The Florida Anthropologist

Volume 73, Number 2, June 2020

"ITS ORIGIN IS STEEPED IN MYSTERY": THE SORRY SAGA OF ST. PETERSBURG'S SHELL MOUND PARK

ROBERT J. AUSTIN

Alliance for Weedon Island Archaeological Research and Education, Inc. (AWIARE),
1500 Weedon Drive NE, St. Petersburg, FL 33702 roc_doc@verizon.net

Introduction

The City of St. Petersburg contained many shell mounds in the area along Booker Creek and around Big Bayou on the western shore of Tampa Bay prior to urbanization (Figure 1), prompting marketers to promote it as "The City of Mounds." Early claims of over 50 in the vicinity of the city's waterfront may be an exaggeration, but even a conservative estimate using historic documents indicates at least 12 shell and sand mounds in and around the early city limits. Of these, none was more iconic than the mound in what was known as Shell Mound Park or simply Mound Park (Figure 2). The topic of much speculation regarding its origin, trumpeted as a local landmark and a focal point for tourism, the subject of numerous postcards and photographs, and eventually the site of a modern hospital, Shell Mound Park and its history serve as an instructive case study of how a city and its residents struggled with the competing interests of history, preservation, and development, as well as reflecting an era's lack of cultural sensitivity.
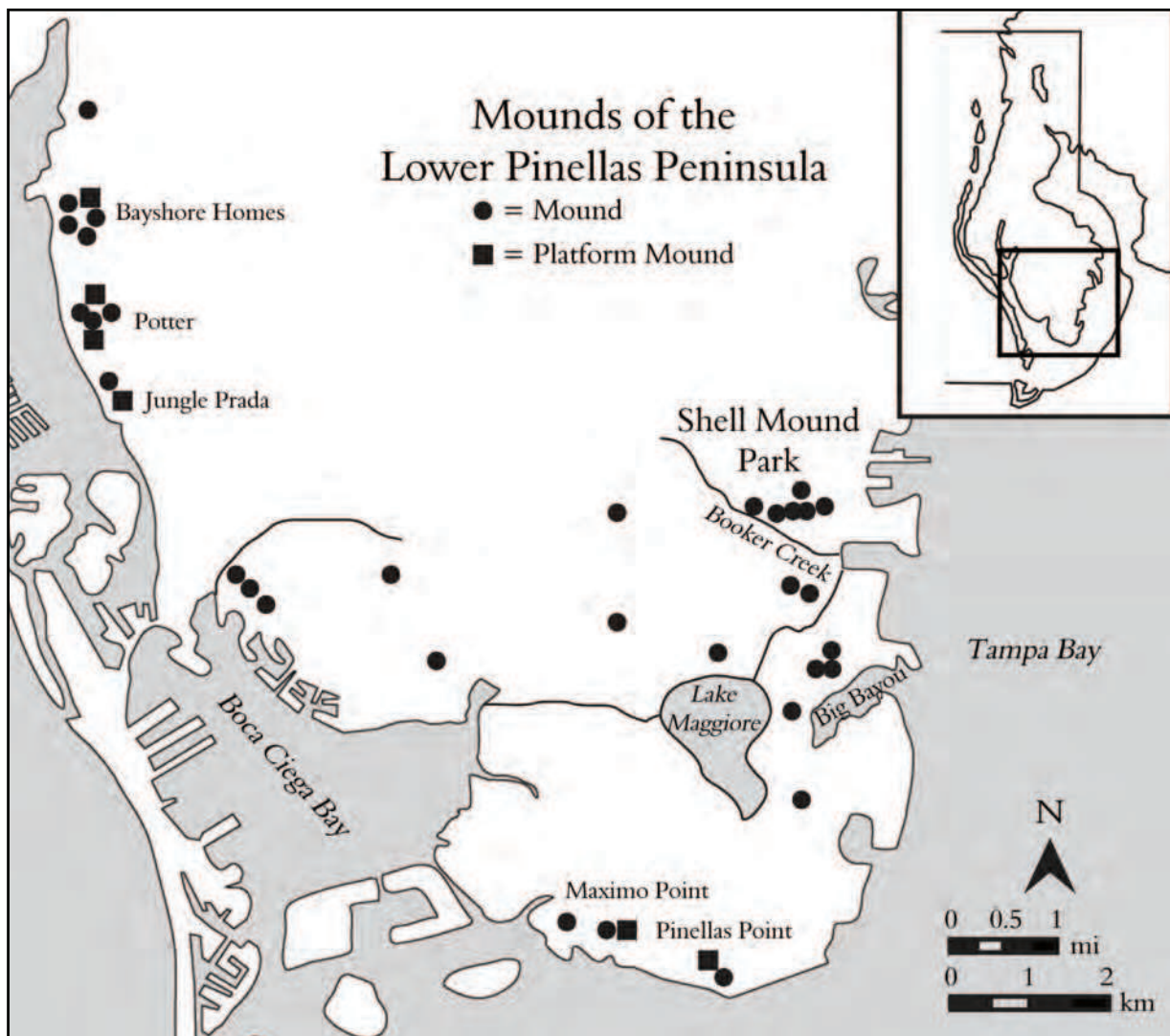

Figure 1. Mounds in the Lower Pinellas Peninsula. Data from Bullen (1951), Florida Master Site File (2019), Moore (1900a), and Walker (1880a, 1880b).
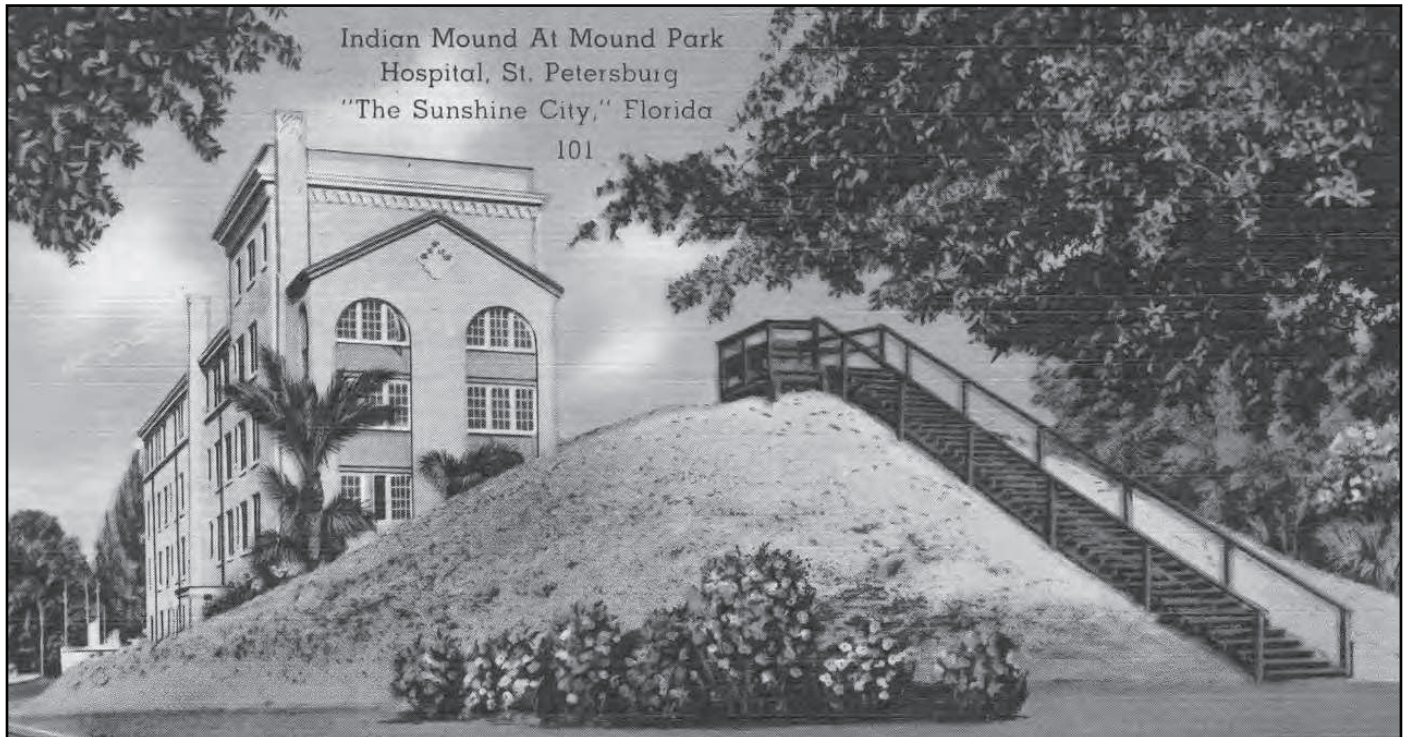
Figure 2. Shell Mound at Mound Park, ca. 1930s. View is to the west-northwest with Mound Park Hospital in the background. Postcard from author's collection.

It is not an overstatement to say that the Shell Mound was one of the most photographed mounds in Florida. It appeared on at least 20 postcards between 1907 and the 1930s, which were used to promote the city. During the century's first 25 years, barely a week went by without some mention of the mound in the city's two major newspapers, the *St. Petersburg Times* and *Evening Independent*, sometimes accompanied by a photograph. In addition to stories directly concerning the mound and park, the Shell Mound was a common landmark mentioned in unrelated news stories and real estate advertisements, was an important piece of St. Petersburg's early park system, and was regularly touted as a "must see" destination for tourists.

Despite public attention and promotional appeal, virtually nothing of an archaeological nature is known about the Shell Mound and, save for brief comments by S. T. Walker (1880a), C. B. Moore (1900a), and R. D. Wainwright (1916), it was ignored by early archaeologists. What little information exists has been gleaned primarily from newspapers where its origin and fate were commonly debated. Unfortunately, these stories abound with inaccuracies, misinformation, and unfounded speculations among which are scattered morsels of verifiable information. Local histories (e.g., Arsenault 1996; Grismer 1948) have made judicious

attempts to separate fact from fantasy, the reasonable from the preposterous, and consequently provide little substantive information. Except for a few and very general descriptions of the mound's contents, there are virtually no artifact data that can be used to assign a temporal or cultural context to the mound.

By the time archaeologists began documenting Florida sites systematically, the Shell Mound was gone, removed in 1950 as part of an expansion of the adjacent Mound Park Hospital. Two years later, Shell Mound Park was recorded in the University of Florida Archaeological Site Survey as site 8PI37 by archaeology student William Plowden (1952), but even the site form information is questionable. Today, a large, modern hospital complex, Bayfront Health, occupies the site where the famous Shell Mound and five additional mounds once existed. Many current residents of the city have no idea that the property once contained a major prehistoric mound complex.

In the absence of archaeological information about the Shell Mound's origin, age, and use, the public and press were free to create a history that was part speculation and part exploitation. For awhile, public interest and curiosity, along with the city's desire to promote its local attractions, worked in combination to safeguard the mound from periodic attempts to demolish

it. But these efforts concealed a deeper truth: an era's pervasive racism and lack of cultural sensitivity, which I argue eventually contributed to the mound's demise.

This paper is thus a review of the Shell Mound and a history of attempts alternately to demolish and to preserve it. I first review what little is known archaeologically about the mound, and include examples of naïve beliefs and sometimes outlandish interpretations of its origin and function by the public and press. I then reconstruct the mound's history in the context of St. Petersburg's early development. I focus particularly on public perceptions of the mound's value; its overt use to promote tourism and to boost real estate sales; and the efforts of local citizenry to protect a unique monument to the past from the advancing front of urbanization. The final section examines how racism and cultural illiteracy regarding Native Americans, as expressed predominately by public officials and the press, ultimately played a role in the mound's destruction.

Early Descriptions of the Mound

About the only thing we know for certain about the Shell Mound is its location. Numerous newspaper accounts, drawings, and photographs place it southwest of the intersection of Sixth Avenue and Sixth Street South, immediately west of Mound Park Avenue South (Figure 3),[1] placing it in the SE1/4 of the SE1/4 of the SW1/4 of Section 19, Township 31 South, Range 17 East. The site occupied a high sandy terrace overlooking Booker Creek at an elevation of approximately 9.1 m (30 ft) above sea level. The earliest known depiction of the mound is an 1879 United States Coast and Geodetic Survey chart showing six mounds within and immediately west of a cleared field northwest of the bayou where Booker Creek exits to the bay (today's Bayboro Harbor) (Figure 4).

