the Expedition

The DeSoto chronicles were written as personal journals by three officers of his expedition; Luis Fernández de Biedma, a factor of the Crown; The Gentleman of Elvas, an unnamed Portuguese Officer who wrote in his native language; and Rodrigo Rangel, DeSoto's private secretary. Garcilaso de la Vega, more properly Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, is also included. He published a narrative based on extensive interviews with survivors of the expedition, primarily one of DeSoto's Thirty Lancers. Garcilaso is called Inca here because he was born in Peru of an Incan mother and preferred that name. He wrote to honor America's natives.

In this book, Inca's narration, despite his occasional confusion and exaggeration, and those of the three officers

are collectively called the Chroniclers and their writings the Chronicles. One other fragment of testimony, written by Fray Sabastian de Cañete, has recently been found in the Archives of Spain, but only serves to reinforce the writings of the three officers . All of these works, plus other DeSoto documents and biographies, were recently published in a two-volume set, The DeSoto Chronicles, the Expedition of Hernando DeSoto to North America 1539-1543, edited by Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight, Jr. and Edward C. Moore. Their interpretations are used here for ease of reader reference.

None of DeSoto's maps or field notes is known to exist today. The Chroniclers frequently described him and his work, however, calling him "Governor". He is called "DeSoto" throughout this paper, that being common vernacular in the United States, although Soto is proper. I believe that each Chronicler reported some of what he saw or understood, but that each saw and heard things from different vantage points, especially when the army was on the move. In the confusion of unexplored wilderness, they and their informants were among people who spoke languages so alien to their own that recording it in print was almost impossible. To add to the difficulty of understanding what the Chroniclers wrote, the natives frequently told them about villages using the village chief's

name instead of the village name, or vice versa, and provinces were often referred to in a similar manner. Inca, never having been in Florida, confused place-names occasionally and never understood what the others called provinces (he names ten provinces in Florida, the others agree on four). I attempt to clarify this by qualifying each native name I use here, and I use the name assigned by the Chronicler who, in my opinion, best describes specific people and places. Forgotten activity and lost notes during conquest probably account for certain aberrations. The Chroniclers' scattered locations during various events could likewise account for discrepancies in ranging, timing and sequencing reports.

If we are to find DeSoto's trail and learn more about the sites he visited, then surely we must begin by understanding and applying what these people wrote. This work is an attempt to do just that; it varies substantially from previously published works, however. What follows is my version of the events, circumstances, and geographic locations involved in the DeSoto landing and trail through North America. Explorations and conquests of America's Gulf Coast, immediately preceding DeSoto's, are also included. I have done my best to use all of the DeSoto chronicles, without bias from other published route reconstructions. I have attempted to match the geographic

descriptions provided by DeSoto's Chroniclers with existing locations in America's geography. Today's place-names are used in many cases to facilitate identification of sites that may not otherwise be known to those less familiar with Early American History.

During my research, I have visited every site mentioned in this book to verify my interpretations of source data. I have studied trails and places on America's pioneer maps for over thirty years, searched for those sites, surveyed them, surfaced collected them, dug a few, and turned over everything I have ever found to the proper public custodian. My interest is purely avocational but I have learned a great deal about how difficult it is to trudge the swamps and river crossings DeSoto was supposed, by "Official" trailseekers, to have crossed.

Tracking the Conquistadores

The study of DeSoto's conquest is inseparable from that of Pánphilo de Narváez and Álvaro Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca. All were Spanish Conquistadors who are known to have entered and exited Florida near the same locations, within a dozen years of each other. Narváez failed utterly. DeSoto's army became aware of native aversion to Spaniards, provoked by Narváez and coastal slave hunters, shortly after landing in Florida. Cabeça de Vaca provides

us with the only extant narrative of the Narváez expedition, which was poorly executed and scantily recorded. DeSoto's Chroniclers, who wrote their perceptions of Narváez and described the place where he built his boats for escape, are relied upon here for additional intelligence of the Narváez/Vaca "Conquest."

