

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

FOR

EVERGLADES NATIONAL PARK

BY

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by drawing a line from a point on the Big Cypress National Preserve loop road, approximately one-half mile west from the Tamiami Trail, following the Tamiami Trail west until midway into the Shark River Slough, then move the pencil in a southerly direction with several slight jogs to the east to complete the outline of Everglades National Park in Florida Bay.¹

The broken dipper of Everglades National Park constantly is being filled with water from Lake Okeechobee which drains out into the Gulf of Mexico and Florida Bay. Beneath the land and water lies a series of complex geological limestone formations of marine origins. These formations toward the end of the Pleistocene age rose slightly from the sea to create the Florida peninsula. One of these formations, known as Miami oolite, is found along the eastern edge of the peninsula from Miami to Biscayne Bay and in most of the Dade county sections of Everglades National Park. Miami oolite is composed of clay and sand with chemical analysis revealing that the rock contains over ninety percent calcium carbonate and the other ten percent, principally, consists of silica and magnesium carbonate. This limestone can be found in many places at or near the ground surface or beneath several feet of marl, peat, sand, or mud. It

1. Historically, the term "Everglades" has been used to refer to those wetlands of Florida found on the south of Lake Okeechobee containing approximately 1,200 square miles. The focus of this report will be the smaller portion of the Everglades known as Everglades National Park, but the larger area of the Everglades will be mentioned to place topics in historical context.

increases in thickness from thirty feet at Miami to about sixty feet in the Homestead area.²

Within the Monroe and Collier County portions of Everglades National Park, the dominant geological feature is the Tamiami formation which dates to the Miocene epoch and consists of creamy-white limestones, greenish gray marls, and silty sand and clay. These limestone formations create a saucer beneath the Everglades with the rim forming the eastern and western edge of the Florida peninsula. The Everglades' rim is cracked in many places where numerous streams and rivers breach it to reach the sea. Naturally occurring acids and natural processes have pitted this limestone formation creating catch basins to trap water.

2. Daniel B. Beard, Wildlife Reconnaissance: Everglades National Park Project (Washington D. C.: National Park Service, 1938), pp. 7-8; Herman Gunter, Florida State Geological Survey: Seventeenth Annual Report, 1924-1925 (Tallahassee, Florida: The State Geological Survey, 1926), pp. 174-177; E. H. Sellards, Florida State Geological Survey: Fourth Annual Report, 1910-11 (Tallahassee, Florida: The State Geological Survey, 1912), pp. 76-77; John E. Ehrenhard, Gregory Komara, and Robert Taylor, Everglades National Park, Cultural Resource Inventory, Interim Report Season 1 (Tallahassee, Florida: Southeast Archeological Center, 1982), p. 1; and Charlton W. Tebeau, A History of Florida, (rev.; Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1980), pp. 6-7; John N. MacGonigle, "The Everglades of Florida," Report of the Eighth International Geographic Congress Held in the United States, 1904 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1905), pp. 767-769. A variety of scientific and popular papers have been written concerning the geology of the Everglades. The most extensive works on this subject and can be found in the annual reports of the Florida State Geological Survey.

These basins form water holes for animals during the dry season.³

FLORA, FAUNA, AND CLIMATE OF EVERGLADES NATIONAL PARK

The flatness of the topography and the supersaturation of the soil with moisture created a vast wetland where a slight variation in elevation can result in strikingly different ecosystems. Starting from the sea and proceeding inland, there are shallow (six feet or less) coastal waters with small keys or islands. The Florida Bay islands often consist of marl fringed with mangrove with little or no dry land where, as the Ten Thousand Islands, apparently, result from coastal lands drowned by rising sea levels. There mangroves are clustered together and interlaced with a myriad of intricate water channels. After this comes a series of bays and estuaries bordered by mangrove forests containing red, white, and black mangrove. Interspersed in these forests can be found salt marshes and associated grasses, shrub vegetation and hammocks. The interior areas contain fresh water lakes, sloughs, and marl prairies within

3. Beard, Wildlife Reconnaissance: Everglades National Park Project, p. 6; and MacGonigle, "The Everglades of Florida," Report of the Eighth International Geographic Congress Held in the United States, 1904, pp. 767-769. It should be noted that the limestone rim does not rise above sea level in an area from Cape Sable to above Lostman's River.

which are found cypress stands, hardwood hammocks, and pinelands.⁴

These environments possess a vast array of life forms including an abundance of insects, shellfish, fish, reptiles, amphibians, mammals, and birds. The waters of Everglades National Park teem with an enormous variety of fresh water and salt water fish which provide a major component in the diet of other animals. Through the millennium, a number of fresh water fish migrated to the park's marshes from more northern regions while other fish that can tolerate both fresh and salt water moved into the the park from the surrounding seas. The fresh water fish include bass, gar, bowfin, golden shiner, sunfish, and various kinds of minnows, while the salt water fish include shark, sea trout, snook, redfish, and mullet. Marine invertebrates such as Florida lobsters, shrimp, and crawfish live in the waters of the bays and estuaries, while crabs and land snails inhabit the hammocks and shoreline. Reptiles and amphibians are represented by several species of salamanders, lizards, frogs, snakes, and turtles (land, fresh-water, and sea). The most conspicuous or well known are the alligator, crocodile, and the venomous snakes,

4. Ibid., pp. 10-35; and Ehrenhard, Komara and Taylor, Everglades National Park, Cultural Resource Inventory, Interim Report Season 1, pp. 3-5.

including the cottonmouth, moccasin, and the pygmy and diamondback rattlesnake.⁵

Everglades National Park is home for twenty-five species of terrestrial and two species of aquatic mammals including deer, bear, raccoon, wildcat, otter, porpoise, and manatee. The greatest variety of animals that can be found in the park are birds with more than 300 species identified and new ones being added to the list every year. The tip of Florida serves as a crossroads for the migratory flights of birds to and from the Caribbean, North America, Central America, and South America. The park provides breeding and feeding for many of the migratory birds while others live within the area permanently. Ibises, herons, owls, egrets, cranes, limpkins, sparrows, pelicans, and anhingas are among the varieties that can be found within the park.⁶

The yearly climate of Everglades National Park can be divided into two seasons with a dry season from November until April and a wet season from May until October. Average rainfall is between fifty and sixty inches a year in most sections of Everglades National Park with the exception of Cape Sable and Florida Bay, where the average rainfall is from forty to fifty inches a year. Occasionally, rainfall amounts exceed one hundred inches a year with the monthly rainfall amount of from one to three inches per month common

5. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

6. Ibid.

even in the dry season. The moisture-laden tropical storms and hurricanes for the most part occur during the wet season. During the dry season, high temperatures range from 60 to 80 degrees Fahrenheit with lower temperatures occasionally reaching freezing. Wet season temperatures are higher, but rarely go beyond 95 degrees on the hottest day.⁷

PREHISTORIC CULTURES IN THE EVERGLADES

Prehistoric tribes first ventured into Florida more than 3,000 years ago and, shortly thereafter, into the Everglades. This period in archeological terms is known as the Archaic tradition. These people obtained food by hunting, gathering, and fishing and led a semi-sedentary existence. Early remnants of this culture show a lack of pottery, but later fiber-tempered pottery was produced. Other remains from this period include lithic artifacts and shell middens with the middens sometimes serving as burial sites. Early settlement took place along the coast in the Ten Thousand Islands vicinity and gradually proceeded down the coast to Florida Bay and the Florida Keys. Some

7. Beard, Wildlife Reconnaissance: Everglades National Park Project, pp. 4-5; John H. Davis Jr., The Natural Features of Southern Florida: Especially the Vegetation, and the Everglades (Tallahassee, Florida: The Florida Geological Survey, 1943), pp. 32-33; and Arthur H. Howell, Florida Bird Life (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1932), p. 70.

archeological sites associated with this culture are within Everglades National Park.⁸

About 350-400 B.C., a different culture began developing referred to by archeologists as the "Glades tradition" which lasted until 1750 and contains eight subperiods of, roughly, 200 years each which are differentiated by sequential changes in pottery decoration. The dominant people of this period were the Calusa, who may have been related to the Choctaw and Hitchiti nations. They lived by gathering,

8. John M. Goggin, "Cultural Traditions in Florida Prehistory," in The Florida Indians and His Neighbors: Papers Delivered at an Anthropological Conference Held at Rollins College, April 9 and 10, 1949, ed. by John W. Giffin (Winter Park, Florida: Inter-American Center, Rollins College, 1949), pp. 16-24; Charles H. Fairbanks, Florida Indians III: Ethnohistorical Report on the Florida Indians (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974), pp. 7-8, 11; Charles H. Fairbanks and Jerald T. Milanich, Florida Archeology (New York: Academy Press, 1980), pp. 23, 26-27; and Ehrenhard, Komara, and Taylor, Everglades National Park, Cultural Resource Inventory, Interim Report Season 1, p. 14. The Southeast Archeological Center is in the process of completing a three year archeological inventory and assessment of Everglades National Park. The final report will include a determination as to which archeological sites would be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places and other information on which park officials can base management decisions in regards to cultural resource protection. This Historic Resource Study will not attempt to duplicate the comprehensive work done by the Southeast Archeological Center, but only refer the reader to those reports for more detailed information concerning archeology and archeological site information. The pertinent reports are John E. Ehrenhard, Gregory Komara and Robert Taylor, Everglades National Park, Cultural Resource Inventory, Interim Report Season 1 (Tallahassee, Florida: Southeast Archeological Center, 1982); Robert C. Taylor, Everglades National Park Archeological Inventory and Assessment Season 2: Interim Report (Tallahassee, Florida: Southeast Archeological Center, 1984), and Robert C. Taylor's Everglades National Park Archeological Inventory and Assessment Season 3: Interim Report (Tallahassee, Florida: Southeast Archeological Center, 1985).

fishing, and hunting, and their diet included shellfish, fish, deer, and wild plants. A number of physical remains testify to their success in exploiting the environment including village sites, shell middens, canals, earth mounds, and shell mounds. The Calusa held dominion from south of Tampa Bay to slightly east of present-day Flamingo.⁹

A Calusa village consisted of round, thatched, wooden structures which served as homes with the chief's (Cacique) house containing windows and a large interior platform for tribal members to congregate. The men wore a belt around their loins and the women wore a sash extending from shoulder to thigh. Both men and women wore shell, pearl, stone, and gold as ornament. These people tattooed their bodies with paintings of animals, plants, and flowers. They traveled the Everglades, coastal waters, and made short ocean trips in, probably, dugout canoes creating a system of

9. Charlton W. Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County (Miami, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1966), p. 6; M. W. Stirling, "Florida Cultural Affiliations in Relation to Adjacent Areas," Essays in Anthropology: Presented to A. L. Kroeber in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday, June 11, 1936 (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1936), p. 351; and Ehrenhard, Komara, and Taylor, Everglades National Park, Cultural Resource Inventory, Interim Report Season 1, p. 15.

water trails in the Everglades and Ten Thousand Islands area.¹⁰

These people developed a fairly complex social structure with some job specialization occurring and the development of towns for up to several hundred people. They established temporary seasonal camps for hunting and fishing. This social structure allowed the centralization of authority giving the Calusa the ability to wage extended wars and they expanded their domain through club, bow, and spear. Also, they devoted resources to religious activities building elaborate burial mounds as part of a death ritual which included human sacrifice, idol worship, and secondary interments.¹¹

The Calusa did not entirely dominate the lower Florida peninsula uncontested. The Tequesta (sometimes referred to as the Tekesta or Chequesta) tribe maintained habitation sites from Cape Sable into the Florida Keys and north to Pompano with the tribal center in the present-day Miami area. They cooperated with the Calusa on some activities

10. Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, pp. 26-27; Goggin, "Cultural Traditions in Florida Prehistory," in The Florida Indians and His Neighbors: Papers Delivered at an Anthropological Conference Held at Rollins College, April 9 and 10, 1949, pp. 30-31; and Davis, The Natural Features of Southern Florida Especially the Vegetation, and the Everglades, p. 21.

11. Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, p. 27; and Goggin, "Cultural Traditions in Florida Prehistory," in The Florida Indians and His Neighbors: Papers Delivered at an Anthropological Conference Held at Rollins College, April 9 and 10, 1949, pp. 31-32.

and some intermarriage occurred between the two tribes. Like the Calusa, they lived for the most part on the coast and their diet consisted of seafood supplemented with wild game and plants. Their culture and customs were similar to those of the Calusa, but most of their activities were outside of Everglades National Park.¹²

EUROPEAN EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT

This was the situation at the end of the fifteenth century when Christopher Columbus opened the New World to European explorers. On Columbus' second voyage to the New World in 1493, Juan Ponce de Leon travelled with him and, eventually, would claim Florida for Spain. Before Ponce de Leon made his discovery, John and Sebastian Cabot in 1497 traveled down the coast of North America from Newfoundland and may have reached Florida waters before going out into the Atlantic. By 1502, the Spanish cartographers showed Florida

12. Charlton W. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park (rev.; Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1968), pp. 37-38; John E. Ehrenhard, Archeological Data Section, Preliminary Cultural Resource Management Plan, Everglades National Park (and Data for Phase II Resource Management Planning) (Tallahassee, Florida: Southeast Archeological Center, 1983), p. 1; Fairbanks, Florida Indians III: Ethnohistorical Report on the Florida Indians, pp. 39-41; and Goggin, "Cultural Traditions in Florida Prehistory," in The Florida Indians and His Neighbors: Papers Delivered at an Anthropological Conference Held at Rollins College, April 9 and 10, 1949, pp. 28-30. A complete listing of archeological sites within Everglades National Park can be found in the previously mentioned three year archeological inventory recently completed by the Southeast Archeological Center.

on some maps and Spanish slave hunters began to raid Florida for slaves to sell in the Caribbean.¹³

Ponce de Leon, upon arriving in Hispaniola, served with the Spanish forces assigned to subjugate and enslave the Indians. After this apprenticeship, Ponce de Leon in 1508 ventured to Puerto Rico where he conquered the land for Spain and later served as the island's governor. He lost the governorship to Diego Columbus, but received a royal patent on February 2, 1512, to discover and govern the island of Bimini and other lands. Bimini was the name of a mythical island of fabulous wealth which lay just beyond the area of Spanish exploration. Ponce de Leon fitted out and supplied three caravels for the journey. On March 3, 1513, the expedition sailed from Puerto Rico and on April 2, they reached the coast of Florida. He landed somewhere near St. Augustine and claimed the land for Spain. The small fleet next sailed south until arriving at the Florida Keys, which they passed through and proceeded up the northwest coast. The Spanish explored Florida Bay, Ponce de Leon Bay, and the Ten Thousand Islands before heading out into the Gulf of

13. Tebeau, A History of Florida, p. 19; and Hale G. Smith and Mark Gottlob, "Spanish-Indian Relations: Synoptic History and Archeological Evidence, 1500-1763," Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period, ed. by Jerald Milanich and Samuel Proctor (Gainesville, Florida: The University of Florida Press, 1978), p. 1.

Mexico near Charlotte Harbor not knowing whether the land that they had seen was an island or a continent.¹⁴

Ponce de Leon reported back to the Spanish king on his expedition and began assembling an army of conquest when he was directed to put down a revolt of the Carib Indians in the Lesser Antilles. In 1521, Ponce de Leon again turned his attention to the enterprise of Florida and this time he left Puerto Rico with two ships and two hundred colonists. The Spanish fleet landed near Charlotte Harbor, but the Spaniards fled back to their ships after a fierce attack by the Calusa. After the onslaught, Ponce de Leon lay wounded and his men took him to Cuba where he died from his wounds.¹⁵

After the 1513 voyage of Ponce de Leon, a number of other Spanish expeditions traveled to the west coast of Florida. Most of these expeditions made landfall north of Everglades National Park, however, a number of early maps show the lower Florida peninsula. Usually, these maps, such as in a sketch made in 1519 during the voyage of Alonzo Alvarez de

14. Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abby Hanna, Lake Okeechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades ed. by Milo M. Quaife (New York: The Boobs-Merrill Co., 1948), p. 27; Tebeau, A History of Florida, pp. 19-21; and Smith and Gottlob, "Spanish-Indian Relationships: Synoptic History and Archeological Evidence, 1500-1763," Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period, pp. 1-2.

15. Tebeau, A History of Florida, p. 22; and Marjory Stoneman Douglas, The Everglades: River of Grass (rev.; St. Simons Islands, Georgia: Mockingbird Books, Inc., 1947), pp. 77-80.

Pineda, give only a generalized depiction of the lower Florida coast showing only Florida Bay and a brief suggestion of the mainland with little or no detail of the interior land features. A series of early maps dating from 1541 until 1564 show the Florida coastline, but continue to give little detail except for occasional references to the area above Florida Bay as Agua la Labne.¹⁶

Jacques Le Moyne, an artist with the ill-fated French colony at Fort Caroline, drew one of the more detailed maps of the region in 1564. He depicted a large river emptying into Florida Bay from the interior with the village of Calor located a little up inland from the seacoast. This same river connected with another one which flowed into the Atlantic Ocean. In the middle of the peninsula, above these rivers, lay a series of low hills leading to a large lake in central Florida. This represents one of the earliest cartographic attempts to locate Lake Okeechobee, but strangely the lake on the map drained to the north and not into the Everglades. The entire area of Everglades National Park was referred to as the land of Carlos which was the Spanish name for the Chief of the Calusa. In general, the map appeared to be a compilation of hearsay and speculation made without first hand observation. This lack of

16. Davis, The Natural Features of Southern Florida Especially the Vegetation, and the Everglades, pp. 20-21; and L. Lemar Stephan, "Geographic Role of the Everglades in the Early History of Florida," Scientific Monthly 55 (December, 1942), pp. 515-516.

understanding of the peninsula's geography continued for more than two hundred years because of to the perceived inaccessibility of the terrain by Europeans.¹⁷

Slowly, the Spanish gained knowledge of the Everglades through contact with the Calusa, Tequesta, and other tribes. Shipwrecked Spanish sailors captured by the Tequesta that survived long enough to be rescued or ransomed gave descriptions of Florida. One such shipwreck victim was Hernando d'Escalante whose ship foundered on the Florida Reef in 1545 and was captured by the Tequesta tribe and lived for the next seventeen years with them. After his rescue, he wrote of his remarkable experiences on the Florida coast and interior.¹⁸

Phillip II, Habsburg monarch of Spain, decided to attempt an expansion of Spanish influence and possible settlement into the Florida Everglades coastal areas. He chose Pedro de Aviles Menendez to carry out this plan. Menendez began this venture by expelling the French from Florida in 1565 and then turned his attention to making the Indian chiefs subservient to the will of Spain. In 1566, he negotiated with the Calusa and Tequesta chiefs in hopes of securing their loyalty to Spain. After the usual exchange of gifts,

17. Ibid., p. 515; Tebeau, A History of Florida, pp. 16, 31; and Clifford M. Lewis, "The Calusa," Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period, p. 22.

18. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, p. 42.

the tribal chiefs promised to turn over all shipwrecked sailors to Spanish officials. Menendez then set in motion plans to establish Roman Catholic missions on the Florida east and west coast to Christianize the Indians in order to better assure their loyalty to Spain. These missionaries efforts came to little and resulted only in an uneasy alliance between the tribes and the Spanish government broken by occasional warfare.¹⁹

The Indians' hostility forced the Spanish to abandon any attempt to establish permanent settlements in the Calusa territory. By 1750, however Spanish fishermen were catching mullet near Charlotte Harbor and recent archeological investigations suggest that these fishermen might have established temporary fishing camps near or in the present Everglades National Park. The Spanish continued to fish these waters into the 1840s. Also, pirates that frequented the Keys apparently ventured into Florida Bay and along the coast to the Ten Thousand Islands in search of food and

19. Lewis, "The Calusa," Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period, pp. 27-29; John M. Goggin and William C. Sturtevant, "The Calusa: A Stratified Nonagricultural Society (With Notes on Marriage)," Explorations in Cultural Anthropology: Essays in Honor of George Peter Murdock, ed. by Ward H. Goodenough (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964), p. 184; and Smith and Gottlob, "Spanish-Indian Relationships: Synoptic History and Archeological Evidence, 1500-1763," Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period, p. 6.

fresh water, though no evidence except local folklore can be discovered to substantiate this point.²⁰

The next major Spanish missionary effort began with a petition to the governor of Cuba, Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas, in February 1743 by three Calusa chiefs. They requested that missionaries be sent to the Florida Keys to provide religious instructions as the Keys Indians always welcomed the Spanish fishermen and other visitors. The governor, after consultation with ecclesiastical and civil officials, approved the petition and authorized the spending of royal funds to send two Jesuits and their servant to establish a mission. In June, Father Joseph Xavier de Alana and Joseph Maria Monaco were selected for the task and set sail for the Keys. Father Alana during his stay on the Keys drew a detailed map of the Keys, Florida Bay, and Cape Sable. This map showed wells used by the Spanish on Cape Sable (Punta de Tanche). Only two of the small keys off of Cape Sable in Florida Bay, given the appellations of "Cayo de Aji" and Cayo Pejchel," appear on the map. This map proved to be almost the only result of the mission since the missionaries found the natives unwilling to convert to Christianity and disdainful of their efforts to instruct

20. Taylor, Everglades National Park Archeological Inventory and Assessment Season 2: Interim Report, pp. 36,94-95,145-147; Goggin and Sturtevant, "The Calusa: A Stratified Nonagricultural Society (With Notes on Marriage)," Explorations in Cultural Anthropology: Essays in Honor of George Peter Murdock, p. 185; and "Company Will Build Resort at Cape Sable," The Miami Herald, 20 March 1925, p. 1.

them in the new faith. The missionaries soon left for Cuba, abandoning the mission.²¹

BRITISH OCCUPATION OF FLORIDA

World events moved dramatically to impact Spanish Florida. Great Britain and France went to war in 1755 in a conflict known in British America as the French and Indian War. Six years after the commencement of hostilities, France induced Spain to enter the war against Great Britain. This unfortunate decision precipitated a British assault and capture of the city of La Habana, the Spanish capital of Cuba. In 1762, the Spanish, French and British governments began negotiations for a peace treaty. The three contending powers completed a preliminary peace treaty on November 3, 1762, in which Spain agreed to cede both East and West Florida to Great Britain in exchange for the return of La Habana, Cuba. Article twenty of the final Treaty of Paris signed on February 10, 1763, formalized the agreement.²²

The British took possession of the Spanish capital of East Florida, St. Augustine, in July 1763. British authorities appointed William Gerrard De Brahm in 1764 to serve as surveyor general for the southern district of North America.

21. William C. Sturtevant, "The Last of South Florida Aborigines," Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period, pp. 141-152.

22. Charles Loch Mowatt, East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784 (1943; reprint ed., Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1964), p. 5.

De Brahm in turn hired Bernard Romans to assist him in a survey of the Florida coast.²³

Romans began his task in 1771 by sailing south down the Florida east coast. Upon reaching Florida Bay, Romans took note of what he believed were abandoned Indian fields and homes. He commented, "At Sandy Point [Cape Sable], the southern extremity of the peninsula, are large old fields, being the lands formerly planted by the Caloosa [sic] savages. . . ." ²⁴ Later on, at one of the Florida Keys, Romans speculated that attacks by the Creek Indians forced the Calusa to take refuge on isolated keys, but even here they were not safe from their pursuers "and in 1763 the remnant of this people, consisting of about eighty families, left this last possession of their native land, and went to Havannah [sic]."²⁵

This speculation may be partially correct. The Calusa and Tequesta tribes lost population over the years as European diseases and almost constant warfare with the Spanish and neighboring tribes took a dramatic toll. Some of their tribal members assimilated to European ways and no doubt followed the Spanish to Cuba as Spanish officials encouraged

23. Ibid., pp. 20, 51-53; Junius Elmore Dovell, "A History of the Everglades of Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1947), p. 56.

24. Bernard Romans, A Concise History of East and West Florida (1775; facsimile ed., Gainesville, Florida; University of Florida Press, 1962), p. 289.

25. Ibid., p. 291.

this behavior and promoted a picture of the British as being hostile to the Indians. Over the centuries, they learned another strategy in dealing with the Europeans and that was to retreat back into the Everglades where they would not be followed. This thesis finds support in the fact that during the Seminole Wars, the Seminoles referred to groups of Spanish Indians living in the Everglades fastness. Thus a variety of possibilities exist as to why the Calusa lost tribal cohesion and disappeared as a recognizable group.

British rule in Florida came to an end in 1784 as a result of the Treaty of Paris of September 1783 which concluded the American Revolution. The provisions of the treaty allowed Spain to take possession of East and West Florida from Great Britain. The newly independent American colonies ,however, claimed portions of the Floridas and requested the Spanish government to allow an American survey team to enter the territory. Spanish officials, after some delay, allowed

Andrew Ellicott and an American survey party to proceed with a survey of Spanish Louisiana and the Floridas.²⁶

On his voyage to survey the Floridas, Ellicott travelled to the tip of the Florida peninsula on October 29, 1799, where he observed:

... we steered for Cape Sable, the most southern promontory of east Florida, which was seen from the mast at noon. At three o'clock in the afternoon came to an anchor on the west side of Kayo Ani, or Sandy Key, which is a small island a very short distance south of the Cape. After coming to an anchor, myself and some of the crew, took our boat, and went to the island; where in a very few minutes, we shot about twelve dozen plover. There are some bushes scattered over the island; but what particularly attracted my attention was the amazing piles, or stacks, of the prickly pear, the fruit was large and in high perfection: we ate very plentifully of it; but my people were not a little surprised the next morning, on finding their urine appear as if it had been highly tinged with cochineal; no inconvenience resulted from it, the fruit was constantly used by the crew during our continuance among the keys or islands. Though this island is called Sandy Key, and has certainly the appearance of a body of sand; it is little more than a heap of broken and pulverized shells, which were found to efferverse [sic] freely with vitriolic

26. Joseph Bryne Lockey, East Florida, 1783-1785: A File of Documents Assembled and Many of Them Translated, ed. by John Walton Caughey (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949), pp. 54, 144; Tebeau, A History of Florida, p. 103; and Andrew Ellicott, "From Tampa Bay to Biscayne Bay in 1799," Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida XXXVIII (1978), p. 72.

acid, and little or no quartz²⁷ was perceptible in the solution.

Ellicott's experiences in Florida bay are rare only in the fact that it preserved for posterity one of the earliest accounts of this area. Probably, uncounted other mariners provisioned their ships here before continuing on their journeys.

UNITED STATES ACQUISITION OF FLORIDA

During the first part of the nineteenth century, Spanish control of the Floridas was coming to a close. Americans in the area of West Florida, west of the Perdido Rivers, revolted against Spanish rule and Andrew Jackson led a series of military expeditions across the northern border of West Florida against Indians. Spanish officials decided to sell the Floridas to the United States before they lost control of the two territories. Negotiations between Spain and the United States resulted in the Adams-Onis Treaty signed in Madrid, Spain, on February 22, 1819. This treaty ceded the Floridas to the United States and sixteen months

27. Ibid., p. 73.

later Andrew Jackson, representing the United State government, formally took possession of the territory.²⁸

A number of projects and surveys were undertaken in the newly acquired territory by the United States. On February 28, 1823, the United States Congress authorized a road to be surveyed from Cape Sable to where the Pensacola-to-St. Augustine road crossed the Suwannee River. Brigadier General Thomas S. Jesup, Quartermaster General of the United States, on April 14, 1824, wrote to the assistant quartermaster at Tampa Bay, Captain Isaac Clark, stating that Clark should survey this road in order to choose the most direct and practical route from Cape Sable to Charlotte Harbor and from there to the coast at Tampa Bay. Jesup wanted the route marked in such a manner that soldiers could travel it without the use of a guide.²⁹

Clark further was informed that:

The Commanding Officer at Tampa Bay will be instructed by an order from the Adj^t General's office to place under your command a Subaltern Officer, and such number of non Com^d Officers and privates as may be necessary. You will employ guides, and provide the number of horses, mules, tools & instruments which

28. Samuel Eliot Morison, The Oxford History of the American People (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 410; and Tebeau, A History of Florida, pp. 114-116.

29. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, p. 60; and Clarence Edwin Carter, comp. and ed., The Territorial Papers of the United States, vol XXII: The Territory of Florida (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1956), pp. 924-925.

the service may require. Having completed the survey, you will make to this Office a detailed report of your proceedings, so soon as you possibly can, taking care to note particularly the nature of the country, the quality of the land, the number and condition of the Indians in the vicinity of the proposed road--the state of the several streams on the route, whether it be practicable to construct bidges[sic] over them, or whether ferries be necessary, and any other circumstances which you may think of interest.³⁰

Captain Clark proceeded to Charlotte Harbor, but never undertook the road survey due to a number of reasons. He wrote to Quartermaster General Jesup that his health would not permit him to undertake such a strenuous task. Also, he complained that the provisions provided were insufficient to proceed beyond Charlotte Harbor and that the bog-like quality of the land made it impractical to go any farther. Thus the project ended.³¹

At the same time, Colonel James Gadsden received orders from Secretary of War John C. Calhoun to survey the Indian boundary line in Florida. He got as far as the upper reaches of the Everglades, where he found:

interposing & impenetrable swamps as defined in the Treaty until the same terminates in a great savannah the commencement of the extensive south

30. Ibid., p. 925.

31. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, p. 60; and Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States, vol XXII: The Territory of Florida (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 944.

western hunting grounds--These savannahs are said to extend south & east to within a few miles of the Atlantic & independent of the impracticability of passing over them, from their peculiar character; the want of wood(,) water & c.³²

Gadsden found that because of the above conditions the he could proceed no farther in his survey. He believed that Florida's lower peninsula of "savannah and ponds" would be of little value to whites and that presently not even Indians lived in these marshes, but only passed through them on a seasonal basis to reach the hunting grounds in the far south. He believed that the Indians should be allowed to continue this seasonal activity as it would not harm white settlement and the final decision on what to do with this land awaited the information obtained from the road survey conducted from Cape Sable to Pensacola.³³

In a later report, Gadsden referred to the southern portions of Florida as being the "Ever Glades."³⁴ This is one of the earliest references to this area by that appellation. During the 1820s and 1830s, the term "Everglades" came into popular usage. Charles Vignoles in his 1823 book entitled

32. Ibid., p. 907.

33. Ibid., pp. 906-907.

34. Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States, vol. XXII, The Territory of Florida, p. 302.