Five of the mounds are arrayed in a line along the southern edge of the field with a sixth situated to the north. The isolated mound may be the Shell Mound,
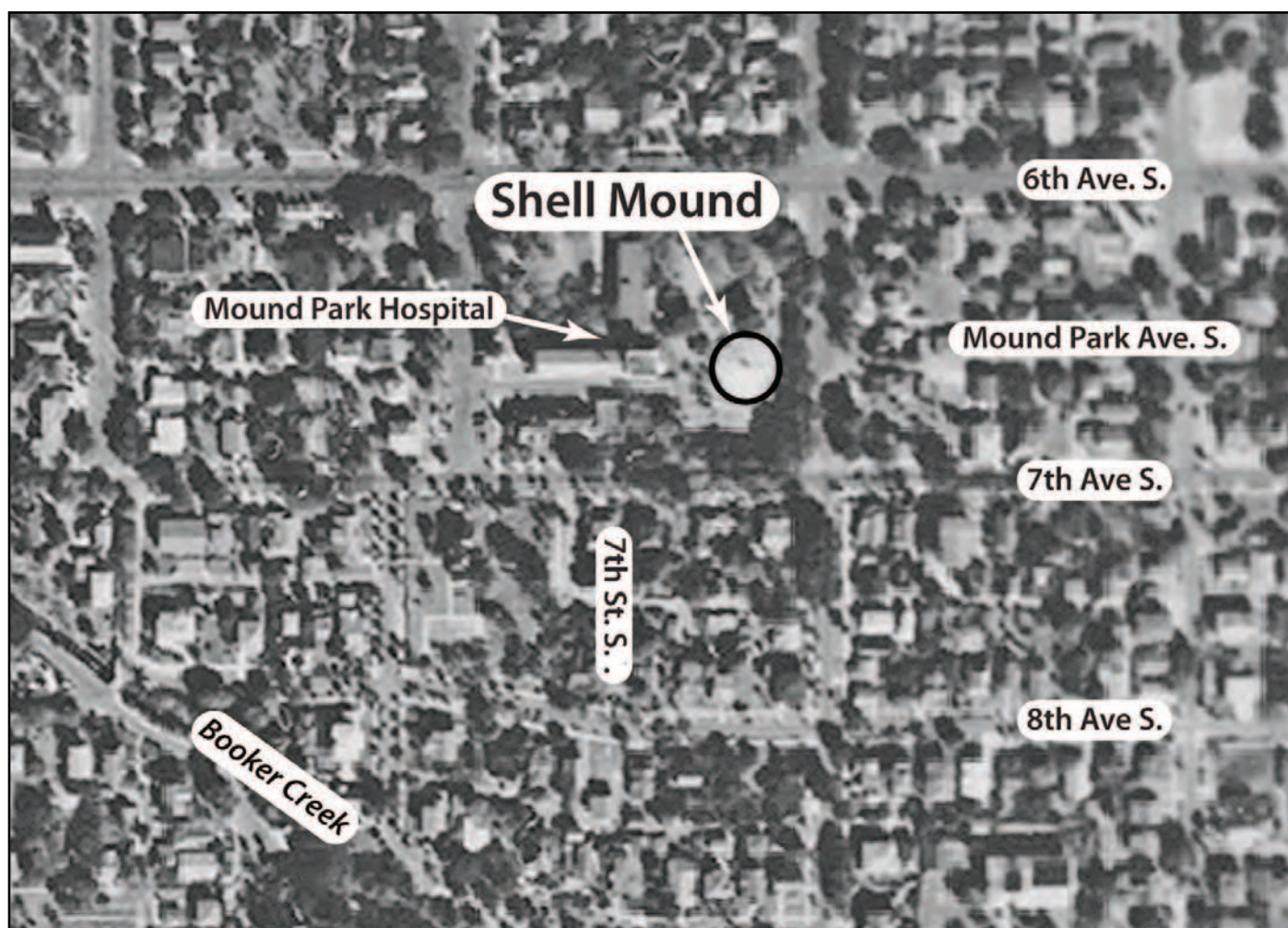

Figure 3. Aerial photograph from 1943 showing the Shell Mound in relation to Mound Park Hospital and city streets.
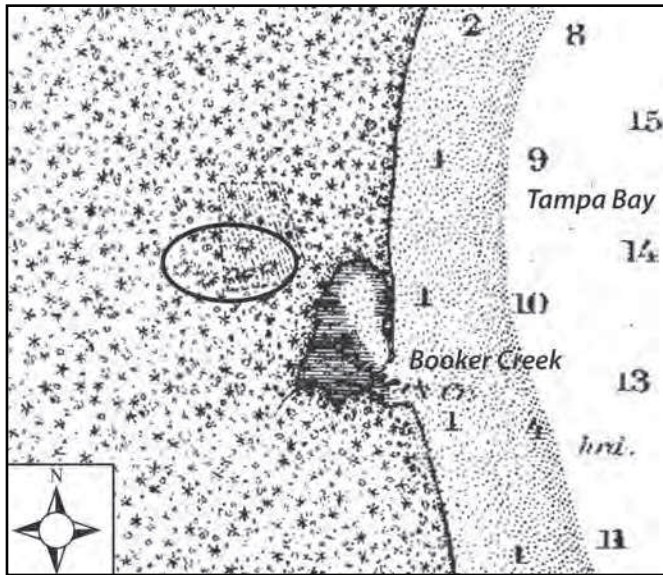
Figure 4. Original six mounds as depicted on an 1879 USCGS coastal chart.

although to date I have found no evidence that verifies this. S. T. Walker visited the site that same year and wrote: "several shell heaps [are] on the premises of Mr. Williams. These heaps are from 25 to 30 feet high, and from 300 to 350 feet in diameter. The largest can be seen for several miles" (Walker 1880a:419).

The "Mr. Williams" to whom Walker refers is John C. Williams. He was one of the founders, along with Peter Demens, of St. Petersburg and the owner of several large tracts of land on the Pinellas peninsula (Grismer 1948:46). An 1888 plat map for St. Petersburg shows this property as "Williams Grove" (Miller and Hunt 1888, reproduced in Arsenault 1996:50-51).

A newspaper story from 1889 relates a trip to St. Petersburg from Tampa, hosted by Williams, which took the visitors to his property near the town. The newspaper writer states that: "St. Petersburg, like Rome, boasts of seven hills, which are literally seven Indian shell mounds scattered a few blocks west of the center of the city site" (One of the Party 1889:10).

This is the first mention of seven, rather than six, mounds being on the Williams property. Subsequent stories, when referring to the site, typically state that six or seven mounds were once present.

None of the streets in the fledgling town was paved at the time and constant use by horse-drawn wagons created deep ruts in the loose sand. When it rained, the ruts would fill with water and the streets would flood. Travel on the roads under these conditions was difficult at best. In 1894, in response to complaints by property owners, the Town Council authorized the use of shell

from the mounds to fill low areas and to create crossings in streets and alleys in and around present-day Central Avenue (Arsenault 1996:65; City of St. Petersburg 1894; Grismer 1948:86). All but one of the mounds were removed in late 1894 or early 1895. A birds-eye view drawing of St. Petersburg in 1895 shows only a single conical mound (Figure 5).

A transcript of an interview with early St. Petersburg resident, Collier McCall, indicates that a mound existed on property where his family planned to build a house, south of Seventh Avenue South and east of Seventh Street (Figure 6). He stated that it consisted entirely of shell which was used to pave Fifth Street South. According to McCall it was: "the highest Shell Mound in the vicinity, even higher than the existing Shell Mound in front of Mound Park Hospital, and it covered a base area of approximately twice what the Mound Park mound does now" (Blocker n.d.).

This might have been one of the original six mounds. Collier McCall was born in 1890 and was the son of Thomas F. McCall, who served on the Town Council in 1894 and 1895 (Grismer 1948:237; State of Florida 1998) so the timing is right for his family to have built a home prior to the removal of all five mounds.

The one remaining mound became a point of interest to local residents and visitors, occasionally garnering comments, descriptions, and speculations as to its origin in local newspapers. From these we can glean some basic information. Most accounts describe the mound as composed "entirely" or "mostly" of oyster shells; its size variously described as "huge," "about the height of a one-story house," "a small mountain," and, by far the most colorful, similar to "the volcanic stack of Mt. Vesuvius, lacking only the column of smoke. Seemingly it must erupt" (Todd 1909). More prosaic descriptions estimated its height at anywhere from 15 to 30 ft tall, with most placing it at around 20 to 25 ft.

There is no doubt that at least one of the original six mounds was tall as it was commonly used as a landmark and even a place of refuge. John Bethel, in his history of the Pinellas peninsula, recounts how he fled the Big Bayou homestead of Abel Miranda during a Civil War attack by federal warships in 1862, crossing Booker Creek (which is north of Big Bayou) to "mount the top of the largest mound that overlooked the surroundings, so that I would not be surprised by the Tories in case they should be looking for us" (Bethel 1914:12). His characterization of the mound's prominence matches that of Walker, mentioned earlier, who wrote that the largest of the six mounds could be seen for miles.[2] According to another early resident, the mound was high enough to

Figure 5. "Bird's-Eye View" of St. Petersburg in 1895. Note the Shell Mound as a prominent feature near the drawing's left margin. Reproduced from F. A. Davis Company (1896:44), courtesy of the St. Petersburg Museum of History.
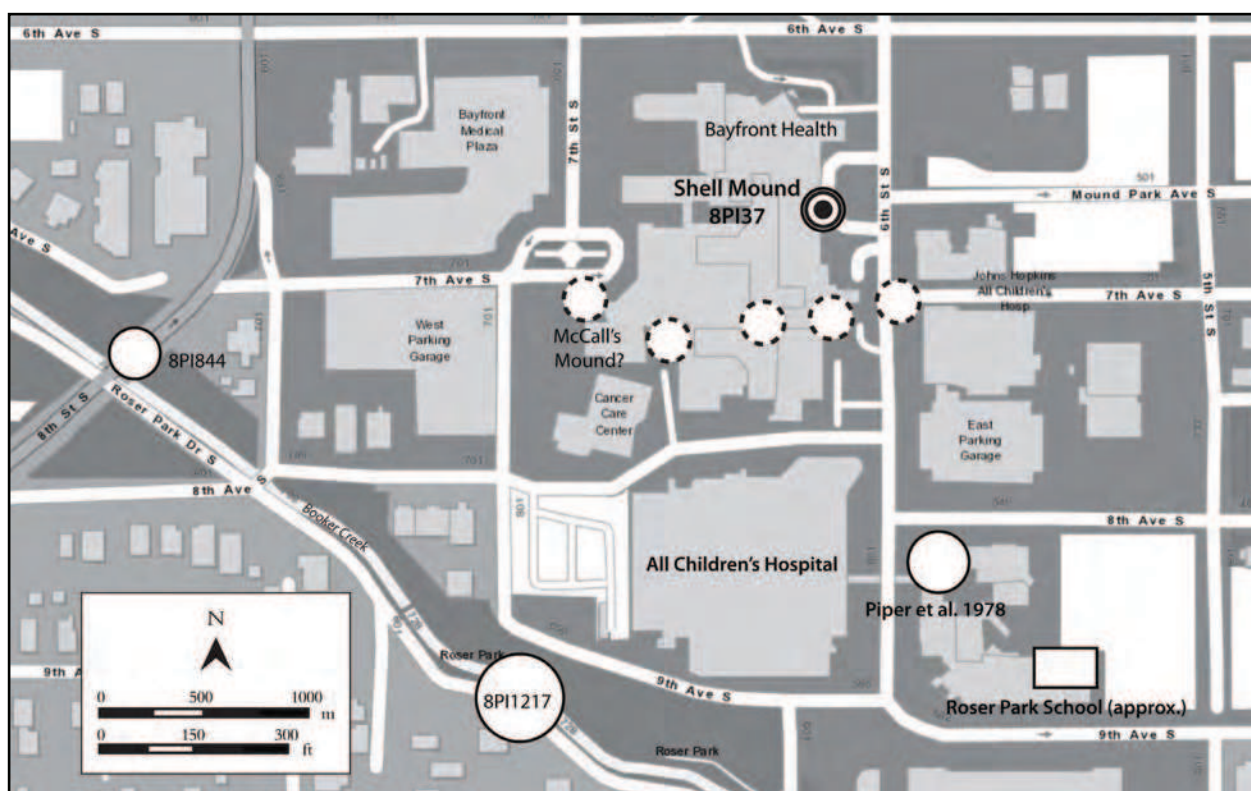

Figure 6. Modern street map of St. Petersburg. Note locations of the Shell Mound (8PI37), McCall's Mound, and surrounding sites. The six mounds shown on USCGS (1879) coastal chart have been georeferenced and their approximate locations are shown.

be used as a sort of hunting stand where a hunter with a rifle perched on top could shoot down at the deer as they were driven by (Waterman 1961).