Once DeSoto marched to Apalache, in North Florida, and established his winter quarters, he dispatched his Thirty Lancers to ride back down his trail to bring forward all troops and ships left at port in South Florida. The Lancers' journal, questionably understood but factually related by Inca, is used here to establish distances between places, which the Chroniclers failed to record in their personal journals when they blazed that trail. Inca's account of the Thirty Lancers' journey will, therefore, be discussed at times before we discuss DeSoto's arrival at Apalache. I know of no other way to substantiate this incredible journey as it unfolded.

DeSoto's Background

As a young Spaniard in Central America, three men profoundly influenced DeSoto: Juan Ponce de León, Vasco Núñez de Balboa and Ferdinand Magellan. The first two became famous for exploring the new world: Juan Ponce for discovering Florida - a title used by the Spaniards for

ALL of America north of Mexico, which they called New Spain - and Balboa for discovering the Pacific Ocean beyond Panama. Magellan would sail that ocean to the Orient. DeSoto's ambitions in life would be governed to a large extent by their discoveries.

Born at the turn of the 16th Century of a noble family in Spain, and raised in the new colony of Panama, DeSoto became acutely aware of possession, land title, and legal remedy. Juan Ponce, who first came to America with Columbus, and Balboa made their discoveries, of North America and the Pacific Ocean respectively, when DeSoto was 13 years old. DeSoto learned the cunning of his mentors shortly thereafter while on "missions" with Balboa in Nicaragua. Vicious dogs, fast horses, and extortion became his hallmark. DeSoto enjoyed the title "Child of the Sun" for conducting dawn raids on unsuspecting villages, usually capturing the village chief and thereby subjugating its citizens to menial servitude. Women became objects of barter. Before his 18th birthday, DeSoto formed a lifelong partnership with Hernán Ponce de León to assure equal estate for both in life.

Hernán Ponce's relationship, if any, with Juan Ponce, the explorer, has never been known, but events in DeSoto's later life would indicate some eagerness on his part to outdo Juan Ponce in the same area of Florida

where the latter's colony had failed. Balboa was put to death by a jealous Panamanian dictator, DeSoto's patron, in 1518. Balboa had overstepped his bounds without the strength of a personal army to back him. DeSoto, made wise by that act, signed on as a captain with Francisco Pizarro to enter the Peruvian mountains and plunder Incan treasure with an army of his own. Kidnap brought huge ransoms for DeSoto's personal army and Indian captives provided intelligence about villages further ahead. Spectacular brutality became DeSoto's way of life. He amassed great fortune before Pizarro discharged him from Peru.

DeSoto returned to Spain to seek recognition at Court, but was not accepted there as a peer. Both Narváez and Tristan de Luna, had recently disappeared while attempting to colonize North America at two different places, thus tarnishing the reputation of New World Conquistadors in general but setting the stage for DeSoto's attempt to establish his own. He married Isabel de Bobadilla, whose family held power at court. About that time, Cabeça de Vaca, the mouthy survivor of the Narváez Expedition, stirred the European community with astonishing stories of great wealth to be found for the taking in North America.

The King's Orders

The King, ignoring DeSoto's petition for lands elsewhere, fittingly granted this trusted Soldier of The Cross a four-year commission to colonize and hold North America (La Florida). The King assigned DeSoto the Governorship of Cuba from which to stage his invasion of the eastern half of today's United States - land once "owned" by Juan Ponce, Narváez and Luna. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado was dispatched from Mexico to explore and conquer the western part of North America at about the same time.