Observations Upon the Floridas refers to the large fresh water marsh as the "Great Glade" and later remarked:

The Glade, or as it is emphatically termed the 'NeverGlade', appears to occupy almost the whole interior from about the parallel of Jupiter Inlet to cape Florida, thence round to cape Sable to which point it approaches very near, and northwardly as far as the Delaware river discharging into Charlotte bay: its general appearance is a flat sandy surface mixed in the large stones and rocks, with from six inches to two feet of water lying upon it, in which is a growth of saw, and other water grasses, so thick as to impede the passage of boats where there is no current. Over this are a number of islands and promontories, many of which are altogether of hammock growth, with mixtures of pine and cabbage tree land, each spot doubtless capable in some degree of cultivation; but deteriorated by being placed in some degree of cultivation; but deteriorated by being placed in a situation so difficult of access, and exhibiting so forbidding an aspect, that for the present the attempts to penetrate across have been repelled, and the dissatisfied traveller has been sent back unable to complete the object of his mission, and confused in his efforts to tread the mazes of this labyrinth of morasses.³⁵

It seems odd that Vignoles referred to the area of fresh water marsh as the "Neverglades" as the contemporary maps of the area do not use that nomenclature. The De Brahm Florida map refers to the area as "River Glades" and later English maps changed "River" to "Ever." An American map published in 1823 combines the two words to form "Everglades," but

35. Charles Vignoles, Observations upon the Floridas (1823; facsimile ed., Gainesville, Florida: The University Press of Florida, 1977), p. 50.

later military maps again separate it into two words. After the American occupation of Florida in the 1820s, however, this vast marshland became popularly known as the Everglades.³⁶

36. Douglas, The Everglades: River of Grass, pp. 3-4.

CHAPTER 2: THE SEMINOLE AND AMERICAN CIVIL WARS IN THE EVERGLADES

BACKGROUND AND FIRST SEMINOLE WAR

In the northern portions of Florida and the southern sections of Georgia events began to unfold which brought profound change to the Everglades. The Miccosukee and Seminole peoples lived in the above mentioned areas when, in 1817 and 1818, they sustained attacks by United States troops under the leadership of Major General Andrew Jackson. White settlers in Georgia accused the Indians of harboring fugitive slaves and raiding white settlements. In retaliation, Jackson launched a series of punitive raids against the Indians, driving them into central Florida. This terminated the first Seminole conflict.¹

The next few years remained a period of quasi peace between whites and Indians with more small bands of Indians moving into the Florida swamps to avoid attacks by United States troops. In 1823 approximately 5,000 Seminole and affiliated tribes resided in Florida. That year United States government representatives met with Seminole chiefs at Moultrie Creek and negotiated a treaty which established a permanent reservation for the Indians in central Florida and

1. Tebeau, A History of Florida, p. 151.

allowed the United States to establish two military posts near the reservation.²

In 1830, the United States Congress adopted a policy of removing all Indian tribes to Indian Territory (present Oklahoma). An attempt to implement this policy in Florida began when United States government officials requested that all Indian chiefs meet with them at Payne's Landing. The purpose of these negotiations was to convince the Indians to immigrate to Indian Territory. Most chiefs refused to leave Florida, but some agreed to resettle in Oklahoma and surrender their lands to the United States. Afterwards, some of the chiefs that signed the treaty recanted saying that United States representatives coerced them into signing away their lands.³

Tensions continued to increase between the Indians and the United States government. Through a series of agreements, the United States officials hoped to begin the process of removing the Indians to the Indian Territory in late 1835. The majority of the Indians continued to resist all inducements to remove them from Florida and they argued that the various agreements signed by certain Indian leaders did

2. Charles H. Fairbanks, "The Ethno-Archeology of the Florida Seminole," Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period, pp. 184-185.

3. John K. Mahon, History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842 (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1968), p. 94; and Tebeau, A History of Florida, pp. 155-156.

not represent the wishes of the tribes. Other Indians claimed that they lived outside of the reservation boundaries and thus were not bound by treaties signed by those Indians on the reservation.⁴

The United States War Department began taking a series of actions in preparation for forcibly removing the recalcitrant tribesmen. Ten Regular Army companies were dispatched to Florida with six stationed at Fort King, three at Fort Brooke, and one at Key West under the command of Brigadier General Duncan L. Clinch. On October 29, 1835, the Secretary of the Navy ordered Captain Alexander J. Dallas, Commodore of the the West India Squadron, to assist the Army in the task of Indian removal. The Navy provided five steamboats for transporting the Indians from Florida to New Orleans and conducting a blockade along the florida coast to prevent Spanish fishermen from supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition. Meanwhile, white authorities warned military authorities that the Indian chiefs had ordered their warriors to send the women and

4. Wiley Thompson to Elbert Herring, March 31, 1835, American State Papers. Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, for the First and Second Sessions of the Twenty-Fourth Congress, Commencing January 12, 1836, and Ending February 25, 1837, vol. VI: Military Affairs (Washington D. C.: Gales & Seaton, 1861), p. 483; and Tebeau, A History of Florida, p. 158.

children to camps deep within the Everglades in preparation for an uprising.⁵

SECOND SEMINOLE WAR

In December 1835, the conflict began when Charley Emathla, one of the chiefs that chose to emigrate, was killed by an unknown assassin after selling his cattle in preparation for leaving Florida. The money for the sale was scattered around his body as a warning to other Indians not to cooperate with white authorities. This murder signaled a general attack by the Seminoles on isolated white homesteads. On December 18, near Micanopy, a pitched battle between United States troops and Seminoles resulted in the death of six whites. The war now began in earnest with President Jackson, in January 1836, ordering Brigadier General Winfield Scott to take command from General Clinch

5. Mahon, History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842, p. 94; George E. Buker, "The Mosquito Fleet's Guides and the Second Seminole War," The Florida Historical Quarterly LVII (January, 1979), p. 308; Lewis Cass to Wiley Thompson, April 24, 1835, American State Papers. Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, for the First and Second Sessions of the Twenty-Fourth Congress, Commencing January 12, 1836, and Ending February 25, 1837, vol. VI: Military Affairs, p. 434; An Authentic Narrative of the Seminole War; and of the Miraculous Escape of Mrs. Mary Godfrey, and Her Four Female Children. Annexed is a Minute Detail of the Horrid Massacres of the Whites, by the Indians and Negroes, in Florida, in the Months of December, January and February (New York: D. F. Blanchard and Others, Publishers, 1836), p. 5.

and sending another fourteen companies of regulars to accompany Scott to Florida.⁶

General Scott adopted a strategy of trying to cut off the Indians before they could reach the safety of the Everglades by sending a segment of the Army inland from the east coast while another Army contingent pushed inland from the Gulf coast trapping the Indians in a pincer movement. The climate and terrain of Florida hindered the Army from successfully implementing this strategy. The Seminoles avoided the army sweep and a portion found refuge around the Ten Thousand Islands and Cape Sable area. The lack of progress in the war led to the replacement of General Scott by Brigadier General Thomas S. Jesup. Also the United States Marines were committed to the war and a number of volunteer units were raised to help in the subjugation and removal of the Seminoles.⁷

Residents of Indian Key requested military protection after they captured three Indians who claimed to be part of a larger group gathering on the mainland for a raid on the

6. Tebeau, A History of Florida, pp. 161-162.

7. James Gadsden to Winfield Scott, March 13, 1836, American State Papers. Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, for the Second Session of the Twenty-Fourth, and First and Second Sessions of the Twenty-Fifth Congress, Commencing March 1, 1837, and Ending March 1, 1838, vol. VII: Military Affairs (Washington D. C.: Gales and Seaton, 1861), p. 238; Tebeau, A History of Florida, pp. 162-163; and George E. Buker, Swamp Sailors: Riverine Warfare in the Everglades (Gainesville, Florida: The University Press of Florida, 1975), p. 28.

keys. Naval Commodore Dallas dispatched the revenue cutter Dexter to Indian Key where she remained on patrol from May 22 until June 17, 1836.⁸ Meanwhile, the Territorial Governor of Florida, Richard Keith Call, requested Commodore Dallas to send a naval expedition to hunt for Indians between Cape Florida and Cape Sable which he believed to be the principal hunting grounds of the Seminole. Governor Call recommended that the expedition start at Key Biscayne and enter Barnes Sound and conduct a search along the coast proceeding slowly to Charlotte Harbor.⁹

Commodore Dallas acted on the recommendation by ordering Lieutenant M. Powell to lead a force into the Everglades on October 12, 1836. Powell proceeded to the mouth of the St. Lucie River, where he attempted to penetrate the Everglades, but failed when his boats could not navigate in the shallow waterways and returned to his base. Powell sent his guide, E. Frederick Leitner, on a reconnaissance to Cape Sable with orders to scout the coast to Shark River and Pavilion Key.¹⁰

In January of 1837, Lieutenant Powell conducted a scout of the bays and inlets in the Cape Sable vicinity to learn the

8. Ibid., pp. 28-29.

9. Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States, vol. XXV: The Territory of Florida, pp. 331-332; Lieutenant Levin M. Powell to General Thomas S. Jesup, March 15, 1837, National Archives (NA), Record Group (RG) 94, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, General Thomas Jesup Papers, Box 3.

10. "Seminole War," Army and Navy Chronicle, IV, No. 19 (May 11, 1837), pp. 298-299.

topography of Florida Bay and capture any Indians there. Powell's boats surprised and pursued a small band of Seminoles, but they skillfully evaded capture.¹¹ This was the last major operation against the Seminoles before the onset of summer forced the suspension of all military activities.¹²

General Jesup began planning a fall offensive against the Indians. He divided Florida into four military districts selecting Colonel Persifor Frazer Smith to be responsible for the the area south of Charlotte Harbor and instructing him to closely coordinate his activities with those of the Navy.¹³ Early in October, to further bolster his military forces in the southern extremity of Florida, Jesup requested the Secretary of War to grant him permission to request the transfer of a revenue service cutter and captain experienced with the Florida coast line and interior from the Treasury Department to his command. Jesup received permission and made his request to the Treasury Department. Treasury officials complied with this request and placed a revenue

11. "Indian War," Army and Navy Chronicle, IV, No. 1 (January 5, 1837), pp. 12-13.

12. Jesup to Major William L. McClintock, June 8, 1837, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 5 November 1837 to 3 January 1838, p. 148.

13. Jesup to Joel R. Poinsett, August 28, 1837, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 11 August 1837 to 5 November 1837, p. 37; and Jesup to Smith, September 1, 1837, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 11 August 1837 to 5 November 1837, p. 56.

cutter under Jesup's command. He ordered the revenue cutter to proceed from Baltimore to Tampa Bay.¹⁴

Naval Lieutenant Powell continued preparations for the coming fall campaign by requesting some specially designed boats for maneuvering across the Everglades. He requested twenty-five Mackinac boats designed to carry eight oars each and a light, removable mast. The construction of these boats was modified in such a manner as to give them a flat-bottom like a skiff and a slip keel. The boat's timber needed to be light, but strong enough to withstand the rocky bottom of Everglades waterways. To obtain the desired strength, the bottom timbers were to be nailed in such a manner as to most efficiently take advantage of the wood's natural bend. Each craft had to be sturdy enough to transport twenty men with baggage over the shallow waters along the Florida coastline and interior marshes.¹⁵ Later an additional twenty such boats were ordered with the

14. Jesup to Poinsett, October 8, 1837, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 11 August 1837 to 5 November 1837, p. 190.

15. Jesup to Major Isaac Clark, October 11, 1836, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 9 September 1836 to 7 February 1837, p. 94. The Mackinac boat was a shallow draft vessel pointed at both ends and named after their place of origin--Mackinac, Michigan. The boats proved popular in the shallow waters of the South and West.

modification that each boat be designed to carry twenty-five men.¹⁶

In early November, military operations began on both coasts with Lieutenant Powell in command of a combined Army and Navy compliment of more than one hundred men including two companies of artillery and one of volunteers. This expedition searched from the St. Lucie River down the coast to Cape Sable.¹⁷ On the Gulf Coast, Colonel Smith began moving forces down from Charlotte Harbor toward Cape Sable.¹⁸ These operations lasted until April 1838 with a total of 243 prisoners captured by the troops. Military authorities believed that the majority of Seminoles fled south when military operations began in the north, but

16. Jesup to A. K. Parris, August 22, 1837, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 11 August 1837 to 5 November 1837, p. 25.

17. Edmund F. Flannery, "Naval Operations During the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842" (M. A. Thesis, University of Florida, 1958), p. 37; Poinsett to Jesup, October 14, 1837, American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, for the Second Session of the Twenty-Fourth, and First and Second Sessions of the Twenty-Fifth Congress, Commencing March 1, 1837, and Ending March 1, 1838, vol. VII, Military Affairs, p. 853; Jesup to Powell, October 27, 1837, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 11 August 1837 to 5 November 1837, p. 280; Jesup to Poinsett, October 29, 1837, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 11 August 1837 to 5 November 1837, p. 278; and Jesup to Powell, November 21, 1837, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 5 November 1837 to 3 January 1838, p. 85.

18. Jesup to Dallas, November 11, 1837, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 5 November 1837 to 3 January 1838, p. 41.

neither Powell nor Smith succeeded in finding the supposed large Indian concentrations there.¹⁹

The Army and Navy forces experienced considerable difficulty in carrying out their mission in that the Seminoles did not wish to fight, but only to remain in Florida. The Seminoles accomplished this objective by remaining hidden while the military patrols swept through their territory. General Jesup hoped to defeat the Indians by adopting a policy of establishing posts in strategic places so that the military could maintain a constant presence in Florida. Jesup believed that the majority of the Seminoles were secluded in the Everglades, and he, encouraged by Colonel Smith, decided to establish a post at Cape Sable from which constant expeditions could be mounted to force the Indians to either move back north or surrender. On January 15, 1838, Jesup ordered Colonel Smith to assign 50 to 100 men along with a

19. Jesup to Poinsett, November 21, 1837, NA, RG 94, General Thomas S. Jesup Papers, Box 14; Jesup to Poinsett, December 13, 1837, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 5 November 1837 to 3 January 1838, p. 184; Jesup to Brig. Gen. Robert Jones, December 28, 1838, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 5 November 1837 to 3 January 1838, p. 244; and John Sprague, The Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War (1884, Facsimile ed., Gainesville, Florida; University of Florida Press, 1964), p. 180.

revenue cutter to the task of establishing a military post somewhere below Charlotte Harbor.²⁰

Smith assigned Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Lawson, Surgeon General of the Army, to select a site for the new fort between Charlotte Harbor and Cape Sable. On February 11, 1838, Lawson moved south from Fort Delany with 246 men including six Delaware and Shawnee scouts. At Cape Romano, he selected ninety men with which to continue the trip. They embarked in a flotilla consisting of a Mackinac, two scows, and two small keel-boats. Lawson made an extensive search of the region around Pavilion Key in an effort to locate Indian strongholds and a suitable location for a post. Finding neither, Lawson led his troops to Cape Sable where they arrived on the eighteenth of February.²¹ Upon examination of the cape, he wrote:

We are situated on the third and most Southern point of the Cape; it is accessable [sic] at all times, very defensible, & promises to be a health position. The first & Second or more Northern & Western points, I did not

20. Jesup to Brig. Gen. Walker Keith Armistead, January 15, 1838, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 3 January 1838 to 7 May 1838, p. 30.

21. Lawson to Smith, February 20, 1838, NA, RG 94, General Thomas S. Jesup Papers, Box 4. Thomas Lawson was born in Virginia and their enlisted in the United States Navy on March 1, 1809 as a surgeon's mate and resigned on January 12, 1811. He enlisted in the army as a garrison surgeon's mate on January 28, 1811 becoming a surgeon to the 6th Infantry on May 21, 1813 and transferring to the 7th Infantry on May 17, 1815. Lawson rose to the position of Surgeon General on November 30, 1836 and received the rank on Brevet Brigadier General on May 30, 1848 for meritorious conduct in the Mexican War. He died on May 15, 1861.

like, for the reason that they were not only very bare of Timber with which to build a Fort, but also destitute of a harbor; whereas this one has a Safe Anchorage & harbor formed by the keys around, with plenty of fresh water on it, and is the favorite haunt of Turtle & other fish. It is perhaps the most beautiful spot on the whole Coast, having a high beach in front, and extensive plain immediately behind; with a dry though thick wood a little further removed to the rear.

As there is little or no building timber around, and I have as yet neither horse or proper boats to bring it from a distance, I shall attempt to rear a Fort from the beach:-- That is with the Sand thrown out from a ditch, saplings or split logs as a face, & fascines as a body, raise a curtain to a star figured spot which will baffle the Skill of the Red man to surmount.²²

Once Lawson began working on the post, Colonel Smith and his command were to move to Cape Sable, but this order was countermanded. Instead, Lawson maintained the new post with New York, Pennsylvania, and Louisiana volunteers.²³ In addition to providing a base for ground operations in the Cape Sable vicinity, the post served as headquarters for the revenue cutter, Campbell, which carried out the dual mission of preventing Spanish fisherman from smuggling supplies to

22. Ibid.

23. Captain James A. Chambers to Smith, February 18, 1838, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 3 January 1838 to 7 May 1838, p. 100.

the Indians and capturing Seminoles while they fished or travelled to the Keys.²⁴

In early March, Colonel Smith sent a reconnaissance patrol down the coast from Charlotte Harbor for the purpose of locating a site for a supply depot to support military activities on the mainland. The reconnaissance found the bays either too shallow for larger sea vessels or the land behind the shoreline too marshy to be suitable as a depot. This left the uncompleted Fort Poinsett to serve as the only depot for military operations below Charlotte Harbor.²⁵ On March 12, 1838, Lieutenant Colonel Lawson notified Colonel Smith that he wanted the fort to serve the Army in time of peace as well as war and planned to construct the fort with a variety of functions in mind. The lack of the timely arrival of tools and material delayed the construction.²⁶

Lawson commented:

From the want of proper timber with which to build a Fort we had to commence a regular field work & we have since by hand Labor in ditching, cutting down trees & splitting logs, making fascines, & throwing up mounds of Sand, established a base upon which to rear a

24. Jesup to Captain N. B. Casti, February 25, 1838, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 3 January 1838 to 7 May 1838, p. 131.

25. William P. Bainbridge to Smith, March 11, 1838, NA, RG 94, General Thomas S. Jesup papers, Box 4.

26. Lawson to Smith, March 12, 1838, NA, RG 94, General Thomas S. Jesup papers, Box 4.

facade that will resist the force of even cannon.

The place when complete in buildings will answer the various purposes of a General Depot, a General Hospital establishment, a light-house Station, & a custom House position; & while the Fort will accommodate three hundred men covering at the Same time the horses & other public property can be defended by a Single Company.²⁷

It would be difficult to know how much of Lawson's plan for the fort was completed as at the end of March, he received orders to prepare for abandoning the Cape Sable post. The Pennsylvania volunteers on site were to be replaced by marines as they were nearing the end of their enlistment period. The final evacuation of Fort Poinsett occurred at the beginning of May.²⁸

At the end of the winter campaign of 1837-38, Major General Jesup sought to find a peaceful solution to the war. He proposed in February to Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett that the Seminoles be permitted to settle in the southern extremity of Florida, where they would not bother whites.

27. Ibid.

28. Smith to Jones, March 22, 1838, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent 3 January 1838 to 7 May 1838, p. 159; Chambers to Smith, March 22, 1838, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent, 3 January 1838 to 7 May 1838, p. 229; Smith to Chambers, April 14, 1838, NA, RG 94, General Thomas S. Jesup Papers, Box 4; Order No. 97, April 24, 1838, Thomas Jesup Orderbook, 1835-1838, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, p. 43; and Order No. 102, April 30, 1838, Thomas Jesup Orderbook, 1835-1838, P. K. Yonge, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, pp. 48-49.

The Secretary of War considered the proposition until March 17 when he rejected it and insisted that the Seminoles be either removed or destroyed. In April Colonel Zachary Taylor relieved General Jesup of command and assumed command of military forces in Florida.²⁹

In 1839, Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri attempted by legislation to bring the conflict to a successful conclusion when he submitted a bill calling for the armed occupation of Florida. This bill granted prospective settlers between the Suwanee River and Cape Sable a bounty of three hundred and twenty acres on the conditions that; their settlements consist of between forty and one hundred people, a blockhouse be constructed, and fields of vegetables and grains be tended every year. At the end of the conflict, the settlers would receive the promised bounty if all the above conditions were met.³⁰ Senator Benton hoped this would encourage white settlement in Florida while subduing the Indians. This piece of legislation received praise from various military authorities including General Jesup and

29. "Th. S. Jesup Major General Commanding to J. R. Poinsett, Secretary of War," Army and Navy Chronicle VI (February 11, 1838), pp. 177-178; Jesup to Lt. Col. Benjamin Kendrick Pierce, March 4, 1838, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent, 3 January 1838 to 7 May 1838, p. 147; Jesup to Taylor, March 17, 1838, NA, RG 94, Entry 159, Letters Sent, 3 January 1838 to 7 May 1838, p. 220; Flannery, "Naval Operations During the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842," p. 41; and Mahon, History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842, p. 237.

30. "Plan for the Armed Occupation of the Territory of Florida," Army and Navy Chronicle VIII (January 17, 1839), p. 39.

Surgeon General Lawson. Both of these men recommended to Senator Benton that Cape Sable be selected as a place for one of the proposed settlements.³¹ This bill, in modified form, passed Congress and President John Tyler signed it into law on August 2, 1842. The final legislation excluded lands south of the Peace River and within two miles of the coast from settlement.³²

Meanwhile in Florida, Colonel Taylor, like his predecessor, adopted a strategy of dividing the country into areas and sending out troops to search those areas for any signs of the illusive Seminoles and Miccosukees.³³ Two companies of soldiers were dispatched to Cape Sable in February to search the coast for any signs of Indians. They had little success.³⁴

The winter campaign produced little tangible results for the Army and in April, Colonel Taylor sent messages to the Indians requesting that they attend a council at Fort King in May. Several chiefs and sub-chiefs came and Major General Alexander Macomb, Commander General of the Army, met with them. After consultation with Colonel Taylor and his

31. "Surgeon General to Senator Thomas H. Benton," Army and Navy Chronicle VIII (January 4, 1839), pp. 54-55; and "General Thomas S. Jesup to Senator Thomas H. Benton," Army and Navy Chronicle VIII (February 7, 1839), p. 86.

32. Tebeau, A History of Florida, p. 149.

33. Ibid., p. 257.

34. "Florida War-No. 4," Army and Navy Chronicle VIII (April 4, 1839), p. 220.

staff, Macomb decided to again offer the Indians their own land in Florida.³⁵ The two sides concluded an agreement which stated:

... that hostilities immediately cease between the parties; that the troops of the United States, and the Seminoles and Mickasukie [sic] chiefs and warriors, at a distance, be made acquainted, as soon as possible, with the fact that peace exists, and that all hostilities are forthwith to cease on both sides; the Seminoles and Mickasukies [sic] agreeing to retire into a district of the country in Florida, below peace Creek, the boundaries of which are as follows, viz., beginning at the most southern point of land between Charlotte Harbor and the Sanybel or Coloosahatchee river, opposite to Sanybel Island; thence into Charlotte harbor, by the southern pass between Pine Island and that point, along the eastern shore of said harbor to Taalk-Chonoko or Peace Creek; thence up said river to Hatchee-Thloko, or Big Creek; thence up said creek to its source; thence easterly to the northern point of Lake Istokpoga; thence along the eastern outlet of said lake, called Istokpoga Creek, to the Kissimmee river; thence southernly down the Kissimmee to Lake Okee-Chobee; thence south through said lake to Ecahlahatohee or Shark river; thence down said river westwardly to its mouth; thence along the sea-shore northwardly to the place of beginning; that sixty days be allowed the Indians north and east of that boundary to remove their families and effects into said district, where they are to remain until further arrangements are made, under the protection of the troops of the United States, who are to see that they are not molested by intruders, citizens or foreigners, and that the said Indians do not pass the limits assigned them, except to visit the posts

35. Army and Navy Chronicle VIII (May 9, 1839), p. 298; and Flannery, "Naval Operations During the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842," p. 43.

which will be hereafter indicated to
them.³⁶

Military authorities hoped that this agreement would at long last resolve the Seminole question. The agreement kept the extreme Florida southern shoreline in the hands of the United States for the future construction of lighthouses and forts along the Indian border.³⁷

Earlier in April 1839, the Navy Department had formed the Florida Expedition from the ships of the West India Squadron with naval commander in Key West, Isaac Mayo, in command of the new force. The ships of the Florida Expedition began patrols in June 1839, along the Florida coast to prevent intercourse between the Spanish fishermen and Indians, and to prevent white harassment of Indians.³⁸

Before implementation of all the peace agreements, Seminole bands launched attacks on white settlers and troops in July. One surprise attack occurred on troops under the command of Lieutenant Colonel William S. Harney in which he barely escaped with his life and his troops were scattered. Shortly after this attack, the crew of a fishing vessel reported sighting a white flag on the top of the abandoned

36. Sprague, The Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War, pp. 228-229.

37. "Florida War," Army and Navy Chronicle VIII (June 13, 1839), p. 380.

38. Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States, vol. XXV: The Territory of Florida, p. 614.

Cape Sable fort to Commodore Mayo in Key West. Mayo, thinking that this might be a distress signal from a survivor of the Harney fight, dispatched four armed boats to search the area, but they found nothing.³⁹

In November, Commodore Mayo turned command of the Florida Expedition over to Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin. At that time, the command consisted of three schooners, five gun barges, and approximately sixty canoes.⁴⁰ McLaughlin requested that the Navy grant him permission to penetrate into the Everglades and capture Indian women and children as a means of forcing the warriors to surrender. Secretary of the Navy James K. Paulding granted permission and requested that McLaughlin cooperate closely with the Army on all activities against the Indians.⁴¹

McLaughlin set up Tea Table Key as his base of operations in January 1840, and stationed: the schooner, Otsego, on the west coast; the schooner, Wave, on the east coast; and the schooner, Flirt, to sail between the other two. These vessels' mission was to blockade the coast against smuggling of arms and ammunition by the Spanish fishermen to the Indians. Next, he placed the barges under the command of

39. Buker, Swamp Sailors: Riverine Warfare in the Everglades, p. 88.

40. Buker, "The Mosquito Fleet's Guides and the Second Seminole War," The Florida Historical Quarterly, p. 310.

41. Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States, vol. XXV: The Territory of Florida, pp. 618-619.

Passed Midshipman Montgomery Lewis and assigned him the task of exploring the islands and mainland for Seminoles. A number of these expeditions occurred from January to July with the flotilla searching Florida Bay, Cape Sable, and the Ten Thousand Islands. During these forays, the barges attempted to get beyond the coastal mangroves to search out the prairie and hammocks for the Seminoles. The expeditions found and destroyed a number of fields and homes and occasionally, as on April 10 at Cape Sable, a short battle took place between Indians and the United State military. The military ceased offensive operations in July for the duration of the summer months.⁴²

This summer calm ended on the night of August 7, 1840, when Chief Chekika (various spelled Chakika, Chakaika or Che-ki-ka) and a band of up to one hundred and thirty warriors in as many as twenty-four canoes raided Indian Key. They killed Dr. Henry Perrine and, at least, five other people; then plundered and burned the small white settlement. The surviving whites alerted a small military contingent on neighboring Tea Table Key and the next day a weak counterattack was dispersed quickly by the Indians. Meanwhile, on board Flirt, McLaughlin received word of the attack and sailed to Indian Key, arriving on August 9 only to find the Indians gone to the mainland having carried off

42. Buker, Swamp Sailors: Riverine Warfare in the Everglades, pp. 103-104; and "Scenes in Florida," Army and Navy Chronicle X (February 20, 1840), p. 121.

supplies of all descriptions along with several black women and children. The Indians' canoes crossed Florida Bay and into the Everglades to Chekika's village near present day Shark River turnoff in Everglades National Park. The Navy began the task of providing for the survivors, burying the dead, and stationing a small protective garrison on the key while a small force conducted a search of Florida Bay and the coastline to the Ten Thousand Islands to locate the Indians. The Indian raiders remained elusive and secure deep within the fastness of the Everglades.⁴³

Colonel Harney, who previously narrowly escaped death at the hands of Chekika's band, planned an expedition to strike deep into the Everglades in retaliation for the Indian Key raid and other hostile acts by the Indians. General Walker K. Armistead, successor to Taylor, granted permission for the Harney expedition in December. In preparation for this trek into the Everglades, Harney obtained sixteen canoes from the Navy along with the services of a black guide named "John" who had been held captive by Chekika. The expedition

43. Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol. XXVI: The Territory of Florida, pp. 194-195; Mahon, History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842, p. 280; Flannery, "Naval Operations During the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842," p. 50; Joshua R. Giddings, The Exiles of Florida: or, The Crimes Committed by our Government Against the maroons, Who Fled from South Carolina and Other Slave States, Seeking Protection Under Spanish Laws (Columbus, Ohio: Follett, Foster and Co., 1858), pp. 275-277; and Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, pp. 41-42. Additional discussion of Dr. Perrine and his activities in Florida can be found in the section on agriculture.

consisted of ninety men from the 2nd Dragoons and the 3rd Artillery. Each man received rations to last for fourteen days and fifty rounds of ammunition. They left Fort Dallas on the night of December 4, 1840, in a rainstorm, paddling their canoes up the Miami River into the Everglades.⁴⁴

Three days later, Harney's party encountered the Indians' fields and next day surprised a small party of eight Indians, capturing all. A squaw died of wounds received during the attack and Harney ordered that two captured warriors be hanged. One of the captives upon interrogation revealed that Chekika's camp was on an island five miles away and Harney prepared his forces to assault the camp early the next morning. Harney's men moved out during the night dressed like Indians to conceal their identity from any Indian sentinels. The soldiers' guides became disorientated in the darkness and the swampland proved more difficult to cross than expected. These problems delayed the attack until several hours after daylight. Still, surprise was achieved and in the ensuing melee, the soldiers

44. Mahon, History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842, pp. 282-283; "'Notes on the Passage Across the Everglades' The News- St. Augustine: January 8, 1841," Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida XX (1960), pp. 57-61; and William Selby Harney, "Report of the Everglades Expedition," Everglades to Canon with the Second Dragoons (Second United States Cavalry): An Authentic Account of Service in Florida, Mexico, Virginia and the Indian Country Including the Personal Recollections of Prominent Officers. with an Appendix Containing, Orders, Reports and Correspondence, Military Records, Etc., etc., etc., 1836-1875 comp. by Theophilus F. Rodenbough (New York: D. Van Nostrand, ca. 1875), pp. 506-507.

killed Chekika, while he was surrendering and captured or killed twenty-four other Indians. That evening Harney ordered the body of the chief be hung in the trees and two of his warriors were hanged beside him. The expedition left the island the next morning moving southward with their captives. On December 12, Harney discovered another small group of Indians and in the resulting fray, the soldiers killed two warriors and captured eight children and one woman. This ended the combat portion of the raid.⁴⁵

The soldiers and their captives travelled south hoping to find the Shark River and take it to the coast. Instead they discovered the Harney River on which they descended to the Gulf of Mexico. The flotilla sailed along the coastline until reaching Fort Poinsett (then abandoned) where they remained for two days relaxing from the ordeal of crossing the sawgrass marshes. After this rest, they went to Matacumbe Key where they boarded the sloop, Reform, to return to Biscayne Bay. The expedition demonstrated that soldiers, using knowledgeable guides and canoes, could penetrate the Everglades recesses.⁴⁶

45. Ibid.

46. "'Notes on the Passage Across the Everglades' The News-St. Augustine: January 8, 1841," Tequesta, pp. 64-65.

The expedition's success against Chekika led Army and Navy officials to plan other such joint ventures. On the first of January, Harney moved into the the Everglades accompanied by Navy Lieutenant McLaughlin. This time the expedition consisted of some 140 men from the Army, Navy, and Marines using a combination of five- to ten-man canoes. Each man received twenty-five days rations and sixty rounds of ammunition. They entered the Everglades by New River to search for Sam Jones and other Seminole leaders. The soldiers and sailors made their way to the area of Chekika's island inspecting a number of hammocks in the vicinity, but found only abandoned Indian fields and camps. On revisiting Chekika's island, they discovered only the skeletal remains of the Indians killed by Harney. Their searches revealed only thirteen Indians hiding in the various hammocks, and the soldiers killed four and captured three of these while the remainder escaped. One of the captives revealed that Sam Jones with one hundred warriors recently left the Everglades for Big Cypress.⁴⁷

The soldiers and their captives headed for Fort Lauderdale where the troops rested for two days before beginning pursuit of Sam Jones' party. Heading back into the

47. William C. Sturtevant, "Chakaika and the 'Spanish Indians': Documentary Sources Compared with Seminole Tradition," Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida XIII (1953), pp. 54-55; Buker, Swamp Sailors: Riverine Warfare in the Everglades, pp. 110-112; and Flannery, "Naval Operations During the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842," p. 50.

sawgrass, the expedition found evidence that the Seminoles successfully had slipped past them and were travelling in a northerly direction. Harney, discouraged, took his command back to Fort Lauderdale while McLaughlin led his sailors and marines into the southern portions of the Everglades. They emerged from the Harney River into the Gulf of Mexico on January 19, 1841, without discovering any Seminoles. In March, McLaughlin ordered Lieutenant John Rogers to conduct another search for Indians in the Everglades and again the scout proved unsuccessful.⁴⁸

In April, the Seminole bands gathered for the Green Corn Dance and the chiefs discussed how to counter the military incursions into the Everglades. The Indians believed that they could not defeat the United States troops in pitched battle and the chiefs adopted a strategy of harassing the soldiers with occasional ambushes and breaking up the bands into small groups to better avoid detection by the military searches of the Everglades. Further, they agreed that any Indian aiding the whites should be put to death.⁴⁹

The coming of the summer months brought the customary lull in military campaigning. McLaughlin travelled to Washington

48. Buker, "The Mosquito Fleet's Guides and the Seminole War," The Florida Historical Quarterly, pp. 319-321; Buker, Swamp Sailors: Riverine Warfare in the Everglades, pp. 111-113; and Sturtevant, "Chakaika and the 'Spanish Indians': Documentary Sources Compared with Seminole Tradition," Tequesta, pp. 53-55.