Areal measurements are vague, but also convey a monument of some magnitude. One viewer estimated the mound at "99 feet" around its base (Learned 1915), significantly smaller than Walker's estimate of 300 to 350 ft in diameter for the "several" shell mounds he saw on the Williams property. At a City Council meeting in 1908, it was stated that the mound "stands directly in an alley, and on the ends of 10 lots" (*Evening Independent* 1908). Since each lot measured 50 ft wide, this would equal a maximum width of 250 ft, assuming the entire width of each lot was abutted by the mound, smaller if they did not.

A 1930s postcard provides the most precise information: "This mound is about 20 feet high and has a circumference of 283 feet, and covers 6,400 square feet" (Robison n.d.). A circumference of 283 ft yields a diameter of 90 ft ($d=C/\pi$), close to the earlier estimate. When the City Council voted to remove the mound for the expansion of Mound Park Hospital in 1950, the council estimated it contained approximately "1500 yards" (presumably cubic yards) of shell (Sharpnack 1950). The volume of a cone with a radius of 45 ft (15 yd) and a height of 20 ft (6.7 yd) is 1579 yd³, so Robison's figures seem plausible and are probably the best estimate we will ever have of the mound's actual size. William Plowden's estimate of 12 x 50 x 450 ft, obtained in 1952 after the mound had been destroyed, is questionable (Plowden 1952).

Archaeological Investigations

The Early Years, 1879 to 1952

It is curious that serious archaeological exploration of the Shell Mound and its five neighboring mounds was never conducted. This was not for want of knowledge or access. In addition to Walker's brief visit in 1879, Clarence B. Moore probably viewed the site when he was conducting excavations locally in 1900. His map of visited sites shows a cross (+) just west of the platted streets of St. Petersburg with two other crosses to the south (Moore 1900a:350). The western cross is likely the Shell Mound. In his report on excavations along Florida's west coast, Moore briefly mentions "several low mounds" near St. Petersburg and indicates that he was given permission to dig in two mounds in a field owned by J. A. Armistead. One of the mounds was "conical, of shell and very steep" while the other was of "a rather unpromising appearance" (Moore 1900a:356).

Armistead, who at that time was mayor of the City, was married to the former Sarah Williams, whose first husband, John C. Williams, owned the property containing the Shell Mound. On John Williams's death in 1892, Sarah Williams inherited practically all of his extensive landholdings, including, presumably, the property in question (Grismer 1948:272). The Armistead's home was on the corner of Fourth Street and Third Avenue South, just a few blocks north of the mound. As Sarah's husband, Armistead also would have been considered an owner of the property by Moore.[3]

The steep conical mound sounds suspiciously like the Shell Mound, but there are no accounts of a small sand mound being nearby. Furthermore, Moore's map shows two mounds south of the town, probably on the south side of Booker Creek where Williams (and, later, his wife Sarah) also owned property, not west of town where the large shell mound was located. Although Aten and Milanich (2003:133) state that Moore dug in both mounds, there is no evidence in his report or his field notes (Moore 1900b) that he did so.

During a trip to St. Petersburg to examine sites in March 1916, R. D. Wainwright visited the Shell Mound on "6th Street, South of Central Avenue." He described it as "ruined, as all the vegetation has been taken off, hose played on it, washing away all soil, now nothing but a pile of oyster shells." He dug in the side with a stick and "found blackish soil, composed of minute broken shells and other refuse" (Wainwright 1916:141). Wainwright's archaeological explorations in St. Petersburg were described in the April 1, 1916 edition of the *St. Petersburg Times*. The article focused on his excavation of a mound near Big Bayou, but does not mention his inspection of the Shell Mound.

Between 1923 and 1926 several articles appeared in local newspapers about excavations conducted by the Smithsonian Institution at Weedon Island (8PI1). Two stories in particular are relevant to understanding a misconception about the Smithsonian Institution's reported excavation of the Shell Mound. An article that ran in the *Tampa Daily Times* on November 6, 1923 states that J. W. Fewkes had sent workers to cut a "cross-section out of the huge shell mound that is located south of St. Petersburg." Fewkes is quoted as saying that this work would precede efforts to find traces of early inhabitants and that he planned to bring men to excavate the entire mound, hoping to uncover evidence of pre-mound building people (*Tampa Daily Times* 1923). Apparently, the reference to south of St. Petersburg was an error because subsequent stories refer only to Weedon Island, which, at the time, was located north of the city

limits. Moreover, in his report on the excavations at Weedon Island, Fewkes clearly states that he began work at that site in November 1923 by "running a trench into the large shell heap" there (Fewkes 1924a:5).

Adding to the confusion is the first of a series of articles by Fewkes himself about the Weedon Island excavations that appeared in the *Evening Independent* in 1924 (Fewkes 1924b). The series, which ran for 10 consecutive days from the 15th to the 24th of December, is basically a reprint of his 1924 Smithsonian report. An accompanying photo montage shows the St. Petersburg Shell Mound along with two photographs of the Weedon Island excavation with the caption "Views Where Excavations Were Made." The Shell Mound photo is the same photograph that appears in Plate 1 of the 1924 report. Fewkes's only reference to the Shell Mound in the article and report is to it being the only remaining mound of what were once several in the city (Fewkes 1924a:1).

These articles, along with Wainwright's statement to the local press that artifacts he collected from mounds in Pinellas County would be sent to the Smithsonian (*St. Petersburg Times* 1916:6), might have contributed to later assertions that the Institution had excavated and removed everything of value from the mound (Hamilton 1958; Miller 1991; *St. Petersburg Times* 1950a; Sharpnack 1950).

Among the many articles, opinion pieces, and letters to the editor published in local newspapers between 1894 and 1952, none offers any but the most general comments regarding the Shell Mound's content. Most remark on the abundance of shell, particularly oysters. These were typically described as very large, with some measuring as much as "11 inches" long according to one visitor (Plack 1915). There were speculations about burials (e.g., Hamilton 1958), but no evidence that the mound served such a purpose. Relic hunters are sometimes mentioned as taking artifacts from the mound, and one photograph clearly shows potholes in one side (Figure 7). However, what was removed is never described. Some writers presented their fanciful speculations as fact, stating authoritatively that "priceless treasures" had been removed when the original five mounds were demolished (*St. Petersburg Times* 1925, 1926).

Less dramatic finds include an arrowhead found in the mound's shell by Walter Fuller, a local real estate dealer and historian (Fuller 1937; see also 1965:27-28), and another collected from the grounds of Roser Park School, which was located south of the Shell Mound, and was donated to the St. Petersburg Museum of History by its finder, A. M. Conrad, in 1938 (SPMOH Cat # 410). When the mound was demolished in 1950, however, Boyd Hill, the City's Superintendent of Parks, told the *St. Petersburg Times* that "no relics or burials had been found" (Dunlap 1952).

Figure 7. View of the Shell Mound in 1901. Arrows point to potholes in the mound's side.
Photograph courtesy of Heritage Village Archives and Library, Largo, Florida.

The Modern Era, 1952 to Present

It would be almost 30 years before archaeologists would again pay attention to the celebrated Shell Mound, but by that time it had been demolished to make room for expansion of adjacent Mound Park Hospital. Its location was officially recorded by William Plowden in August 1952 and listed in the archaeological site file maintained by the University of Florida under the trinomial site designation 8PI37. No artifacts or other materials besides shell are reported. It states incorrectly that the mound was located at "4th Ave. South and 6th St. W. [sic]" (Plowden 1952).

Reconnaissance surveys conducted in 1974, 1978, and 1987 all stated that 8PI37 had been destroyed (Miller 1978; Piper Archaeological Research, Inc. 1987; Williams 1974). The 1978 survey identified "sparse, scattered shell, and a small deposit of apparently disturbed midden eroding from a steep hillside [Booker Creek?] around the base of several trees" but no artifacts are mentioned (Miller 1978:2, 4).

Piper Archaeological Research, Inc. conducted a survey for the City of St. Petersburg in 1978 and examined an area about two blocks south of where the large shell mound was located (Figure 6). The area was being developed for an addition to All Children's Hospital. Artifacts collected by a construction worker from spoil piles on the development site included a unifacial scraper, a bifacial knife fragment, a flake scraper, four non-decortication flakes, and a sandstone abrader. A "turtleback" scraper was found at a depth of about 3.5 to 4 ft in the wall of a large pit dug for an elevator shaft. The lithic collection was considered "a previously unknown part of the complex known in the archaeological literature as Mound Park (8Pi37). Therefore, it was not given a new site number in the Florida Master Site File" (Piper et al. 1978:57). A flake scraper and four decortication flakes also were found on vacant lots to the west of the construction site (Piper at al. 1978:56). Other nearby sites recorded during the survey include a small lithic scatter (8PI1217) along Booker Creek immediately south of Seventh Street South and a shell midden (8PI739) at the southwest corner of Fifth Street and Tenth Avenue South (Piper et al. 1978:67-68).

A small collection of artifacts apparently collected during archaeological testing at 8PI37 by Piper Archaeological Research, Inc. in 1983 is curated at the Alliance for Weedon Island Archaeological Research and Education, Inc. on Weedon Island Preserve (AWIARE Acc. # 2015.09). The collection includes two sand-tempered plain ceramic sherds, the proximal end of a Kirk Corner Notched point, a unifacial tool fragment,

and 10 waste flakes. Paperwork associated with the collection indicates testing was conducted on the All Children's Hospital property in 1983, but a search of the Florida Master Site File (FMSF) found no report.

Conversations with local residents and artifact collectors about Mound Park have proved frustratingly unproductive. Archaeologist and St. Petersburg native, Albert C. Goodyear, was quoted in the *St. Petersburg Times* as having found pottery sherds when All Children's Hospital was being built nearby, which would have been in 1966 (Riley 1993). According to Goodyear (personal communication, 2019), his small collection from the hospital grounds includes a few chert flakes, undiagnostic bifaces, and a sand-tempered plain sherd.

Speculations on Origins

Writing about the mound in 1938, a staff writer for the *Evening Independent* declared that "Its origin is steeped in mystery." While much that has been written about the Shell Mound is hyperbole, this statement is not. Pearl Biller, visiting from Rockford, Illinois in 1904, was no doubt expressing a shared view about local mounds when she said "no one knows who put them there" (*St. Petersburg Times* 1904), but this did not stop people from speculating. With no hard data from professional excavations, interpretation was left to anyone who had an opinion or theory, no matter how farfetched.

The most common opinion was that the mound was a "shell heap" resulting from the discarded shells of the meals of "redskins," "people before the Indians," or the Seminoles. A sepulcher for burials and associated "riches" and an Indian observation post were other frequent theories. This last conjecture seemed reasonable considering that the mound looked out over Tampa Bay and could be seen for some distance. But some residents, like M. C. Bird, registered skepticism about the burial mound theory. According to him, the five conical mounds in the city's vicinity were built entirely of oyster shells. "They were not burial mounds, nor were weapons, implements, or other objects placed in or under them" (Bird 1937). Typically, no evidence was offered to support these statements.