DeSoto selected eager volunteers from Spain and Portugal, many of African descent - farmers, soldiers, traders, accountants, shipbuilders, carpenters, clergymen and tailors. They averaged 24 years of age; some had been in the New World before, some with DeSoto. Lawyers were prohibited by act of the King, however, from joining DeSoto because they were known to cause trouble over land title and the division of crown spoils. Some investors came and provided their own weapons, horses, greyhounds, servants and equipment. Some brought their wives. They sailed to Cuba at DeSoto's expense - with stores of clothing, trade goods, shields, armor, helmets, crossbows, guns, black powder, nails, tools, seeds and plows - for exploration and long-term settlement on our mainland. More animals and

food (hardtack, Irish bloodhounds, long-legged Spanish herding pigs and mules) were bartered from Cuban plantation owners. DeSoto's livestock count came to over 500, including at least 237 horses.

By order of the King, seven deep-draft vessels, bound for Vera Cruz, New Spain (Mexico), were used to transport DeSoto's stores, animals, 640 men, their servants and women from Cuba to Florida. In addition, two shallow-draft vessels, owned by DeSoto, carried a number of the force then stayed at port in Florida. They set sail from Havana on May 18, 1539. DeSoto's objective was to land his horses, his precious cargo, as soon as possible; lengthy sea passages were known to cause broken legs and thereby attrition among the valuable horses.

Florida Landings

Juan Ponce de León had explored Florida's nearby coast and discovered Charlotte Harbor in 1513 but died from wounds received somewhere between it and the Bay of Juan Ponce on his return to colonize the region in 1521. The Bay of Juan Ponce is located sixty miles northeast of Key West, above Cape Sable (**see the Map of DeSoto's Port on the Last Page of this Section**).

In 1528, Panfilo de Narváez with Cabeza de Vaca aimed to colonize Charlotte Harbor, albeit on a much

smaller scale than DeSoto . A storm kept him from first stopping at Havana to procure needed provisions, however. Narváez' fleet was blown into the Gulf of Mexico, leaving one ship behind. He found Florida several days later, but with a critical food shortage, Narváez was forced to disembark his army and horses. He dispatched his ships to Havana for food and supplies with orders to meet him further up the coast where they all surmised Juan Ponce's good harbor to be located. They had been blown further north than they realized, however, and the captains of the vessels reported finding that harbor just five leagues (13 miles) south of the disembarkation point. Stump Pass, at Englewood on Lemon Bay, was exactly that distance from the mouth of Charlotte Harbor on the Florida Township survey of 1896: Narváez had disembarked there.

Since on their return Narváez and his army could not be found, the captains of the vessels searched the shoreline for him, but to no avail. The next year, rescuers sent to find Narváez also found Charlotte Harbor, thinking he would have settled there by that time. He had been there but had skirmished with that harbor's chief, Hirrihigua, and led his army away. The rescuers noticed a sheet of paper on a stick at the head of the harbor which they thought Narváez had left for them. When some of the

men disembarked to read the note, Chief Hirrihigua, whose nose had been cut off by Narváez, captured them.

Almost A Native

One of the rescuers, a boy named Juan Ortiz, spent several years of captivity and torture by Chief Hirrihigua, who understandably had much enmity of Spaniards. Ortiz survived, however, and learned the chief's language in the process; the other captured men were killed. Ortiz would finally escape, with help from Chief Hirrihigua's daughter, to her fiancée's nearby village. He was given safe refuge by her fiancée, Chief Mococo, and learned that chief's language as well during years of hospitable captivity. DeSoto's scouts, in the luckiest stroke of the entire campaign, would find Ortiz shortly after their landing. He would serve DeSoto's army as guide and chief interpreter for the rest of his life. DeSoto's people would reward the good Chief Mococo with excess Spanish armor when the port was finally abandoned. Florida's early pioneers would find some of that armor and call Chief Mococo's abandoned village site "Old Spanish Fields."