49. Ibid., p.55.

and New York obtaining additional ships, supplies, and men. He told Washington officials that the campaigns in the Everglades had greatly weakened the enemy and that now the United States forces held the advantage in the conflict. McLaughlin returned to Florida in the fall as commander of three additional revenue cutters, Jefferson, Madison, and Van Buren, along with a newly-built schooner, Phoenix, to supplement existing naval forces in Florida waters.⁵⁰

Also during the summer, Colonel William J. Worth replaced Armistead as commander-in-chief of Army operations in Florida. Worth continued the policy of dividing Florida into military districts and systematically searching those districts to capture or kill any Indians found there. Any Indian fields or camps encountered during these searches were to be destroyed and the captives sent west to Indian Territory.⁵¹

The first fall campaign began in October. In preparation, McLaughlin assigned Flirt and Otsego to patrol the east coast and Wave to patrol the west coast to intercept any Spanish fishing boats transporting arms or ammunition to the Indians. The October mission combined the army and navy forces in a reconnaissance of the Everglades. A mixed force

50. Buker, "The Mosquito Fleet's Guides and the Second Seminole War," The Florida Historical Quarterly, pp. 322-323.

51. Ibid; and "The Florida War," Army and Navy Chronicle X (May 7, 1840), p. 298.

of five detachments of sailors and marines, totaling 200 men, entered Shark River on October 10 moving north toward Chekika's Island where they rendezvoused with an Army artillery detachment of sixty-seven men coming from Fort Dallas by way of the Miami River. The detachments travelled up Shark River in canoes aligned in a single file leaving a space of ten paces between each canoe. Once underway the expedition maintained silence at all times and, at night, no fires could be built, no weapons discharged, nor anyone allowed outside the limits of the camp without permission. These precautions were designed to preserve the element of surprise and keep the enemy unaware as to the deposition of troops. The army and navy forces kept their rendezvous on October 14, but failed to locate any Indians. The expedition headed toward the Big Cypress, but again the Seminoles proved elusive and escaped detection by the expedition. ⁵²

The Army shifted operations north to the Lake Okechobee area and west to the Big Cypress for the rest of 1841. In January 1842, military authorities, believing that the Indians had slipped past them and had moved back into the extreme southern portion of Florida, sent reconnaissance patrols to the Key Biscayne, Shark River, and the Ten

52. Buker, "The Mosquito Fleet's Guides and the Second Seminole War," The Florida Historical Quarterly, pp. 322-323; Buker, Swamp Sailors: Riverine Warfare in the Everglades, pp. 118-119; and Flannery, "Naval Operations During the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842," p. 52.

Thousand Islands areas in a hopes of finding their strongholds. Army officials reactivated Fort Henry, an abandoned military post in the Big Cypress, and soldiers made short forays from there into the Everglades, hoping to capture or locate the Indians, but all these efforts met with little or no success.⁵³

On February 14, 1842, Colonel Worth announced a plan to terminate the war which allowed the few remaining Indians to stay in Florida.⁵⁴ Washington authorities agreed that Worth could seek a peaceful resolution of the war based on his proposal. President Tyler, in a message to the House of Representatives in May commented:

The season for active hostilities in Florida having nearly terminated, my attention has necessarily been directed to the course of measures to be pursued in relation to the few Indians yet remaining in that Territory. Their number is believed not to exceed 240, of whom there are supposed to be about 80 warriors, or males capable of bearing arms. The further pursuit of these miserable beings by a large military force seem to be as injudicious as it is unavailing. The history of the last year's campaign in Florida has satisfactorily shown that

53. Buker, "The Mosquito Fleet's Guides and the Second Seminole War," The Florida Historical Quarterly, pp. 324-326; Flannery, "Naval Operations During the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842," p. 53; Sprague, The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War, pp. 380-383; and George A. McCall, Letters From the Frontier (1868, Facsimile ed., Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1974), pp. 391-394.

54. Kenneth W. Porter, "Billy Bowlegs (Holata Micco) in the Seminole Wars," The Florida Historical Quarterly XLV (January, 1967), p. 229.

notwithstanding the vigorous and incessant operations of our troops (which can not be exceeded), the Indian mode of warfare, their dispersed condition, and the very smallness of their number (which increases the difficulty of finding them in the abundant and almost inaccessible hiding places of the Territory) render any further attempt to secure them by force impracticable except by the employment of the most expensive means.... I have therefore authorized the colonel in command there as soon as he shall deem it expedient to declare that hostilities against the Indians have ceased, and that they will not be renewed unless provoked and rendered indispensable by a new outrages on their part, but that neither citizens nor troops are to be restrained from any necessary and proper acts of self-defense against any attempts to molest them. He is instructed to open communications with those yet remaining, and endeavor by all peaceable means to persuade them to consult their true interests by joining brethren at the West; and directions have been given for establishing a cordon or line of protection for the inhabitants by the necessary number of troops.⁵⁵

The peace negotiations by Colonel Worth lasted throughout the summer, while occasional naval reconnaissances continued along the coastline from the Ten Thousand Islands to Biscayne Bay. On August 14, Colonel Worth announced that the war was over. The Indian chiefs agreed to remain in an area to the south of the Peace River and northwest of the

55. James D. Richardson, comp., A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1897 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), pp. 154-155.

Shark River. White settlement was forbidden in the lands given over for Indian occupation.⁵⁶

The conflict resulted in the removal of more than three thousand Seminoles to Indian Territory while an unknown number perished in the war. The United States military forces lost seventy-four commissioned officers and more than one thousand five hundred men killed or died. Even more suffered for years afterwards due to disease and wounds incurred during the campaign in such a harsh environment. Unfortunately, this settlement did not constitute a permanent peace, but rather a temporary truce.⁵⁷

THIRD SEMINOLE WAR

During the next few years, tensions again increased between the whites and Indians. White settlers began to encroach on Indian lands and in 1851, Florida Governor Thomas Brown requested that the Secretary of War remove the Indians from the Everglades to open the area to white settlement.⁵⁸ Matters came to a crisis when Lieutenant George L. Hartsuff, a topographical engineer, began a survey in the Big Cypress.

56. Mahon, History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842, pp. 315-316; and Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States, XXVI The Territory of Florida, pp. 519, 1081-1082.

57. Mahon, History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842, pp. 321-322; and Douglas, The Everglades: River of Grass, p. 189.

58. Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States, XXVI The Territory of Florida, p. 1040; and Dovell, "A History of the Everglades of Florida," p. 106.

His men provoked Billy Bowlegs and his warriors to attack the survey party on the morning of December 20, 1855, with the results that two of the survey party were killed and another four wounded, including Hartsuff. The Indians then began a series of raids on plantations. United States troops received orders to proceed to Florida and remove the remaining Indians to the Indian Territory.⁵⁹

By the end of January 1856, United States troops began searching the Florida coast from Cape Sable to Point Russa for the Seminoles.⁶⁰ The strategy employed by the United States forces was the same as that used in the previous war with the Federal troops seeking to either capture the Indians or destroy their fields and camps to force them to surrender. The Indians sought to avoid contact with the troops except for the occasional ambush when they numerically outnumbered the soldiers. In February and March the government troops conducted reconnaissance patrols of the "Hunting Grounds," an area east of Cape Sable extending up the coast to near Fort Dallas. They hoped to catch the Indians here gathering the plant "Koontee" which the Seminoles pounded into a flour-like substance and used as

59. Ray B. Seley, Jr., "Lieutenant Hartsuff and the Banana Plants," Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida XXIII (1963), pp. 8-10; Douglas, The Everglades: River of Grass, pp. 203-204; and Tebeau, A History of Florida, pp. 169-170.

60. Major John Munroe to Colonel Calvin Cooper, January 27, 1856, NA, RG 393. Records of the United States Army Continental Command, 1821-1920, Entry 1616, Letters Sent, January-April 1856, p. 13.

one of the main staples of their diet. The soldiers discovered Indian trails and made long distance sighting of individual Indians, but no contact occurred.⁶¹

Meanwhile, on the Gulf coast, a ship anchored off Pavilion Key conducted an examination of the island for the purpose of establishing a military base camp for operations against the Seminoles in that section of Florida. The company, under the command of Captain Henry Clay Pratt of the Maryland Artillery, at first could not located any fresh water source on the island, but later established a base camp which became operational on March 15. Patrols from here examined the Big Cypress for any signs of Indians. The patrols did not find the Seminoles, but came across fields of sugar cane, corn, potatoes, and rice which they destroyed. Also Indian camp sites with palmetto sheds were located and burned. The Pavilion Key camp was moved on March 30 to Chokoloskee Key to better support military operations in the Big Cypress and on the next day, the Seminoles attacked a patrol near the mouth of the Chokoloskee River, killing two and wounding another soldier. The military continued their examination of the coast for

61. Munroe to Cooper, February 17, 1856, NA, RG 393, Entry 1616, Letters Sent, January-April 1856, p. 39; and Captain Robert Hill to Major Francis N. Page, June 2, 1856, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 2, File H54-H79.

the next several months gradually sending patrols farther to the north.⁶²

In 1856, the continued military operations into the summer months. Lieutenant George Bell, in early August, left Fort Dallas with fifty men in canoes and proceeded into the Everglades by the Miami River where the expedition moved in a southerly direction. Two days later Lieutenant William Montrose Graham and a company of soldiers entered the Everglades, south of Miami, in an attempt to trap the tribesmen between the converging soldiers. The summer heat and the terrain soon reduced Graham's command to fifteen men and he returned to the coast without finding any Seminoles. Lieutenant Bell and his men continued travelling down the Everglades reaching the Cape Sable area four days after beginning the trek and from there returned to the post without any success.⁶³

On September 14, another military scout into the Everglades began when Lieutenant Bell and Lieutenant Loomis Lyman Langdon left Fort Dallas to search for Indians. Bell's command consisted of three noncommissioned officers and thirty-seven privates and five pack mules to carry

62. "Memoir of Reconnaissance with Maps During the Florida Campaign April 1854-February 1858," NA, M. 1090, Vol. II, pp. 6-10; and Munroe to Colonel Samuel Cooper, June 7, 1856, NA, RG 393, Entry 1617, Department of Florida, Letters Sent, April 1856- August 1858, p. 35.

63. Hill to Page, August 18, 1856, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 2, File H57.

provisions. He proceeded south down the coast on dry land while Langdon's command composed of three noncommissioned officers and thirty-seven men in canoes moved parallel to Bell's command in the waters of the Everglades. The Indians observed these parties leaving Fort Dallas and abandoned their camps along the edge of Everglades and retreated farther inland, while the two scouting expeditions destroyed the abandoned Indian fields and camps. On September 16, 1856, the two parties converged with Bell and Langdon selecting fifty-five men to continue the search for Indians. They transferred all provisions to the canoes including four additional canoes obtained from an outpost in the Key Largo area and sent the other troops back to Fort Dallas with the mules. An examination of the mangrove islands in the Cape Sable area and Florida Bay to the northern tip of Key Largo revealed no signs of Indians and they returned to Fort Dallas which they reached on September 22, 1856.⁶⁴

Colonel William Selby Harney received command of the military forces in Florida in September 1856. In November, he outlined a plan by which the Army would send out constant patrols into the Everglades for the purpose of forcing the Indians to either surrender or fight. Before implementing his plan, Harney received a directive from Secretary of War Jefferson Davis which requested that the Indians be given a

64. Langdon to Hill, September 23, 1856, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 2, File H64; Hill to Page, September 24, 1856, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 2, File H64; and Bell to Hill, September 23, 1856, Entry 1623, Box 2, File H64.

chance to emigrate or possibly stay in Florida under certain conditions. Harney halted all military operations until January to give the Indians a chance to either surrender or negotiate.⁶⁵

This suspension of military operations did not prevent the Army from establishing forts, and in December, Captain John Porter McCown received orders to locate and construct a post at Cape Sable to serve as a supply depot for future military actions against the Seminoles. Captain McCown and Company H, 4th United States Artillery, left Fort Delany on January 4, 1857, in the schooner, Colonel Washington, and arrived off Palm Point on January 13 to begin their task. In the next few days, an examination commenced of the three capes to determine the best possible site for an outpost.⁶⁶

65. James W. Covington, The Billy Bowlegs War, 1856-1858: The Final Stand of the Seminoles Against the Whites (Chuluota, Florida: The Mickler House Publishers, 1982), pp. 56-57.

66. Captain Alfred Pleasonton to Colonel Gustavus Loomis, December 29, 1856, NA, RG 393, Entry 1617, Department of Florida, Letters Sent April 1856-August, 1858, p. 116; Captain N. B. Ropell to Page, January 5, 1857, NA, RG 393, Item 1623, Box 5, File R4; McCown to Pleasonton, January 13, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 5, File M9; Captain Winfield Scott Hancock, January 18, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 3, File H5; and McCown to Pleasonton, January 18, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 4, File M11. John Porter McCown graduated tenth in his class from West Point and became a 2nd Lieutenant in 4th Artillery. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on September 30, 1843 and Captain on January 9, 1851. McCown received recognition for gallant and meritorious service for his conduct at the battle of Cerro Gordo, Mexico during the Mexican War. At the beginning of the Civil War, he resigned his commission and became a Major General for the Confederate States Army. He died on January 22, 1879.

McCown on January 18, 1856, selected a site at Palm Point, commenting:

After examining the three capes, I selected this as the most suitable location for a Depot or a point from which to operate against the Indians.

I have ordered the station to be called Fort Cross--in honor of the late Colonel Cross of the QM'Dept USA. ⁶⁷ I ask the General, approval of the same.

On January 14, after finding little interest among the Seminole to negotiate or emigrate, Harney issued orders to start military operations against them. He ordered the following deployment of his forces: first, Companies C and E, 5th Infantry, would scout the west side of the Big Cypress in boats; second, Companies B and F, 5th Infantry, would enter the Everglades by the Harney River and travel to Fort Shackleford examining all hammocks on the way there; third, Company H, 4th Artillery would remain at Cape Sable, sending scouting expeditions in all directions to prevent the Indians from finding refuge in the lower portions of the Everglades or the keys; and fourth, Companies B and E, 1st Artillery, would operate out of Cape Sable on extended expeditions into the Everglades.⁶⁸

67. McCown to Pleasonton, January 18, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 4, File M11.

68. Special Order No. 14, General William S. Harney, January 29, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1625.

These operations began in early February and continued for the next several months. Camp Moulder, then on Chokoloskee Key, was moved back to Pavilion Key to provide supplies for the various scouting expeditions. In late February, Captain Abner Doubleday and Captain John Milton Brannan conducted a scout of Barnes Sound and the small islands off Key Largo in Florida Bay, but found nothing.⁶⁹ Also in February, Captain McCown led a scouting expedition to examine all the keys from Indian Key to Cape Sable for Indian occupation, but found no signs of the Seminoles.⁷⁰ The next month McCown accompanied a scouting party up Shark River and into Whitewater Bay which destroyed a few Indian fields, but found no Seminoles.⁷¹ That same month a nineteen-man patrol from Fort Cross undertook a three-day examination of the land to the north and northwest of Cape Sable and a small expedition from Camp Moulder examined the coast down as far as McLaughlin's Key. These military operations discovered a few Indian fields, but the Seminoles fled before the soldiers reached their camps.⁷²

69. Captain James Brannan to Lieutenant Powell T. Wyman, March 9, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 3, File D23; Major J. Dimick to Pleasonton, March 6, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 3, File D23; and Doubleday to Dimick, March 10, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 3, File D23.

70. Pleasonton to Dimick, February 15, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1617, Department of Florida, Letters Sent April 1856-August 1858, p. 133.

71. McCown to Pleasonton, March 15, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 4, File M33.

72. McCown to Lieutenant William Henry Lewis, March 1, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 4, File M32; and

On March 22, a large expedition under the command of Captains McCown and Robinson left Pavilion Key, travelling by boat up the Chokoloskee River to Palm Hammock in the Big Cypress with Captain Richard B. Turner acting as guide. The expedition destroyed an Indian camp, but ran out of rations before finding any Indians and returned to Pavilion Key on April 3. Captain Randolph Barnes Marcy assembled a force of ninety men, enlisted the aid of Turner as guide, and commenced another reconnaissance up the Chokoloskee River at the end of April. This resulted in the capture of several Indian women and a child and a brief skirmish with some Indian warriors in which two soldiers were killed and another wounded.⁷³

In April, a scouting party of thirty-eight men in canoes under command of Lieutenant William S. Abert from Cape Sable on April 15 going northwest along the coast until landing at McLaughlin's Key. There they tried to procure fresh water from wells previously dug by soldiers from Fort Cross, only to discover that the well water contained too much salt for consumption. Returning to the coast, Abert's scouts took

Lieutenant Louis Henry Pelouze to Lieutenant William Stretch Abert, March 1, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 4, File M32.

73. Report of Captain John Porter McCown on a Scout between March 18 and April 3, 1857, April 3, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 4, File M40; Captain Caleb Chase Sibley to Pleasonton, April 26, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 5, File S24; Captain Randolph Barnes Marcy to Pleasonton, April 20, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 4, File M54; and Hill to Lewis, April 29, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 4, File H37.

the Harney River into the Everglades where they crossed over to Shark River, then followed a maze of waterways to enter into Whitewater Bay whereupon they inspected the shoreline for Indian camps and fields. The expedition discovered only abandoned Indian fields and returned to Fort Cross on April 22.⁷⁴

Lewis Daughtney, a citizen of Fort Myers, approached Colonel Harney with a novel approach to the Seminole problem. He offered to enter Seminole territory and explain to the tribesmen the intentions of the United States Government and the advantages of emigrating to Indian Territory. Harney accepted this offer, agreeing to pay Daughtney three hundred dollars for contacting and talking to the Indians and fifty dollars for every man, woman, and child that he induced to surrender and emigrate. Daughtney received permission to draw Army rations while undertaking this mission and could employ one other individual of his choice in accomplishing this task. Harney and Daughtney signed a formal agreement to all these points on April 21, 1857.⁷⁵

Daughtney selected Edmund Besley to accompany him and set off for Key West on April 22. The two negotiators next sailed to Fort Cross on Cape Sable from where, during the

74. Abert to McCown, April 22, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 4, File M69.

75. Agreement Between Lewis Daughtney and Brevet Brigadier General William S. Harney, May 9, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 3, File A40.

next two months, they slowly proceeded up the coast in a small schooner. They attempted to contact the Indians by camping in a conspicuous place and raising a white flag to signal any Seminoles in the vicinity of their presence and desire to talk. While camped at Chokoloskee Key, they requested that the soldiers at Pavilion Key not be allowed to hunt or fish near the mainland as they might frighten off any near-by Indians. By mid-June, they had not convinced any Seminoles to surrender and, after being paid for their work, cease any further attempts to contact the Indians.⁷⁶

With the coming of the summer months, military officials decided to continue scouting for the Seminole, but evacuated their positions at Pavilion Key and Cape Sable for the summer months with the men there reassigned to Punta Russa or mustered out of the service.⁷⁷ The reason for this action is best described by Captain McCown, who commented on the conditions at Fort Cross:

I have respectfully to state for the information of the Colonel Commanding that the Mosquitos [sic] continue to increase and that it is with the greatest difficulty the most necessary duty can be performed. Being satisfied that Sick Men could not be

76. Report of Progress with Seminole Indians from 22nd of April to the 13th of June by Lewis Daughtney and Ed Besley, June 13, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 3, File D42; Page to Sibley, May 30, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1617, p. 223; and Loomis to Cooper, June 23, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1617, p. 239.

77. Colonel Loomis, Special Order No. 67, June 6, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1625; and Colonel Loomis, Special Order No. 73, June 11, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1625.

treated here I have directed Dr.[John]
Head to send all serious cases to Fort
Myers.

Unless there should be important
considerations to prevent, I request
that I may be directed to abandon this
position--at least until the Mosquito
Months have passed.⁷⁸

The summer campaign against the Indians began in July with
Captain Jacob Michler and his command of forty-five men in
nine metallic boats ordered to Lake Okeechobee and from
there to proceed down Shark River to Cape Sable, where he
would be joined by additional military forces engaged in
scouting the Everglades. Meanwhile, McCown's command, with
a detachment from Company G, 1st Artillery, would proceed by
boat south from Punta Russa down the coast to examine the
area around Pavilion Key, while Captain Turner and his men
would scout the Ten Thousand Islands and go into the Big
Cypress until they reached Palm Hammock. These maneuvers
were designed to trap the Indians between Turner and McCown.
These two expeditions found no Indians and returned to Fort
Myers on August 3 to await Captain Michler's scouting
party.⁷⁹

78. McCown to Lewis, June 11, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623,
Box 4, File M91.

79. Andrew P. Canova, Life and Adventures in South Florida
(Tampa, Florida: Tribune Printing Co., 1906), p. 7; and
Colonel Loomis, Special Order No. 87, July 14, 1857, NA, RG
393, Entry 1625.

Michler did not go to Lake Okeechobee, but instead took the Miami River into the Everglades and proceeded south to Cape Sable and northwest along the coast to the Ten Thousand Islands and Fort Myers. Upon arrival at that post on August 24, 1857, Michler reported that a captured Indian reported that Bill Bowlegs and some forty Indians were near Biscayne Bay heading toward the Big Cypress. Captain Richard Turner requested permission that he and Michler join forces and travel up Shark River in pursuit of the Seminoles. Michler and Turner received permission to enter the Everglades by Shark River, while another military force from Fort Dallas scouted the highland north of Cape Sable for Indians.⁸⁰

The two expeditions began September 15 when Michler left Punta Russa with 117 men and established a depot on the southern point of McLaughlin's Key. He selected eighty-seven men with which to enter the Everglades. Twenty-two of these men in the three largest boats returned to the depot, because the water in the Everglades proved too shallow for their boats, while the remaining smaller craft required the soldiers to drag and push them through the marshes. None of the hammocks inspected revealed any Indians signs and on September 23, Michler's party emerged from the marsh via the Miami River at Fort Dallas.⁸¹

80. Turner to Lieutenant George Washington Hazzard, August 24, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 5, File T9.

81. Michler to Acting Adjutant General, Department of Florida, September 24, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 5, File M179.

On the other coast, Captain Abner Doubleday took his force of eighty men into the Everglades by the Miami River, but soon discovered the water level in the marsh dropped so rapidly that his men found it necessary to drag and carry their boats to make any progress. This work proved so debilitating and exhausting that, upon reaching Long Key, Doubleday ordered his men to return to Fort Dallas. The exhausted men arrived back in Fort Dallas on September 24 having found little evidence of recent Seminole activity in the Everglades.⁸²

In October, Michler received orders for his command to proceed to Shark River with enough supplies to last each man for thirty days and to search the streams and lakes around Whitewater Bay for Indians. His force left Punta Russa on November 5 and entered Shark River on November 12. Two days later the soldiers commenced a search of lakes and streams around Whitewater Bay, but failed to find any Indians. They arrived at Cape Sable on November 26 and headed back to Fort Myers, stopping briefly at Pavilion Key.⁸³

Colonel S. St. George Rogers of the Florida Mounted Volunteers left Fort Myers on November 18 with 110 men to scout Royal Palm Hammock. The soldiers arrived at

82. Doubleday to Dimick, September 26, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 3, File D53; and Doubleday to Dimick, September 24, 1857, Entry 1623, Box 3, File D51.

83. Michler to Loomis, November 26, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box, 5 File M166; and Canova, Life and Adventures in South Florida, pp. 49-51.

Chokoloskee Key on November 22 with Rogers suffering from a fever. Captain John Parkhill took command of the expedition and with seventy-five men travelled up the river into the Big Cypress with Richard Turner acting as guide. In the Big Cypress, they discovered a large Indian encampment containing some thirty lodges and forty acres of cleared land on November 26. The soldiers destroyed the homes and all the fields of corn, pumpkins, potatoes, peas, and rice. The following day Captain Parkhill, along with thirty of his men, began following an Indian trail and discovered more fields and indications that the Seminoles were in the vicinity. Leaving most of his force to the task of destroying the fields, Parkhill with five or six men searched for the Indians. Upon entering a wide stream, Indians fired on the approaching soldiers from ambush, killing Parkhill and wounding five others retreating into the Big Cypress. The next day the scouting party began a forty mile trek back to Chokoloskee Key. The soldiers buried Captain Parkhill on the shore of a lake some fifteen miles from the Indian camp and arrived back at the military encampment on Chokoloskee Key on the night of November 30. Because to the exhausted condition of the men and the lack of fresh water on Chokoloskee, Rogers ordered the expedition to retire to Cape Ramona. Rogers and fifty-seven men on December 7 entered the Big Cypress from the north and

destroyed more of the Indian homes and fields around Royal Palm Hammock.⁸⁴

On the east coast, Lieutenant Truman Seymour and forty-five men began a scout of the lower peninsula, on December 26, by examining most of the small keys in Florida Bay from Card Sound to Cape Sable and east to Indian Key. The mangrove islands and the shallowness of Florida Bay increased the difficulty of the task and the soldiers found no signs of Seminole activity in the area. The troops returned to Fort Dallas on January 15.⁸⁵

By this time, Chief Billy Bowlegs, convinced that any further resistance was futile, began to negotiate with the military officials over the terms of his surrender. These negotiations concluded with Bill Bowlegs and more than one hundred and sixty Seminoles leaving Florida in May 1858, for Indian Territory. This event, for all practical purposes, ended the war, but Indians continued to surrender into the next year. The few remaining Seminoles, Miccosukees, and

84. Rogers to Page, November 17, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 5, File R60; Rogers to Page, December 2, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 5, File R63; Rogers to Page, December 26, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 5, File R65; and Charlton W. Tebeau, The Story of Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood (Miami, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1955), pp. 8-9.

85. Seymour to Captain John Henry Winder, January 15, 1858, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 6, File W5; and Winder to Page, January 15, 1858, NA, RG 393, Box 6, File W4.

other Indians, estimated at approximately 150, remained hidden and unmolested in the Everglades.⁸⁶

The three Seminole wars reduced the Florida Indian population to a small remnant and opened the way for white settlement. The various scouting expeditions by United States military forces extensively explored the largely unknown Everglades yielding substantial information on the lower peninsula of Florida. Before the newly acquired information could be exploited, the Civil War plunged Florida into another prolonged and dark crisis.

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE EVERGLADES

On January 10, 1861, the Florida secession convention voted to withdraw from the Union. Captain John M. Brannan refused to surrender Fort Taylor at Key West to secessionist sympathizers and the post remained in Union control. After the bombardment of Fort Sumter by Confederate forces on April 12-13, 1861, events moved quickly toward Civil War. United States President Abraham Lincoln proclaimed, on April 19, a blockade on the ports of the secessionist states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. This blockade was later extended to

86. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, p. 70; and Harry A. Kersey, Jr., Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930 (Gainesville, Florida: The University Presses of Florida, 1975), pp. 6-7.

the states of Virginia and North Carolina on their withdrawal from the Union.⁸⁵

Lieutenant Tunis T. Craven on May 6, 1861 at Key West implemented the presidential blockade order by issuing the following decree:

Notice is hereby given that no trading, coasting, or fishing vessels will be permitted to sail from this port for any port or place in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, or Texas, nor to any place or port within the limits of this State saving and excepting such places as may be included in the range of keys extending from the Tortugas to Cape Florida.

All vessels having cleared for sea will exhibit their clearances on board this ship before they will be allowed to proceed to sea....

Any vessel violating these regulations will be dealt with as if violating a blockade.⁸⁸

A vessel violating the blockade was subject to seizure with the vessel and its contents sold to highest bidder, and the crew taken as prisoners of war. Some of the blockade stipulations seemed inappropriate for Key West and Flag-Officer William Mervine, Commanding Gulf Blockading Squadron, wrote Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles,

85. Tebeau, A History of Florida, pp. 179-180, 202-203; Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion (30 Vols.; Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1895-1929), Series I, Vol. 16, pp. 519-520; cited hereinafter as O. R. N.

88. O. R. N., Series I, Vol. 4, p. 159.

requesting that fishing boats be allowed to carry on their coastal trade as usual because "the trade is limited to fresh meats, vegetables, fish, etc., and is carried on with a few men who are Unionists along the coast. This port [Key West] is dependent on that trade for its supply of those articles."⁸⁹ Secretary of Navy Welles did not approve any deviation from the blockade procedures for Florida.⁹⁰

Mervine found, in enforcing the blockade, that a most difficult aspect of this task proved to be patrolling the shallow waters of Florida Bay and other coastal areas. He requested that the Secretary of the Navy send him more ships for this work and that these, preferably, be small steamers or fast sailing vessels with a draft of less than six feet of water.⁹¹

By August of 1861, the Florida Confederates had organized a number of small vessels to sail in the shallow coastal waters to keep track of the Union blockaders.⁹² The activities of this shadow navy, along with the lack of adequate blockading vessels, forced the Union Navy authorities to reevaluate their plan implementing the blockade along the Florida coast. A committee of senior navy personnel recommended that the Florida Reef and west

89. O. R. N., Series I, Vol. 16, p. 520.

90. Ibid., p. 639.

91. Ibid., p. 550.

92. Ibid., p. 639.

coast from Cape Sable to Cedar Keys be patrolled by one or more gunboats, while the waters from Cape Sable to the Ten Thousand Islands be patrolled only when additional ships became available.⁹³

In 1862, Flag-Officer J. L. Lardner, Commanding Eastern Gulf Blockading Squadron, ordered the screw steamer Sagamore with a crew of seventy-eight and armed with four guns under the command of Vol. Lt. Comdr. A. J. Drake and the bark Ethan Allen with a crew of ninety and armed with six guns under the command of Vol. Lt. Comdr. W. B. Eaton to blockade the coast from Key West to Tampa Bay. Also he ordered the schooner Wanderer with a crew of twenty-six and armed with three guns under the command of Lt. Comdr. J. H. Spotts to patrol from the Florida Reef to the Indian River Inlet.⁹⁴

At the end of July, Wanderer received orders to cruise between Cape Sable and the Florida Reefs in an attempt to stop Confederate smuggling, and Ethan Allen underwent refitting at Key West. Also the screw steamer Tahoma with a crew of 101 and armed with four guns replaced the Sagamore on patrol from Key West to Tampa Bay.⁹⁵ By August of 1862, the schooner Ethan Allen returned to duty accompanied by the

93. Ibid., p. 652.

94. O. R. N., Series I, Vol. 17, pp. XVII, 288. The Wanderer was confiscated by Union officials at Key West in the opening months of the war as it belonged to a secessionist Mississippi owner. O. R. N., Series I, Vol. 16, p. 530.