One early visitor, H. H. Moore, offered a research design of sorts for investigating the Shell Mound (Moore 1909). First, he offered two hypotheses on the mound's origin: a burial mound or a resident fort for "Aztecs." If the latter, he believed that "refuse of the kitchen" was used to make the mound and that smaller mounds represented a period of peace when the people who lived at the site were able to spread out their settlement. It is

not clear to which smaller mounds Moore was referring, but perhaps they were the mounds destroyed in 1894. Proving the mound's function would require excavation of a tunnel into the center of the large Shell Mound at ground level, presumably to determine if burials were present.

In a 1931 article in the *St. Petersburg Times*, a staff writer noted that the Smithsonian excavations at Weedon Island revealed that it was a large village. "The mound near the City hospital, on the other hand, is not in a village group but from the composition of shells is assumed to be the evidence of a great feasting place used extensively in pre-historic times." The article goes on: "The mounds have puzzled scientists, who have never been able to establish definitely the origin of them" (*St. Petersburg Times* 1931).

In a mixing of fact and fiction, a young marine serving overseas, Kenneth Bateman, who grew up in St. Petersburg, wrote a humorous history of his hometown in a letter to his grandparents. Lillian Blackstone, a writer for the *Times*, related the event, telling how his letter depicted the creation of the Shell Mound during feasting events at the end of each tourist season:

> Each visitor, he said, was required to bring an oyster, shell and all, to a designated meeting place where a celebration would officially end the season. The oysters tossed into a simmering pot not only made it possible for the number of visitors to be counted but provided oyster stew! These oyster shells, he added, (Un-authentically, of course) became the shell mounds found here. [Blackstone 1936]

A more insightful analysis based on observation was offered by an English engineer, David A. Watt, in a 1937 letter to the *Evening Independent*. Interested in history, and having come to the area when it was still mostly a wilderness, Watt had examined several local shell mounds. He noted in his letter that the high, circular mounds were clearly different from the shell heaps along the coast. While the coastal "shell dumps" contained all types of shellfish, the circular mounds were made mostly of oyster shells, some measuring "nine inches" in length. He also noted that the bases of all these mounds rested on the yellow subsoil with no topsoil beneath them. He interpreted this as meaning that the mounds were built before topsoil developed, when Florida was a huge sandbank "not many centuries emerged from the sea. If so, the age of these mounds may well have counted untold centuries" (Watt 1937).

The most intriguing interpretation of the Shell Mound was offered by Mrs. J. W. Cotton in a 1937 letter to the editor of the *St. Petersburg Times*. According to Mrs. Cotton, when she visited the mound in 1905 it was 2 ft high, 4 or 5 ft wide, and 5 or 6 ft long. A short time later she saw workers hauling "stuff" there to build it up and then build stairs (Cotton 1937). Florence Bethel Loader, the daughter of John Bethel, begged to differ. Mrs. Loader, who was born at Big Bayou in 1887, wrote that she used to play on the mound as a child. She indicated that then there were trees all around and bushes growing through the shells. She believed the mound "was put there by the Indians – and please let it stay" (Loader 1937).

The idea that the Shell Mound had been built up by city workers was endorsed by Walter Fuller, who was quoted in a *Times* article that same year. "It was actually built from an original Indian mound because I found an arrowhead on the mound soon after it was hauled there" (*St. Petersburg Times* 1937a). Years later, Fuller repeated this assertion at a lecture on local history presented at St. Petersburg Junior College. In response to a question about Mound Park, he related that there originally had been seven mounds (not six). He continued:

> And the first little hospital [Augusta Memorial Hospital] was built near one and when they built the big hospital [Mound Park Hospital] they had to move that mound, so they dug it up and piled it up in a neat little heap; just a neat conical heap…. [Fuller 1965:27; cf. 1972:10]

Fuller's statements suggest he had direct or indirect knowledge of the mound being moved. However, none of his writings indicate how he knew this other than his own account of finding an "arrowhead" on the mound after it was moved. Fuller was born in Bradenton in 1894 and moved with his family to St. Petersburg in 1907 (Grismer 1948:305), so he would have seen the mound before any construction activity occurred around it. But historian Karl Grismer, writing about the mound and the history of the various hospitals on the property, never mentions the shell mound being moved (Grismer 1948:250-251), nor did an exhaustive search of local newspapers uncover any reference to this happening.

As I discuss below, there was considerable public support for and involvement in efforts to preserve the mound over several decades. It is doubtful that moving it to accommodate hospital construction would have passed unnoticed or uncommented on in the press. Thus, without any confirmatory evidence, a healthy dose of skepticism seems appropriate regarding Fuller's statements.

The Story So Far

Based on the above, we know very little archaeologically about St. Petersburg's Shell Mound. We can say with some certainty that it was part of a complex of mounds, probably six, situated on high ground in an advantageous position overlooking Booker Creek near where it entered Tampa Bay. If we assume that the isolated mound shown on the 1879 coastal chart was 8PI37, then by georeferencing all six mounds with the known location of the Shell Mound, the locations of the other five mounds can be approximated as shown in Figure 6. Note that the western mound falls in the approximate location where Collier McCall reported a large mound on his family's property.

All but one of the mounds was destroyed in 1894 and/or early 1895. The remaining mound, 8PI37, was conical in shape, probably about 20 to 25 ft tall (6.1 to 7.6 m) and perhaps 90 to 100 ft in diameter (27.4 to 30.5 m). It was composed primarily of shells, with oyster shells (apparently quite large) being common enough to be mentioned in nearly every account of any detail. Wainwright also mentioned "blackish soil" when he probed the mound in 1916, suggesting that midden material was used in its construction.

The only artifact reported to have come from the Shell Mound is an "arrowhead" of unknown type. Except for three sherds of sand-tempered plain pottery, artifacts reported from land near the mound consist of lithics – waste flakes, flake tools, biface fragments, unifacial scrapers, a Kirk Corner Notched point, and another untyped "arrowhead." These suggest Early-to-Middle Archaic-period occupation along the creek. The sherds are not diagnostic and could indicate occupation any time after ca. 500 B.C. It is possible than none of these artifacts had anything to do with the mound complex.

The spatial arrangement of the six mounds, in a line roughly paralleling Booker Creek with an isolated mound to the north, as well as the site's position in an advantageous landscape position, suggest a planned community and a site of importance. Presumably there was a living area at or near the mound complex, and perhaps the shell middens documented on both sides of Booker Creek were related. Most of the mounds observed by Walker, Moore, Bethel, Wainwright, and others, located south of Booker Creek and near Big Bayou, are no longer extant. This, along with the absence of any temporally diagnostic artifacts from 8PI37, means that determining whether any of them were coeval with the Mound Park complex is probably hopeless.

One characteristic of the Mound Park group that may be significant is the lack of any mention by observers of a flat-topped or ramped mound among the six. Most of the other major mound complexes on the lower Pinellas peninsula contained at least one such mound (see Figure 1). These include Bayshore Homes (8PI41), the Potter site (8PI1242, also known as the Pelham Road Mound), probably Jungle Prada (8PI54) on Boca Ciega Bay, and Maximo Point (8PI19) and Pinellas Point (also known as Hirrihigua Mound, 8PI108) along the peninsula's southern shoreline. The Potter site contained two ramped, pyramidal mounds according to Ripley Bullen's (1951) sketch map of the site.[4] On the other hand, the few existing descriptions of the other five mounds that were once part of the Shell Mound complex are perfunctory and detailed accounts of their appearance prior to destruction have not been found.

Parks, Postcards, Protest, and Progress

Thus far, I have reviewed what is known or has been claimed about St. Petersburg's Shell Mound from an archaeological perspective. In the next two sections, I chronicle the mound's history from the point of view of the residents of St. Petersburg, and, specifically, how they viewed the mound in the social, economic, and political contexts of the late 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. These views and opinions, like those related to the mound's origin, often were based on incorrect or conflicting information and were generally expressed in the press. I begin by providing some background on St. Petersburg's early development.

In 1876, John C. Williams, mentioned by S. T. Walker as owner of several large shell mounds on Booker Creek, purchased several hundred acres of land along the waterfront, stretching from Booker Creek to Big Bayou (Arsenault 1996:44). The land around Booker Creek became the locus of a small village, the beginning of St. Petersburg. Peter Demens, a Russian aristocrat and aspiring railroad magnate, was instrumental in bringing his Orange Belt Railway to the village in 1888, resulting in substantial growth and incorporation in 1903 as the City of St. Petersburg (Arsenault 1996:52-57; Grismer 1948:108).[5]

The railroad contributed to St. Petersburg becoming a popular tourist destination in the years prior to World War I, with local newspapers heralding the area's pleasant climate and abundant amenities. But as the city grew it became necessary to consider developing a commercial infrastructure. As historian Raymond Arsenault (1996:89) has remarked, "Perhaps a small town

could live off its warm climate and swaying palms, but not a city." Inevitably, those who encouraged economic growth butted heads with those who wished to protect the natural environment that lent the city its subtropical allure. Arsenault summed up the prevailing attitude:

> Although conservationist sentiment was on the rise during the Progressive Era, many businessmen remained under the influence of Social Darwinism and the "survival of the fittest" doctrine. Since size, strength, and adaptability were thought to be the keys to success, placing conservation or aesthetics ahead of growth seemed to them foolhardy and self-destructive. This attitude was especially prevalent in up-and-coming but insecure communities like St. Petersburg, where the benefits of growth were projected into a rosy future. In the best of all possible worlds, the local business community would have it both ways – a subtropical utopia that could accommodate everything from freighters to egrets. But in the real world – a society where individual success was often contingent upon the surrounding community's economic growth – practical men had little time to worry about displaced egrets. In other words, one way to resolve the dilemma posed by the proverbial "machine in the garden" was simply to plow under the garden. [Arsenault 1996:89]

One "garden" that fell victim to "progress" contained six large shell mounds. In 1894, the Town Council accepted the bid of C. W. Springstead to remove shell from the mounds and use it to fill low areas in city streets and alleys. Although newspaper accounts of the time are limited, there does not appear to have been any local opposition to using the shell mounds for this purpose.

Soon, however, newspaper articles began to appear promoting the single remaining mound, as well as others nearby, as an attraction worth seeing by visitors. For example, in an 1895 article in the *West Hillsborough Times*[6], subtitled "The City of Mounds By the Sea," the writer includes among the city's sights of interest two of "the largest and most symmetrical" of 12 mounds that once existed within the corporate limits, both within a convenient five-minute walk from hotels. Dubbed "Cheops" and "Chefron," they "are worth a trip to Florida to see to anyone of archaeological tastes" (*West Hillsborough Times* 1895). Drawings of both mounds accompany the story with "Cheops" closely resembling early photographs of the Shell Mound. "Chefron" may be the large mound described by Walker (1880a:419)

as one mile south of the large mounds on the Williams property and on land owned by a Mr. Cox. Around the same time, similar articles encouraging visitors to view the Shell Mound also appeared in the *Tampa Weekly Tribune* (1897) and the *Tampa Morning Tribune* (1898).

By the dawn of the 20th century, efforts were underway to develop the Mound Park Addition, a nine-block area that contained the Shell Mound in its southwest corner. A three-story hotel, the Manhattan, was planned by a group called the New York Syndicate and realtors regularly ran advertisements in local papers touting lots for sale. These ads often mentioned the mound as an enticement for living nearby or as evidence of how suitable the land was for coastal living. A 1905 advertisement for lots in the Mound Park Addition declared, "Naturally, this is the most beautiful piece of land on the Peninsula. It was even thought so by a Prehistoric Race, as we have evidence that at one time there was quite a village, if not a great city, located on this tract" (C. A. Harvey 1905).

All this development activity raised concerns among some residents, one of whom was William L. Straub, owner and editor of the city's principal newspaper, the *St. Petersburg Times*. Straub was a strong advocate for the preservation of the city's waterfront and the establishment of parks elsewhere in the city. Between 1905 and 1906, he wrote several editorials urging public purchase of the Shell Mound and other properties for parks. "The preservation of the shell mound is not a necessity," he wrote, "but its desirability is almost as strong. The cost would be returned to the city many times in many ways. Its preservation would be beneficial to the community, and everybody in this community should help" (*St. Petersburg Times* 1906a).