DeSoto's Landfall

The King's Comptroller, Juan de Añasco, was dispatched from Cuba to explore Florida's coast during the

year before DeSoto sailed from Havana. Añasco found Ponce de León's Charlotte Harbor and took four Indians from among Chief Hirrihigua's people. Añasco was licensed by the King to barter with them. Those people trapped fish nearby and traded them with inland Indian villages. Añasco envisioned developing that trade with Havana. The captives knew the shoreline and could locate their homeport, Charlotte Harbor, on their return with the fleet. Their village, Ucita, at the head of that harbor, would ultimately become DeSoto's base of operations. Narváez, with Cabeza de Vaca, had passed through the village, cut off Chief Hirrihigua's nose, then preceded inland. Juan Ortiz had been there and had fled for his life. Hirrihigua's gigantic stone fishing enclosure is still there, however, hooked southward into Muddy Cove at the head of Charlotte Harbor, and is clearly visible. It is, possibly, the oldest historic structure in the United States.

Before his return to Cuba, Añasco carefully sounded the harbor, noted the tide's effect on it, then measured the distance back to Havana via Dry Tortuga, 75 or 80 leagues, as reported to his officers in Havana. He advised DeSoto to sail on May 25th to catch the full moon and, thereby, favorable Spring Tides upon his arrival, but DeSoto chose to sail on favorable winds from Havana instead, one week early. The men sighted Florida due north on May 25th, ten

leagues west of the Bay of Juan Ponce, but the transport captains would go no closer than one or two leagues from land until sighting a safe harbor entrance. They reported the coast in four brazas water (22 feet deep) on a northern landfall, and dropped anchor four or five leagues below the port. That depth of water, that close to land, 75 or 80 leagues north of Havana, ten leagues west of the Bay of Juan Ponce, on a northern landfall, four or five leagues below a port, occurs at only one place in Florida: Sanibel Island.

Landing the Troops

DeSoto, his guard, Añasco and the captives were transferred into DeSoto's smaller boats to find the harbor that evening, leaving the cumbersome transport ships at anchor. If the fleet overshot the harbor, the large ships could not tack back to it against the high southerly winds, which were reported, to enter the harbor's pass. To preclude that, DeSoto coasted downwind, northward, in his small, maneuverable boats, advancing to where he thought the harbor's entrance was located. He sailed out of sight of the fleet, however, which had moved out into deeper water for safe overnight anchorage. That evening DeSoto found Charlotte Harbor's entrance at Boca Grande Pass, but was kept from returning to the fleet by darkness and wind.

DeSoto spent the night at a deserted Indian village (probably on Useppa Island, the highest point of land and, thereby, the safest from native attack, in that region), much to the chagrin of his people.

The next morning, DeSoto sailed back out the pass to explore the enormous sand bar at the harbor's entrance and to summon the fleet. He was spotted four leagues downwind of the fleet's anchorage as he tacked across the high winds. The fleet advanced downwind between boats which DeSoto stationed on either side of the narrow channel to guide the fleet into the harbor. Two of the fleet's ships scraped sandy bottom as they entered.

Since they had left Havana a week earlier than Añasco had advised, DeSoto's fleet could not cross the harbor's shallow channel south of Cape Haze, despite efforts to do so. They were forced to anchor two leagues inside the pass, in deep water, to wait for Full Moon and Spring Tides. Those tides were five days away, so while they waited the men comforted the horses with fresh foliage and berries from the islands and bays west of Cape Haze, just to the north of their anchorage. Twenty horses perished before they were landed, however, and Añasco was publicly scolded for the delay, which may have contributed to the horses' injuries. Añasco had warned DeSoto about the harbor's shallows before leaving Havana,

however, thereby establishing May 25th as the proposed departure date to hit Spring Tides on arrival, a date formally acknowledged by DeSoto in a letter to Spain.

The horses and other livestock were finally disembarked onto Cape Haze. On the night of May 30th (on the tides, as we now realize), DeSoto's guards sailed up to the head of the harbor and Ucita was taken in a dawn raid. The Indians, having been aware of the ships for nearly a week, had fled, much to DeSoto's disappointment. His style of capturing the village chief and enslaving the citizens had been thwarted by delay. Hostages were not taken en masse from Ucita, setting off a series of mishaps that would disrupt DeSoto's campaign for months. Without forced labor, the men would have to perform all the menial tasks associated with landing and carrying supplies overland on their departure and the transport captains would get but few captives to take with them to sell.