95. O. R. N., Series I, Vol. 17, pp. 293-294.

schooner Samuel Rotan with a crew of twenty-nine and armed with two guns.⁹⁶

In early September, Wanderer received orders to sail to La Habana, Cuba, and returned to patrolling the Cape Sable vicinity around the middle of the month.⁹⁷ The United States Navy tightened the blockade by reducing the patrol area of each ship, with the waters from Key West to Charlotte Harbor assigned to the screw steamer Penguin, which carried a crew of sixty-nine and was armed with five guns.⁹⁸ Wanderer put into Key West in January of 1863 for caulking and coppering and was replaced on blockade duty by the schooner Ariel whose armament consisted of one gun.⁹⁹

Ariel, on routine patrol along the Florida Reef, on January 6, 1863, sighted the sloop Good Luck staying very near to the land and closed in to investigate. Captain Edward Dexter of Good Luck, upon sighting Ariel, attempted to flee by sailing from Florida Bay through Bear's Cut into the Gulf of Mexico, but his vessel was overtaken and surrendered to Ariel. On inspection of the cargo of Good Luck, Federal authorities discovered that the vessel carried one bale of cotton and nine barrels of spirits and turpentine apparently being taken to Nassau in violation of the blockade. Captain

96. Ibid., pp. 297-298.

97. Ibid., pp. 307, 312.

98. Ibid., p. 312; and O. R. N., Series I, Vol. 4, p. xv.

99. O. R. N., Series I, Vol. 17, p. 343.

Dexter was taken as a prisoner of war and the sloop confiscated.¹⁰⁰

By the middle of January, Wanderer had completed repairs and was dispatched to relieve Penguin then patrolling the waters from Charlotte Harbor to Key West.¹⁰¹ The schooner James S. Chambers which carried a crew of sixty-two and armed with six guns joined Wanderer on patrol in February. On the Gulf coast, the captain of Ariel received orders to travel from Sombrero Key to Cape Sable.¹⁰² In March, the schooner Beauregard, with a crew of twenty-seven and armed with three guns, was chosen to cruise between Cape Sable and Charlotte Harbor.¹⁰³ These patrol areas remained constant until July when the commander of Ariel received orders to patrol the waters from Bahia Honda to Indian Key.¹⁰⁴ Ariel continued in various patrol patterns around the waters of Cape Sable until January of 1864 when she went to Key West for refitting. She returned to patrol duty by the middle of the January.¹⁰⁵ Ariel, in July, left Cape Sable when reassigned to waters farther north. The bark Gem of the Sea with a crew of seventy and armed with five guns and the sloop

100. Ibid., pp. 346-347.

101. Ibid., p. 352.

102. Ibid., p. 366.

103. Ibid., p. 385.

104. Ibid., p. 502.

105. Ibid., Series I, Vol. 17, pp. 620, 626.

Rosalie with a crew of eight and armed with one gun took over the duty of patrolling from Charlotte Harbor to Key West.¹⁰⁶

Ariel returned briefly in November to assist Gem of the Sea and Rosalie in their patrol duties.¹⁰⁷ At the end of December, the bark Restless, with a crew of seventy-seven and armed with seven guns, and the schooner Annie, with a crew of seven and armed with one gun, took over the responsibility of patrolling from Charlotte Harbor to Key West.¹⁰⁸ The schooner Two Sisters, with a crew of fifteen and armed with one gun, took over the duties of Annie a month later.¹⁰⁹ In February 1865, the steamer Britannia joined and later replaced Restless. The Britannia had a crew of seventy-five and carried six guns.¹¹⁰

By April 1865, the collapse of the Confederacy became imminent when General Robert E. Lee surrendered his army to General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomatox, and President Jefferson Davis and other members of the Confederate government fled South. An aide to Major General William T. Sherman arrived at Key West on the night of May 1 to request that the east and west coast of Florida be closely watched

106. Ibid., p. 722.

107. Ibid., p. 780.

108. Ibid., p. 796.

109. Ibid., p. 805.

110. Ibid., p. 830.

as Sherman believed that the Confederate cabinet might be heading for Cuba. Immediately, Federal authorities ordered all fishing vessels to remain at Key West harbor and dispatched two expeditions of small Union patrol boats to prevent Confederates from escaping from the United States. The steamers Cherokee, Magnolia, and Nita were dispatched to give additional support to the vessels patrolling the coastal waters and the army established a picket at Cape Sable to help guard the coast.¹¹¹

Union forces captured Jefferson Davis and one of his cabinet members at Irwinville, Georgia, on May 10, 1865. In Florida, a group of seven whites and one black trying to leave the country were captured in a boat near Cape Sable on May 21. Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State for the Confederacy, made his way to the Florida east coast where he secured passage on a fishing vessel owned by Frederick Tresca. The boat moved along the coast and was stopped by a Union vessel in Florida Bay, but not searched. On the Florida Keys, Benjamin secured passage on a larger ship and escaped to Nassau and later Great Britain.¹¹²

111. Ibid., pp. 838, 841, 844, 853; and The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, (73 vols., 128 parts; Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XLVII, Pt. III, pp. 310, 344; hereinafter cited as O. R.

112. Tebeau, A History of Florida, p. 262; and O. R., Series I, Vol. XLVII, Pt. III, p. 853.

During the war, blockade runners and deserters from both armies found refuge in the Everglades and along the Florida coast. Yet only limited military activity occurred in the Everglades, with Union vessels maintaining a blockade of the coastline from April 1861 until after the war ended in 1865. At that time, Key West naval authorities took steps to dispose of the blockade fleet. Many of the smaller vessels which patrolled the Florida Bay waters such as Beauregard, Ariel, Rosalie, Two Sisters, and Wanderer were sold at auction to the highest bidder at Key West, while the large steamers were sent North to be reassigned or sold.¹¹³

113. O. R. N., Series I, Vol. 17, pp. 852,854-855; and L. Lemar Stephan, "Geographic Role of the Everglades in the Early History of Florida," Scientific Monthly, 55 (December, 1942), p. 22.

CHAPTER 3: COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES IN EVERGLADES NATIONAL PARK

COMMERCIAL FISHING

Man first came to the Everglades because of the abundant food supply available such as shellfish, turtles, and fish. The remaining shell middens and mounds within Everglades National Park give mute testimony to the extensive use of these waters by the Calusa and other Indians on a seasonal and permanent basis.

The Spanish colonists, at first, could not fully exploit these resources because of the hostility of the native population. By the 1730s, however, Spanish fishermen made regular trips to Florida Bay and the Ten Thousand Islands on fishing trips and may even have established some temporary fishing camps in the area. Up to twelve Spanish fishing smacks fished in the waters from Charlotte Harbor to Cape Sable by the 1780s for mullet, kingfish, mackerel, and a few other fish.¹

When Great Britain obtained East Florida by treaty with Spain, British fishermen began to ply the waters around the lower tip of Florida. Most of these fishermen ceased activities shortly after Great Britain returned the Floridas to Spain in 1784. Spanish fishermen fished in the waters of

1. Sturtevant, "Last of the South Florida Aborigines," Tacachale, p. 144; and James C. Cato and Donald E. Sweat, "Fishing: Florida's First Industry," Conference on Florida's Maritime Heritage Ed. by Barbara A. Purdy (Gainesville, Florida: Florida State Museum, 1980), p.32.

the lower Florida peninsula under British rule and continued to fish in these waters until Florida became United States Territory in 1822.

Secretary and Acting Governor of East Florida William D. Worthington commented:

There are also 8 or 9 fishing smacks, Americans under Spanish license from 38 to 40 Tons employed off Cape Sable--They take a fish called the Grouper of from 3 to 18 lbs--worth at the Havanna from a Dollar to a Dollar and a half a piece--in seven or eight days each smack makes a trip and sells her Fish at from Three to four Hundred Dollars--This trade continues all the year--Also the business of taking quantities of the finest Turtles is carried on by the English from New Providence & I think the Wrecking, the Turtling and Fishing Should be put on a footing to ensure a monopoly or first preference to our own citizens--²

American authorities continued to be distressed by the activity of Spanish fishermen and complained that the Spanish not only fished in American waters, but supplied the Seminoles with liquor and weapons, as well. United States officials adopted measures to stop the Spanish from fishing near the lower Florida peninsula during the three Seminole Wars, but these actions met with only limited success.³ The

2. Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol. XXII, The Territory of Florida, p. 382.

3. Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 203; and Buker, Swamp Sailors: Riverine Warfare in the Everglades, p. 111.

American inhabitants of Key West, as well as the Spanish, fished and turtled in the Florida Bay waters.⁴

By the 1880s, the Key West fishermen supplied the people of La Habana, Cuba, and lower Florida with grunt, hogfish, snapper, yellowtail, grouper, king fish, mullet, and various other fish. Fishermen occasionally took mullet by net, but, for the most part, they used a line and hook to catch the fish.⁵ Some of the early fishermen kept the fish in live wells until reaching Key West where the fish were killed and sold. A live well was a box structure built into a boat with openings drilled throughout to facilitate water transfer. Another method of preserving the day's catch consisted of splitting, cleaning, and salting the fish down. Cuba provided the principal market for fish prepared in this manner.⁶ The technique of preserving fish in ice was introduced in Florida in the 1890s, but the lack of a dependable ice supply prevented this means of fish preservation from gaining wide acceptance until the 1920s.⁷

4. Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol. XXV, The Territory of Florida, p. 250.

5. Ibid., p. 33; Henshall, Camping and Cruising in Florida, p. 182.

6. Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, p. 238; and Cato and Sweat, "Fishing: Florida's First Industry," Conference on Florida's Maritime Heritage, p. 33.

7. Tebeau, The Story of Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood, p. 41.

Key West was not the only fishing center in the lower Florida peninsula. In the 1870s the first settlers came to Chokoloskee and in the 1890s two fish processing plants opened on the island operated by the West Coast Fishing Company of Punta Gorda and the South Fish Company of Fort Myers. These fish houses began losing business in the 1920s to processing plants in Everglades City, after the dredging of the Barron River opened that community to deep water vessels. Everglades City had the additional advantages of being accessible both by truck and railroad. Eventually, the fish houses at Chokoloskee went out of business.⁸

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of small commercial fish houses began operations in the Ten Thousand Islands area. In 1901, Richard, Walter, Eugene, and Leon Hamilton opened a commercial fishing operation on Wood Key (sometimes referred to as Porpoise Point). They caught, salted, dried, and shipped fish to Cuba. Mullet constituted the primary commercial catch. They used a two-inch mesh net some 150 yards long to catch the fish, and shipped from eight to ten barrels of salted fish to Cuba on a twice-a-week basis.⁹

8. Ibid., pp. 40, 55. Additional information on the settlement of Chokoloskee can be found in later sections of this report.

9. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, p. 107.

Another example of a small commercial fishing operation was a fish house built at the mouth of Lostman's River around 1905 that operated into the 1920s. Here fishermen's shacks were constructed near the fish house to form a small community. After the end of the commercial operations, the abandoned shacks remained visible into the late 1940s.¹⁰

The number of small commercial fishing establishments continued to grow. In 1905, boats hauling ice began to serve the various fish houses. This resulted in the construction of a number of small ice plants for the purpose of supplying ice to the fish houses. By 1936 more than 100 fish houses, along with a smaller number of ice plants, operated from Chokoloskee to Cape Sable. Flamingo, a fishing community established around 1900, became one of the larger of these tiny fishing hamlets. This number of operating fish houses and ice plants gradually declined to zero as new methods of fishing and fish processing rendered them economically unviable.¹¹

SPONGING

A small sponge industry existed in Key West from the establishment of that community with the sponge caught used

10. Ibid.

11. D. Graham Copeland, J. W. Hoffman, and William R. Porter, A Report to Everglades National Park Commission By Committee on Lands and Boundaries Relative to Boundaries for Proposed Everglades National Park (Everglades, Florida: n. p., 1936), pp. 3-4.

locally. Then, in 1849, a load of sponges was shipped to New York City and the trade proved commercially profitable. During the next two decades, sponging became a major industry of Key West with some eastern firms establishing sponge depots there.¹²

The process of catching sponges began early in the morning when a vessel left Key West towing six or eight small boats out to the shallow waters of Florida Bay and nearby reefs which served as home for the sponges. Once in the sponge grounds, the small boats (usually carrying one man each) separated from the larger vessel. These men used wooden buckets with glass bottoms to look beneath the surface of the sea and locate the sponges. Then they would take a twenty-five-foot pole with two iron prongs attached to it and rip the sponge from the sea bottom. The sponges, once out of the sea, became a soft, limp mass of decaying animal tissue which formed an ill-smelling pool of dark liquid while a black membrane covered the sponge. At the end of the day, the larger vessel would retrieve the smaller boats and their catch. The sponges soaked in water overnight and the next day were beaten until only the skeletal portion remained. The cleaned sponges would be tied in bunches and taken to Key West to sell.¹³

12. Cato and Sweat, "Fishing: Florida's First Industry," Conference on Florida's Maritime Heritage, p. 33.

13. James A. Henshall, Camping and Cruising in Florida (Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke & Co., 1884), pp. 181-182; and Canova, Life and Adventures in South Florida, pp. 76-78.

The industry continued to prosper and by 1890 Key West served as base for more than 350 vessels employing nearly 1,400 men earning nearly a quarter of a million dollars a year from sponging. The popularity of sponges resulted in the depletion of the original sponge grounds. Spongers began searching for new sponge grounds in the deeper waters of the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean. A blight among the sponges in 1947, and the introduction of the synthetic sponge, virtually eliminated the industry which continues today on only a limited basis.¹⁴

TURTILING

Fishermen and spongers often supplemented their incomes by turtling. People who engaged in turtling usually worked at night since that is when the turtles came ashore to lay their eggs. They walked the beaches looking for the signs of where turtles crawled from the sea and followed these trails to the nest sites. The nesting sites were dug up and the eggs, which could total several hundred per nest, were removed. If the turtle had not returned to the sea, it would be turned over while the nest was robbed. At the end of the night, the overturned sea turtles, weighing between 100 and 300 pounds each, would be picked up and placed in the boat along with the eggs. The eggs were sold and the turtles sometimes kept alive beneath a house in a caged enclosure

14. Cato and Sweat, "Fishing: Florida's First Industry," Conference on Florida's Maritime Heritage, p. 33.

(known as a turtle crawl) until they were sold or butchered for food. Cape Sable and a few of the small keys in Florida Bay served as the main hunting grounds for turtles. This activity flourished until the area became Everglades National Park, when turtling was prohibited.¹⁵

SHELLFISHING

Prehistoric man, Indians, and soldiers fighting the Seminole Wars gathered shellfish in the Ten Thousand Islands for food, but commercial activity did not begin until the 1880s. The early centers of commercial activity were near Coon Key, Clam Point, Alligator Point, Lostman's River, and from Rabbit Key to Pavilion Key. In 1904 the Burnham Clam Cannery opened at Caxambas and employed about twenty-five people to dig clams for the company at Pavilion Key with another twenty-five people digging clams in other locations. The factory employed an additional forty to fifty people to process the clams. An individual could collect thirty bushels during the period of low tide for which the company would pay \$.25 a bushel and often 500 bushels of clams could be dug a day on Pavilion Key. The clam diggers camped on the key and at low tide waded into the water where they would locate the clams using their bare feet. Then they would take a two-prong clam hook and place it under the

15. Ibid., p. 34; and Tebeau, The Story of Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood, pp. 40-41.

shellfish, place a thumb over it, and bring the bivalve to the surface where it would be tossed into a skiff.¹⁶

This procedure required shallow water and calm weather. In 1905 a mechanical clam dredge was developed and soon in use. This dredge required twenty-five men to operate, but could operate in water up to twelve feet deep and harvested more than 500 bushels of clams in a twelve hour period. The Burnham Clam Cannery dredge was used at Pavilion Key until it sank in a storm in 1929.¹⁷

In 1911, the Doxsee family came to Marco Island and established a second clam cannery. It too employed about fifty people in the plant with another fifty assigned to gather the clams. The factory employed a mechanical digger to harvest the shellfish. Both companies eventually ended operations as clams became increasingly difficult to obtain after a devastating biological plague known as the "red tide" in 1945 killed many clams.¹⁸

16. Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, pp. 239-240; Robert L. Storter, Seventy-Seven Years in Everglades-Chokoloskee-Naples (n. p.: Privately Printed, 1972), pp. 30-31; and Tebeau, The Story of Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood, p. 49.

17. Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, pp. 239-240; Tebeau, The Story of Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood, p. 49; and Storter, Seventy-Seven Years in Everglades-Chokoloskee-Naples, pp. 30-31.

18. Ibid.; and Cato and Sweat, "Fishing: Florida's First Industry," Conference on Florida's Maritime Heritage, p. 34.

RECREATIONAL FISHING

Recreational fishing in the waters around Cape Sable began shortly after the end of the Third Seminole War in the 1850s. The Civil War interrupted the seasonal immigration of pleasure fishermen to Florida, but thereafter they came in increasing numbers to fish in the waters of Florida Bay. In the late 1870s, the weekly sportsmen's newspaper, Forest and Stream, published a number of articles describing the excellent fishing and hunting in Florida. Later, The New York Times began publishing stories on the natural beauty of Florida and abundant wildlife found in the Everglades. Both of these publications appealed to well-to-do sportsmen, who could afford to outfit expeditions for Florida excursions. Many of these expeditions took place during the winter months and combined fishing and hunting with nature studies.¹⁹

Most of these pleasure expeditions came and left without a trace; however, a few of the participants kept journals from which they wrote books or articles about their adventures in Florida waters. One of the more extensively documented

19. John F. Reiger, ed., "Sailing in South Florida Waters in the Early 1880s," Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida XXXI (1971), p.43; and Cato and Sweat, "Fishing: Florida's First Industry," Conference on Florida's Maritime Heritage, p. 35. Forest and Stream began publication in 1873 as a weekly magazine devoted to natural studies and outdoor recreation. A number of these pleasure trips combined with scientific inquiry can be found in the section that discusses the history of scientific investigation in the Everglades National Park.

pleasure cruises was that of James Alexander Henshall, who published an account of his trip in a series of articles from January 25 until March 22, 1883, in Forest and Stream and the next year wrote a book entitled Camping and Cruising in Florida.²⁰ Henshall in these works described the natural abundance of Florida in the following manner:

This creek is an admirable harbor for small boats, and the only one near Cape Sable. With a narrow entrance, some twenty feet in width, it soon expands into a roomy basin, quite deep, where a vessel can be safely moored alongside a sand spit running out from the shore. A hurricane, blowing outside, would not ripple the water of this quiet basin. Sharks and other large fish may be harpooned or grained from the deck of the vessel, or, with line and hook, the angler can get a surfeit of fishing. The stream heads in a large lagoon back of the cape, the resort of innumerable water-fowl and aquatic birds. The region about Cape Sable is the best south of Charlotte Harbor for camping, hunting and fishing, there being a broad, smooth beach all around the cape, abounding in beautiful shells, and other marine curiosities, with good, dry ground for camping, and an abundance of game on the savannas [sic] and in the pine woods and hamaks [sic].²¹

The sportsmen's visitation continued into the twentieth century. These recreational fishermen established temporary fishing camps on the keys and shoreline from the Ten

20. Reiger, ed., "Sailing in South Florida Waters in the Early 1880s," Tequesta, p. 43; and "The West Coast of Florida," New York Times, 26 February 1884, p. 2.

21. Henshall, Camping and Cruising in Florida, pp. 186-187.

Thousand Islands to Cape Sable which often would be visited on a seasonal basis.²²

WATER TRANSPORTATION

Another use of the Florida waters was for transportation of goods and people. As early as 1843 the creation of an intercostal waterway that would be inside of the keys and the Atlantic Ocean was advocated. The proposed route would be developed inside of the barrier reefs and islands using the sounds and bays to provide sheltered waters for vessels to reach Key West.²³ This suggestion was not acted on, but small vessels increasingly used the sheltered waters of Florida Bay rather than travel in the open Atlantic to and from Key West and other coastal communities. The route favored by small craft wound down through Card and Barnes Sounds and into Florida Bay then inside the keys to Key West. Large vessels on the west coast in the 1880s travelled out into the Gulf of Mexico between Tampa and Key West while the smaller boats staying along the coastline to Cape Sable before sailing south to Key West.²⁴

22. Cato and Sweat, "Fishing: Florida's First Industry," Conference on Florida's Maritime Heritage, p. 35; and Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, p. 17.

23. Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States, XXVI The Territory of Florida, pp. 780-781, 829-831. The present intercostal waterway follows the eastern boundary of Everglades National Park

24. "From Tampa to Key West," New York Times, 4 May 1884, p. 6; and Henshall, Camping and Cruising in Florida, pp. 172-173, 229.

HUNTING

Like fishing, hunting dates back to the earliest use of the Everglades by man. Indians, explorers, sailors, and settlers exploited the animals of the marsh, prairie, coast, and islands for a variety of uses. Spanish traders from Cuba actively carried on trade for furs and hides with the Indians from the eighteenth until the nineteenth century. During the Seminole Wars, soldiers hunted animals for food and sport. Trading posts in the 1840s began to be established along Florida's eastern coastline, but it was not until the 1870s that trade in hides, pelts, and plumes began to flourish.²⁵

Traders in the 1870s primarily purchased alligator hides and teeth, birds and plumes, deer meat, and skins, and otter pelts from the Indians and white hunters. Occasionally, traders bought the skins of raccoons, wildcats, panthers, bears, and other game animals. The trade with Indians principally consisted of barter agreements by which the post traders credited the Indian's account for a certain sum of money or marks which the Indian could redeem in trade for merchandise. White hunters and sometimes Indians insisted on receiving gold or silver coins for their goods. These trading sessions were conducted in a leisurely manner as both Indians and white hunters enjoyed their infrequent

25. Kersey, Jr., Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930, p. 27.

visits to the trader as a social occasion to talk and look over new merchandise before selecting food items, ammunition, weapons, beads, cloth, cooking utensils, tobacco, and if allowed liquor. A majority of the established traders opposed the liquor trade either on moral or legal grounds, but liquor could be obtained elsewhere with little trouble.²⁶

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, one of the more sought after animals was the alligator which was hunted for both teeth and hide. The alligator's belly skin proved most desirable as that could be tanned, unlike the thicker, horny upper portions of the reptile. These hides would be measured on a long board and sold, generally, for ten cents a foot up to eight feet. Later a sliding pay scale developed which paid an increasing amount per foot up to eight-foot. In addition, small alligators were brought in alive or skinned to serve as souvenirs for tourists. Also alligator teeth sold for up to \$5.00 a pound and were used to make necklaces and other jewelry.²⁷

The main trading posts were located in Fort Myers, Chokoloskee, Biscayne Bay, and Miami. Once the traders

26. Ibid., pp. 30-37, 40-41, 62-65; and Joan E. Gill and Beth R. Read, ed., Born of the Sun (Hollywood, Florida: Florida Bicentennial Commemorative Journal, Inc., 1975), pp. 142-143.

27. Ibid.; Kersey, Jr., Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930, pp. 62-63; and Hanna and Hanna, Lake Okechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades, pp. 342-343.

purchased the alligator hides, they would be stored and shipped to either New Orleans, Louisiana; Jacksonville, Florida; New York City, New York; or Paris, France. At these places, they would either be reshipped or made into handbags, luggage, and shoes. It is possibly that as many as 50,000 hides were shipped annually in the early years of the twentieth century.²⁸

28. Ibid., Gill and Read, ed., Born of the Sun, p. 142; and Kersey, Jr., Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930, pp. 76-77.

The hunters used a variety of methods to find and kill the alligators. A twelve to eighteen foot long cypress pole with a metal hook on the end was used to probe the murky water of swamp ponds to locate where alligators might hide or sleep. When aroused and brought to the surface of the pond, the reptiles were shot between the eyes. At night, hunters used lanterns to temporarily blind and illuminate the reptile while they either shot it or severed the animal's backbone with an ax.²⁹

A number of fur animals were trapped during the winter months when their coats would be longest and glossiest. The most valuable and desirable of these was the otter. In the early 1900s, raccoon became popular, with the price for a pelt increasing from \$1.25 in 1915 to triple that in the 1920s. The raccoon pelt would consist of the skinned animal with head and hide attached to a wooden shingle.³⁰

By far, a hunter's highest pay came from selling exotic bird plumes which could be obtaining only during the breeding season. Bird plumes became the fashion in the millinery trade at the end of the nineteenth century and led to near extinction of several species of birds. This activity began in the 1870s, reached a peak around the early 1900s, and

29. Hanna and Hanna, Lake Okeechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades, pp. 342-343.

30. Kersey, Jr., Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930, pp. 76-77.

gradually declined with the passage of bird protection laws and the establishment of Everglades National Park.³¹

AGRICULTURE

Indians cultivated some crops on dry hammocks prior to European settlement of Florida. The Spanish planned to drain the Everglades for cultivation, but little was accomplished. John Lee Williams in writing about the territory of Florida in an 1837 book encouraged draining the land as a means of opening vast tracts to the cultivation of tropical vegetables and cattle raising.³²

The most dramatic of the early agricultural attempts in the lower Florida peninsula was by Dr. Henry Perrine. Born in Cranbury, New Jersey, in 1797, Perrine proved an exceptionally talented individual and taught school while still in his teens. Later, he obtained a medical degree and settled in September 1819, to practice medicine in Ripley, Illinois, but was forced to give up medicine and move to a warmer climate for health reasons. President John Quincy Adams appointed Perrine as the United State Consul in

31. Hanna and Hanna, Lake Okeechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades, pp. 340-341. The subject of plume hunting is an important one which will be discussed in depth in the section of the report dealing with the establishment of Everglades National Park.

32. John Lee Williams, The Territory of Florida: or Sketches of the Topography, Civil and Natural History, of the Country, the Climate, and the Indian Tribes, from the First Discovery to the Present Time, with a Map, Views, &c. (1837, reprint ed.; Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1962), p. 151.

Campeche, Mexico, in 1827 and issued a directive to all United States diplomats abroad to search for plants that could be beneficially introduced into the United States.³³

Perrine spent the next nine years collecting tropical plants and sending them back to the United States. Among those receiving seeds and cuttings from his efforts were Charles Howe of Indian Key and John Dubose of Key West. Perrine kept up a correspondence with them on the progress of the plants and the feasibility of raising tropical plants in Florida. In 1832, Perrine petitioned the Legislative Council of Florida for a charter to form a company for the cultivation of tropical plants in lower Florida. The council took no action until 1838 when Florida's territorial government approved incorporation of the Tropical Plant Company with Henry Perrine, Charles Howe, and James Webb as the chief stockholders.³⁴

That same year Perrine requested the United States Congress to grant him land in the southern extremity of Florida for the purpose of planting more than two hundred tropical plants of benefit to the United States including:

palms, agaves, shrubs for chocolate,
coffee and tea; logwood, fustic,

33. Michael G. Schene, "Indian Key," Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida XXXVI (1976), pp. 13-14; Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, p. 62; and "Sisal Growing in Florida," New York Times, 28 June 1891, p. 17.

34. Schene, "Indian Key," Tequesta, p. 14.

cochineal and other dyes of Mexico, Guatamala and Brazil; cinnamon, pimento, ginger and other spices; mahogany, ebony, bananas, sasparilla, canella, and innumerable salutary medicines for the removal of disease for³⁵ welfare of people of the United States.

This proposal received congressional approval on July 7, 1838, with the stipulation that a survey six miles square be conducted:

along the South coast of the Peninsula, Eastward of Cape Sable, or of the projecting land called Punta Tancha on Spanish Charts, and North ward of the Sandy Islands of which one is³⁶ called Cayo Axi on several Charts.

Dr. Perrine and his family arrived on Indian Key from New York on December 25, 1838 to begin their work. He spent the next year investigating the keys and mainland to select a site suitable for the undertaking. Because of the Second Seminole War, Dr. Perrine could not get a survey made of the area near Cape Sable which he selected for his agricultural experiment.³⁷ The Indian attack on Indian Key on the night of August 1840, resulted in the death of Perrine and the end

35. U. S., Congress, House, Dr. Henry Perrine- Tropical Plants, H. Doc. 60, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 1835.

36. Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol. XXVI, The Territory of Florida, p. 163.

37. Ibid., pp. 167-168.

of his dream of establishing tropical agriculture in southern Florida.³⁸

The next attempt at farming in the lower Everglades came during the Civil War. John Weeks and, perhaps, a few others received permission to raise vegetables at Cape Sable for the Union garrison at Key West.³⁹ Weeks left the Cape Sable area after the war and started farming in the Chokoloskee area. A small farming operation continued, however, near Cape Sable with Key West remaining the principal market for crops grown on the cape.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, squatters arrived in the vicinity of Chokoloskee Island, Turner River, Chatham River, and other places along the coast to start small farms. These farmers often located their small plots on shell mounds giving the crops some protection from storms and hurricanes which might deposit salt water on the crops. Fertilizers were not commonly used though some farmers might cover a particular field with muck to renew the soil. Most fields were not treated in this way and within a few years these fields became unproductive and were abandoned. The crops raised included avocados, apples,

38. Douglas, The Everglades: River of Grass, pp. 178-180; "Sisal Growing In Florida," New York Times, 28 June 1891, p. 17; and Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, pp. 62.

39. Douglas, The Everglades: River of Grass, p. 206; and Tebeau, The Story of Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood, p. 28.

40. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, pp. 130-131.

beans, bananas, cabbages, cucumbers, eggplants, grapefruits, limes, squashes, coconuts, guavas, melons, okra, onions, oranges, peas, pineapples, peppers, potatoes, pumpkins, tomatoes, rice, and sugar cane. At the beginning of the twentieth century, these small fields extended from Chokoloskee in scattered areas down to Cape Sable with most cultivated sites consisting of only five or six acres, while a few contained larger acreage.⁴¹

The most extensively cultivated crop was sugar cane, which was made into sugar or syrup. With the draining of the Everglades, salt water intrusion began to kill the crop land. Also, the Everglades soil lacked certain necessary minerals to sustain the growth of crops. In places, crops came up green only to turn yellow and sickly in a short time. A brisk agricultural trade did flourish briefly around Chokoloskee, but the soil proved too poor to sustain agricultural productivity.⁴²

One of the more unusual agricultural experiments involved the raising of coconuts at Cape Sable. James A. Waddell of Key West in the early 1880s acquired 1,120 acres at Cape Sable to develop a large commercial coconut plantation. By

41. Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, pp. 234-237.

42. Tebeau, The Story of Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood, pp. 42-44; "Sugar Cane from Cape Sable Thrives Best," The Everglades Magazine II (April, 1912), p. 6; and Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, p. 238.

1886, two buildings had been constructed, a grove of coconuts planted, and small garden plots cultivated on Middle and East Cape. This project never succeeded as a commercial venture, though selling of coconuts locally continued into the 1930s when the main plantation house and coconut grove were destroyed by a hurricane.⁴³

The extension of the Florida East Coast Railroad to the Florida Keys in 1912 brought agricultural development to that area. Lime plantations were begun with the idea that limes could be shipped quickly and profitably to northern markets via the railroad. Small packing plants were established near the railroad to prepare the limes for shipment to market. Yet, the lime market proved limited and production has declined dramatically in recent years.⁴⁴

Approximately, 9,000 acres of land within the boundaries of present day Everglades National Park at one time or another has been subject to cultivation. Some 7,500 of this total belonged to the extensive agricultural development known as the "Hole in the Doughnut." This sobriquet referred to a farming development created around 1916 by the draining of swamplands near the present Royal Palm Visitor Center. Farmers from Georgia and Florida either purchased the land or became tenant farmers. The principal crop was tomatoes

43. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, pp. 130-134.