In another editorial, the owners of the Shell Mound were criticized for their "disposition of it in the plat of the Mound Park addition," which suggests that the mound was to be demolished. The editorial goes on to say "the mischief having been done the owners should now meet the city, or citizens, with the best possible terms for its preservation" (*St. Petersburg Times* 1906b). Such public criticism led to the owners making an offer to sell the property containing the mound to the City for $500. But while City Council members agreed that the mound would be a valuable attraction, purchasing it was not financially viable, and the offer was filed for future consideration (*St. Petersburg Times* 1907).

The conflict between development and preservation was humorously depicted in a long piece of doggerel published in the *Times* a few months prior to this meeting with a stanza that read:

From our cottage door we'll view the skies,
Kill mosquitoes and shoo the flies,
While we sit and sing our title clear.
Look out on the woods and never fear
For we'll not be in a hurry to speculate,
And put our home in the real estate.
If we do, I will buy the best lot in town,
West of Manhattan near the shell mound.
Foley and Fisher[7] are holding the land
Because underneath there is gold in the sand.
[DeCamp 1907]

The City eventually did purchase the Shell Mound property in 1909 for $1500, turning it over to the Women's Town Improvement Association (WTIA) for conversion to a park (Grismer 1948:244). The money was obtained from a $75,000 bond issue ratified by city residents in March of that year, which contained $1800 for purchasing the mound (*Evening Independent* 1909).[8]

Soon after, local residents began complaining to the City Council of looting and "disfigurement" of the Shell Mound by people "clambering all over it" and requested that the property be fenced to prevent such destructive activities. The Council decided it did not have money to fence all the lots surrounding the mound, but did pass a motion to give the street committee authority to have a stairway and platform built, which it was hoped "would temporarily at least put a stop to disintegration of that old landmark" (*St. Petersburg Times* 1910a). It also recommended notices be posted warning against destruction of the mound (*Tampa Weekly Tribune* 1910a).

The "clambering" was due partly to the mound offering a scenic spot for photographs. To reach its top, it was necessary to climb the mound on foot or, sometimes, on horseback (Figure 8). Children also used the mound as a playground, using its steep sides for sledding. William Carpenter, who lived in St. Petersburg as a child in the late 1800s, remembered "We would cover the mounds (one at Mound Park was best) with straw, then wax barrel staves and slide down them" (Warne 1961).

The sledding trails, and the erosion they caused, are clearly visible in the upper postcard image in Figure 8. To curtail such activity, the newly created Parks and Landscape Committee ran a notice in the local papers notifying the public "that anyone caught there engaged in playing and sliding down the Mound will be arrested" (*St. Petersburg Times* 1910b). Other steps taken by the City to ensure protection of the mound included closing the east-west alley through Block 9 (where the mound was located) and terminating a proposed sewer line at Sixth Street South because beyond was the Shell Mound

and the cost of running the line through the mound would have been considerable (*St. Petersburg Times* 1910c, 1911).

As for maintaining the Shell Mound, it remained the WTIA's responsibility to keep the nearly 2-acre park presentable. With scant funds, this all-volunteer civic group's accomplishments were limited. In a series of editorials in August and September of 1910, the *Times* praised the WTIA for its efforts to preserve the mound, but chastised the City for doing little to improve it, at one time describing it as a "wilderness" (*St. Petersburg Times* 1910d). As late as 1914, the *Times* was still haranguing city officials over the mound's appearance. "The condition of that little park is ridiculous. There is not even a sidewalk around the block — not a thing seems to have been done there." "Must the neighbors and visitors still wade sand and sandspurs to get to it?" (*St. Petersburg Times* 1914a, 1914b).

These comments apparently had the desired effect because soon the park was spruced up with planted shrubs and flowers to the extent that the *Times* remarked that local residents would scarcely recognize it. "Mound Park, unique among parks anywhere, is to be one of the city's most attractive spots," thereby increasing property values (*St. Petersburg Times* 1915).

The desire to promote the city, foster tourism, and sell real estate was epitomized by the appearance of the Shell Mound on numerous postcards. Although postcards had been in use in America since 1870, the first photo postcards did not appear until 1899 and they were not in widespread use until 1902 (Petrulis 2018). Businesses quickly recognized the advertising potential of colorful postcards to promote Florida roadside attractions, hotels, monuments, and memorials. In fact, the City's Board of Trade in 1912 printed 10,000 postcards for tourists to mail to friends "who are connected or interested in moving picture shows" in order to garner interest in having St. Petersburg scenes included in theaters (*Tampa Tribune* 1912).

The earliest Shell Mound postcards appeared just after the turn of the 20th century and continued to be produced until at least the late 1930s. Not only did they help promote the city, they provide the best documentation of the changing appearance of the mound over a nearly 40-year period.

And the mound's appearance did change radically in 1915 when Walter Hullman, Superintendent of Parks, misunderstood instructions to clean up the mound and used a fire hose at full blast to remove all the vegetation, leaving a gleaming white shell edifice with "a sort of artificial appearance" (Grismer 1948:11). The clean-

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla. Indian Shell Mound.

Indian Mound, St. Petersburg, Florida.

Figure 8. The Shell Mound was often used for photo opportunities. Top: Men and women on the top and sides of the mound, ca. 1908, based on postmark on postcard in author's collection. Bottom: Man on horseback, 1909. Scanned postcard image courtesy of St. Petersburg Museum of History.

Figure 9. "Cleaned-up" Shell Mound with newly constructed observation platform, ca. 1915. View to the east. Photograph in author's collection.

up project may be the origin of stories about the mound having been added to or even moved from its original location. Photographs and postcards prior to the cleaning show deep ruts from erosion and unrestricted climbing (Figure 8). Post clean-up photographs show a more symmetrical appearance (Figure 9). Although I have found no evidence to support this, it is possible that shell was added to create a more pleasing appearance.

Efforts to keep Shell Mound Park attractive were motivated by a desire to maintain property values, as the *Times* forthrightly declared, as much as they were by aesthetics. The city and the land surrounding the park were developing rapidly. To the east, the Mound Park Addition was filling with houses. Lots in Mound Park were purchased for a proposed hospital. And north of the park, several blocks were owned primarily by African Americans. In an effort to prevent more blacks from moving to the area, and to ensure that property values would not diminish, a group of over 50 landowners in the southwest part of the city created the Mound Park Investment Company, whose purpose was to buy the land and turn it into a whites-only subdivision (*St. Petersburg Times* 1910e). While St. Petersburg tended to practice, in Arsenault's words, "paternalistic racism" in keeping

with the genteel image it wished to project, the Mound Park Investment Company was a vulgar reminder of prejudice toward the city's black community.

One lot for a planned hospital contained a five-room cottage, which was converted to Good Samaritan Hospital. The hospital began receiving patients in July 1910, but it was so small that the Woman's Auxiliary began to raise money for a larger general hospital. In addition to public donations and subscriptions, the City contributed $9000 through a bond issued in 1912. The Augusta Memorial Hospital, a 35-bed facility, was built next to Mound Park and opened in 1913 (Figure 10). An east wing was added in 1923, and the hospital was renamed Mound Park Hospital. The original building later was replaced by a 4-story facility with 150 beds (Figure 2), opening on July 21, 1937 (Fuller 1972:372-373; Grismer 1948:250-251).

The larger Mound Park Hospital elicited a new round of comments by local citizens regarding the Shell Mound, both pro and con. It appears to have begun with a petition filed at the July 20, 1937 City Council meeting by seven local residents asking for the mound to be removed as it "is an eyesore and an unnecessary pile of rubbish." The petition indicated that "no authentic

AGUSTA MEMORIAL HOSPITAL AND SHELL MOUND, ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

**Figure 10. The Shell Mound and Augusta Memorial Hospital in the early 1920s.
View to the northwest. Postcard in author's collection.**

history connected with the mound" can be found, that it is inconsistent with the nearby hospital, and that it interferes with hospital grounds maintenance. The petition was held in abeyance pending investigation by the City Manager and the committee on public works (*St. Petersburg Times* 1937c). The following day, Mary E. Apple, President of the Memorial Historical Society, protested the citizen action, maintaining that the mound should be preserved as a relic of the past (*Evening Independent* 1937). Thus began a small flood of letters, opinion pieces, and editorials debating the issue in both the *Times* and *Independent* over the next three weeks.

David Watt, the English engineer, offered his opinion. He began his letter by admitting that the "mound is now a forlorn looking object, standing nakedly and without purpose. And the ridiculous wooden stairway up its side adds a final note of absurdity which completes its desolation." But he went on to argue that the mound was "the only surviving link of its type with the unknown past of the district we call St. Petersburg" (Watt 1937). He urged the City to remove the stairway and asked that the mound be recontoured to its original shape. He then admonished the real estate establishment for its lack of foresight and vision:

> And our real estate association – has it never grasped the fact that this mound and the many others so foolishly destroyed have furnished living proof that the site of our city was so attractive and healthful in the far-gone centuries that it must have been inhabited, presumably with entire satisfaction, during uncounted ages, and that prospective buyers can therefore safely trust the evidence of this mound that they have at last their long-desired havens? [Watt 1937]

Not all comments were so supportive. Why, wrote John G. Bly (1937), if the Historical Society was so anxious to save the Shell Mound, had it not removed "unsightly weeds" growing on it and covered it with new, clean shell? His was a minority view, however. When the City Council received a petition signed by 32 people requesting preservation, the recommendation to remove the mound was shelved (*St. Petersburg Times* 1937b).

The 1940s were controversy-free for Shell Mound Park. It continued to be mentioned as an attraction worth seeing by visitors, including servicemen on leave during World War II. One photo montage of recommended sights for servicemen included a view of the mound with the caption "One of the strangest of the local landmarks" (*St. Petersburg Times* 1942). The mound continued to be a spot for photographs as well as civic events, Boy Scout expeditions, and caroling. Every December the Sweet Adelines, a female chorus, sang Christmas carols to patients in Mound Park Hospital from atop the mound (Miller 1988).

The mound's future was again in doubt, however, when in 1948 plans for an expansion to Mound Park Hospital revealed that the Shell Mound may be in the way (Barker 1948). Compared to previous threats, public outcry was muted. Mary Apple, then President of the St. Petersburg Historical Society, indicated that any effort to remove the Shell Mound to make way for hospital expansion would elicit objection from the Society. She noted that the mound "is a tourist attraction that links the present progress of St. Petersburg with its historic past" (*St. Petersburg Times* 1949).

Pinellas County Commission Attorney John Blocker made an interesting, if impractical, recommendation to preserve the mound by enclosing it in the lobby of the new hospital. According to his plan, the lobby would have a high-vaulted ceiling and the walls around the mound could depict scenes of early St. Petersburg history. Alternatively, the hospital could be built around the mound. "There are no bodies in the mound," he explained. "It was used by the Indians for observation purposes only" (Bothwell 1949). At the next City Council meeting, plans for the new 251-bed hospital were approved with no consideration of Blocker's recommendation (Sharpnack 1949).

The mound's fate was sealed on July 6, 1950, when the City Council voted to remove the mound to make way for the expansion. City officials claimed that the mound was "but a shell of the original," stating (incorrectly) that it had been reconstructed after the Smithsonian Institution went through it and removed everything of value. City Manager Ross E. Windom stated that if it was not removed, the mound would be situated right at the north wall of the new hospital and would make

Figure 11. End of the Shell Mound. A bulldozer removes shell and deposits it in a dump truck in July 1950 prior to expansion of Mound Park Hospital. Photograph courtesy of the *Tampa Bay Times*.

"an unsightly appearance" (Sharpnack 1950). The *St. Petersburg Times*, usually a staunch supporter of the mound's protection, issued an editorial supporting the Council's decision, repeating many of the inaccuracies expressed at the meeting (*St. Petersburg Times* 1950a).