The next day, on the Spring Tides, the fleet sailed up the harbor to within a mile of Locust Point, the closest mainland to the channel at the head of the bay, where the men were disembarked. They made their way through the marshes toward Ucita, two leagues (five miles) from where they landed. In the meantime, the horsemen driving the livestock made their way toward Ucita, a 12-league (thirty mile) trip, as it is today around the cape's swamps and

over the Myakka River at the head of the harbor. That moonlit trip would be the entire cavalry's longest non-stop "ride" in Florida.

Very late that night, the horsemen arrived near Ucita, exhausted from their journey. They had trudged through the swamps then over the mouth of the Myakka River, having waited until midnight to ford it to take advantage of Spring Low Tide, which occurs there at midnight on every Full Moon even today. They found themselves on the opposite side of Tippecanoe Bay from the men, however, and, exhausted, slept where they were, on today's El Jobean. The men, having been misled for hours by Añasco's four captives, watched the horsemen's campfires from the opposite bank of Tippecanoe Bay, neither group realizing they were separated by only one league of hard ground. The next day, the horsemen found the passage around the lagoon at the head of the bay to join the others. On June 3rd, with all the dignitaries and necessary paraphernalia ashore, DeSoto took formal possession of North America.

End of Part One

These publications are available at www.FloridaHistory.com

NATIVE AMERICAN CONQUEST

Conquest Lunar Activity

Compiled in 1994 for Internet Publication on www.FloridaHistory.com
from Lunar Circumstance Tables computed and provided by
Dr. Dennis Mammana, Resident Astronomer,
Natural Science Center, Balboa Park, San Diego, California.

MOON PHASE DATE & EVENT DURING CONQUEST

FIRST YEAR 1539

NEW MAY 18, DESOTO'S ARMY SAILS FROM HAVANA
FULL JUNE 1, DESOTO'S ARMY LANDS IN FLORIDA
NEW JULY 15, THE ARMY LEAVES PORT FOR INTERIOR
FULL JULY 31, THE ARMY ENTERS OCALE (DADE CITY)
NEW AUG. 14, DESOTO CONDUCTS HERNANDO MASSACRE
FULL AUG. 29, ARMY ADVANCES FROM OCALE TO SUWANNEE
NEW SEP. 12, SCOUTS EXPLORE VITACHUCO
FULL SEP. 27, DESOTO TAKES TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA
NEW OCT. 12, ANASCO GETS LOST FINDING PANAMA CITY
FULL OCT. 27, 30 LANCERS CROSS THE HILLSBOROUGH SWAMP
NEW NOV. 10, SHIPS LEAVE PORT CHARLOTTE ON SPRING TIDES
FULL NOV. 25, TROOPS FROM THERE CROSS GREAT SWAMP
FULL DEC. 25, SHIPS ARRIVE AT PANAMA CITY, FLORIDA

[ARMY WINTERS AT BOTH PANAMA CITY AND MARIANNA CAMPS](#)

SECOND YEAR 1540

FULL MARCH 22, ARMY TAKES TAO: DAWSON, GEORGIA
FULL APRIL 21, ARMY CROSSES SAVANNAH RIVER
FULL MAY 20, ARMY ENTERS NORTH CAROLINA AT DAWN
FULL JUNE 19, DESOTO DEMANDS WOMEN FOR MEN AT CHIAHA
NEW JULY 4, DESOTO STRIKES HIAWASSI ISLAND, TENNESSEE
FULL JULY 19, ARMY ENTERS COOSA, FORT PAYNE, ALABAMA
FULL AUG. 17, SCOUTS LEAVE COOSA, ARMY WAITS
NEW AUG. 31, DESOTO STRIKES GADSDEN, ALABAMA
FULL SEP. 16, CAVALRY TAKES TALLASSEE, ALABAMA
NEW SEP. 30, ARMY AWAITS LIGHT TO VISIT TUSCALUSA, ALABAMA
FULL OCT. 15, DESOTO ENTERS CAHABA, TUSCALUSA'S BIRTHPLACE
FULL NOV. 14, LEAVE TUSCALUSA'S BATTLE GROUNDS AT MAUVILA
NEW NOV. 28, RAFTS MOVED TO BLACK WARRIOR RIVER
FULL DEC. 13, SCOUTS MOVE UP THE TENNESSEE RIVER