44. Interview by Diane Rhodes of Key West Museum Personnel, May 5, 1985.

grown to be shipped to northern cities during the winter months. After the establishment of Everglades National Park in 1947, park officials reluctantly agreed to allow the farmers access and the right to grow crops in this large agricultural enclave within the park's boundaries. Years of studies revealed that the biocides and fertilizers used in this agricultural development adversely affected animals and plants within Everglades National Park, while the water runoff from the fields was slowly contaminating Taylor Creek Slough and Florida Bay. Meanwhile, farm traffic increased on park roads creating hazardous driving conditions and new agricultural facilities such as a tomato packinghouse and other developments resulted in intensified use of the land. The United States Congress, after years of studies and debate, approved funds in 1970 for the condemnation and purchase of farmlands in this area by the park. This sparked bitter controversy and the South Florida Tomato and Vegetable Growers organized a campaign to prevent the purchase of the "Hole in the Doughnut" land. This effort was to no avail, and the last of the tomato growers had left the area by June 1975.⁴⁵

45. Howard Van Smith, "Hassle in the Everglades," Florida Agriculture (July, 1975), pp. 4-7; "Hole-in-the-Doughnut Farm Land Reclamation/Management Program," Pamphlet file, Everglades National Park Library; and Copeland, Hoffman, and Porter, A Report to Everglades National Park Commission by Committee on Lands and Boundaries Relative to Boundaries for Proposed Everglades National Park, pp. 7-8.

Sandfly Key was another site of extensive tomato raising and processing with a packing shed being constructed and a well drilled to supply the plants with fresh water. This area was actively farmed during the 1930s, but allowed to revert to a natural condition after being acquired for Everglades National Park.⁴⁶

RANCHING

The Everglades was not conducive for large livestock raising operations; however, small goat, hog, and cattle raising occurred in the Ten Thousand Islands and Cape Sable area. In 1898, Bill Towles and "Doc" Langford moved two boatloads of cattle up Little Sable Creek and released the animals to graze on the prairie grasses. The cattle suffered from numerous insect bites and the grasses proved to have little nutritional value. The efforts proved unsuccessful and were not repeated.⁴⁷

TANNIC ACID PRODUCTION

The mangrove tree was found to contain an extremely high amount of tannic acid which the Manetta Company sought to exploit in 1904 by developing a factory site on Shark River to extract tannic acid from the surrounding mangrove swamps. In that year, the Manetta Company began driving pilings and

46. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, p. 100.

47. Ibid., pp. 131-132.

building platforms above the mangrove swamps. In the next three and one-half years, the company built two and one-half acres of platforms on which were constructed offices, maintenance shops, employee housing, machine sheds, and drying sheds for the mangrove. The last of the machinery necessary to process the mangrove arrived onsite in 1908 and operations began. Besides obtaining tannic acid, company officials hoped to extract dye and produce lumber from the mangrove. This attempt to use the mangrove for lumber failed after it was discovered that the lumber could not be prevented from cracking once it dried. The devastating 1910 hurricane brought all operation to a halt and nearly destroyed the factory. The factory was rebuilt and work continued intermittently until 1923 when it became no longer economically feasible to operate the plant.⁴⁸

CHARCOAL MAKING

Another wood of economic value was the buttonwood tree which grew on the keys behind the mangrove, in coastal hammocks, and low places in pinelands. The tree got its name from the plant's flower and fruit which look like round buttons. The pioneers found the wood an excellent fuel which burned completely and gave off an intense heat. Also it proved an

48. Ibid., pp. 118-121.

ideally suited wood for charcoal and was in great demand in Key West for cooking and heating.⁴⁹

The process of charcoal making required the clearing of a section of land, then stacking up to ten cords of buttonwood into a conical shaped pile. This pile would be covered with grass and sand with a vent hole at the top and vent holes around the bottom to assure an even burn and let out gases. The fire required constant attention less it get out of control and reduce the wood to ash. At night, the vent holes would be covered up to smother the fire. A cord of wood could produce up to ten bags of charcoal which sold at Key West for \$1.50 per bag in the early 1900s. Charcoal making took place on small keys and along the coast of Everglades National Park, leaving some of the fire rings visible until quite recently.⁵⁰

RAILROAD BUILDING

In 1831, the editor of the Key West Gazette suggested that a rail link be constructed to connect Key West with the mainland. Four years later the Key West Inquirer renewed the idea of constructing a railroad to the keys, and in the

49. Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, p.21; and Canova, Life and Adventures in South Florida, pp. 138-139.

50. Willis S. Blatchley, "Cape Sable and Key West in 1919," Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida XXXIV (1974), p. 75; and Tebeau, The Story of Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood, pp. 48-49.

1850s Florida Senator Stephen R. Mallory sought to interest the United States Congress in such a project without success. The Civil War halted any further discussion of the railroad project and the subject remained dormant until 1874, when Edward King, writing in Scribner's Magazine, again advocated that a railroad be constructed down the coast of Florida to Cape Sable where by a series of trestles the line would cross Florida Bay to Key West.⁵¹

A visitor to Key West in 1884, when told of the possibility that a railroad to Key West was even contemplated, expressed surprise and received the following reply:

A [rail] road can be built from one of these keys to another, the whole connected by an iron trestle. A company has been formed, and in less than five years, if you come to Key West again, you will come by rail. The distance to be traversed from the Cape [Sable] to Key West is about 60 miles, and it will be like riding over a great pier, in open cars constructed for the purpose. The novelty and beauty of the trip will bring many invalids and others to Key West who never thought of coming before, and the convenience of it will make⁵² the place the Queen City of the South.

Three railroad companies at various times promised to construct tracks to Key West. In 1879 the Jacksonville,

51. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in Everglades National Park, p. 71; and Carlton J. Corliss, "Building the Overseas Railway," Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida XIII (1953), p.4.

52. "From Tampa to Key West," New York Times, 4 May 1884, p. 6.

Tampa, and Key West Railroad incorporated for the purpose of constructing a railroad to Key West. The next year the Great Southern Railroad Company purposed to build a railroad from Georgia to Key West and then develop a steamship company to serve Central and South America from Key West. The project lapsed until 1883, when John B. Gordon of the Great Southern Railroad Company again promised to construct a railroad to Key West, but the railroad remained unbuilt until Henry Morrison Flagler became interested in the project. His Florida East Coast Railroad had reached Miami in April of 1896 and Flagler looked toward laying rails to Key West which was larger than Miami and had a deep water port. In the summer of 1902, Flagler contacted William J. Krome to conduct a survey of possible routes through the Everglades to Cape Sable with the view of bridging the Florida Bay for a distance of thirty-three miles to Big Pine Key and from there to Key West. Flagler commissioned another survey to examine the land from Biscayne Bay to Key Largo and then to Turtle Harbor with a view to making this a port facility for the railroad.⁵³

53. Corliss, "Building the Overseas Railway," Tequesta:, pp.4-5; Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in Everglades National Park, p. 77; and William J. Krome, "Railway Location in the Florida Everglades," Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida XXXIX (1979), pp. 5-7. William Julius Krome was born on February 14, 1876, the only boy of eight children born to William Henry Krome. He studied the classics at DePauw, Northwestern and Cornell University, but left in his senior year to do survey work for the Missouri railroad. He conducted surveys in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida before being employed by Flagler to conduct the survey to Cape Sable.

Krome selected a crew of fifteen men to assist him in his survey. Eight of these men made up the field crew which carried out the survey, while the remaining seven kept camp and brought in supplies from Miami. A permanent survey base camp was established in the area of the present-day Royal Palm Visitor Center. Each man was issued a canvas knapsack which on most trips contained about forty pounds of equipment and personal gear. The field outfits found most suitable for the task included half-boots studded with hob nails and head nets. The head nets consisted of a stiff brim hat fitted with fine meshed copper wire netting with cheesecloth around the bottom where the net fitted around the person's neck. At night, a mosquito bar of fine cheesecloth was placed around the sleeper. A wagon carried supplies, when possibly, and boats were used when enough water was found to float them. Food consisted mainly of dried items which could be brought in, supplemented by wild game. The survey work began early in December 1902 and continued until June 1903. The crew surveyed from Royal Palm Hammock south to Whitewater Bay and east to the Biscayne pinelands and back to Royal Palm Hammock.⁵⁴

Once the work of Flagler's survey crew became known, promoters speculated that Cape Sable would become a port and sugar cane grown there for the world market. Flagler, in 1904, decided to build the railroad, but not use the Cape

54. Krome, "Railway Location in the Florida Everglades," Tequesta, pp. 8-13.

Sable route. Instead, he selected a route that closely following the Atlantic shore and crossing over to the Key Largo between Barnes Sound and Blackwater Sound. This route proceeding from one key to another until reaching Key West.⁵⁵

Flagler selected Joseph Carroll Meredith as his chief construction engineer for the project on July 26, 1904. Actual construction work began in 1905 and, in December of 1907, the tracks reached Knight Key. The first passenger train arrived in Knight Key on February 6, 1908, with appropriate fanfare. Exhausted from the strain of the work, Meredith died suddenly on April 20, 1909, and was succeed by William Krome. Krome completed the work of bringing the railroad to Key West and regular passenger service commenced on January 22, 1912.⁵⁶

On Florida's west coast, the Deep Lake Railroad started construction in 1913 with rails and rolling stock shipped into Everglades City by water. The next year the railway extended north from Chokoloskee to within thirty miles of

55. Pat Murphy, "Florida the Sugar Bowl of the United States," Undated Manuscript, William S. Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, Gainesville, Florida, Box 1; and Corliss, "Building the Overseas Railway," Tequesta, pp. 6-8.

56. Ibid., pp. 6-7; "H. M. Flagler Opens Railway Over Keys," New York Times, 6 February 1908, p. 3; and Tebeau, A History of Florida, p. 342.

plans to start construction on their portion of the roadway. The first phase of the work extended the existing road from Fort Myers to Marco.⁶¹

Jaudon had an immediate reason for wanting a transcoastal motor route. His founding of the Chevelier Corporation and its acquisition of more than 200,000 acres of wetlands in Monroe County gave him the opportunity to have these lands greatly increase in value if the highway could be routed across them. Jaudon planned the development of a town called Pinecrest on corporate land with the Tamiami Trail running through the center of a proposed townsite. To insure this, in 1919, Jaudon offered to personally pay for the road construction work, provided that the route go through Pinecrest. The commissioners of Dade, Lee, and Monroe Counties agreed to the plan. Jaudon proceeded to finance construction of what is now known as the Loop Road or County Route 94.⁶²

The group working toward the construction of the trail appeared before the Dade County Commissioners on August 3, 1915, requesting that the county pay part of the costs for a preliminary highway survey. The commissioners agreed to this proposal, and two days later a survey team began work

61. Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, p. 222.

62. Ethan V. Blackman, Miami and Dade County, Florida, (1921 reprint ed.; Chuluota, Florida: Mickler House, 1977), p. 171; and Douglas, The Everglades: River of Grass, p. 343.

in the field. The surveyors completed their work and returned to Miami on August 21, 1915.⁶³

Both the Lee and Dade County Commissioners then ordered bond elections held on October 19, 1915, to fund road construction. In Dade County, opposition to the bond issue arose from groups that believed a highway across the Everglades would cause the flooding of arable lands in Dade County. Those in opposition also doubted that Lee County had the financial resources to complete their section of road. After much debate, the voters decided in favor of the bond issue.⁶⁴

The Dade County Commissioners scheduled a road construction bid opening on February 11, 1916, but no bids were received. They then ordered a permanent survey of the proposed route to the Lee County line which was begun on February 18 and completed on March 14, 1916. Using the additional data gained from this survey, the construction work was re-advertised. The contract was awarded on May 2, 1916 to the J. B. McCrary Company of Atlanta, Georgia, with the subcontracting going to the Morgan Paving Company. Construction work began in September 1916.⁶⁵

63. Tamiami Trail Commissioners, History of the Tamiami Trail and a Brief Review of the Road Construction Movement in Florida, p. 12.

64. Ibid., p. 14.

65. Ibid., pp. 16-17.

The task turned out to be more formidable than expected. Large amounts of money were expended, but little progress resulted. The entry of the United States into World War I in April 1917, created numerous difficulties as labor and materials became scarce and costs skyrocketed. This increased financial burden forced Lee County officials to stop work on its portion of the roadway. Dade County, however, managed to complete the grading of its section to the county line. Then Jaudon made his offer to finance and construct a portion of the trail if, as mentioned, it were agreed that it would pass through the holdings of the Chevelier Corporation, specifically the planned town of Pinecrest. Work began in the Loop Road area in 1923.⁶⁶

Several other events transpired in 1923 which significantly assured completion of the route. Perhaps the most colorful was a publicity stunt--crossing the Everglades by car, without a highway, by a group known as the Tamiami Trail Blazers. This expedition and its caravan consisting of ten vehicles with twenty-three white men and two Miccosukee guides was organized by Ora E. Chapin of Fort Myers, Florida. The expedition wished to demonstrate the feasibility of crossing the Big Cypress and Everglades and to rekindle public enthusiasm for the road building project. They succeeded on both counts despite hardships. Almost as

66. Charlton W. Tebeau and Ruby Leach Carson, Florida from Indian Trail to Space Age: A History (Delray Beach, Florida: Southern Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 11, 57.

soon as they embarked from Fort Myers on April 4, 1923, their vehicles became bogged down in the muck. Nevertheless, the party, minus a couple of vehicles, arrived in Miami some three weeks later. Each day that the Tamiami Trail Blazers trudged through the swamps, press coverage of the event increased. Even major newspapers in the United States and Great Britain carried stories on the daily progress of the motorcade. All of this media coverage revived public interest in the success of the cross-peninsula road.⁶⁷

At this critical time, Barron Gift Collier, a millionaire businessman, emerged to take a leading role in completing the Tamiami Trail. Collier was born March 23, 1873, in Memphis, Tennessee, and at an early age, he began working in advertising. By the beginning of the twentieth century, he had migrated to New York City and made a fortune in streetcar placards through the business he founded, the Consolidated Street Railway Advertising Company.⁶⁸

Well established, Collier turned to investing in real estate. This led him to involvement with numerous land improvement schemes including drainage projects and land development as well as lumbering enterprises in Lee County,

67. Federal Writers' Project, Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 406; and Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, pp. 225-228.

68. Ibid., p. 83.

Florida. He was so successful that the Florida State Legislature created Collier County in 1923 from a portion of Lee County. Collier promised that if this legislation passed, he would bring the Tamiami Trail to completion.⁶⁹

Collier, true to his word, immediately plunged into efforts to revitalize the road work and shortly thereafter came into conflict with Jaudon and his competing Chevelier Corporation. Collier wanted the route changed back to the original survey, which would delete the lands and road constructed by the Chevelier Corporation from the Tamiami Trail. Both factions argued their cases before the commissioners of Collier and Dade Counties to a deadlock, ultimately going to the state legislatures. Collier and Jaudon both appeared before state committees to plead their cause and request that the state take over the road construction project. The state legislatures decided to take control of the project and study which route would be best. Over the objections of the Dade County Commissioners, who felt a route change would be a double cross to Jaudon, the state adopted Collier's route in 1926. To placate Jaudon, the state extended and paved his road to connect with the Tamiami Trail which became the previously mentioned Loop Road.⁷⁰

69. Luther J. Carter, The Florida Experience: Land and Water Policy in a Growth State (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), pp. 77-79.

70. Liss, "Tamiami Trail: 50-Year-Old Road Built on Hope," The Miami Herald, 25 April 1978, pp. 1A, 14A; and Tamiami

While Collier was directly involved in the road building, he used the construction firm of Alexander, Ramsey, and Kerr, whose crews began in October 1923 to work from Carnestown toward Dade County. After surveying the route, clearing crews chopped down the trees, removed brush, and burned the slash. The felled trees sometimes were used in later construction work. These work parties occasionally were accompanied by an armed guard with rifles with orders to kill all reptiles and other dangerous wildlife ahead of the workers.⁷¹

Following the clearing crews came the track-laying crew. They constructed a roadbed and put down industrial standard gauge rails on which a railroad car with a specially designed drilling machine was brought into place for drilling holes for the placement of dynamite charges. This machine carried two Ingersoll-Rand compressors that drove three pneumatic drills placed six feet apart. The machine was brought up to the drill site, leveled, and three 12 foot holes drilled. Then the machine moved up another six feet to repeat the operation. Meanwhile, tracks were picked up and relaid in front of this thirty-ton apparatus.⁷²

Trail Commissioners, History of the Tamiami Trail and a Brief Review of the Road Construction Movement in Florida, pp. 16-17.

71. Frank F. Tenney, "Across the Everglades with the Trail Builders," in Collier County Heritage, ed. Henry R. Hoffman (Naples, Florida: Heritage Publishing Company, 1976), pp. 9-18.

72. Ibid., p. 12.

Next arrived the blasting crews who cleaned the muck and water out of the blasting holes with jetting pumps. Ten to forty sticks of dynamite were placed in the holes, and the crew retreated a safe distance to detonate the explosives. This shattered the below ground limestone stratum, but occasionally a dangerous problem arose when a dynamite charge would not go off. The "powder monkey" then would investigate carefully and eventually re-shoot the holes that failed to fire. Electric blasting caps were in use on the Tamiami Trail, having been invented and introduced as a safety feature in the latter part of the last century and made more available as a standard production item of explosives equipment at the beginning of this century. The safety standards on this projects were so stringent that despite the large amount of explosives used only one man was injured by a blast and he recovered in a Fort Myers hospital.⁷³

The excellent safety record achieved for blasting in building the Tamiami Trail is particularly impressive given the difficult swamp conditions. A passage in the Blasters' Handbook sounds almost like a tongue-in-cheek understatement about doing seismic work in swamps:

From a physical standpoint, swamp work is probably the most disagreeable seismic operation. The equipment must be either carried or pulled in small

73. Ibid., pp. 13-14; and DuPont Company, The Blaster's Handbook (Wilmington, Delaware: Explosives Department of the E. I. du Pont du Nemours Company, 1969), p. 6.

boats, sometimes through waist-deep mud. And in addition to the normal occupational hazards, the swamps⁷⁴ often contain snakes and alligators.

The blasted rock was used for the roadbed of the trail, dredged up by three Bay City Walking Dredges. The Bay City dredges followed the blasting crew, each straddling the trench at 200-foot intervals from one another. One dredge would be 400 feet in front, the second 200 feet back, and the third another 200 feet back. The work proceeded in 400-foot increments as the three dredges performed in line one before another. The man-size steel buckets of the dredges scooped out a ditch ten to fifteen feet deep and approximately twenty feet wide. The dredges operated in two ten-hour shifts each day, including two hours between shifts to service, inspect, and perform routine maintenance on the machines. When a breakdown did occur, repairs were made immediately by a maintenance crew who worked feverishly to fix the equipment and not impede the progress of construction. Dredge parts were sometimes fabricated at the machine shops at Port DuPont while other repairs required only the replacement from the warehouse supply. The most common breakdowns were replacement of buckets, cables, and bucket teeth. The fill dredged up often was not enough for the roadbed, so rock quarries were opened up in the Big

74. Ibid., p. 357.

Cypress and crushed limestone was brought to the areas of need.⁷⁵

The dredges were followed by a machine called the Bay City Skimmer Scoop that leveled the roadway. Behind this, the grading crews would arrive to begin the more meticulous work of preparing the highway for the final asphalt covering. Along with the graders came a "camp on wheels" that provided three mess sections and bunk houses for the crews working on the trail.⁷⁶

Supplies were brought to the work crews by boat, motor vehicle, oxcart, and even handcart. The construction of bridges required large quantities of pine and cypress lumber. Logging operations were set up to provide the timber required. Also large amounts of gasoline, oil, and dynamite were needed, not to mention the quantities of food and ice brought forward daily from the commissary at Port DuPont. The diet of the trail builders was supplemented by venison and wild turkey purchased from Miccosukee and Seminole Indians that lived in the vicinity.⁷⁷

75. Tenney, "Across the Everglades with the Trail Builders," in Collier County Heritage, pp. 13-14; and Liss, "Tamiami Trail: 50-Year-Old Road Built on Hope," The Miami Herald, 25 April 1978, pp. 1A, 14A.

76. Tenney, "Across the Everglades with the Trail Builders," in Collier County Heritage, pp. 14-15.

77. Ibid., p. 77.

The Tamiami Trail officially opened April 25, 1928 with a two-day celebration, many commemorating activities, and a 550-car motorcade from Fort Myers to Miami. Collier, Jaudon, and other dignitaries made speeches on the virtues of the new road, and local Miccosukees made up a dancing exhibition to add to the festivities. Newspapers in that section of Florida hailed the achievement as a monumental undertaking, lavishing praise on the completed route as the "Appian Way of America." Expectations for the highway, especially by the promoters, were that it would not only shorten the trip considerably from Tampa to Miami, but open the Everglades to agricultural development.⁷⁸

The opening celebrations were organized by the Tamiami Trail Association of which Barron Collier was president. The principal purpose of this group was to publicize the trail. One of their projects relating to improving trail facilities was the formation of the Southwest Mounted Police. Despite its name, the Southwest Mounted Police was not a law enforcement agency, but rather a patrol to aid motorists who had automobile trouble on the trail. Stations were established at ten-mile intervals on the trail at Belle Meade, Royal Palm Hammock, Weaver's Camp, Turner River, Monroe Station, and Paolita. These way stations operated as a gas station, general store, and first aid station, and housed the husband-and-wife teams that constituted each

78. Liss, "Tamiami Trail: 50-Year-Old Road Built on Hope," The Miami Herald, 25 April 1978, p. 14A.

patrol. The wife sold gasoline and operated the store while the husband patrolled his section of the trail to assist any stranded drivers. The patrolmen were issued a motorcycle and uniform plus incidental equipment to carry out their duties. Collier, supposedly, modeled the uniform after that of the Northwest Mounted Police, reorganized in 1920 as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Hazards of fog and chuckholes were such that four members of the Southwest Mounted Police were killed in motorcycle accidents during the first year of operation.⁷⁹

The Tamiami Trail served the east-west transportation needs of southern Florida well until the 1950s when a movement began that supported the building of another road across the Everglades, the Everglades Parkway, not too far north of the trail. The arguments advanced for a new roadway were the same as those for the trail itself: increase commerce and land development. The highway terminuses of this "Everglades Turnpike" were to be Naples and Fort Lauderdale, with the road passing through tribal lands of the Seminoles. In 1962, officials of Broward and Collier Counties agreed to a feasibility study of the proposed routes along with a preliminary engineering report. The Seminole Tribal Council adopted a resolution supporting the project, which included

79. Tenney, "Across the Everglades with the Trail Builders," in Collier County Heritage, p. 17; Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, p. 232; and Horace A. Dunn, "The Tamiami Trail," Florida Highways V (March, 1928), p. 1.

a grant-of-access across tribal land for a highway right-of-way. In 1963, more exhaustive reports appeared on route feasibility. Opposition to the roadway soon followed. The most constant critic was the American Automobile Association, which objected to the tolls to be charged and the fact that it was only to have two lanes. The American Automobile Association used the sobriquet "Alligator Alley" when referring to the proposed highway to ridicule it. Despite objections, work commenced in October 1964, completion occurring three years and three months later. State Route 84, the Everglades Parkway, now popularly known as Alligator Alley, opened to motorists on January 15, 1968, and was officially dedicated on February 11, 1968.⁸⁰

Soon after the completion, competition developed between the promoters of Alligator Alley and the Tamiami Trail as to which route should be chosen for the proposed Interstate 75 corridor. Both groups believed that their route would be the most advantageous for the state and could easily be upgraded to interstate-highway standards. Newspapers and various groups took sides, and attempts were made to engineer back room deals in hope of influencing the final decision. Debate raged until Governor Reubin Askew

80. Tebeau, A History of Florida, p. 445.

announced in 1973 that Alligator Alley would be the route upgraded to become part of Interstate 75.⁸¹

LAND DEVELOPMENT

One of the earliest land development efforts in the lower Everglades revolved around Dr. Benjamin Stobel. In 1829, Stobel served as assistant post surgeon at Key West and explored the lower Florida coastline. Three years later, he joined a New York state based company known as the Florida Peninsular Land Company which obtained an option on the land from Cape Sable to Tampa Bay. The next year Stobel acted as guide for the company's surveying party that left Key West to examine the west coast of Florida, but the company did not go beyond this effort in developing the Gulf Coast.⁸²

The major land development effort did not come until the beginning of the twentieth century. Barron Gift Collier, who figured so prominently in the construction of the Tamiami Trail, was deeply involved in Florida land development. Collier came to Florida in 1911 when he purchased property in Fort Myers and in 1921 with the acquisition of Deep Lake Hammock and began an active land purchasing program in lower Florida. Eventually, Collier owned more than a million acres in present day Collier, Lee,

81. Allen Morris, comp., The Florida Handbook, 1981-1982, 18th ed. (Tallahassee, Florida: Peninsular Publishing Company, 1981), pp. 181-182.

82. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in Everglades National Park, pp. 61-62.

and Hendry counties. Collier began a series of improvements on his property including drainage projects, road construction, railroad building, and harbor developments.⁸³

In 1922, Collier selected the small community of Everglades to become the center of his operations in Florida. His representatives proceeded to purchase land around Chokoloskee and developed plans for greatly enlarging the community of Everglades. A number of local people were hired by Collier to run his operations in Florida including David Graham Copeland. Copeland came to Collier County as chief engineer of the Alexander, Ramsey, and Kerr Company in 1924, and in 1929 became the resident manager of Collier properties until his retirement in 1947. The collapse of the Florida land boom in 1926 and the onset of the "Depression" in 1929 resulted in the slacking of Collier's activity. Barron Collier died March 13, 1939 and eventually the family donated large amounts of land to Everglades National Park.⁸⁴

Another group involved in land development was the Chevelier Company. The company became active in the 1910s sending a survey party out in 1917 to locate some of its lands. The survey party consisting of John King and his son, John, and

83. Douglas, The Everglades: River of Grass, p. 258; and Anthony Weitzel, "The Collier Story," Naples Daily News, 4 July 1976, pp. 7-9.

84. Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, pp. 87-89; and "Barron G. Collier," The Miami Herald, 14 March 1939, p. 6.

William Catlow headed into the Everglades in February. Because of the lack of water in the Everglades, they took more time than anticipated to complete their survey and were close to starvation before reaching Shark River and Florida Bay. In 1919, the company acquired the property of C. Roy Watson on Half-Way Creek with a plan to drain and develop the area around Chevelier Bay. A number of surveys were conducted from this location in the 1920s and several small canals were constructed. These canals were improperly planned and turned into tidal steams allowing salt water intrusion far inland. The company failed after the collapse of the land boom in 1926, but continued to station a caretaker on their property until 1929 when all development activity ceased.⁸⁵

The state of Florida offered Henry Flagler for each one mile of railroad 3,700 acres of state-owned land. In 1912, after the Florida East Coast railroad reached Key West, Flagler presented the state with a claim for 2,050,000 acres. The Internal Improvement Board of Florida responded that they did not own that much state land and asked Flagler to settle for 260,000 acres. Flagler agreed and received land in Broward, Dade, and Palm Beach Counties with 210,000 acres of this in the Cape Sable vicinity. These lands were placed under the control of two of the Florida East Coast Railroad's subsidiaries known as the Model Land Company

85. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in Everglades National Park, pp. 78, 89-91.

(also known as the Cape Sable Land Company) and the Dade Muck Land Company which already owned land in the area. The Model Land Company managed the lands of the Florida East Coast Railroad, planned improvements for these land, and sought to attract settlers to there.⁸⁶

The President of the Model Land Company and Vice President of the Florida East Coast Railroad was James E. Ingraham. In August 1914, Ingraham requested information from Florida Governor William Sherman Jennings as to the how a road could be constructed from Homestead to Cape Sable. Road construction began in late 1914 by the J. B. McCrary Company and continued until the Monroe County line was reached. There the project temporarily halted with final completion of the road occurring in 1922. At that time, the road was extended to Flamingo and to Bear Lake. Along with the road was constructed the Homestead Canal and at the end of the road, the canal was extended to Lake Ingraham and to the Gulf of Mexico. This road was officially dedicated at the opening of Royal Palm State Park and given the name of the Ingraham Highway in 1916.⁸⁷

86. Lawrence Elmer Will, "Cape Sable Dredge," Everglades National Park Reference Library, Homestead, Florida, pp. 1-5.

87. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in Everglades National Park, pp. 136, 160-161; and Ingraham to Jennings, August 8, 1914, William S. Jennings Papers, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 22.

The Model Land Company began promoting lots for sale at Cape Sable in 1916. The company constructed a large building on East Cape known as the "Club House" to serve as headquarters for the work crew and hotel for prospective real estate buyers, fishermen, and hunters. It was a large frame building on piling six feet above the ground with offices inside and meals served in an enclosed porch around the outside. Surrounding the building were six tents each containing a wooden floor, bed, washstand, kerosene lantern, two chairs, and mosquito netting. These so-called "cottages" which rented for \$2.50 a day and included board. Also onsite the company constructed a swimming pool, set out coconut palms, built a small bridge from East Cape to Middle Cape, and constructed several small drainage ditches to make the land more appealing to customers. Only a few individual lots were sold and the vast bulk of the land, nearly 135,000 acres, was sold by the company to the National Park Service in 1948 for \$115,000. The "Club House" either burned or collapsed in a hurricane around 1931, but the swimming pool remained visible into the 1950s.⁸⁸

Another land development concern was the Tropical Development Company based in Miami which acquired land

88. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in Everglades National Park, pp. 159-160; Blatchley, "Cape Sable and Key West in 1919," Tequesta, p. 71; "Glades Park Land Purchased," The Miami Herald, 7 November 1948, p. 18-E; and "The Shark Was Slaughtering Tarpons Off Cape Sable, Until He 'Got His' From A Rifle Bullet," Tampa Sunday Tribune, 28 August 1955, p. 16-C.

astride Lostman's Creek in the early 1920s and drew up a subdivision on the map named the "Poinciana Mainland." Onion Key became the company's field headquarters with docks, a small electrical plant, and several portable buildings. The company sold land lots through rather creative advertisements in newspapers which promised that the area would become the Miami of the Gulf coast. Thousands of lots were sold before a 1926 hurricane devastated the makeshift community on Onion Key. The promoters promised to rebuild, but the enterprise virtually ended except for a newspaper advertisement campaign which continued for several years.⁸⁹

The peak of Everglades land speculation occurred in 1925 with a variety of small companies claiming to own acreage around Cape Sable and the Ten Thousand Islands and proclaiming that the area soon would be developed into a seaport or a resort area. Much of the land was bought sight unseen in hopes that speculation and promised developments would drive up the price of the land. Many companies promised improvements which they never intended to carry out. Thus only small structures, if any, were erected on these lands. The destructive hurricane of 1926 and the adverse publicity brought by the national press to the various land fraud schemes resulted in a general decline in

89. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in Everglades National Park, pp. 113-117.

land development projects, but this activity continued up until the creation of Everglades National Park and beyond.⁹⁰

OIL EXPLORATION IN THE EVERGLADES

The Tamiami Trail opened the interior of the Everglades to oil exploration and, in 1932, the Miami Florida Oil and Gas Company drilled a well called "Everglades No. 1" in Section 19 of Township 53 south and Range 35 east some 40 miles west of Miami on the Tamiami Trail. The drilling reached a depth of 4,570 feet before being stopped. The next several years found much interest in exploration for oil, but most of the drilling efforts resulted only in dry wells. William G. Blanchard and Associates drilled two wells in Section 31, Township 53 south, Range 35 east in 1941 and shut them down in 1944. Also in 1944, the Miami Ship Building Company completed drilling a well in Section 25, Township 55 south, Range 37 east, but shut down well operations in December of 1944.⁹¹

The discovery of the Sunniland oil field in 1943 encouraged further oil exploration and in 1945, Humble Oil and Refining

90. "Five Guilty in Land Case," New York Times, 27 November 1914, p. 12; "Company Will Build Resort at Cape Sable," The Miami Herald, 20 March 1925, p. 1; and A Report to Everglades National Park Commission by Committee on Lands and Boundaries Relative to Boundaries for Proposed Everglades National Park, pp. 10-14.