Mound demolition began almost immediately and an official ground-breaking ceremony was held on July 12 over the sound of bulldozers moving shell to dump trucks for transport off-site (Figure 11). In one news story about the ground-breaking, City Manager Windom is quoted as saying that there had been a plan to build a road somewhere in the city with the shell so that "motorists could rightfully claim to have 'driven over a shell mound'" (*Evening Independent* 1950a). Instead, the shell was used to fill washouts and potholes (*Evening Independent* 1950b; *St. Petersburg Times* 1950b). In a few days it was gone, an inglorious end to a city icon.
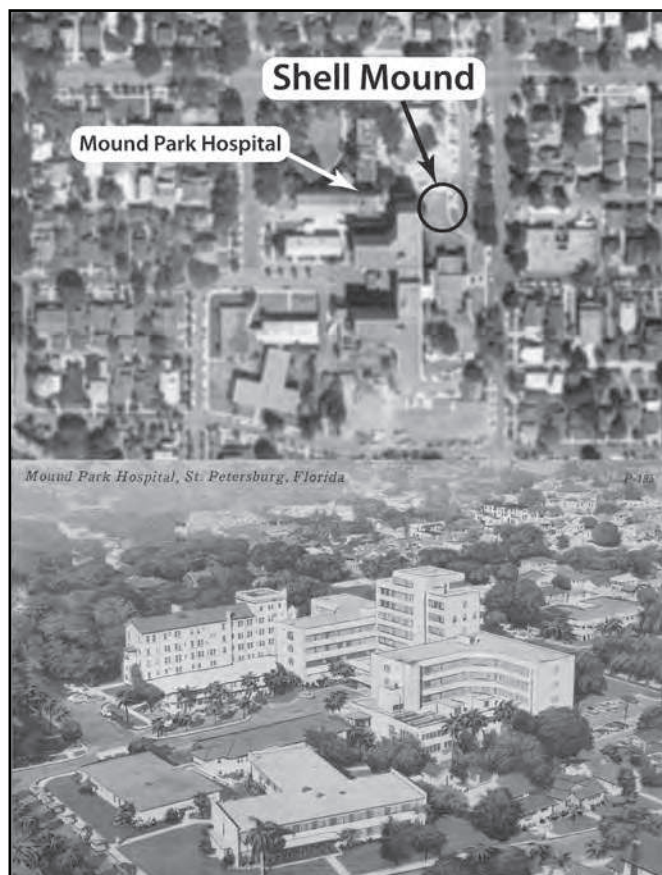

Figure 12. After the Shell Mound.
Top: Aerial photograph from 1957 showing the former mound location, the 1937 hospital, and 1950 expansion to the south. Bottom: View to the northeast of Mound Park Hospital, 1950s. The 1937 building can be seen in the back left. The Shell Mound was east (to the right) of that building. Postcard in the author's collection.

In a February 1949 column, Paul Davis, writing about the impending mound removal for the *Evening Independent*, remarked that plans for the hospital expansion did not include the lot on which the mound sat and the only reason for removing it would be to use the land for a parking lot (Davis 1949). His statement proved prophetic. The area became a driveway entrance to the new hospital (Figure 12). Mound Park Hospital changed its name to Bayfront Medical Center in 1970, erasing the last tie to its historic past. Today, the hospital is called Bayside Health and is owned by Community Health System.

Requiem

The only memorial to the city's famous Shell Mound was a painting by famous Spanish artist Antonio Martinez Andres, which was presented by the artist to hospital officials in 1965 (Swain 1965). The 4 x 6 ft painting was intended for display in the hospital lobby. According to Andres, he depicted the mound in a natural setting without the hospital because he did not want to date the painting; however, he did show the steps leading to the observation deck since these appeared in so many photographs and postcards. Andres, who was born in Spain, moved to St. Petersburg in 1960 and was a highly regarded, prize-winning artist who painted in the classic realist style (*St. Petersburg Times* 1966). The painting no longer resides at the hospital, however. It was returned to the painter's family when the hospital lobby was renovated in the mid-1980s. It had been found in the hospital's basement, in deteriorating condition, and now hangs in the St. Petersburg home of the artist's daughter, Teresa Andres Coryell, who provided the photograph reproduced in Figure 13.

In the years since its demise, the Shell Mound and its history have been periodically revived as feature articles in local newspapers. Most of these simply recycled earlier news stories, repeating the often inaccurate or conflicting information they contained. The better stories repeat Karl Grismer's brief account of the mound from his 1948 history of St. Petersburg. The most recent article of which I am aware was published in the *Tampa Bay Times* in 2009 as part of its "This Week in History" series. It consisted of a brief summary from 1909 about the authorization of funds to purchase Mound Park.

For archaeologists, Mound Park Hospital is of interest not only because of its association with an ancient mound, but because of its connection to the Southeast's most famous mound digger, C. B. Moore, who passed away there on March 24, 1936 at the age of 84 (Aten and

Milanich 2003:133; *St. Petersburg Times* 1936). Moore had been wintering in St. Petersburg since 1928, renting a house at 624 Beach Drive, within walking distance of Mound Park.

Another bit of trivia: the hospital was briefly mentioned in Ian Fleming's 1954 novel *Live and Let Die* (2012:136) in which James Bond, Agent 007, is assigned by M to "a place called St. Petersburg. Sort of pleasure resort. Near Tampa. West Coast of Florida" (Fleming 2012:15). Apparently, Fleming had visited St. Petersburg with his wife in 1953 and incorporated local places (including a worm factory) into the novel (Parker 2015:149-150).

Despite the well-meaning efforts of concerned citizens, the fate of the city's famous Shell Mound, sadly, was never in doubt. The repeated presentation of rumors and fiction as fact, misrepresenting both the history and condition of the mound, made it all but impossible to keep the forces of "progress" from engulfing a city landmark. The words of historian Arsenault, writing about the city's destruction of its many mounds, are appropriate for its most famous one. Demolition, he said, was an:

act of desecration, the significance of which no one seemed to appreciate…. Later generations would look back and wonder how the early residents of St. Petersburg could have been so insensitive to the dignity of the past. [Arsenault 1996:65]

Newspaper Stereotypes and the Shell Mound's Fate

While a lack of hard evidence about the Shell Mound's history, coupled with unsubstantiated and oft-repeated "facts," contributed to its removal, it can be argued that racialized stereotypes of Native Americans in the press also adversely affected preservation efforts. In this section, I offer a few examples of Native American stereotypes published in the local press in relation to the Shell Mound. I then discuss these in the larger context of their effects on preservation efforts in St. Petersburg.

One of the more egregious examples of stereotyping is a 1923 story by a *Times* feature writer that was intended as a humorous account of a fictitious dream about how the mound was formed (Reed 1923). In the dream, the

Figure 13. Painting of the Shell Mound by Spanish artist Antonio Martinez Andres.
Photograph courtesy of Teresa Andres Coryell.

writer hears a sound and sees an "Indian" at the foot of the mound in all his "paint-and-feather finery" beating on an aluminum dishpan. He is joined by "literally hundreds of giant red-skins." The leader is called "Chief Sun-in-the-Eyes." He addresses another "Indian" by the name of "Charlie Monkeyface." The chief indicates that they have come to educate the woman writer about the mound, and a story by her would give his tribe good publicity:

> Being several races behind the times, a good many people have forgotten us, and we need all the publicity we can put over. So let's do the thing up brown and make it a howling success while we are at it. [Reed 1923]

Reed's story continues as the "Indians" then join hands and dance around the mound, singing "Hail, Hail the Gang's All Here." After building a big bonfire, "servants" bring baked beans, catsup, canned peaches, biscuits, and Coca-Cola. "I'm almost sure there was some St. Petersburg moonshine, too." Finally, "thousands and thousands" of sea shells are produced, and everyone eats the meat, using the shells as plates, glasses, and spoons. After dinner, "Chief Sun-in-the-Eyes" and his "warriors" smoke cigars and debate current affairs until finally the chief signals for everyone to throw the spent shells into a large mound, which he then dedicates as a monument. After a moment, everyone disappears except the chief, who leaves in a chauffeured limousine (Reed 1923).

At least this story aimed to be amusing. One cannot say the same for an opinion piece that ran in the *Evening Independent* in 1927 by local resident George Washington Bennett. In his piece about "The Mound Builders" of lower Pinellas County, the writer offered the following to explain how one mound reportedly came to consist mostly of the right valves of oyster shells while its neighbor contained mostly left valves:

> Knowing the Indian, I figured that the squaws roasted the oyster, threw the top shell on a pile, took the other with the luscious contents to a brave, a convenient distance away, and he threw his valve in another pile. And that is about what the noble Red Man did in mound building. [Bennett 1927].

The writer then went on to criticize the "archaeological doctors" whom he believed would not agree with him:

> Seemingly they cannot get it through their heads that these great Americas were ever peopled by any save a handful of wandering tribes of cut-throat Indians…. If they find some signs of civilization among certain groups of Indians,

they fail to see that in all probability they copied it from civilized people they had butchered or absorbed. [Bennett 1927]

Bennett goes on to assert that the mounds were built well before the arrival of "any red man," stating that "the builders were the people of the outlying rural settlements of the mighty lost Atlantis, so rudely orphaned when the motherland suddenly found her grave beneath the waves of ocean" (Bennett 1927).

The notion that shell mounds were constructed by a lost race that preceded Native Americans was common well into the 20th century even though this myth had been decisively refuted by the turn of that century (Thomas 1894). It even made its way onto one 1930s postcard used to promote St. Petersburg's Shell Mound:

> Shell mounds of St. Petersburg, some of which were used as burying grounds, are the only remaining relics of [a] race of people of gigantic stature who inhabited Florida before the American Indians. Vague Indian legends tell of a race of "big, cowardly people" who were exterminated by the redskins when they arrived on the scene long before the dawn of history in the new world. Bones in the mounds, many of which were destroyed by early settlers for road building before their historical significance was realized, reveal that the shell mound builders were far greater in size than the American Indian. [Ashville Postcard Company n.d.]

Later articles about the Shell Mound were sometimes accompanied by cartoons portraying stereotypical caricatures of "Indians" (e.g., Bothwell 1949; Hurley 1950). One of these, an editorial supporting demolition of the mound in 1950, contains a drawing of an "Indian" atop a partially demolished mound contemplating plans for the hospital. A caption accompanying the cartoon reads: "Good idea-- keep-um healthy" (*St. Petersburg Times* 1950).

These examples illustrate nearly all the tropes that characterize 19th- and early 20th-century portrayals of Native Americans in the press (Merskin 1998): the burlesquing of Native ceremonies and naming practices; the use of stereotypical dress and language; use of offensive epithets; the perpetuation of the mythic Indian "brave" and "warrior;" the notion of Native People as being inferior to "civilized" people; and the denial of original (i.e., indigenous) occupation of the continent.

Because most examples presented here were published in the context of "humor," it is apparent that the writers never considered how offensive these images

might have been to Native People. How could they? Native Americans were not prominent in Florida during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with most Seminole and Miccosukee living in relatively inaccessible areas of south Florida and the Everglades. The only contact most Floridians had with Native People was limited to encounters at trading posts, stores, and tourist attractions in south Florida.

It should be remembered too that when St. Petersburg became a city in 1903 it was only a little more than two decades removed from the end of the US government's war against the western Indian tribes, and the Florida War to remove the Seminoles had ended just 45 years prior in 1858. Many people's impressions of Indians were influenced by newspaper coverage of these conflicts, which, given the penchant for demonizing an enemy, particularly one that is from an alien culture or ethnic group, often portrayed them as "bloodthirsty savages," "barbarians," and "infidels." A few early residents might have experienced hostilities directly, or knew relatives or friends who had. Dime store novels and, later, Hollywood movies continued the practice of characterizing "Indians" in predominantly negative or condescending ways, influencing perceptions of generations of children who grew up in the 1910s through the 1950s.

The overall effect of portraying Native Americans as savage, illiterate, and uncivilized, trivializing their traditions, and ridiculing their dress and language, was to dehumanize them. When depicted in a positive way, it was often as an idealized version of "Indianness," emphasizing resourcefulness, tradition, knowledge of the natural world, bravery, and spirituality, and practicing a way of life that, for many of them, no longer existed. In other words, it was a caricature. Positive, perhaps, but it was a caricature nonetheless and, in its own way, just as demeaning because it failed to present them as real people. With the American public being confronted continuously with negative or unrealistic images of "Indians," it is no wonder that little serious thought was given to Native American heritage and that the physical remains of this heritage were not given the respect they deserved.