[STRIKE MADE INTO MISSISSIPPI DURING THIS WINTER](#)

THIRD YEAR 1541

NEW APRIL 26, DESOTO TAKES ALIBAMO AT NATCHEZ TRACE, TENN.
FULL MAY 10, DESOTO ENTERS WHILE SCOUTS EXPLORE KENTUCKY
FULL JUNE 8, DESOTO CROSSES THE OHIO RIVER AT EVANSVILLE
FULL JULY 8, SCOUTS SIGHT LAKE MICHIGAN AT **CHICAGO**
FULL AUG. 6, STRIKE ILLINOIS, LARGEST TOWN IN AMERICA
FULL SEP. 6, ARMY CROSSES MISSISSIPPI RIVER INTO MISSOURI
FULL OCT. 5, ARMY TAKES TULA, HARRISON, ARKANSAS
NEW OCT. 19, ARMY ENTERS THE OZARK MOUNTAINS
FULL NOV. 3, ARMY TAKES JACKSONPORT, ARKANSAS

[ARMY SPENDS THE WINTER EXPLORING MISSISSIPPI RIVER BANKS.](#)

NATIVE AMERICAN CONQUEST

FOURTH YEAR 1542

NEW MARCH 16, ARMY CROSSES WHITE RIVER IN SNOWS
FULL MARCH 31, ARMY TAKES NILCO PROVINCE NEAR MONTICELLO
NEW APRIL 15, ARMY MOVES QUIETLY TO LAKE VILLAGE
FULL APRIL 29, SCOUTS EXPLORE MISSISSIPPI RIVER
HALF MAY 21, DESOTO DIES, BURIED AFTER DARK
FULL MAY 28, DESOTO'S BODY DUG UP, PLACED IN THE RIVER
FULL JUNE 27, ARMY LEAVES SHREVEPORT, ENTERS TEXAS
FULL JULY 26, PLAN TO ATTACK (MISSION) TEJAS, TEXAS
FULL AUG. 25, ARMY TAKES (MISSION) TEJAS VILLAGE
FULL SEP. 24, SCOUTS EXPLORE WESTWARD FROM AUSTIN
FULL OCT. 23, ARMY RETURNS TO (MISSION) TEJAS VILLAGE
NEW NOV. 7, ARMY STRIKES MONROE, LOUISIANA
FULL NOV. 22, ARMY STRIKES PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS
ARMY SPENDS THE WINTER BUILDING BOATS FOR ESCAPE.

LAST YEAR 1543

NEW JULY 2, LEAVE ARKANSAS RIVER TO SLIP PAST GREENVILLE
FULL JULY 16, REACH GULF OF MEXICO, INDIANS ATTACK
NEW JULY 31, SABINE LAKE, TEXAS, CAREEN VESSELS, HIGH TIDES
FULL AUG. 14, AT MATAGORDA FOR 8 DAYS SPANNING FULL
NEW AUG. 30, HIGH SPRING TIDES BELOW KINGSVILLE, TEXAS
FULL SEP. 10, ARMY SPOTS SANDS OF MEXICO'S SHORELINE

NATIVE AMERICAN CONQUEST

References

Black, Glenn A.

1967 Angle Site, an Archaeological, Historical and Ethnological Study, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis

Blake, Alan

1988 Legua Legal of Legua Comun: A Discussion, DeSoto Working Paper #5, University of Alabama, W.S. Hoole Special Collection, Tuscaloosa, AL.