91. Herman Gunter, Exploration for Oil and Gas in Florida, Information Circular-No. 1 (Revised) (Tallahassee, Florida: Florida Geological Survey, 1949), pp. 43, 45, 79-80. The impact of oil exploration on the plans for the creation of Everglades National Park is discussed later in this report.

Company completed the drilling of a well in Section 30, Township 55 south, Range 36 east to a depth of more than 11,794 feet. Several other oil companies drilled in what became Everglades National Park that year including the Consumers Gas and Fuel Company in Section 24, Township 54 south, Range 35 east; the O. D. Robinson Company in Section 29, Township 59 south, Range 39 east; and the Gulf Oil Corporation in Township 60 south, Range 25 east. Work on developing these wells lasted into the 1950s, but they were abandoned due to low productivity. From 1954 until the 1960s several dry wells were drilled in the northwest section of Everglades National Park. These wells were drilled as part of the development of the Forty-Mile Bend Field, but were not productive enough to justify continued operation. Also in the 1950s, seismic testing took place in Florida Bay which resulted in the development of oil wells on East Cape and Sandy Key by the Gulf Oil Corporation. These wells were abandoned as unproductive in the late 1950s.⁹²

92. Herman Gunter, Exploration for Oil and Gas in Florida: 1953 Supplement to Information Circular-No. 1 (Revised) (Tallahassee, Florida: Florida Geological Survey, 1954), p. 21; Herman Gunter, Exploration for Oil and Gas in Florida: 1954 Supplement to Information Circular-No. 1 (Revised) (Tallahassee, Florida: Florida Geological Survey, 1955), p. 8; Herman Gunter, Exploration for Oil and Gas in Florida: 1955 Supplement to Information Circular-No. 1 (Revised) (Tallahassee, Florida: Florida Geological Survey, 1956), pp. 6, 8, 10, 23; and Babcock, Oil and Gas Activities in Florida, 1968 (Information Circular No. 65) (Tallahassee, Florida: Florida Department of Natural Resources, 1970), pp. 11, 13.

ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES IN THE EVERGLADES

One of the most persistent uses of the Everglades and most difficult to quantify is the illicit activity which occurs in the area. Shortly after Spanish settlement of Florida, pirates became active around the Florida Keys with Florida Bay and the Ten Thousand Islands possibly being the scene for some of their nefarious enterprises. In 1822, after Florida became United States possession, territorial officials expressed concern about smuggling activities in the Cape Sable area and their inability to stop the illicit trade. During the Seminole Wars the United State Navy sought to patrol the coast of the lower Florida peninsula in a largely unsuccessful attempt to prevent Caribbean traders from reaching the Seminole Indians.⁹³

The blockade of the Florida coast by Union vessels proved more successful, but smuggling still remained active. In addition, deserters from both armies, purportedly, sought refuge in the Everglades. The Everglades gained the reputation, after the Civil War, as a refuge for criminals and this reputation remained until nearly the present. One of the more legendary criminal figures was Edward J. "Ed" Watson, who came to Florida around 1892 and obtained forty acres near the mouth of Chatham River where he successfully

93. Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol. XXII, The Territory of Florida, p. 375; Smead to William M. Graham, August 14, 1856, NA, RG 393, Entry 1623, Box 2, File H57; and Loomis to Irwin McDowell, December 3, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1617, p. 292.

grew sugar cane and vegetables. Talk began to circulate around Chokoloskee that Watson had been responsible for several murders prior to his coming to Florida and over the years tales continued concerning his violent behavior. Perhaps some of the tales were started by Watson to keep people in fear and off his property. Then, in 1910, Leslie Cox, Hannah Smith, Duchy Melvin, a man named Waller, and an unnamed black man began living at the Watson place. One day while Watson was away from his farm, Cox supposedly killed Waller, Smith, and later Melvin. The partially buried body of Smith was found by a neighbor, reburied, and the news reported in Chokoloskee. Watson went for the sheriff at Fort Myers, but the October 1910, hurricane prevented the sheriff from reaching Chokoloskee. Watson left town and returned to announce to a crowd which had gathered outside of the Smallwood Store that he had killed Cox. They refused to believe him and asked him to take them to the body. The crowd tried to disarm Watson, at which time he attempted to shoot into the crowd and was killed by fusillade from the mob.⁹⁴

In 1915, a gang of four bank robbers composed of Leland and Frank Rice, Hugh Aldeman, and a man named Tucker robbed a bank in Homestead and hid in the swamps near Chokoloskee.

94. Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, pp. 216-217; Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in Everglades National Park, pp. 84-87; and Tebeau, The Story of the Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood, pp. 77-81.

Eventually all were captured or killed, but such activity continued giving the Everglades a reputation for being a refuge for criminals. During the 1920s illegal aliens were smuggled into the country through the Everglades waterways. Today these criminal activities continue to be a problem in the Everglades.⁹⁵

95. Ibid., p. 82.

CHAPTER 4: DRAINAGE OF THE EVERGLADES

EARLY PLANS FOR RECLAIMING THE EVERGLADES

Plans for reclamation the Everglades date to the first Spanish occupation of Florida. Spanish government officials planned a vast drainage project for the Florida interior, but because of lack of funds only implemented drainage on a limited scale. After Florida became United States territory, settlers called for the natural rivers of the Everglades to be widened and deepened to drain the interior lands.¹

By 1843, the United States Congress received proposals for the study of the feasibility of draining the Everglades. The Corps of Topographical Engineers estimated that such a study could be done for \$10,000.² Congress decided to take no action on the matter. The Florida legislature in December of 1845 passed a resolution in part which read:

Whereas there is a vast and extensive region commonly termed the Everglades, in the southern section of this State, embracing no inconsiderable portion of this entire peninsula, which has hitherto been regarded as wholly valueless in consequence of being covered by water at stated periods of

1. Hanna and Hanna, Lake Okeechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades, pp. 5; and Williams, The Territory of Florida: or Sketches of the Topography, Civil and Natural History, of the Country, the Climate, and the Indian Tribes, from the First Discovery to the Present Time, with a Map, Views, &c., p. 151.

2. Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol. XXVI, The Territory of Florida, p. 589.

the year, and the supposed impracticability of draining it. And whereas recent information, derived from the most respectable sources, has induced the belief, which is daily strengthening, that these opinions are without foundation, and, on the contrary, that at a comparatively small expense the aforesaid region can be entirely reclaimed; thus opening to the habitation of man an immense and hitherto unexplored domain perhaps not surpassed in fertility and every natural advantage by any other on the globe.³

The resolution then requested that the United States Congress make a study of the Everglades to test the hypothesis that the swampland could be reclaimed. As the first step in this endeavor, United States Senator John D. Westcott, Jr., of Florida petitioned Secretary of Treasury Robert J. Walker to appoint someone to report on the feasibility of reclaiming Florida swampland after a detailed reconnaissance. Secretary Walker complied and assigned Buckingham Smith of St. Augustine, Florida, the task on June 18, 1847.⁴

Smith led an exploration party into the Everglades in September 1847 and submitted his report to the Secretary of

3. U. S. Congress, Senate Resolutions Passed by the Legislature of Florida, S. Doc. 35, 29th Congress, 1st Sess, 1846, p. 1.

4. Thomas E. Will, "The Everglades of Florida," Review of Reviews 46 (October, 1912), p. 451; and Hanna and Hanna, Lake Okeechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades, p. 54. Buckingham Smith had served as Secretary to the Florida Governor and three times was elected a member of the Florida Legislature.

the Treasury on June 1, 1848, and by the Secretary to Congress on August 10, 1848. He concluded that the Everglades could be reclaimed by the construction of two or three canals at a cost of not more than \$500,000, but such a plan would result in the death of numerous swamp animals. He reasoned that the death of these animals would be no great loss and the newly created land would be perfect for agricultural purposes. Enclosed in the report were letters supporting Smith's arguments from such people as General Thomas S. Jesup and General William S. Harney among others. Harney even suggested that the Everglades could be drained by canals dug from Lake Okeechobee to the Caloosahatchee and Loxahatchee River along with canals into the Ratones, Little Arch Creek, Miami and Shark Rivers. He believed that the two principal canals only needed to be ten to fifteen miles long, thirty feet wide, and from five to fifteen feet deep to accomplish the task. Only Stephen Russell Mallory, Collector of Customs at Key West, among those requested by Smith to comment on his plan, thought that the Everglades could not be successfully drained.⁵

Also in 1848, the Surveyor General of Florida, Robert Butler, claimed that he could not carry out a complete survey of the state until the Everglades were drained. These events encouraged the Florida legislature and United

5. Hanna and Hanna, Lake Okeechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades, pp. 54-55; Douglas, The Everglades: River of Grass, pp. 194-195; and Dovell, "A History of the Everglades," pp. 90-92.

States Senator Westcott to press the United States Congress to take action and pass legislation to aid in the draining of the Everglades. Congress took no action until late 1850 when it passed and President Millard Fillmore signed "An Act to Enable the State of Arkansas and other States to Reclaim the 'swamp lands' Within Their Limits." This act provided the State of Florida with all jurisdictional rights over the Everglades. The Florida state legislature accepted this land grant in 1851 from the United States, and proceeded to create the Board of Internal Improvements to administer the newly acquired lands (20,000,000 acres) and to oversee drainage efforts. This board, however, found itself unable to function due to deficiencies in the original law. In 1855, the Florida legislature reconstituted the board through additional legislation, granting it control of lands ceded by the Federal government to Florida, in 1845, as part of statehood plus those acquired by the 1850 grant. Further modification of the rules under which the Board of Internal Improvements operated occurred in 1879.⁶

HAMILTON DISSTON AND DRAINAGE

6. Douglas, The Everglades: River of Grass, pp. 194-195; U. S. Statutes at Large Vol. 9, 1850, pp. 518-519; Hanna and Hanna, Lake Okeechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades, pp. 56-57; U. S. Congress, Senate, Everglades of Florida: Acts, Reports, and Other Papers, State and National Relating to the Everglades of the State of Florida and Their Reclamation, S. Doc. 89, 62d Congress, 1st Sess, 1911, p. 8; and Lewis A. Jones, Soils, Geology, and Water Control in the Everglades Region (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida, 1948), p. 8.

The Board of Internal Improvement considered several schemes for draining the Everglades, but had carried out none by 1880 when Philadelphian Hamilton Disston arrived on the scene. Disston had high hopes and financial resources enough to begin an ambition drainage program around Lake Okeechobee. The Board of Internal Improvements faced bankruptcy because of an 1869 lawsuit in the United States Circuit Court and so sold Disston more than four million acres of swampland for one million dollars on May 30, 1881. The plan was to divert water from the lower Everglades by construction of a canal from Lake Okeechobee to the Caloosahatchee River for the water to drain into the Gulf of Mexico and another canal from the lake to the St. Lucie River draining the water into the Atlantic. A canal was constructed taking water to the Gulf Coast, but the water level of Lake Okeechobee was not reduced and the land reclaimed far less than Disston originally promised. Drainage operations under this contract cease in 1889 and Disston died in 1896 before the project could be restarted.⁷

DRAINAGE PROJECTS AFTER DISSTON

By 1896, Henry M. Flagler became interested in drainage and as a subsidiary of the Florida East Coast Railroad created

7. "Draining the Everglades," New York Times, 18 February 1881, p. 2; Senate, Everglades of Florida: Acts, Reports, and Other Papers, State and National Relating to the Everglades of the State of Florida and Their Reclamation, pp. 9-10; and Jones, Soils, Geology, and Water Control in the Everglades Region, pp. 8-9.

the Florida East Coast Drainage and Sugar Company which negotiated a drainage agreement with the Internal Improvement Board in 1898. Their drainage plans called for the removal of natural blockages on the existing rivers to allow water to more rapidly flow to the sea. Actual progress in draining the swamplands proceeded slowly with more effort being spent by the company in raising capital than in lowering the water level.⁸

William Sherman Jennings became governor of Florida in 1901 and the next year began planning for the revitalization of state-sponsored drainage projects. He began an investigation of the Internal Improvement Board which found that a number of railroads and other companies granted land were not living up to their drainage agreements. The issue of drainage became an election issue in 1904, with outgoing Governor Jennings supporting Napoleon Bonaparte Broward as the candidate to carry out his policy.⁹

EVERGLADES DRAINAGE DISTRICT

Broward, a tug and freight boat owner and operator as well as a former county sheriff and state legislator, campaigned

8. "Millionaires Flagler and Plant and Their Great Undertaking," New York Times, 18 March 1896, p. 6; and Senate, Everglades of Florida: Acts, Reports, and Other Papers, State and National Relating to the Everglades of the State of Florida and Their Reclamation, pp. 9-10.

9. Ibid., pp. 12-14; Jones, Soils, Geology, and Water Control in the Everglades Region, p. 10; and John Gifford, The Everglades and Other Essays Relating to Southern Florida (Kansas City, Missouri; n. p., 1911), p. 10.

vigorously in support of a more dynamic Everglades drainage program. After his election, Broward pushed through legislation for the creation of the Everglades Drainage District. This law passed on May 27, 1905, placed the lands of the Internal Improvement Board under this newly created organization. To provide sufficient funding for reclamation activity, the legislature granted the Commissioners of the Everglades Drainage District authority to establish drainage districts and levy on the lands therein drainage taxes not to exceed 10 cents per acre per year. This prompted a lawsuit and the Federal court found the law unconstitutional. An amended act subsequently was passed by the Florida legislature on May 28, 1907, and upheld by the courts which allowed the levying of a 5 cent per acre drainage tax.¹⁰

The boundaries of the Everglades Drainage District extended from Lake Okeechobee south to near Cape Sable and along the east coast (going around the coastal communities) then from Biscayne Bay to the Dade-Monroe County line and west to the middle of Collier County and then north toward Lake Okeechobee. This took in some land in the northeastern portion of present-day Everglades National Park. In 1906 drainage operations began around Lake Okeechobee; however, by 1912 it became apparent that the planned work would not

10. Tebeau, A History of Florida, pp. 347-348; and Jones Soils, Geology, and Water Control in the Everglades Region, p. 10.

be sufficient to drain the Everglades. The Everglades Drainage District funded the Florida Everglades Engineering Commission to submitted a report concerning existing and proposed canal construction.¹¹

In 1913, the study was completed and submitted to the Everglades Drainage District which proposed several canals for drainage of the area which became Everglades National Park. Seven of the proposed canals would directly penetrate the future Everglades National Park. One would start at Lake Okeechobee and traverse the eastern section of the Okaloacoochee Slough then follow the Turner River to the Gulf of Mexico. This canal was to protect the western edge of the drainage district from the overflow water of Big Cypress Swamp. A second canal would be constructed from a point 25 miles south of Lake Okeechobee on the Miami Canal, then to the western section of Township 52 south, Range 35 east, and from this point connect with the Chatham River. The third canal was to have the same starting point as the second canal, but would run 12 miles south and down to Lostman's River. The fourth canal would begin in the southeast corner of Township 55 south, Range 36 east and extend 8.5 miles west then southwest following the Harney River to the Gulf of Mexico. A fifth canal would begin at the junction of the Miami Canal in Township 49 south, Range 37 east and run to the southeast corner of Township 56

11. Ibid., pp. 10-11; and Hanna and Hanna, Lake Okeechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades, pp. 128-129.

south, Range 36 east and from there to Whitewater Bay. The sixth canal to begin east of Royal Palm Hammock and ran south into the Taylor River. The seventh canal was to run southwest from the south side of Royal Palm Hammock until reaching salt water in Township 59 south, Range 55 east. Though some portions of the proposed canal system were completed, the bulk of the work planned that would have impacted Everglades National Park was never implemented and the Everglade Drainage District abandoned any work on canals south of the Miami Canal in 1920 and did not resume making drainage plans for that section of Florida until 1925.¹²

In early January 1916, the major landowners in the Cape Sable and Royal Palm Hammock areas requested the Everglades Drainage District to authorize creation of the Homestead Sub-drainage District. The request was granted and the first meeting of the district board members took place on March 20, 1916. One drainage scheme offered at the meeting called for the sale of Township 58 south, Range 37 east at \$2.50 an acre to finance construction of the proposed Royal Palm Drainage Canal. The canal would extend 21 miles beginning north of Royal Palm Hammock and running south to the southwest corner of section 34 in Township 58 south,

12. U. S. Congress, Senate, Florida Everglades: Report of the Florida Everglades Engineering Commission to the Board of Commissioners of the Everglades Drainage District and the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund, State of Florida, 1913, S. Doc. 379, 63d Cong., 2d Sess., 1914, p. 14; and W. A. McRae, "The Everglades," Florida Quarterly Bulletin of the Agricultural Department Vol. 31 (January 1, 1921), map.

Range 37 east then southeast to Taylor River and into Florida Bay. This plan was not approved and it was decided to have an engineer come up with a reclamation proposal in sixty days. This action resulted in the construction of the Homestead Canal along the Ingraham Highway.¹³

The extension of the Homestead Canal to Cape Sable resulted in the construction of several side canals including the Snake Bight Canal, Buttonwood Canal, Flamingo Canal, East Cape Canal, and side ditches to Fox Lake. Lawrence E. Will joined the dredge crew in late 1921 and arrived in early 1922 at Cape Sable. He found the dredging equipment to be "a floating dredge, of the type known as 'American Steel', once very popular in the Glades. Now its steel hull, its boom, and A-frame were red and scaly with old corrosion. Its corrugated roof was moth-eaten by rust."¹⁴ The crew numbered some sixteen men that alternately worked three shifts a day and seven days a week. Sunday was set aside to repair the dredge and other equipment. The task of reaching the shore of the Gulf required nine months.¹⁵

13. Henry Clay Crawford to Jennings, January 3, 1916, William S. Jennings Papers, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 22; and Minutes of Meeting of Homestead Sub-Drainage District, March 20, 1916, Ibid.

14. Lawrence E. Will, "Digging the Cape Sable Canal," Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida Vol. XIX (1959), pp. 31-32.

15. Ibid.

In 1925, the Everglades Drainage District proposed that four of the originally planned seven canals be constructed in the Everglades. Before this plans could be implemented, a series of events occurred which cast doubt on the wisdom of such an extensive drainage program. The 1920s saw a series of droughts and floods in Florida. During the droughts, dramatic prairie fires occurred which burned for weeks in the drained portion of the Everglades. The dried plant and peat material burned until the only thing that remained was the underlying limestone rock. The periods of drought were followed by heavy rains which caused flooding. Poorly planned and designed drainage systems resulted in severe flooding at Lake Okeechobee and at the outlet of rivers such as Everglades City. These disasters forced people to reexamine Florida's drainage program. New emphasis was placed on the need to protect natural watershed areas and to design drainage system for flood protection. These considerations led to the eventual reorganization of the Everglades Drainage District into the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District and later into the South Florida Water Management District. Over-drainage, and attempts to manipulate water supplies to meet the conflicting needs of urban development, farming, and flood control, as well as the natural cycles required by wildlife

in the national park, remain a major ecological problem facing Florida.¹⁶

16. Tebeau, A History of Florida, p. 354; Everglade Drainage District, Biennial Report, 1925-1926 (Tallahassee, Florida: T. J. Appleyard, Inc., 1927), pp. 62-63; Jones, Soils, Geology, and Water Control in the Everglades Region, p. 12; David Fairchild, The World Was My Garden: Travels of a Plant Explorer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), pp. 387-388; and John Chapman Hilder, "America's Last Wilderness: The Florida Everglades are Going Dry," World's Work 60 (February, 1937), pp. 55-56.

CHAPTER 5: HISTORY OF SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION IN THE EVERGLADES

EXPLORATION AND EARLY NATURAL HISTORIES

Europeans who first visited lower Florida made notes of their discoveries and collected specimens to take back to Europe. This activity represented the crude beginnings of scientific investigation of the Everglades. The first attempt to conduct a methodical scientific study of the Everglades began with Bernard Romans. An assistant of British Surveyor General William Gerrard De Brahm, Romans as hired to conduct a survey of East and West Florida, which he did in 1771.¹ Four years later, Romans produced a book which he described as giving "An Account of the natural Produce of all the Southern Part of British America, in the three Kingdoms of Nature, particularly the Animal and Vegetable. . . ." ² This work proceeded to give a general description of the flora and fauna of Florida. Over the next sixty years such works as Charles Vignoles'

Observations upon the Floridas published in 1823 and John Lee Williams' The Territory of Florida: or Sketches of the Topography, Civil and Natural History, of the Country, the Climate, and the Indian Tribes, from the First Discovery to

1. Mowat, East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784, p. 5.

2. Romans, A Concise History of East and West Florida, p. title page.

the Present Time, With a Map, Views, &c. published in 1837, continued to give general descriptions of the natural wonders of Florida.

ORNITHOLOGICAL STUDIES BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

Scientific monographs were being written about Florida by the 1830s. In 1831, John James Audubon accompanied by two assistants--Henry Ward, a British taxidermist, and George Lehman, a Swiss landscape painter--travelled down the United States east coast collecting material for his monumental Ornithological Biography. On April 19, 1832, Audubon and his party left Charleston, South Carolina, on board the revenue cutter Marion bound for Key West, Florida, with an intermediate stop at Indian Key. The cutter arrived on Indian Key on April 25 and remained anchored there for the next seven days. Here Audubon engaged a pilot and set off into Florida Bay to hunt pelican and other birds for his painting. After a successful hunt, Audubon left for Key West.³

3. Kathryn Hall Proby, Audubon in Florida (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1974), pp. 36-41; Maria R. Audubon, Audubon and His Journals, 2 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1960), I: 358-365; Alexander B. Adams, John James Audubon (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1966), pp. 393-395; John James Audubon, Audubon by Himself, ed. by Alice Ford (Gordon City, New York: Natural History Press, 1969), p. 196; Constance Rouke, Audubon (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1936), p. 257; and Arthur H. Howell, Florida Bird Life (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1932), pp. 10-12.

Dr. Benjamin Stobel meet Audubon at Key West and served as his guide to the area. Stobel was an enthusiastic naturalist and sent specimens of plants, shells, and birds to collectors in the South and North. Audubon solicited his advice on the accuracy of his drawing and Stobel served as Audubon's guide to the area. On Audubon's return from Key West, he travelled to Cape Sable and Sandy Key in search of specimens. A number of birds were identified and shot for use as models for Audubon's paintings. Audubon's party filled up their water casks at wells on Cape Sable and spent some time on Sandy Key hunting birds and making sketches of the flora and fauna. At the end of May, Audubon left for Charleston intending to return to Florida. Unfortunately, the Second Seminole War and his pressing need to complete Ornithological Biography prevented him from making such a return trip.⁴

The next several years amateur and professional ornithologists travelled to Florida and collected specimens in or near present day Everglades National Park. Edward Harris, a patron of Audubon, travelled to lower Florida in 1844 and collected the first specimen of the Everglades Snail Kite near the head of the Miami River. John Krider, a Philadelphia taxidermist, in 1848 collected birds in the Miami area, Key West, and Charlotte Harbor. Krider possibly

4. Proby, Audubon in Florida, pp. 45-49; Audubon, Audubon and His Journals, 2 vols. I: 366-367; and Audubon, Audubon by Himself, ed. by Ford, p. 200.

was accompanied by two other collectors--William Gambel and Dr. A. L. Hermann. Little detail is known about either of the trips.⁵

Gustavus Wurdemann came to Florida in 1856 to make observations of tidal activity on the Florida Reefs and Gulf of Mexico and remained there until his death in 1859. During this period, he collected and sent 188 specimens of birds to the Smithsonian Institution. Wurdemann observed birds in many sections of Florida including Florida Bay.⁶

During the 1850s, Dr. Henry Bryant, a Boston ornithologist, travelled extensively in Florida. During one of these trips, he visited Sandy Key near Cape Sable. His observations of Florida bird life was presented to the Boston Society of Natural History in 1859. That same year Dr. James G. Cooper collected birds on the Miami River and presented 93 specimens to the United States National Museum in Philadelphia.⁷

BOTANICAL STUDIES BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

Ornithology was not the only area of scientific investigation undertaken in early nineteenth century in Florida. Botanists found much of interest in Florida. Dr. Edward Frederick Leitner, a resident of Charleston, South

5. Howell, Florida Bird Life, p. 13.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

Carolina, spent the early 1830s studying the fauna of Florida. He travelled from Charlotte Harbor to Cape Sable studying the vegetation of the Everglades. On March 15, 1838, he was killed and scalped by Indians near Jupiter Inlet.⁸

In 1838, John Loomis Blodgett arrived in Key West and remained a resident of that community until 1853. Blodgett began his collecting activities shortly after his arrival in Key West. He dried the collected specimens and shipped them to John Torrey, a leading botanist of the day. Not only did Blodgett collect from the Keys, but he searched for specimens in the Florida Bay keys and the mainland. In 1843, Dr. Alvin W. Chapman visited Key West and Blodgett accompanied him up the west coast of Florida on a collecting trip. William Harvey of Dublin, Ireland, an authority on algae, arrived for a visit to Key West in 1849 and enlisted Blodgett to send him sample of marine algae. Over nine plants and one algae were named in honor of Blodgett. After leaving Key West, Blodgett died in Amherst, Massachusetts, in July of 1853.⁹

8. Proby, Audubon in Florida, p. 36; Buker, "The Mosquito Fleet's Guides and the Second Seminole War," The Florida Historical Quarterly, p. 308; and "The Death of Doctor Leitner," Army and Navy Chronicle Vol. VI (March 22, 1838), p. 181.

9. R. Bruce Ledin, "John Loomis Blodgett (1809-1853): A Pioneer Botanist of South Florida," Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida XIII (1953), pp. 23-27.

Another early botanist was the ill-fated Dr. Henry Perrine. After arriving in 1838 on Indian Key, Dr. Perrine spent the next year and eight months examining the Florida Keys, small keys in Florida Bay, and Cape Sable both to find a suitable site for his agricultural enterprise and to select those native plants that might prove of commercial value. His work ended abruptly with his death in August 1840.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND GEOLOGICAL STUDIES BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

During 1837 Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett wrote to Major General Thomas Jesup requesting that a map be sent to the War Department showing the interior features of Florida. Jesup requested that the Bureau of Topographical Engineers draw up such a map. This was not accomplished as the bureau did not have sufficient funds for the work and they requested that the 1844 Congress allocate funds to defray the costs of conducting a survey in the southern extremity of Florida.¹⁰

The funds were not allocated and so the next few years little work was done to survey the Everglades except for the visit of Buckingham Smith, who reported his findings to Congress in 1848. Also Michael Tuomey published a paper in

10. Poinsett to Jesup, March 20, 1837, RG 393, NA, Entry 1623, Box 15; Jesup to Brig. Gen. Robert Jones, March 1, 1818, RG 94, NA, Entry 159, p. 139; and Report of the Secretary of War, Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress, The Commencement of the Second Session of the Twenty-Eighth Congress (Washington D. C.: Gales and Seaton, 1844), p. 217.

the American Journal of Science in 1851 describing the geology of the Florida's southern coast and Keys. Louis Agassiz in 1852 speculated on the geology of Florida, but again this was done with no solid knowledge of the interior geology and geography.¹¹

The United States Coast Survey in 1853 began to survey the Florida Keys and the next year, a survey crew surveyed Cape Sable in an effort to establish a base line for the survey. Base lines of approximately four miles in length were measured and established on Cape Sable and on Key Biscayne. The work on Cape Sable began on May 4 and was completed on May 11. The selected site for the base line was cleared of vegetation and some minor ditching done. Next, a measuring bar consisting of two heavy wooden posts was sunk about two feet into the ground at regular intervals. A box filled with sand was placed on the outside of the posts to assure steadiness. On the top of one post was placed a mirror which reflected on a scale and the data was written down and the next measurement would be taken following the same procedure. The next year these base lines were used to measure distance to small keys in Florida Bay.¹²

11. Roland McMillan Harper, Natural Resources of Southern Florida (Tallahassee, Florida: Florida State Geological Survey, 1927), p. 35; and C. Wythe Cooke and Gerald G. Parker, Late Cenozoic Geology of Southern Florida with a Discussion of the Ground Water (Tallahassee, Florida: Florida State Geological Survey, 1944), p. 15.

12. United States Coast Survey, Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey During the Year 1853 (Washington D. C.: Robert Armstrong, 1854), p. 51; and U.

This work continued into 1857 when measurements were taken of the area around Sandy Key, Palm Point, and the Northwest Cape. Fear of hostile Indians delayed the work in 1857 and again in 1859 when a band of Seminole warned surveyors to cease their activity. The surveyors complied with this request and left the Everglades. The American Civil War halted the survey work. Not only a better geographical knowledge resulted from this work, but a better understanding of Florida geology was gained from the notes taken by the surveyors.¹³

SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

The Civil War interrupted scientific investigation of lower Florida for nearly a decade. In 1868 Charles J. Maynard, naturalist and ornithologist, began making winter trips to Florida and in 1870 and 1871 visited Key West and Florida Bay collecting birds and studying mammals. He later wrote about his experiences for Forest and Stream. Over the next

S., Congress, Senate, Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey During the Year 1855, Ex. Doc. 22, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., 1856, pp. 67-72, 176.