Finally, it is fair to assume that newspapers, in an attempt to attract and to hold an audience, will reflect the beliefs and attitudes of its readers (Tuchman 1981:169 cited in Merskin 1998:335). As a result, negative representations in the press tend to reinforce racist beliefs held generally by the dominant society, thereby creating a vicious circle. This premise is effectively supported by the racist opinions expressed in the press by a local Pinellas resident, summarized above; the insensitive portrayals of Native Americans by newspaper columnists; and derogatory statements about the mound by some residents and politicians.

Another view expressed forcefully by John M. Coward in 1999, positions newspapers in a more active role, creating and reinforcing racial differences and inferiority to further the political and economic interests of white society. Although Coward focuses on the 19th century, when coverage of the Indian wars figured prominently in American newspapers, his analysis of Native American portrayals in the press is applicable to the postwar period as well, particularly in the South. While the presence of Indigenous peoples was seen as an impediment to the expansionist policies of 19th-century America, the physical manifestations of that presence, archaeological sites, could be an impediment to continued "progress" in the 20th century. It can be argued, plausibly I believe, that the continued trivialization of Native Americans in St. Petersburg's early newspapers, coupled with the repeated publication of misinformation and unfounded speculation about the Shell Mound's origin, served the interests of the rich and powerful in their efforts to "plow under the garden" and contributed to the destruction of the Shell Mound.

Conclusion

The research for this paper began simply with my desire to see what I could learn about a Native American shell mound that had been demolished and about which little was known archaeologically. It quickly became apparent that standard archaeological texts would be of little use. Instead, I poured over old newspaper accounts, interviews with early residents, and local histories in the hope of finding the kind of information I was seeking – the mound's age, its contents, whether it was associated with other archaeological sites nearby, and what Indigenous cultures were responsible for its construction. Unfortunately, I struck out on all counts.

The only things we know for certain are where it was located, that it contained a lot of shell, it was once one of six mounds that formed a complex overlooking Booker Creek and Tampa Bay, and that it was big (although we do not know exactly how big). Everything else is conjecture based on the flimsiest of evidence – a few, very brief and perfunctory descriptions by individuals with experience exploring such sites and an abundance of observations, recollections, and interpretations by those who were not; that is, local residents, visitors, newspaper reporters, and occasional "loonies."

While the archaeological results were dismal, the mound's social history proved to be fascinating. From speculations on its "mysterious" origins and attempts to capitalize on it to promote the very development that would eventually destroy it, through citizen efforts to preserve it, and its eventual sad end, the research revealed a story about how St. Petersburg, like many Florida communities, struggled with the competing interests of "progress" and preservation. It also illustrates how the desire for progress and profit was often fulfilled at the expense of disenfranchised peoples and their history.

The primary documents are rife with examples of the racism and cultural illiteracy regarding Indigenous Native People that existed among the city's residents, its political leaders, and its visitors in the city's early years, views that emerged in the uninformed comments, attempts at humor, and offensive portrayals published in the press. These might not have been viewed as offensive by the perpetrators, nor was the racism as overt as the attempt to restrict blacks from owning property near the mound, but they were racist nonetheless. I argue that the inclusion of these stereotypical portrayals of Native Peoples in the press was not merely a product of the times, but should be viewed as fostering disrespect for Native Peoples and their heritage which directly influenced the eventual fate of the city's iconic Shell Mound.

To be fair, things have changed since 1950, mostly for the better. The City of St. Petersburg has aggressively pursued a policy of acquiring parklands, many of which contain archeological sites. For example, it recently (2015) purchased a 2.3-acre tract containing a major Safety Harbor-period mound and midden (the Kuttler Mound, 8PI10650) for $1.74 million and included it in its park system. This, and three other archaeological parks, recently were listed on the National Register of Historic Places as well as being designated City Landmarks, which affords them protection under the City's historic preservation ordinance. Site interpretation in the City parks is being updated to portray Florida's original inhabitants as real people who intelligently and creatively fashioned a way of life as complex and worthy of admiration as any other.

The overtly racist language that appeared in newspapers during the first half of the 20th century has disappeared, and the public has become more knowledgeable about Native American cultures and history, and more vocal about preserving archaeological sites, as have Native Peoples. Yet racist tropes continue to be perpetuated in the society at large, albeit more subtly (Merskin 1998, 2001; O'Barr 2013; Red Lodge 2017). Native American history is commodified even as it is destroyed as developers cynically name subdivisions and streets after Native American tribes in an effort to convey characteristics (heritage, nature, simplicity) appealing to prospective home buyers. Thus, by erasing the material manifestations of Indigenous history, that history, and the people who made it, can be freely manipulated in ways that benefit the political and economic interests of the dominant society.

For those sites preserved in public spaces, many suffer from physical neglect or have interpretive signage that presents outdated, incorrect information, due primarily to a lack of funding and personnel to maintain them. Contrast this to the generally well-maintained (if not always adequately staffed) historic properties of Euro-American ancestry, and it is not hard to suspect that implicit bias plays a role in the differential allocation of preservation resources. This lack of attention to Indigenous historic sites can only diminish the public's perception of their historical and cultural value by conveying the impression that Native history is merely a curious footnote to that of the dominant society.

This makes Shell Mound Park and its history a relevant example of how racism and insensitivity played a role in the demise of a local landmark in early St. Petersburg. It emphasizes the need to continue to combat these forces today through education, sensitivity, inclusion, and action.

End Notes

1. In 1903, Sixth Avenue was renamed Central Avenue, dividing the City into north and south halves (Grismer 1948:76). Thus, Fifth Avenue became First Avenue South, Fourth Avenue became Second Avenue South, etc. When referring to specific streets, I use present-day names.

2. Before Miranda and Bethel separated that morning, they agreed to "meet in the evening at 'Beggs' hill,' a mound in what is now Mrs. Taylor's grove…" (Bethel 1914:12). At least one writer believed Beggs' Hill to be one of the Mound Park mounds (Fuller 1972:10), which would mean that Bethel and Miranda agreed to meet at the same mound Bethel used as an observation post. But this sentence also can be interpreted as meaning they would meet at a different mound, the one located on Mrs. Taylor's property. This interpretation is supported by an S. T. Walker map showing what is believed to be the Taylor Mound (Walker's mound No. 14) as being west of Big Bayou and south of Booker Creek, not north as Bethel described his observation point (Walker 1880b:406). Walker indicates that No. 14 was only 5

to 6 ft high (1880b:407), not nearly as high as the Shell Mound, and therefore unlikely to have served as an observation post.

3. That Armistead probably owned the land containing the Shell Mound is supported by additional circumstantial evidence. According to the 1900 city directory, James and Sarah Armistead lived at 412 8th Avenue South (present-day 3rd Avenue South), or three blocks north and two blocks east of the mound (Ziebold 2003). The site of their home was once owned by William Spurlin, a former owner of the land containing the mound (*St. Petersburg Times* 1902). Spurlin purchased the land from James D. Hackney, the original private owner of the S1/2 of the S1/2 of Section 19 which contained the mound, in 1873 and later sold his property to Sarah's first husband, John C. Williams, in 1876 (Florida Department of State n.d.; Grismer 1948:46).

4. Bullen's site number for the Potter site was Pn-11 and both the site file description and his accompanying sketch map indicate that the site's two platform mounds, three smaller mounds, and a shell ridge were located on the eastern shore of Boca Ciega Bay (i.e., on the mainland). These documents are on file at the Florida Museum of Natural History. The Florida Master Site File incorrectly indicates that 8PI11 is the Long Key Mound visited by Walker (1880b) and Moore (1903), even though Walker clearly states that "Long Key is a narrow island" (1880b:403). The FMSF description is that of Bullen's Potter site (i.e., five mounds), not the single mound that was described by Walker as having the form of a turtle.

5. St. Petersburg was incorporated as a town in 1892, but its city charter was not approved by the state legislature until 1903 (Grismer 1948:108).

6. St. Petersburg and all present-day Pinellas County were part of Hillsborough County until January 1, 1912, when the peninsula's voters ratified the Pinellas Independence Bill, that was passed by the Florida legislature and signed by Governor Albert Gilchrist on May 23, 1911 (Pinellas County Planning Department 2008).

7. Real estate dealers James Foley and Ed Fisher.

8. A 1948 article in the *St. Petersburg Times* stated that the sum was $1400 and that the land was deeded to the City by John Blocker, Frank E. Cole, and James Norton in September 1910, based on public documents

(Barker 1948). This might have been a misunderstanding of the 1910 transaction which appears to have been meant to acquire three lots in Block 9 that adjoined the three blocks purchased by the City for use by the Samaritan Hospital and which were to the west of the Shell Mound (*Evening Independent* 1910; *Tampa Tribune* 1911; *Tampa Weekly Tribune* 1910b).

References Cited

Arsenault, Raymond
1996   *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream 1888-1950*. The Donning Company, Norfolk and Virginia Beach, Virginia. Originally published 1988.

Asheville Postcard Company
n.d. (c. 1934)   Shell Mound in Mound Park. Postcard text. Asheville Postcard Company, Asheville, N.C.

Aten, Lawrence E., and Jerald T. Milanich
2003   Clarence Bloomfield Moore: A Philadelphia Archaeologist in the Southeastern United States. In *Philadelphia and the Development of Americanist Archaeology*, edited by Don D. Fowler and David R. Wilcox, pp. 113-133. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Barker, Al
1948   Aerial Photo Shows Room for Expansion of Hospital. *Evening Independent*, July 16, p. 13.

Bennett, George Washington
1927   The Mound Builders. *Evening Independent*, February 23, p. 11.

Bethell, John A.
1914   *Pinellas, A Brief History of the Lower Point*. Press of the Independent Job Department, St. Petersburg.

Bird, M. C.
1937   Save the Shell Mound. Letter to the editor, *St. Petersburg Times*, August 5, p. 4.

Blackstone, Lillian
1936   Homesick Marine Writes Humorous Sketch of City, *St. Petersburg Times,* May 17, Sect. 1, p. 8.

Bly, John G.
1937   Why Not Beautify the Shell Mound? Letter to the editor, *St. Petersburg Times*, Aug. 10, Sect. 1, p. 5.

Blocker, John C.
n.d.   Notes on interview with Collier McCall. Typescript on file, John C. Blocker collection, Box 4, St. Petersburg Museum of History, St. Petersburg.

Bothwell, Dick
1949   Shell Mound Could Be Enclosed in Hospital's Lobby. *St. Petersburg Times*, February 19, p. 9.

Bullen, Ripley P.
1951   Pn-11 (Potter Site). Archaeological Survey Form, Florida Park Service. On file, Anthropology Division, Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.

C. A. Harvey, Real Estate Dealer
1905   Sales Ad for Mound Park Addition, *St. Petersburg Times*, November 11, p. 4.

City of St. Petersburg, Florida
1894   Minutes of the Town Council of St. Petersburg, Florida: January 2, April 5, April 12, May 3. Transcripts on file, John C. Blocker Collection, Box 5, St. Petersburg Museum of History, St. Petersburg.

Cotton, Mrs. J. W.
1937   Shell Mound Wasn't Built by Indians. Letter to the editor, *St. Petersburg Times,* July 30, p. 6.

Coward, John M.
1999   *The Newspaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press, 1820-1890.* University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Davis, Paul A.
1949   Our Town Today. *Evening Independent*, February 17, p. 17.

DeCamp, Mrs. E.
1907   An Imaginary Wedding Trip Ridiculously Sublime. *St. Petersburg Times*, May 25, p. 5.

Dunlap, Archie
1952   The Rambler. *St. Petersburg Times*, November 1, Section B, p. 18.

Evening Independent
1908 $75,000 of Bonds Authorized for Submission To Vote of the People By Council Last Night. December 19, p. 1.

1909   The People Declare for a Greater St. Petersburg. March 24, p. 1, 4.

Evening Independent (continued)
1910 $100,000.00 Bond Issue – Street Paving, Sewer, and Water Works – School Plans Adopted – Interesting Session of Council Last Night – Big Items. May 20, Vol. III, pp. 1, 4.