Bolton, Herbert Eugene

1920 The Colonization of North America, MacMillan Co, N.Y.

Bourne, Edward G.

1904 Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto, Volume I, in Trail Makers Series, A.S. Barnes & Co., N.Y.

Brain, Jeffrey P.

1985 Introduction: Update of the De Soto Studies Since the United States De Soto Commission Report in the **Reprint of the Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission**, 76th. Congress, 1st. Session, House Document, no. 71, Government Printing Office, Wash. DC

Bullen, Ripley

1951 The Terra Ceia Site, Manatee County, Florida, in Florida Anthropological Society Publications, No. 3, p. 37, Gainesville, FL.

1952 DeSoto's Ucita and the Terra Ceia Site, in Florida Historical Quarterly, Volume 30, no. 4, pp. 317- 323.

Chardon, Ronald

1980 The Elusive Spanish League: A Problem of Measurement in Sixteenth-Century New Spain, in Hispanic American Historical Review, Vol. 60, no. 2, Duke University Press.

Clayton, Lawrence A., Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward Moore (Editors)

1993 **The De Soto Chronicles, the Expedition of Hernando De Soto to North America in 1539-1543, Volumes I and II** University of Alabama Press.

Davis, T. Frederick

1935 History of Juan Ponce de Leon's Voyages to Florida, Monographs on Subjects of Florida History, Jaks.

NATIVE AMERICAN CONQUEST

Goza, William

1963 The Fort King Road, in *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Volume XLIII, no. 1, pp. 52-70

1984 Florida and Spain in the New World: The Peruvian Connection. Paper presented at the Conference on the Remains of Pizarro at the Florida State Museum, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL.

Hemming, John

1973 *The Conquest of the Incas*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, N.Y.

Hodge, Frederick W.

1907 *Spanish Explorers in the United States*, in *Original Narratives of Early American History*, Charles Scribner's Sons, N.Y.

Hoffman, Paul

1990 *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient*, Louisiana State University Press.

Katzeff, Paul

1981 *Full Moons*, Citadel Press, Secaucus, N.J.

King, Anthony

1990 *Roman Gaul and Germans*, University of California Press.

Laumer, Frank

1968 *Massacre*, University of Florida Press, Gainesville.

1995 *Dade's Last Command*, University of Florida Press, Gainesville.

Lawson, Edward

1946 *The Discovery of Florida and its Discoverer Juan Ponce de Leon*, Edward W. Lawson Press, St. Augustine, FL.

Lewis, Thomas M.N. and Madeline Kneberg

1939 *Hiwassee Island, An Archaeological Account of Four Tennessee Indian Peoples*, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, TN.

Lockhart, James

1972 *The Men of Cajamarca*, University of Texas Press.

Mahon, John K.

1967 *History of the Second Seminole War 1835-1842*, University of Florida Press, Gainesville, FL.

Mammana, Dennis L.

1994 **Lunar Circumstances** Search Report, unpublished, from the Reuben H. Fleet Space and Science Center, Balboa Park, San Diego, Calif.

NATIVE AMERICAN CONQUEST

Manchester, William

- 1992 A World Lit Only by Fire, The Medieval Mind and the Renaissance,
Portrait of an Age, Little, Brown and Company, N.Y.

Morison, Samuel Eliot

- 1974 The European Discovery of America, The Southern Voyages AD
1492-1616, Oxford University Press, N.Y.

Prescott, William H.

- 1847 **History of the Conquest of Peru**, The Modern Library (1936), N.Y.

Russell, Jeffrey B.

- 1977 The Devil, Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive
Christianity, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y.

Schell, Rolph F.

- 1966 DeSoto Didn't Land at Tampa, Island Press, Ft. MyersBeach, FL.

Schoolcraft, Henry R.

- 1857 General History of the North American Indians, Philadelphia,
6 Parts; Plate XLIV pp 50, Volume III and pp 58-68 Volume VI.