13. U. S., Congress, Senate, Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey During the Year 1856, Ex. Doc. 12, 34th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1856, pp. 62-63, 318; U. S., Congress, House, Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey During the Year 1857, Ex. Doc. 21, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., 1858, pp. 77, 80, 84, 382-383, 385-386; U. S., Congress, Senate, Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey During the Year 1858, Ex. Doc. 14, 35th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1858, pp. 80, 83, 86, 225; U. S., Congress, Senate, Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey During the Year 1859, Ex. Doc. 22, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., 1860, p. 77; "From Florida," New York Times, 21 March 1859, p. 2; and Page to Pratt, October 30, 1856, NA, RG 393, Entry 1617, p. 93.

two decades numerous sportsmen and naturalists contributed to this journal on their exploits in the Everglades.¹⁴

Nathaniel Stickney Goss, a Kansas ornithologist, travelled to Cape Sable in 1885 to collect specimens there. William Earle Dodge Scott, naturalist, made his first visit to Florida in 1876 and in the spring of 1886 moved to Tarpon Springs. For the next four years, he travelled down the west coast of Florida visiting the Ten Thousand Islands and

of the Seminole people. In 1896, Frank Hamilton Cushing led the Pepper-Hurst Archeological Expedition to Marco Island after W. D. Collier reported finding some ancient artifacts in 1895. Excavation in the island's peat and mud revealed a large number of well-preserved wood and stone objects from the Calusa. This provided the incentive for additional archeological expeditions to the Ten Thousand Islands in the twentieth century.¹⁹

POPULARIZING THE EVERGLADES

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, a number of expeditions ventured into the Everglades for recreation and scientific purposes. During the winters of 1878-79 and 1880-81, Dr. James A. Henshall led fishing and hunting expeditions into Florida Bay and up the west coast of Florida. He hired small schooners for both trips and took with him some of his patients that he believed would benefit from a cruise in a tropical climate. These trips consisted of specimen collection, recreational sport, and scientific

The New Orleans' newspaper, The Times-Democrat, in 1883, as a publicity stunt, sponsored an expedition to the Everglades to investigate the potential for draining the land and to add to scientific knowledge of the Florida interior. With much fanfare, Augustus Purdy Williams was selected to be in charge of the expedition with Charles F. Hopkins, Dr. James Kellum, F. A. Hendry, and Wolf Harlander chosen to accompany Williams along with six blacks to assist in rowing the six boats of the expedition and in other camp chores. The newspapers circulated stories that there might be an undiscovered active volcano in Florida and that the Seminole threatened the lives of the expedition members in order to increase public interest in the story.²¹

The expedition assembled in Jacksonville, Florida, and went by railroad to Cedar key and by steamer to Fort Myers. At each of these stops, the explorers were greeted by the townspeople and applauded for their promotion of Florida. The story of the expedition's progress was carried by newspapers in Europe, South America and North America. Progress reports in the form of letters were sent to the New Orleans' Times-Democrat and published every few weeks. The expedition in six Racine canoes left for Lake Okeechobee on October 20 arriving at the lake on November 1. They

21. "The Florida Everglades," The New York Times, 10 March 1889, p. 10; Stephan, "Geographic Role of the Everglades in the Early History of Florida," Scientific Monthly 55, p. 525; and "Into the Everglades," The Times-Democrat, 20 October 1883, p. 12.

explored the lake until November 10 when they ventured into the Everglades.²²

Once in the Everglades, the explorers proceeded south dragging their boats through the muck of the swamp due to the low water. They were constantly bothered by leeches in the water and mosquitoes above the water. Hendry left the main party to take a short cut to the Gulf of Mexico and returned to the Everglades via Shark River. At the head of this river, he lit a signal fire to guide the expedition to his location. There they reunited on December 5 and travelled down Shark River to Whitewater Bay and out into the Gulf of Mexico on December 10, 1883. Williams concluded that the wetlands could not be successfully drained and that even a telegraph line in that marshy land would be difficult to maintain.²³

22. "To Explore the Everglades," The New York Times, 14 September 1883, p. 3; "The Everglades," The Times-Democrat, 19 September 1883, p. 4; "The Everglades," The Times-Democrat, 22 September 1883, p. 4; "The Florida Everglades," The Times-Democrat, 16 October 1883, p. 3; "The Everglades Expedition," The Times-Democrat, 19 October 1883, p. 4; "The Times-Democrat's Everglades Expedition," The Times-Democrat, 31 October 1883, p. 4; "The Everglades," The Times-Democrat, 10 November 1883, p. 6; "The Times-Democrat's Everglades Expedition," The Times-Democrat, 20 November 1883, p. 4; and "The Everglades," The Times-Democrat, 30 November 1883, p. 5.

23. "The Florida Everglades," The Times-Democrat, 12 December 1883, p. 4; "The Florida Everglades," The New York Times, 6 January 1884, p. 2; "The Florida Everglades," The Times-Democrat, 6 January 1884, p. 4; and Augustus Purdy Williams, "The Everglades," The Times-Democrat, 6 January 1884, p. 7.

The next notable expedition was undertaken by Hugh L. Willoughby in 1896. Willoughby in writing a book about his experience explained the purpose of his trip in the following manner:

In making my proposed trip there were three things that I had in mind: First, the geographical exploration of the southern part of the Everglades and the making of an accurate line, the stations of which I intended to verify with my sextant, as has been my wonts to do at sea. Secondly, the surveying of a channel through the Ten Thousand Islands and a reconnaissance of the southwest coast, for the confidential charts of the United States Naval War College (in which I had taken a two years' course). Thirdly, the collection of specimens of natural history²⁴ for the University of Pennsylvania.

He selected two medium-size Indian canoes, one fourteen feet and the other sixteen feet in length, each equipped with a sail, and procured the guide services of Ed Brewer for the exploration. On December 29, 1896, they and their gear were aboard the sloop Cupid which took them down to Cape Sable and the Harney River. There they travelled up the Harney River for approximately 30 miles in a northeastern direction until heavy sawgrass blocked any farther progress in that direction. They retraced their route for about ten miles and turned south for another ten miles. Here they changed direction again and travelled in a northeastern direction

24. Hugh L. Willoughby, Across the Everglades: A Canoe Journey of Exploration (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1898), p. 36.

until locating the Miami River and followed it to the Atlantic Ocean.²⁵

This type of popularization of the Everglades continued into the the twentieth century with Julian A. Dimock, a photographer, and Anthony Weston Dimock, a writer, travelling across the Everglades in a zig-zag manner from west to east in a power boat in 1907. They took photographs of the trip and wrote several articles on their adventures and natural wonders of the Everglades. The next year they travelled across the Everglades from east to west, but the journey took considerably longer due to the extremely dry conditions of the swampland.²⁶

SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

After 1900 professional scientists and serious amateurs devoted much time to studying and writing about Florida. Among those who studied the Everglades were Frank Michler Chapman, ornithologist, and Louis Agassiz Fuertes, naturalist, who visited the Cuthbert Rookery around 1908. William Edwin Safford, botanist, studied the flora around

25. Douglas, The Everglades: River Of Grass, pp. 225-227; and Willoughby, Across the Everglades: A Canoe Journey of Exploration, pp. 36-38, 162.

26. Douglas, The Everglades: River of Grass, p. 246; Anthony W. Dimock, "On to Marco Pass: A Trip that Failed," The Outing Magazine, Vol. LIII (January, 1909), pp. 397, 400-401, 405; Julian A. Dimock, "In the Everglades-With Camera and Canoe," The Outlook, 86 (May 25, 1907), pp. 181-182; and Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in Everglades National Park, pp. 52, 78.

Royal Palm Hammock in 1917. In the 1920s, naturalist Charles Torrey Simpson observed and wrote of his visit to Royal Palm Hammock, Florida Bay, Cape Sable, and the Ten Thousand Islands. In these works, he commented on scientific studies being conducted in Coot and Florida Bays. John K. Small and other botanists studied Royal Palm Hammock.²⁷

The beginning of the twentieth century saw increased activity in the field of anthropology and archeology. Clarence B. Moore, in 1904 and for the next twenty years, conducted expeditions along Florida's west coast as far south as Lostman's Key. Ales Hrdlicka in 1918 conducted an archeological survey along the west coast of Florida traveling from the Ten Thousand Islands to Cape Sable.

27. Frank Michler Chapman, Camps and Cruises of an Ornithologist, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1908), pp. 146-148; Humes, "A Short History of Liguus Collecting with a List of Collectors- 1744 to 1958," Tequesta, p. 71; Roland McMillan Harper, Natural Resources of Southern Florida (Tallahassee, Florida: Florida State Geological Survey, 1927), pp. 40-46; John K. Small, "Vegetation and Erosion on the Everglades Keys," Scientific Monthly, 30 (January, 1930), pp. 35-36; Ernest G. Holt, "In the Haunts of the Wood Ibis," The Wilson Bulletin: A Quarterly Magazine of Ornithology, Vol. XLI (Old Series) (March, 1929), pp. 3-4; Charles Torrey Simpson, In Lower Florida Wilds: A Naturalists's Observations on the Life, Physical Geography, and Geology of the more tropical part of the State (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920), pp. 104, 106, 130-131; Charles Torrey Simpson, Out of Doors in Florida: The Adventures of a Naturalist, Together with Essays on the Wild Life and the Geology of the State (Miami, Florida: E. B. Douglas Co., 1923), pp. 21-24, 331; Linda D. Vance, "May Mann Jennings and Royal Palm State Park," The Florida Historical Quarterly LV (July, 1976), pp. 1-3; and William Edwin Safford, Natural History of Paradise Key and the Near-By Everglades of Florida (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1919), p. 377.

Archeological sites were recorded on Cape Sable, Johnson's Hammock, Onion Key, Gopher Key, Pavilion Key, Lostman's Key, and Chokoloskee Bay. In 1928, M. W. Stirling conducted archeological surveys in the Ten Thousand Islands. The majority of archeological work done in Florida for the next several years was carried out farther north of the Everglades National Park. In 1949, John M. Goggins led an expedition to Shark River and Bear Lake area. Three additional expeditions were carried out over the next three years which surveyed and tested sites from Ten Thousand Islands to Cape Sable. In later years, John W. Griffin and William H. Sears conducted studies within Everglades National Park.²⁸

Today a variety of scientific investigation is carried out in Everglades National Park. Scientists and interested amateurs travelled from around the world to observe and study this unique biosphere. The findings of their work are being published in journals and magazines dedicated to the entire range of natural sciences.

28. Hrdlicka, The Anthropology of Florida, pp. 8-15; Clarence B. Moore, "Notes on the Ten Thousand Islands, Florida," Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia XIII (1907), p. 458; Ehrenhard, Komara, and Taylor, Everglades National Park: Cultural Resource Inventory, Interim Report Season 1, pp. 11-13; Taylor, Everglades National Park Archeological Inventory and Assessment, Season 3: Interim Report, pp. 1-3; Ehrenhard, Archeological Data section, Preliminary Cultural Resource Management Plan, Everglades National Park (and data for Phase II Resource Management Planning, pp. 12-13; and Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in Everglades National Park, pp. 46-47.

CHAPTER 6: ESTABLISHMENT OF EVERGLADES NATIONAL PARK

PLUME HUNTING

Bird hunting in the Everglades began in prehistoric times with the birds killed for food and the feathers used by Indians for ceremonial purposes. In the 1870s birds began to be hunted for their plumes to satisfy a growing market as the feathers began to be used in womens' wearing apparel. The resulting hunting of the birds dramatically reduced the large flocks of the more desirable birds to such an extent that the Florida legislature passed a wildlife protection measure in 1877 and two years later passed a law forbidding aliens to kill plume birds. These laws did little to curb the growing plume hunting as law enforcement officers seldom ventured into the remote areas where the plume hunting occurred.¹

The birds' plumage in greatest demand during the 1880s and the next several decades included that of cranes, egrets, spoonbills, cormorants, pelicans, terns, flamingos, ibises, herons, and a few others species. The plumes hunters were only interested in the birds during the height of the mating and breeding season when the birds' plumage was most brilliant. The bird hunters favored the use of shotguns and .22 caliber rifles in killing the birds. At night, they used torches and fire pans to blind the birds while they

1. Hanna and Hanna, Lake Okechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades, p. 340.

were clubbed or shot to death, and fish nets were placed around the rookery with the birds driven into the nets to be slaughtered. Seasoned hunters preferred the smaller caliber guns in that these weapons could be used to selectively kill individual birds without disturbing the entire flock. Thus great numbers of birds could be killed before the birds became aware of the hunters' presence. This methodical slaughter left the fledglings in the nests to starve or be eaten by predators.²

The hunters in the 1880s obtained from twenty cents to two and a half dollars for the skin of a bird with the average being sold for forty cents. The head, legs, and sometimes wings would be removed from the birds and the skin flattened and sold in that manner. Also individual plumes from the head, back, and breast would be taken and the rest of the bird thrown away. By the 1890s, the price of skin was \$1.25 and individual feathers would go for between twenty-five to seventy-five cents apiece. These high prices attracted additional hunters, who devastated the rookeries, which in turn raised the cost of feathers. This vicious cycle increased the destruction of the rookeries with prices after

2. Wyatt Blassingame, The Everglades From Yesterday to Tomorrow (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974), p. 60; "With 'Cracker' Hunters," New York Times, 18 July 1891, p. 3; and Tebeau, The Story of the Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. 'Ted' Smallwood, pp. 44-45.

1900 reaching \$9.00 for a single bird before the fashion lost popularity.³

In 1890, plume hunters discovered the Cuthbert Rookery and for the next twenty years, they dramatically reduced the population of "desirable" plume birds there. The first hunt here reportedly netted the hunters \$1,800, a considerable sum for that day. During the next decades, the rookery periodically would be "shot out" and the few remaining birds would be allowed to repopulate the area. When the birds became numerous enough to attract the attention of plume hunters, they would again be slaughtered. On one occasion rival hunting gangs reached the hunting grounds simultaneously and a spontaneous gunfight erupted which resulted in the sinking of both parties boats forcing both groups to wade through the swamp back to their respective camps.⁴

Opposition to plume hunting began to develop in the 1880s. William Earle Dodge Scott, naturalist, in the spring of 1886 moved to Tarpon Springs. For the next four years, he travelled down the west coast of Florida visiting the Ten Thousand Islands and Cape Sable. He made detailed observations of the bird rookeries and their destruction.

3. Kersey, Jr., Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930, p. 76; and Hanna and Hanna, Lake Okechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades, pp. 340-342.

4. Chapman, Camps and Cruises of an Ornithologist, pp. 146-147.

Scott published his findings in a series of papers in the ornithological magazine, The Auk, from 1887 to 1889 which vividly described the wanton slaughter of birds and destruction of their rookeries around Charlotte Harbor in Florida. These articles helped mobilize public opinion against plume hunting.⁵

The Florida legislature in 1891 passed legislation forbidding the killing of cranes, egrets, ibises, curlews, and herons. The law had little impact on the feather trade because local law enforcement officials lacked the time, personnel, and budget necessary to enforce the law. In 1897, the Florida legislature passed an act authorizing the establishment of game wardens for each county to serve a four year-term of office with a salary to be fixed by the county commissioners, but appropriated no funding for carrying out the act.⁶

Then in 1900 two events occurred which dramatically improved the chances of protecting the birds. First, the United States Congress passed a bill, popularly known as the Lacey Act, which enlarged the duties of the Department of Agriculture to regulate the importation of wild animals and prohibited the interstate commerce of dead animals or birds

5. Howell, Florida Bird Life, pp. 21-22; and William Earle Dodge Scott, "The Present Conditions of Some of the Bird Rookeries of the Gulf Coast of Florida: First Paper," The Auk 4 (April, 1887), p. 135.

6. Howell, Florida Bird Life , p. 44.

in violation of state laws. Second, the Florida State Audubon Society was founded in March 1900 in Winter Park, Florida, and devoted much time and effort to the question of bird protection.⁷

In 1901, the Florida legislature passed legislation drawn up with the assistance of the United States Department of Agriculture and the National Association of Audubon Societies which protected birds from plume hunters, but again the legislature did not allocate funds for the hiring of game wardens. The National Association of Audubon Societies took decisive action on the matter by hiring and paying game wardens to enforce the state game laws.⁸

The next year Guy Bradley was hired as the game warden of Monroe County to protect the rookeries in the Flamingo-Cape Sable area. He was born in 1870 as the second son of Edwin R. and Lydia Bradley. His family moved to Flamingo when his father became the land agent for the Model Land Company. In his younger days, Bradley participated in plume hunting

7. Ibid., p. 53; and Alexander Sprunt, Jr., Florida Bird Life, (New York: Coward-McCann and National Audubon Society, 1954), p. xxiii.

8. Tebeau, The Story of the Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. 'Ted' Smallwood, p. 46; Howell, Florida Bird Life, p. 53; and Blassingame, The Everglades From Yesterday to Tomorrow, p. 65.

expeditions, but now was charged with enforcing the Florida game laws which prohibited plume hunting.⁹

Bradley conscientiously performed his duties arresting a number of people for violating the bird protection statutes. Walter Smith, one of the most notorious plume hunters of Flamingo, was arrested by Bradley for illegally killing birds and Smith vowed never to let Bradley arrest him again. On July 8, 1905, Smith along with his two sons, Tom and Dan, and two other men left from Flamingo for Oyster Key to plume hunt. When Bradley rowed his skiff out to confront the poachers, Walter Smith shot him and sailed off. Later that day, Louis Bradley, Guy's older brother, and another man began to search for him. The next day they found him dead in the bottom of the skiff with a bullet in his chest near Sawfish Hole by East Cape.¹⁰

Bradley was buried on East Cape and the National Association of Audubon Societies placed a bronze tablet there in his memory. Smith was arrested for the murder and during the trial, he claimed that Bradley fired at him first and showed where a bullet had lodge into the ship's mast. Despite

9. Douglas, The Everglades: River of Grass, pp. 240-241; and Blassingame, The Everglades From Yesterday to Tomorrow, pp. 64-65.

10. Ibid., pp. 67-68; and Douglas, The Everglades: River of Grass, p. 241.

Louis Bradley's testimony that he found all six bullets in Guy's revolver, the jury acquitted Smith.¹¹

The National Association of Audubon Societies continued to hire game wardens and in 1908, another Audubon game warden, Columbus G. McLeod, was killed by plume hunters at Charlotte Harbor. Public opinion began to turn against plume hunting and in 1910 the New York State legislature passed an act which prohibited trading in domestic wild bird plumes. The poachers got around this restriction by sending their plumes to European or South American ports to be reshipped to New York. Later, the United States Congress banned the importation of foreign plumes.

The National Association of Audubon Societies continued to patrol the rookeries of Cape Sable until July 1946. Also they began a nation-wide educational program to inform the public on the destructiveness of plume hunting and sponsored an Egret Protection Fund for American school children to contribute money to help support their bird protection program. The National Association of Audubon Societies would give valuable support to the concept of creating an Everglades National Park as a means of conserving Florida wildlife. Even after the establishment of Everglades

11. Ibid.

National Park, plume poaching continued as a persistent, though diminishing, problem for a number of years.¹²

ROYAL PALM STATE PARK

The work of the National Association of Audubon Societies was one effort to conserve the natural resources of the Everglades. Another effort to preserve a portion of the Everglades came with the establishment of Royal Palm State Park. In 1901, Florida Governor William S. Jennings received reports concerning a hammock in the Everglades of extraordinary natural beauty which the state should in some manner preserve. The precise location of this hammock, referred to as Royal Palm Hammock, was unknown and so no action was taken on the matter. In 1914, William J. Krome and his crew discovered the location of this hammock while surveying possible routes for the Florida East Coast

12. Howell, Florida Bird Life, p. xxxii; Tebeau, The Story of the Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. 'Ted' Smallwood, p. 47; Lorine Letcher Butler, "Everglades-Our Newest National Park," Travel 66 (February, 1936), pp. 22-23; Hanna and Hanna, Lake Okechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades, p. 342; John O'Reilly, "South Florida's Amazing Everglades," National Geographic Magazine 77 (January, 1940), pp. 117, 135; John H. Baker, "Wardens Patrol Florida for Cranes and Ibises," Bird Lore 41 (September, 1939), p. 306; John O'Reilly, "Wildlife Protection in South Florida," Bird Lore 41 (May, 1939), p. 131; and Daniel B. Beard, "Wildlife of Everglades National Park," National Geographical Magazine, 95 (January, 1949), p. 85. An attempt was made on Chokoloskee Island in the early 1900s to domesticate the wild birds and remove their plumage at nesting time without killing the birds. This scheme sought to keep the economic benefits of plume hunting without destroying the wild bird population, but failed as the cost of raising the birds made the plan economically unfeasible.

Railroad. Krome's survey revealed the hammock was on land granted by the Florida legislature in 1879 to the Palatka Indian River Railroad and the Florida Southern Railroad Company. These railroads subsequently sold the land to Florida Commercial Company which conveyed the lands to the Florida East Coast Railroad Company in 1896. At the same time, a portion of the land was repurchased by the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund. About 1910 the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund and the officials of the Florida East Coast Railroad began a land exchange program to consolidate their land holdings into solid tracts and Royal Palm Hammock was transferred to the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund.¹³

In 1909, James E. Ingraham, Vice President of the Florida East Coast Railroad, mentioned the existence of the hammock to Mrs. Kirk Munroe, the chairperson of the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs Forestry Committee. At the time, he believed Royal Palm Hammock was on land owned by the Florida East Coast Railroad. She suggested that the hammock be given to the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs for preservation and spoke to Mrs. Mary Lily Kenan Flagler, wife of millionaire railroad owner Henry Flagler, on the matter. Mrs. Flagler agreed to transferring the land to the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs when it was discovered

13. May Mann Jennings, Notes for an article on Royal Palm State Park, Undated Manuscript, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 9.

that the land belong to the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund. The President of the Florida Federation of Womens' Club wrote to Florida Governor Albert W. Gilchrist concerning the possibility of purchasing the land, but he replied that litigation between the Florida East Coast Railroad Company and the state prevented him from taking action on the matter.¹⁴

In 1914 Ingraham, acting in behalf of the Florida East Coast Railroad, offered the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund to exchange railroad owned land for that land on which the hammock was found. Meanwhile, May Jennings suggested that the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs obtain the hammock for a state park and that Mrs. Flagler donate a like acreage to serve as an endowment for the park. Mrs. Flagler traveled to Tallahassee and told the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund that she intended to give the endowment for the state park only if the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs would be responsible for maintaining the park. The Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund agreed to this stipulation with the proviso that they could at any time void the agreement and assume full control of the land. Ingraham, representing the railroad's and Mrs. Flagler's interests, refused to accept this stipulation and matters reached an impasse.¹⁵

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.; and Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in Everglades National Park, p. 172.

May Jennings decided that the officers of the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs should inspect the hammock before taking any further action. Thus a trip to the hammock was arranged for December 28, 1914. The Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs' officers accompanied by former Florida Governor Jennings inspected the hammock and they resolved to work toward preserving it. In early February, President May Jennings of the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs called a meeting of the Board of Directors. They decided to accept the land offer of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund and request that the state legislature grant the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs full title to the 960 acre hammock under the condition that a like acreage of land could be procured as an endowment. Also they requested that the Florida legislature grant an appropriation of \$1,000 for park maintenance.¹⁶

Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs members distributed to the legislature copies of the bill which would create Royal Palm State Park and a list of arguments for creating such a state park. The arguments emphasized the natural beauty of the hammock and desperate need to preserve and protect rare flora found here from despoliation by man. On June 3, 1915, as the Florida legislature prepared to adjourn, the bill to

16. Jennings, Notes for an article on Royal Palm State Park, Undated Manuscript, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 9; and Dovell, "A History of the Everglades," p. 380.

establish Royal Palm State Park was passed, but they allocated no appropriation for the new park. Governor Park Trammell signed the legislation into law on June 5, 1915.¹⁷

May Jennings expressed elation over the passage of the act, but remained worried "I am, of course, heartsick over the lack of funds to do immediate work, but I hope that we will find some way out of this difficulty."¹⁸ The funding for maintenance of the new park became a constant source of concern for the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs. In August, Mrs. Flagler acted to make good her promise to endow the new state park with an equal amount of acreage as that of the park which could be sold or rented out as farmland. The Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs was offered three sections of land to the south and east of the park from which they could select one as the endowment land.

President Jennings decided to take Mrs. Flagler's offer to the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund and let them chose one of the three land selections in exchange for a tract of land owned by them to the east of the park. The Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund selected one of Mrs. Flagler's land sections and granted all of section 21

17. Jennings to Mrs. T. M. Schackleford, June 4, 1915, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 6. The complete text of the legislation can be found in Appendix B.

18. Jennings to Schackleford, June 4, 1915, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 6.

and the east half of section 20, Township 58 south, Range 37 east to the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs.¹⁹

In the meantime, May Jennings appealed to the Dade County Commissioners and various state agencies for funds to help defray the costs of developing and maintaining the state park, but met with no success. The newly organized Park Committee of the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs held a meeting on December 23, 1915, to discuss ways to raise the badly needed funds for the state park. The endowment land could not be rented out for tomato growing as originally intended because of the lack of roads to the property. A fund raising effort was launched to raise a mile of dimes which would add \$6,336.00 to the park funds. Foot-long strips of paper, each capable of holding twelve dimes, were sent out to each club in hopes that members would solicit funds from the community and send back the strips filled with coins. Also the individual clubs which formed the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs were asked to grant a special donation for Royal Palm State Park. These efforts

19. Trammell to Jennings, September 29, 1915, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 7; Jennings to Trammell, September 23, 1915, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 7; F. J. Powers to Jennings, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 7; Jennings to Trammell, September 15, 1915, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 7; and Jennings to S. A. Belcher, September 10, 1915, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 7.

succeeded in temporarily alleviating the immediate funding crisis.²⁰

The most immediate need of the new park was to have a park caretaker onsite to protect the park from fire and trespassers. The women commenced to search for a caretaker to stay permanently on site. They hired Charles Mosier as park caretaker and on March 1, 1916, he moved out to Royal Palm State Park with his family. Since no permanent housing existed Mosier and his family lived in a tent on the site of the future park lodge.²¹

The women believed that Royal Palm State Park lay outside of the frost zone and could serve as a botanical and zoological preserve for rare plants, birds, and some game animals. To take care of visitors to the park and to provide the caretaker with housing, the Park Committee of the Florida Federation of Womens' Club decided to commission the building of a park lodge. Discussion with architects

20. Jennings, Notes for an article on Royal Palm State Park, Undated Manuscript, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 9; and Jennings to President and Club Members, January 12, 1916, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 8.

21. Jennings, Notes for an article on Royal Palm State Park, Undated Manuscript, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 9; Jennings to Mrs. John Gifford, December 27, 1915, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 8; and Jennings to President and Club Members, January 12, 1916, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 8.

started in 1915 with specifications put out for bid in 1916. The successful contractor, J. F. Umphrey, was to complete construction of a two-story lodge by November 1916, in time for the park dedication ceremonies, but he did not complete work on the lodge until 1917. The structure was built on concrete piers with the exterior walls constructed of weathered boards. A screened porches stood around the first story. The interior contained bookcases, window seats, electric lights, two fireplaces, lavatories for men and women, and a room with a bath. The bathroom and kitchen had hot and cold running water. Also on the park grounds were planned a water plant, garage, plant house, nursery, zoological preserve, botanical preserve, and pavilion to be constructed at a later time.²²

As the day for the opening ceremonies approached, Dade County officials began making preparations for the new park. They placed county road building crews on day and night shifts to complete the Cape Sable road to Royal Palm State Park by the time of the dedication ceremonies on November 23, 1916. The ceremonies attracted 750 people who traveled the newly completed highway in 150 automobiles to the park. During the ceremony, the road to the park was named the

22. May Mann Jennings, "Explanation of Plans Preparatory to Making Up of Specifications for Royal Palm State Park Lodge," September 5, 1916, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 10; and Jennings to Gifford, December 27, 1915, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 8.

Ingraham Highway after James E. Ingraham in honor of his work toward the construction of the Cape Sable road and in helping to create Royal Palm State Park. Charles Torrey Simpson told the gathered crowd of the natural wonders of the hammock and the role that the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs in saving it.²³

Finally May Mann Jennings formally dedicated the park with these words:

In compliance with the spirit of the law granting Royal Palm State Park to the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs, this Paradise Key, to be known hereafter as Royal Palm State Park, and by the authority vested in me as President of the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs, I do hereby dedicate this Park to the perpetual use of and enjoyment of the people of all the world; to the conservation of the flora, and also as a sanctuary for all bird and animal life. To be properly guarded from depredation and to be perpetually kept for park purposes by the Federation. Should the Federation fail at any time in this charge the park shall pass into the custody of an organization which would preserve it in perpetuity for park purposes.²⁴

After the ceremony, the spot where the speakers stand stood and the American flag raised during the dedication ceremony

23. May Mann Jennings, "Royal Palm State Park," July, 1939, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 22; and Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in Everglades National Park, p. 172.

24. May Mann Jennings, "Royal Palm State Park," July, 1939, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 22.

was marked by placing a bird bath over it. Next, the caretaker constructed pathways around the hammock and plans were drawn to construct a scenic roadway consisting of a canal and road around the perimeter of the hammock. The proposed scenic roadway included a canal ten feet wide and one foot deep with the excavated material from the canal serving as partial fill for a three-foot elevated roadway of sixteen feet in width.²⁵ President May Jennings proposed:

... that there was 160 acres lying west of the park, and on this section 15 which would be good for garden purposes, which is dry the greater part of the year, and could be made entirely so by diking across from the park to the little island north of Palma Vista and across to Long Key. This would not cost very much, and would entirely drain²⁶ our prairie, at least on the west side.

This latter scheme was carried out in 1926 when a plant nursery was established. The park caretaker sold coconut, royal and other palms from this garden plot. Souvenirs were sold at the lodge to raise money and the various Florida womens' clubs contributed to the support of the park. The Dade County Commissioners eventually were persuaded to contribute some funds for maintenance of the park and the state legislature from time to time appropriated money for

25. V. C. Hollowes, "Map of Possible Scenic Road around Royal Palm State Park," September, 1916, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 22.

26. Jennings to Gifford, January 8, 1916, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 8.

the park. Also, revenue was earned from the eventual leasing of the endowment land for tomato growing and visitors' lodging fees at Royal Palm State Park lodge. Still the funding for the park was barely enough to defray maintenance costs.²⁷

The park attracted a host of distinguished botanists, who made studies of the area, including David Fairchild, John K. Small, Charles T. Simpson, and William E. Safford. Arthur Howell conducted an ornithological study of the park. A great number of both professional naturalists and tourists visited the park to see the tropical plants with thirty thousand visitors signing the guest register at the park in 1927.²⁸

27. "Royal Palm State Park Emergency Appropriation of \$20,000.00 Badly Needed," n. d., May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 22; and, Jennings to President and Club Members, January 12, 1916, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 8.

28. Jennings, Notes for an article on Royal Palm State Park, Undated Manuscript, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 9; Jennings to Sherman, March 18, 1916, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 9; Jennings to Gifford, December 27, 1915, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 8; Royal Palm State Park Emergency Appropriation of \$20,000.00 Badly Needed," n. d., May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 22; Safford to Jennings, March 24, 1917, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 10; and Simpson, Out of Doors in Florida: The Adventures of a Naturalist, Together with Essays on the Wild Life and the Geology of the State, pp. 244-245.

Seven years after the completion of the lodge, a hurricane damaged the roof, destroyed the nursery, and severely damaged several of the outbuildings. In addition, a series of fires caused damage to the northern section of the hammock. This damage was left unrepaired due to lack of funds by the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs. In 1927, the Florida legislature voted to allocate \$10,000 in emergency aid for the park to help alleviate the situation.²⁹

THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS AT ROYAL PALM STATE PARK

The "Depression" in 1929 resulted in a period of economic hardship in this country on a grand scale. Franklin D. Roosevelt, on assuming the office of the presidency in March 1933, submitted to congress a series of legislative proposals designed to bring the nation out of the depression. One of these proposals resulted in the creation of the Emergency Conservation Work program popularly known as the Civilian Conservation Corps. This program combined

29. Royal Palm State Park Emergency Appropriation of \$20,000.00 Badly Needed," n. d., May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 22; Safford to Jennings, March 24, 1917, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 10; and Mosier to Jennings, April 26, 1917, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 10.

work and conservation projects for young men between 18 and 25 years of age.³⁰

Royal Palm State Park was designated a state conservation area and eligible for assistance under Emergency Conservation Work program through the efforts of the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs. From October 1933, until June 1934, Florida State Park Camp Number One was located at Royal Palm State Park. The Camp Superintendent was William L. Phillips and under his guidance the boys took on a number of tasks. They constructed telephone lines to Royal Palm State Park and undertook a landscaping program which included removal of fire damaged trees and planting of royal palms, mahoganies, ironwoods, and other trees. This work often required excavating holes in the limestone rock just below the soil and bringing in soil to fill the excavations in preparing the site for the planting of new trees. Also, low spots in the hammock subject to flooding were filled in, scenic vistas cleared, and trails blazed. Existing trails were widened and graveled with limestone obtained from a quarry near Homestead, Florida. Repair work was done on the lodge, a new garage constructed, and the old one torn down, a fence and feeding station built for the deer park, and a lily pond excavated and landscaped. Also a pump house, lookout tower and trail shelter was built. The Florida

30. John C. Paige, The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History (Washington D. C.: U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985), pp. 2-4, 7-8.