1937 City is Asked to Move Mound, July 21, Section 1, p. 5.

1938 A Relic of the Days Before Tourists Discovered the Sunshine City. March 7, Section 3, p. 15.

1950a City Breaks Ground for New $3,000,000 Hospital Tomorrow. July 11, p. 13.

1950b City Landmark Disappears. July 14, p. 1.

F. A. Davis Company
1896 *Facts and Suggestions for Persons Forced to Seek Permanent or Temporary Homes on the Pinellas Peninsula for Relief from Consumption, Chronic Bronchitis, Rheumatism, Gout, Neurasthenia, and Kindred Diseases*. F. A. Davis Company, Philadelphia.

Fewkes, J. Walter
1924a Preliminary Archaeological Excavations at Weeden Island, Florida. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 76:1-26.

1924b Dr. Fewkes' Own Story of Prehistoric Race. *Evening Independent*, December 15, p. 37. Part One of a 10-part series that ran from December 15 to December 24, 1924.

Fleming, Ian
2012 *Live and Let Die*. Thomas and Mercer, Las Vegas. Originally published, 1954.

Florida Department of State
n.d. Tract Book Records, T31S, R17E, Volume 15, p. 60. Florida Department of State, Division of State Lands, electronic document, http://199.73.242.56/image.asp?index=87&id=210356&qryid=29518.07&imageid=&page=1&format=p, accessed Dec. 27, 2013.

Florida Master Site File
2019 Florida Master Site File database and GIS layer, Pinellas County. Downloaded, April 22, 2019.

Fuller, Walter P.
1965 History of Florida Cavalcade: Six Lectures. Bound typescript, St. Petersburg Junior College, St. Petersburg.

1972 *St. Petersburg and Its People*. Great Outdoors Publishing Company, St. Petersburg.

Grismer, Karl H.
1948 *The Story of St. Petersburg*. P. K. Smith & Company, St. Petersburg.

Hamilton, E. K.
1958 History, Hijinks on Old Shell Mound. *St. Petersburg Times*, Sunday Magazine, May 25, p.2.

Hurley, Frank T., Jr.
1950 Heap Big Heap Still Gives City Unsolved 'Whodunit'. *Evening Independent*, July 14, p. 9.

Learned, Charles H.
1915 Connecticut Visitor Writes Home about St. Petersburg's Pleasures. *Evening Independent*, March 27, Third Section, p. 1. Letter originally published in Willimantic, Connecticut's *Daily Chronicle*.

Loader, Florence Bethel
1937 Shell Mound History. Letter to the Editor, *St. Petersburg Times*, August 2, section 1, p. 4.

Merskin, Debra
1998 Sending Up Signals: A Survey of Native American Media Use and Representation in the Mass Media. *The Howard Journal of Communication* 9:333-345.

2001 Winnebagos, Cherokees, Apaches, and Dakotas: The Persistence of Stereotyping of American Indians in American Advertising Brands. *The Howard Journal of Communication* 12:159-169.

Miller, Betty Jean
1988 News and Views. *St. Petersburg Times*, December 21, p. 4E.

1991 Pinellas: Past and Present. *St. Petersburg Times*, City Times Section, July 8, p.1.

Miller, G. A., and A. L. Hunt
1888 Map of the Town of St. Petersburg, Florida. Map filed in Hillsborough County Courthouse, Tampa, by Peter A. Demens, August 11, 1888. Reproduced in Arsenault 1996.

Miller, James J.
1978 A Cultural Resource Assessment of the St. Petersburg 201 Wastewater Treatment Facility, Pinellas County, Florida. Report prepared for Black, Crow, and Eidsness, Inc. On file, Florida Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee.

Moore, Clarence B.
1900a Certain Antiquities of the Florida West Coast. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 11:350-394.

1900b Field Notes, 1900. Clarence Bloomfield Moore Collection, #9181, Notebook 17. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

1903 Certain Aboriginal Mounds of the Central Florida West Coast. *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 12:361-438.

Moore, H. H.
1909 Rev. Dr. H. H. Moore writes of our Florida city to the Jamestown Journal. *Evening Independent*, February 22, p. 8.

O'Barr, William M.
2013 Images of Native Americans in Advertising. *Advertising & Society Review* 14(1):1-51. On-line version http://muse.jhu.edu/article/509019. Accessed July 31, 2019.

One of the Party
1889 A Trip on the Pauline. *Tampa Journal*, June 20, p. 10.

Parker, Matthew
2015 *Goldeneye. Where Bond Was Born: Ian Fleming's Jamaica*. Pegasus Books, New York.

Petrulis, Alan
2018 A Not So Concise History of the Evolution of Postcards in the United States. http://www.metropostcard.com/metropchistory.html. Accessed August 20, 2019.

Pinellas County Planning Department
2008 Pinellas County Historical Background (third edition). Prepared for the Pinellas County Board of County Commissioners. On-line document http://www.pinellascounty.org/Plan/pdf_files/PCHB.pdf. Accessed August 6, 2019.

Piper Archaeological Research, Inc.
1987 An Archaeological Survey of the City of St. Petersburg, Florida. Prepared for the City of St. Petersburg Planning Department. On file, Florida Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee.

Piper, Harry M., Jacquelyn G. Piper, and Joan Deming
1978 Archaeological Survey of the Urban Redevelopment Program Areas of the City of St. Petersburg, Florida. Report prepared for the Division of Urban Redevelopment, City of St. Petersburg. On file, Florida Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee.

Plack, George
1915 Boosts for St. Petersburg. *St. Petersburg Times*, December 30, p.2. Letter originally published in the *Baltimore American*, December 6, 1915.

Plowden, William
1952 Mound Park, 8PI37, Archeological Site Survey, University of Florida. On file, Florida Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee.

Red Lodge, Evelyn
2017 Racism Against Native Americans Persists. *High Country News* 49(17). On line version https://www.hcn.org/issues/49.17/opinion-racism-against-native-americans-persists. Accessed July 31, 2019.

Reed, Frances Martin
1923 Sounds Rather Fishy To Us But It May Be So After All. *St. Petersburg Times,* June 10, p. 11.

Riley, Nano
1993 Garage Site Should Be Evaluated, Group Says. *St. Petersburg Times*, August 7, City Times Section, pp. 1-2.

Robison, E. C.
n.d. (c. 1930s) Shell Mound, St. Petersburg, Florida, "The Sunshine City." Postcard text. E. C. Robison, St. Petersburg.

Sharpnack, Ogden
1949 City Council Gives Tentative Approval to Hospital Plans. *St. Petersburg Times*, February 25, Section 2, p. 1.

1950 New Hospital Forces Death Knell to Sound for Old Shell Mound. *St. Petersburg Times*, July 7, Section 2, p. 13.

St. Petersburg Times
1902 Personals. April 12, p. 4.

1904 A Visitor's View of St. Petersburg. Mar. 12, p. 8.

1906a Editorial: Everybody Help. April 21, p. 4.

1906b Editorial: A City Beautiful. August 4, p. 4.

1907 Council Proceedings. November 22, p. 8.

1910a Preserve Famous Shell Mound. Feb. 4, p. 1

1910b Notice to Public. November 1, p. 10.

1910c Ordinance No. 238. November 4, p. 5.

1910d Editorial: Why Not Do It Now? August 2, p. 4.

1910e Organization Formed to Buy Up Land – Property Owners in Southwest Portion of City Unite to Make This a White Section. April 12, p. 1.

1911 Council Meets in Short Session. March 24, p. 1.

1914a Editorial: Help Them All. December 4, p. 2.

1914b Editorial: A Ray of Hope. December 18, p. 2.

1915 Editorial, February 12, p. 2.

1916 Indian Remains Taken from A Shell Mound. Bones are Those of Earliest Inhabitants of Pinellas Peninsula. April 1, pp. 1, 6.

1925 Streets of City "Paved with Gold" when Shell Mounds were Leveled to Get Materials for Roadbeds. April 19, Section 3, p. 12.

1926 Mounds Recall First Settlers. September 19, Section 1, p. 5.

St. Petersburg Times (continued)
1931 Indian Mounds Near City Bear Historic Story. November 20, Section 4, p. 9.

1936 Obituary: Clarence B. Moore, Manufacturer, Dies. March 25, p. 13.

1937a Fuller Urges Shell Mounds' Preservation. August 1, p. 6.

1937b Historic Shell Mound Will Not Be Demolished. August 11, p. 9.

1937c City is Asked to Move Mound. July 21, Section 1, p. 5.

1942 Service Men Like to Take Snapshots of St. Petersburg Views; Here Are Some Outstanding Local Scenes They Shouldn't Miss. September 7, Section 1, p. 15.

1949 Shall Shell Mound be Removed? February 15, Section 2, p. 9.

1950a Mound Park - Symbol of Democracy. July 13, p. 6.

1950b On This Site Will Rise New Mound Park Hospital. July 9, p. 19.

1966 Obituary: Noted Spanish Artist A. Martinez Andres. July 24, p. 11B.

State of Florida
1998 Florida Death Index, 1877-1998. Florida Department of Health, Office of Vital Records. Ancestry.com, accessed August 6, 2019.

Swain, Harrison
1965 Noted Artist Paints Hospital's Mound. *Evening Independent*, June 19, p. 48.

Tampa Bay Times
2009 This Week in History. January 11, p. 2A.

Tampa Daily Times
1923 Fewkes Digs in St. Pete Mound. Nov. 8, p. 12.

Tampa Morning Tribune
1898 Terse Tropical Tavern Talk to the Tourist. January 9, p. 4.

Tampa Tribune
1911   Florida State News of Interest.
December 24, pp. 21-22.

1912   Hospital Plans at St. Pete Ready. New Building
to be A Handsome One. Board of Trade Will Issue
10,000 Postcards to Tourists. March 1, p. 6.

Tampa Weekly Tribune
1897   Pretty Pinellas Productive Peninsula.
February 28, p. 3.

1910a   Big New Hotel for St. Petersburg. City Council
Asked to Take Steps for Preserving Famous Shell
Mound. February 10, p. 5.

1910b   Realty Changing Hands At St. Pete.
May 26, p.10.

Thomas, Cyrus
1894   *Report of the Mound Explorations of the
Bureau of Ethnology*. Washington, DC.

Todd, O. K.
1909   Fine tribute paid to St. Petersburg by O. K.
Todd, a world traveler, student, and poet. *Evening
Independent*, February 26, p. 8.

Tuchman, Gaye
1981   The Symbolic Annihilation of Women by the
Mass Media. In *The Manufacture of News* (revised
edition), edited by Stanley Cohen and Jock Young.
Constable, London.

United States Coast and Geodetic Survey (USCGS)
1879   Coast Chart No. 77, Tampa Bay, Florida.
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration,
Office of Coast Survey. On-line document, http://
historicalcharts.noaa.gov/historicals/preview/image/
CP1652C. Accessed December 19, 2013.

Wainwright, R. D.
1916   Two Month's Research in the Sand and Shell
Mounds of Florida. *The Archaeological Bulletin*
7(6):139-144.

Walker, S. T.
1880a   Report on the Shell Heaps of Tampa Bay,
Florida. *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution
for 1879*, pp. 413-422. Washington, D.C.

1880b   Preliminary Explorations Among the Indian
Mounds in Southern Florida. *Annual Report of
the Smithsonian Institution for 1879*, pp. 392-413.
Washington, DC.

Warne, Don
1961   When Pinellas Land Was 25 Cents an Acre. *St.
Petersburg Times*, November 19, p. 4G.

Waterman, Bob
1961   The Mound Park Story. *St. Petersburg Times*,
January 31, p. 4-C.

Watt, David A.
1937   Shell Mound. Letter to the editor. *Evening
Independent*, July 26, pp. 4, 8.

West Hillsborough Times
1895   Glimpses of St. Petersburg. The City of
Mounds by the Sea. Volume 7, p. 1-2.

Williams, J. Raymond
1974   An Archaeological Survey of the Pass-A-Grille
Beach and Oldsmar USGS Quadrangle Map Areas.
Report prepared for the Pinellas County Environmental
Assessment Task Force. On file, Florida Division of
Historical Resources, Tallahassee.

Ziebold, Tom
2003   *St. Petersburg Town 1900. A Directory and
Census Transcription.* Pinellas Genealogy Society,
Largo.