Shaffer, Lynda Norene

- 1992 **Native America Before 1492, the Moundbuilding Centers of the
Eastern Woodlands** M.E. Sharp Press, Armonk, N.Y.

Smith, Buckingham

- 1866 The Career of Hernando de Soto in the Conquest of Florida, from
Theodore H. Lewis, Editor, Spanish Explorers in the United
States, 1528 - 1543, Barnes & Noble, Inc, Reprint 1965.

Sprague, John T.

- 1964 The Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War,
a reprint of the 1848 publication, introduction by John K. Mahon,
University of Florida Press, Gainesville.

Stone, George C.

- 1934 A Glossary of the Construction, Decoration and Use of
Arms and Armor in All Countries and in All Times, Jack Brussel
Publisher, N.Y.

Swanton, John R.

- 1939 **Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition
Commission**, 76th. Congress, 1st Session, House Document, no. 71,
Government Printing Office, Wash. DC

- 1946 The Indians of the Southeastern United States, U.S. Government
Printing Office, Wash. DC

NATIVE AMERICAN CONQUEST

Thomas, Hugh

1993 Conquest; Montezuma, Cortes and the Fall of Old Mexico, Simon & Schuster, N.Y.

Wiecknieski, Jerome (Father Jerome)

1962 Juan Ponce de Leon, Abbey Press, Saint Leo, Fla.

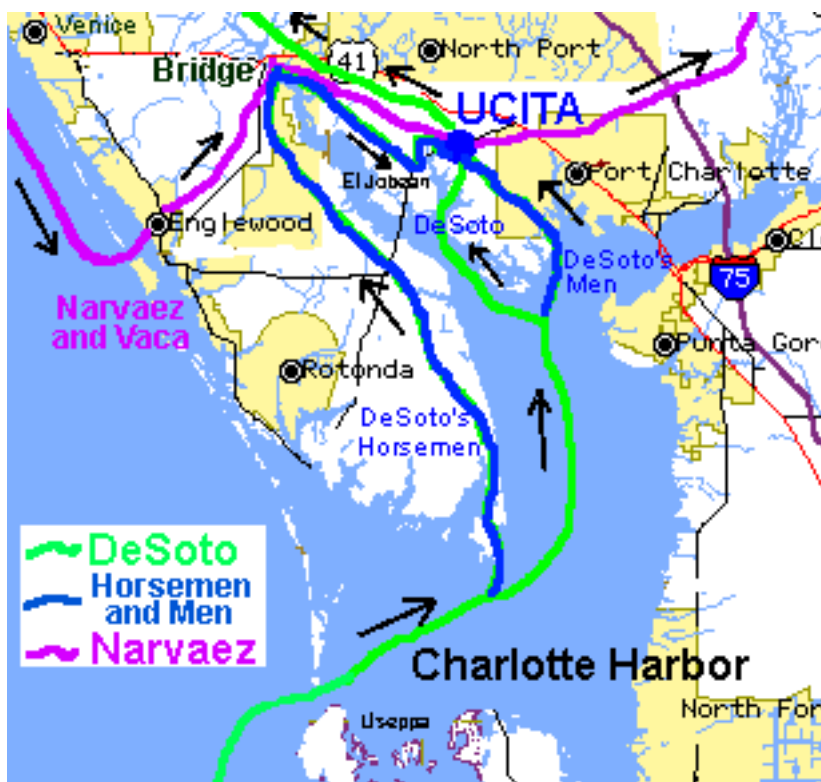
Wilkinson, Warren H.

1960 Opening the Case Against the U.S. DeSoto Commission's Report, Papers of the Alliance for the Preservation of Florida Antiquities, Vol. 1, no. 1, Jaxs Beach, Fla.

Williams, Lindsey W.

1986 Boldly Onward, Precision Publications Co., Charlotte Harbor, FL.

An early draft of this article appeared in the Florida Anthropologist under different title



DeSoto's Landing Port