Federation of Womens' Club requested that the Civilian Conservation Corps continue on for another six months at the end of March. State parks officials only granted permission for the camp to remain there until the beginning of the mosquito season because of recently passed federal legislation which forbade the spending of federal funds in the proposed Everglades National Park area. The Civilian Conservation Corps camp left seven and one-half months after arriving in the Royal Palm State Park.³¹

THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND EVERGLADES NATIONAL PARK

Prior to the coming of the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs sought to involve the federal government in supporting Royal Palm State Park. In 1921, the body sponsored two pieces of legislation in the Florida legislature which would give the state park 12,000 additional acres and the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs planned to offer the enlarged park to the National Park Service for acceptance as a National Monument. The Florida

31. Ibid., pp. 186, 214; Superintendent's Monthly Report for Florida State Parks Camp No. 1 for May, 1934, June 4, 1934, NA, RG 79, Records of the National Park Service; Superintendent's Monthly Report for Florida State Parks Camp No. 1 for December 1933, January 4, 1934, NA, RG 79; Superintendent's Monthly Report for Florida State Parks Camp No. 1 for April 1934, May 5, 1934, NA, RG 79; Superintendent's Monthly Report for Florida State Parks Camp No. 1 for March 1934, April 5, 1934, NA, RG 79; Superintendent's Monthly Report for Florida State Parks Camp No. 1 for February 1934, March 2, 1934, NA, RG 79; and May Mann Jennings, "Royal Palm State Park," July, 1939, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 22.

legislature granted only 2,080 additional acres and so the plan was dropped. In 1929 the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs offered the state park to help form the proposed Everglades National Park, but this offer could not be acted on until 1947.³²

Many forces favoring conservation in lower Florida converged to create Everglades National Park. The Audubon Society had game wardens in lower Florida in 1901 and by 1905, the Cape Sable area was being compared to Yellowstone, Yosemite, and Grand Canyon National Parks as a place of unique natural beauty. National Park Service Director Stephen B. Mather, in his 1923 annual report to the Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work, recommended that a survey be made of the entire country for scenic areas of extraordinary quality. He suggested that a portion of the Everglades be investigation for potential inclusion into the National Park Service System, but such an investigation would not take place until several years later.³³

32. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in Everglades National Park, p. 174; and May Mann Jennings, "Royal Palm State Park," July, 1939, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 22.

33. "Another Great Conservation Victory," Audubon Magazine 50 (January, 1948), p. 39; and United States, Department of the Interior, Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1923 and the Travel Season, 1923 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1923), pp. 18-19.

In 1925, Harold H. Bailey, in his book on Florida Birds, commented:

The drainage of the state, forest fires and automobiles, together with good roads are now, and will continue to be, the main factors in diminishing, in all her branches, Florida's wild life. . . .

To help save or prolong our diminishing wealth of faunal life, a large reservation in the 'glades,' such as the 'Big Cypress' and Lake Okeechobee, should be set aside for them as a State and National park, and lesser preserves scattered over the state for the birds and mammals to find a haven in at all times.³⁴

That same year Minnie Moore-Wilson, an authority on southern bird life, described to a New York Times reporter how draining of the Everglades had led to the extinction of bird species and resulted in vast forest fires which burned the marsh land down to solid rock. She urged the Florida government and the federal authorities to set aside large tracts of the Everglades for a bird sanctuary. Readers to the newspaper wrote letters to the editor supporting such a project.³⁵

34. Harold H. Bailey, The Birds of Florida: A Popular and Scientific Account of the 425 Species and Subspecies of Birds That Are Now, and That Have Been Found Within the State and Its Adjacent Water; with Special Reference to Their Relation to Agriculture (Baltimore: Privately Published by the Author, 1925), p. vii.

35. "Urges Everglades as Bird Sanctuary," The New York Times, 16 September 1925, p. 14; "Victims of the Land Boom," The New York Times, 1 November 1925, p. 22; and "Marshes Do

In 1926 and again in 1928, Senator Park Trammel of Florida introduced legislation in the United States Senate calling for an investigation of the Everglades to determine if a portion could qualify as a National Park. The National Park Service had made some preliminary inquiries into the matter when Ernest Francis Coe, a landscape architect, came forward to champion the idea of creating a national park in lower Florida. Coe came to Coconut Grove, Florida, from New England in 1925 and was very impressed with the natural beauty and wildlife of the Cape Sable and Ten Thousand Islands area. He wanted to find some way to protect the bird rookeries and hammocks from hunters and developers, and the establishment of a national park seemed an ideal solution.³⁶

On May 31, 1928, Coe met with Arno B. Cammerer, Assistant Director of the National Park Service, in Washington to discuss his project of creating a national park around the Cape Sable area. Cammerer only agreed to have the National Park Service study the area if Congress appropriated funds

Have Their Uses," The New York Times, 17 September 1925, p. 22.

36. Douglas, The Everglades: River of Grass, p. 294; Ernest F. Coe, "Brief History of Everglades National Park Project and What Has Been Accomplished to Date," August 1, 1931, NA, RG 79, Box 230, File 101; Theodore Pratt, "Papa of the Everglades National Park," The Saturday Evening Post 220 (August 9, 1947), pp. 32, 46; and "Proposed Everglades National Park," Bird Lore 32 (May, 1930), p. 238. Coe was born in New Haven, Connecticut on March 21, 1866. He graduated from the Yale University with a degree in fine arts and worked as a landscape architect in New Haven, Connecticut before moving to Florida.

for such an undertaking. Coe promised to contact Senator Park Trammell on the matter and said he would prepare articles for submittal to popular magazines to publicize the area sending copies to the National Park Service for their information.³⁷

In June, Senator Duncan V. Fletcher of Florida contacted Cammerer to supply him with wording for a bill that he planned to introduce in Congress for the initiation of an investigation and study for a potential national park in lower Florida as he had agreed to do this for Ernest Coe. Cammerer sent over a bill for Senator Fletcher in July which was amended to stipulate that no public funds would be spent on the projects as Coe promised that private monies were available for the investigation. The bill designated the proposed park area as Everglades National Park. Coe later suggested to the Senator Fletcher that the park name be changed to Tropic Everglades National Park.³⁸

In December, Senator Fletcher introduced the bill in Congress and Ernest Coe in Miami formed the Tropic Everglades Park Association on December 12, 1928, later known as the Tropic Everglades National Park Association.

37. Coe to Cammerer, June 25, 1928, NA, RG 79, Box 230, File 101; Cammerer to Coe, June 9, 1928, NA, RG 79, Box 230, File 101; and Coe to Cammerer, June 5, 1928, NA, RG 79, Box 230, File 101.

38. "Everglades National Park Chronology, 1929-1947," n. d., Everglades National Park, Everglades Research Center, p. 5.

Coe was elected Executive Secretary and David Fairchild was selected president of the organization. That same month Robert Sterling Yard, Executive Secretary of the National Parks Association, objected to the Everglades bill in that no provisions were made for the funding of the study.³⁹

In January, George D. Pratt, President of the American Forestry Association, sent a letter to National Park Service Director Horace Albright and to David Fairchild expressing his opposition to the park study. Robert Yard wrote to Fairchild that the Tropic Everglades National Park Association through the issuance of folders on the Everglades was trying to exert undue influence on Congress prior to completion of the proposed park study. Meanwhile, the Florida legislature passed a bill on May 25, 1929 creating the Tropic Everglades National Park Commission which was authorized to take over the responsibilities of the Tropic Everglades National Park Association and advance the cause of the proposed Everglades National Park.⁴⁰

The United States Congress approved legislation in March 1929 proposing an investigation of the Florida counties of Dade, Collier, and Monroe for a potential national park site

39. Ibid; and Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in Everglades National Park, p. 175.

40. "Everglades National Park Chronology, 1929-1947," n. d., Everglades National Park, Everglades Research Center, p. 6; and U. S., Congress, Senate Establishment of Everglades National Park, Florida, Senate Report No. 1485, 71st Congress, 3d Session, p. 18.

with the amendment that funding for the projects would come out of National Park Service appropriations. Director Albright delayed the start of the investigation until 1930 because funds for such a project did not become available until the climatic conditions became too disagreeable to undertake a ground inspection. Meanwhile, the state of Florida and supporters of the proposed park issued a series of documents and articles pointing out the benefits of a park in southern Florida.⁴¹

Director Albright led a delegation of experts down to southern Florida between February 11 and 17, 1930, to determine if portions of the Everglades should be designated as a national park, national monument, or state park. This high level delegation, including Park Service experts and one interested congresswoman, used automobile, blimp, boat, and foot to explore the Everglades. The area of examination ran from Cape Sable to Royal Palm State Park then across and ten to fifteen miles north of the Tamiami Trail to the Gulf coast and the Ten Thousand Islands. The Florida Federation

41. "Everglades National Park Chronology, 1929-1947," n. d., Everglades National Park, Everglades Research Center, p. 6; United States, Department of the Interior, Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1929 and the Travel Season, 1929 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1929), p. 8; Hillory A. Tolson, comp., Laws Relating to the National Park Service, The National Parks and Monuments (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), p. 290; Nathan Mayo, The Proposed National Park in Southern Everglades of Florida (Tallahassee, Florida: Department of Agriculture, State of Florida, 1929), pp. 8-11, 20; and John K. Small, "The Everglades," Scientific Monthly 42 (January, 1929), p. 8.

of Womens' Clubs and the Tropic Everglades Park Association actively conducted tours for the delegation and provided briefing papers on the natural values of the Everglades and the need to protect the valuable natural resources there.⁴²

42. "Exploration of the Everglades by Airship," Science, 71 (February 14, 1930), p. 14; "The Proposed Subtropical National Park in Florida," Science, 71 (June 13, 1930), p. 597; United States, Department of the Interior, Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1930 and the Travel Season, 1930 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1930), p. 12; Coe to Members of The Tropic Everglades Park Association, January 13, 1930, NA, RG 79, Box 230, File 101; and Coe to National Park Service, March 1, 1930, NA, RG 79, Box 230, File 101. The delegation to south Florida included: Horace M. Albright, Director of the National Park Service; Arno B. Cammerer, Associate Director of the National Park Service; Roger W. Toll, Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park; Dr. Hermon C. Bumpus of the American Association of Museums; Dr. T. Gilbert Pearson, President of the National Association of Audubon Societies; G. W. Hodgson, Publisher of Bird Lore; Dr. Harlow P. Kelsey, Southern Appalachian National Park Commissioner; Dr. W. A. Clark, National Park enthusiast; Ebert Burlew, Administrative Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior; Dr. David Fairchild, President of the Tropic Everglades National Park Association; Ernest Coe, Executive Secretary of the Tropic Everglades National Park Association; Dr. M. W. Stirling, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology; and Ruth Bryan Owen, United States Representative from Florida.

In March 1930, Director Albright canvassed the members of Educational Advisory Board of the National Park Service on the question of whether a portion of the Everglades should be designated a national park, national monument, or state park. The majority of the board supported the idea of designating a portion of the Everglades as a national park. Differing from this opinion was Vernon Kellogg who offered the following:

There seems to me no doubt that a part, larger or smaller, of the Everglades should be set apart under the conditions that will assure the safeguarding and preservation of a primitive area with its characteristics and unusually interesting fauna and flora. But the Everglades do not have to be made a National Park in order to have this assurance. To be a National Park the Everglades leave much to be desired.

Perhaps a National Monument is indicated if it is important to have the Everglades under the care of the National Government. While most of the National Monuments are primarily historic in character, there are a few that are not. . . .

But is it necessary for the Everglades to have National sponsorship? Why cannot the State of Florida make of the Everglades, or part of them, a State park which can be equipped with facilities necessary to make it available for the recreation and educational use of many people? However, this dedication to recreation by the State should not mean handing over all the wildlife within a given region to the shooting tourists. If the State should make of the Everglades a State Park, a part of this park should

be rigidly protected against anything that may tend to wipe out⁴³ or modify the native fauna and flora.

Albright, after considering these comments, recommended that an Everglades National Park be created. Meanwhile, Representative Ruth Bryan Owen on May 14, introduced legislation in the United States House of Representatives to provide for the establishment of Everglades National Park. During the hearing on the bill in December, a amendment was offered to drop the term "Tropic" from the title of the legislation and this was agreed to by the Committee on Public Lands which held hearings on the legislation. At these hearings, arguments were brought forward by various groups that the creation of the park would displace the remaining Seminole Indians and would cripple economic development of the area. Park advocates continued to submit articles to popular magazines in an effort to gain public support for the proposed Everglades National Park. Also they testified before Congress on the unique natural resources of the proposed park.⁴⁴

43. John Merriam to Albright, March 24, 1930, NA, RG 79, Box 230, File 101.

44. Mrs. Stephen Singleton to Owen, February 20, 1930, Stephan Singleton Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 7; Howard A. Kelly, "The Everglades National Park," The Journal of the Maryland Academy of Sciences, II (January, 1931), pp. 37-39; John Oliver and L. A. Gouch, "Florida- The Fountain of Youth," National Geographic, LVII (January, 1930), p. 35; U. S. Congress, Senate, Establishment of Everglades National Park, Florida, Senate Report No. 1485, 89th Cong., 1st Sess., 1931, pp. 8-15; Oliver Griswold, "Have We Saved the Everglades?," The Living Wilderness, 13 (Winter, 1948-49),

Despite the best efforts of park supporters, opposition to the Everglades National Park Bill continued to mount. In 1931, an editorial in The Survey magazine observed:

The Interior Department asks Congress to authorize this entire promotional area (the proposed Everglades National Park) as a national park, from which it expects to select lands which automatically will be created into a park upon their purchase by local people who will present them to the nation.

To this program a number of conservation and scientific organizations object on the grounds: first, that there should be a survey of the Everglades to determine what form of preservation will most effectively save them for the future; second, that local money be raised for land purchases only by promising people and legislature an immense profitable motor patronage of the park, which, in turn, imposes in advance on the Interior Department the moral and political obligations to provide roads and camps for such an invasion; and third, that it is contrary to public policy for Congress to authorize crowded public highways, railroads, and other negations of the national park policy of sixty years, even in a purchase area. The opponents of the plan contend that a careful survey, and a carefully prepared map should precede any application to Congress for national classification.

Here is another illustration of the need to scrutinize the gifts of the Greeks--

pp. 3-4; United States, Department of the Interior, Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1930 and the Travel Season, 1930, p. 12; and "Everglades National Park Chronology, 1929-1947," n. d., Everglades National Park, Everglades Research Center, pp. 7-8.

if we are not to slide backward in our
National Park Standard.⁴⁵

The Everglades National Park Bill became stalled in Congress and deferred on a parliamentary maneuver by the Republicans in the House of Representatives as to whether they would consider the House or Senate version of the bill. In January 1932, the Everglades National Park Bill was reintroduced in both the House and Senate. This was followed by the appearance of articles in a variety of magazines by park supporters urging passage of the bill. The renowned landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead, Jr., and a colleague, William P. Wharton, conducted a blimp and boat survey of the Everglades after which they supported the new park in a report to Congress. Congress took no final action on the various bills to create the park during the year. Despite the lack of congressional action, the state of Florida began to purchase land for the future park which would be turned over to the National Park Service upon the establishment of Everglades National Park.⁴⁶

45. "The Everglades and Park Policy," The Survey 65 (February 15, 1931), p. 557.

46. "Everglades Park," The New York Times, 6 February 1932, p. 16; United States, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1932 and the Travel Season, 1932, (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1932), pp. 2-3; Hermon C. Bumpus, "An Everglades Park," Review of Reviews, 85 (March, 1932), p. 48; J. G. Gehring, "Florida's Tropical Tip End," Review of Reviews, 86 (July, 1932), p. 33; Ruth Bryan Owen, "Everglades from the Air," Review of Reviews, 85 (March, 1932), pp. 46-47; and Everglades National Park Chronology,

Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur made a trip to Florida in January of 1933 and was taken by boat from Key Largo to Cape Sable and up the Gulf Coast through the Ten Thousand Islands and back across Florida on the Tamiami Trail.⁴⁷ After this trip, Secretary Wilbur commented:

This area has outstanding qualifications for national park status. It should be maintained as a water or marine park and a wide area should be taken in. Every effort should be made to keep this a primitive area. I think roads should not be built through it, but that the road which now goes down to Middle Beach (Cape) and the Cape Sable area, should be improved, and this region should be the southern entrance to the park. The northern entrance should be at Everglades. All visitors to the remote areas of the park should go by water. As few trails as possible should be built. These can be of simple construction, using elevated planks. This would avoid the mud⁴⁸ with the change in tides, snakes, etc.

Despite the optimistic view of the Secretary, the Senate passed the Everglades National Park Bill, but the House of Representatives failed to take action on the measure in 1933. National Park Service officials remained hopeful that the measure would be passed during the next session of Congress.⁴⁹

1929-1947," n. d., Everglades National Park, Everglades Research Center, pp. 12-13.

47. Ray L. Wilbur, "The Proposed Everglades National Park," Science, 77 (February 17, 1933), p. 185.

48. Ibid.

49. United States, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year

The House of Representatives passed an amended Everglades National Park Bill on May 24, 1934, and the Senate concurred with amended bill on May 25. President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the bill into law on May 30, 1934. The legislation granted the Secretary of the Interior permission to select an area for a park in certain counties of southern Florida for a national park. The legislation further required that all lands of the park be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal government.⁵⁰

On October 22, 1934, President Roosevelt signed an executive order withdrawing from sale any public lands within the proposed boundary of Everglades National Park until the park was established. The area covered by this order included most of lower Florida from Key Largo and Cape Sable to a few miles beyond the Tamiami Trail excluding the the land between Homestead and Miami, Florida. This executive order

Ended June 30, 1933, (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), p. 166.

50. "Everglades Park Bill Is Now A Law," Bird Lore, 36 (July, 1934), pp. 274-275; United States, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior, (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), p. 176; "New Everglades National Park Will Open Tropical Wonderland," The New York Times, 1 July 1934, IV, p. 7; "Park in Everglades Voted By Congress," The New York Times, 26 May 1934, p. 2; United States, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1934 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1934), p. 179; "Everglades National Park," The New York Times, 12 June 1934, p. 24; and "Everglades National Park Chronology, 1929-1947," n. d., Everglades National Park, Everglades Research Center, p. 14. The legislative act for Everglades National Park can be found in Appendix C of this report.

was imposed only as an emergency measure until the precise boundaries of the park were delineated.⁵¹

National Park Service Director Cammerer acted quickly to appoint a committee to make recommendations on the boundary for the new park. Members reported on January 14, 1935, that the maximum boundary allowed by the United States Congress should be considered the minimum acceptable for the park. Meanwhile, the state of Florida continued to purchase land for the new park through the Everglades National Park Commission, and the Florida legislature passed a law granting the federal government exclusive jurisdiction of the lands given to the new park. Land questions and planning continued throughout 1935.⁵²

The Committee on Lands and Boundaries for the Everglades National Park Commission in 1936 reported to the main committee that the National Park Service wanted too much land and recommended that land in the area of the Turner River, Florida Bay, and Key Largo be eliminated from the

51. Thomas Alan Sullivan, comp., Proclamations and Orders Relating to the National Park Service Up to January 1, 1945 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1947), pp. 25-26.

52. "Everglades National Park Chronology, 1929-1947," n. d., Everglades National Park, Everglades Research Center, pp. 15-18; and Sullivan, comp., Proclamations and Orders Relating to the National Park Service Up to January 1, 1945, pp. 35-36. The boundary committee was composed of: Harold C. Bryant, Assistant Director of the National Park Service; Roger W. Toll, Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park; Oliver G. Taylor, Deputy Chief Engineer of the National Park Service; and George M. Wright, Chief of the National Park Service Wildlife Division.

proposed park because of their commercial value. National Park Service officials strongly disapproved this recommendation and began discussions with the Everglades National Park Commission on what lands would be necessary for the park.⁵³

In 1937, Representative James Mark Wilcox of Florida introduced legislation in the United States House of Representatives which would repeal a section of the original Everglades National Park legislation. A stipulation in the original act prohibited the federal government from spending money for protecting, improving, or administering the park area until 1939. This provision resulted in the withdrawal of Civilian Conservation Corps workers within the proposed park area in 1934 and hampered planning efforts for the park. Congress passed the legislation and it was signed into law on August 21, 1937.⁵⁴

Harry L. Hopkins, Director of the Works Progress Administration, and Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, visited the park in April 1937, to emphasize the

53. United States, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1937 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), pp. 62-63; and Copeland, Hoffman, and Porter, A Report to Everglades National Park Commission By Committee on Lands and Boundaries Relative to Boundaries for Proposed Everglades National Park, pp. 17-20.

54. "Hopkins and Ickes to Visit Florida Together; Trip to Park Follows Revival of Feud Talk," The New York Times, 12 April 1937, p. 1; and Sullivan, comp., Proclamations and Orders Relating to the National Park Service Up to January 1, 1945, p. 36. See Appendix D for full text of act.

need for federal participation in park development. Also on his trip to Florida, Secretary Ickes inspected the boundaries for the park and, in October, proposed that the boundaries delete most of Key Largo, keeping only Card and Barnes Sounds with the park along with a portion Turtle Harbor. The park still encompassed lands which eventually became part of Big Cypress National Preserve.⁵⁵

Department of the Interior officials decided that until Florida could provide title to the land for Everglades National Park to the Secretary of the Interior that the area would be administered by the Fish and Wildlife Service as a wildlife refuge. An agreement to this effect was worked out in 1939 with additional protection of the area's natural resources supplied by the National Association of Audubon Societies, the United States Coast Guard, and the state of Florida.⁵⁶

55. Hopkins and Ickes to Visit Florida Together; Trip to Park Follows Revival of Feud Talk," The New York Times, 12 April 1937, p. 1; United States, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1938 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), pp. 29-30; Arthur L. Himbert, "Florida's Everglades to Be Vast National Park," The New York Times, 20 April 1947, IV: 6; and "Everglades Park Plan is Pressed," The New York Times, 18 December 1938, IV: 6.

56. United States, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1940 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 189; and "Everglades National Park Chronology, 1929-1947," n. d., Everglades National Park, Everglades Research Center, p. 21.

The acquisition of park land proceeded slowly because oil was discovered within the proposed park boundaries in 1939 near the community of Pinecrest in the Big Cypress. Prior to this discovery in 1934, the Dade County Commissioners expressed reluctance in granting the National Park Service mineral rights along with surface right to lands for the park. This produced a debate within state government as to whether the state or federal government had legal claim to the mineral rights on the park lands. Also private owners were reluctant to transfer their mineral rights over to the state government. The National Park Service, fearing the damage that oil well drilling would do to the park area refused to accept title of any land without the mineral rights. A compromise was worked out in 1941 where the state would transfer all land that it owned to the United States Fish and Wildlife Service on the condition that the mineral rights would be held in reserve for a reasonable time limit before transferred to the federal government. During this time, oil well drilling would be permitted and if it should render the land useless for park purposes the federal government would be compensated by receiving a portion of the royalties from producing wells. Secretary of Interior Ickes agreed to this plan, but refused to allow any such stipulation on the lands to be turned over to the National Park Service.⁵⁷

57. John H. Baker, "Saving Southwest Florida," Audubon Magazine 43 (March, 1941), p. 34; and "Everglades National

The next few years the controversy over oil continued and was exacerbated by the fact the Humble Oil Company brought in the first commercially successful oil well near the Everglades in 1943. Prior to this discovery, Florida Governor Spessard L. Holland offered several compromise plans to the National Park Service which were found unacceptable. Governor Hollard, however, succeeded in getting the Florida legislature to appropriate money to the Everglades National Park Commission for the purpose of acquiring private land for the park.⁵⁸

In the fall of 1943, Florida Representative J. Hardin Peterson, Chairman of the United States House of Representatives Public Lands Committee, submitted legislation to Congress amending the act creating Everglades National Park to permit

the United States to accept less than the entire originally proposed park area, enables it to take title in spite of reservation of mineral rights by the state and private landowners and authorizes the lodging of administrative responsibility in such federal agency as the Secretary of Interior may designate. It also provides for reversion of title to the State if an Everglades National Park be⁵⁹ not established within ten years.

Park Chronology, 1929-1947," n. d., Everglades National Park, Everglades Research Center, pp. 22-23.

58. "Everglades National Park Chronology, 1929-1947," n. d., Everglades National Park, Everglades Research Center, pp. 24-27; and Interview of C. Raymond Vinten by S. Herbert Evison, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 6 April 1971.

59. John H. Baker, "The President's Report to You," Audubon Magazine 117 (January, 1945), p. 46.

The bill received approval from both houses of Congress and became law on December 6, 1944. The passage of this legislation was followed by the approval of the Florida legislature for the transfer of several thousand acres of land from the state to the federal government. These lands were placed under the administration of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service in December of 1944 as a wildlife refuge following the 1941 agreement between the Secretary of the Interior Ickes and the State of Florida. Eventually, the lands were to be turned over to the National Park Service when the mineral rights controversy could be resolved.⁶⁰

In January 1945, Millard Caldwell became the governor of Florida and in March was given a tour of the Everglades National Park area by Coordinating Superintendent C. Raymond Vinten. Negotiations on the land question continued resulting in the drawing up of a new minimum boundary by the National Park Service in December 1945 which excluded Big Cypress and all lands north of the Tamiami Trail from the park. Also the eastern park boundary followed the abandoned railroad tracks going to Key West thus excluding Barnes

60. Ibid.; C. Raymond Vinten to Director National Park Service, October 5, 1944, NA, RG 79, NPS Central Classified File, Castillo de San Marcos National Monument; United States, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1944), p. 226; and Hillory A. Tolson, comp., Laws Relating to the National Park Service, Supplement II, May 1944 to January 1963 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963), pp. 97-98. See Appendix G for text of legislation.

Sound and Turtle Bay from the park. The waters of Florida Bay instead of the keys became the southeastern boundary of the park.⁶¹

The mineral rights controversy moved toward resolution in 1946 when Florida Governor Caldwell on April 25, 1946, reactivated the Everglades National Park Commission and National Park Service Director Newton Drury agreed to guarantee customary royalties to the State of Florida for mineral production within the park. In 1947, the Florida legislature passed a bill authorizing the expenditure of two million dollars for acquisition of land by the Everglades National Park Commission for the park. On June 20, 1947, Secretary of the Interior Julius A. Krug accepted the check for lands purchases. At last, the creation of Everglades National Park seemed at hand when the Attorney General of Florida, Thomas Watson, filed suits in the Florida and federal courts against the creation of the park using a variety of legal technicalities, but the suits were dismissed.⁶²

61. "Everglades National Park Chronology, 1929-1947," n. d., Everglades National Park, Everglades Research Center, pp. 1-2; Allen Morris, comp., The Florida Handbook, 1947-48 (Tallahassee, Florida: The Peninsula Publishing Company, 1946), pp. 196, 239-240; United States, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Director National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1946 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 340; and John H. Baker, "The President's Report to You," Audubon Magazine 49 (January, 1947), pp. 54-55.

62. John H. Baker, "Everglades Progress," Audubon Magazine, 49 (May, 1947), pp. 302-303; "Everglades National Park Chronology, 1929-1947," n. d., Everglades National Park,

In 1947, Florida Representative George Smathers of Miami introduced legislation in the United States Congress permitting the retention of oil, gas, and mineral rights by owners of land within Everglades National Park until October 9, 1958. In addition, the Smathers bill defined park boundaries and granted the government condemnation rights. This legislation would not be passed by Congress until 1949, but this did not prevent the establishment of Everglades National Park.⁶³

The formal dedication of the park took place in Everglades City on December 6, 1947. President Harry S Truman spoke to the gathered crowd at Everglades City as follows:

In this park we shall preserve tarpon and trout, pompano, bear, deer, crocodiles and alligators and rare birds of great beauty. We shall protect hundreds of all kinds of wildlife which might otherwise soon be extinct.

The benefits our nation will derive from this dedication will outlast the youngest of us. They will increase with the passage of the years. Few actions could make a more lasting contribution to the enjoyment of the American people

Everglades Research Center, pp. 4-6; "Watson Hits Again at Glades Park," The Miami Herald, 22 July 1947, p. 4-A; and "New Park Action Filed By Watson," The Miami Herald, 29 July 1947, p. 1-B.

63. Tolson, comp., Laws Relating to the National Park Service, Supplement II, May 1944 to January 1963, pp. 98-99; Ravy Mitten, "Final Everglades Sanction Delayed Until Next Session," The Miami Herald, 22 July 1947, p. 4-A; and "State GOP Chief Delay Glades Bill," The Miami Herald, 22 July 1947, p. 3-A.

than the establishment of the Everglades
National Park.⁶⁴

The dedication attendees included Florida congressional representatives (Senators Claude Pepper and Spessard Holland), Department of the the Interior officials (Secretary of the Interior Krug and Director of the National Park Service Drury), state officials (Florida Governor Caldwell and Legislative Chairman of the Everglades National Park Commission John D. Pennekamp), and interested members of the public. The years of work by the Department of the Interior, the National Park Service, the State of Florida, the National Association of Audubon Societies, the Florida Federation of Womens' Clubs, and the Everglades National Park Association finally came to fruition in this new park. During the dedication ceremonies, Royal Palm State Park was transferred to the National Park Service. Shortly before the ceremony the Collier family presented the state of Florida with 32,000 acres east and west of Everglades to be presented to the National Park Service as an addition to the park.⁶⁵

64. "'Another Great Conservation Victory'," Audubon Magazine, 50 (January, 1948), p. 36.

65. United States, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Director National Park to the Secretary of the Interior: Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1948 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 333; United States, Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Director National Park to the Secretary of the Interior: Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1947 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 320; "Truman Plans Dedication," The New York Times, 18 October 1947, p. 7; "Truman to Take Holiday

As part of the ceremonies culminating with the dedication, the United States Post Office Department, on December 5, issued a green and white commemorative three-cent stamp to honor the new park. The stamp, designed by Garnett Megee originally from Miami, depicted a white heron standing in front of a Florida map on which the park area is outlined. The stamp received approval from the Florida congressional delegation prior to issuance.⁶⁶

The first superintendent of the new park was Daniel B. Beard. He began his National Park Service career in 1934 as a wildlife technician for the Civilian Conservation Corps at Bear Mountain, New York. He later became the general supervisor of wildlife work in the northeastern states until 1938 when he transferred to the Washington office to take on additional administrative duties. While in Washington, Beard prepared a comprehensive study on the proposed Everglades National Park. Beard accepted the position of Regional Biologist of the Midwest Regional Office in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1940 remaining there until 1942 when he became custodian of Dinosaur National Monument. In March 1944, Beard joined the United States Army and served until October of 1945 when he returned to civilian life and became the

Dedicate Florida Park," The New York Times, 26 November 1947, p. 26; and Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, p. 92.

66. Kent B. Stiles, "News of the World of Stamps," The New York Times, 9 November 1947, II, p. 21; "Everglades," The New York Times, 2 November 1947, II, p. 21; and "Stamp to Honor Florida Park," The New York Times, 14 October 1947, p. 17.

manager of the Everglades Wildlife Refuge until his selection as Superintendent of Everglades National Park in September 1947.⁶⁷

The new park staff faced a myriad of challenges including the removal of Seminole Indians from park lands, acquisition of the lands within the designated park boundary, protection of the park wildlife, and developmental planning for the new park. Many of these challenges, along with new ones, continue to the present. In addition, from the original maximum boundaries of Everglades National Park, there are now three National Park Service areas the original Everglades National Park occupying 1,398,800 acres, Biscayne National Monument covering 103,643 acres and Big Cypress National Preserve containing 570,000 acres.⁶⁸

67. "Appointments to Everglades National Park Positions," Press Release, September 23, 1947, NA, RG 79, NPS Central Classified Files, Everglades National Park.

68. United States, Department of the Interior, Index of the National Park System and Related Areas as of June 29, 1979 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1979), pp. 27-28.

CHAPTER 7: SITES

INTRODUCTION

Numerous historically significant events have occurred within the boundaries of Everglades National Park. Today mainly archeological sites remain to mark historical events. None of the remaining cultural features qualify for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, but some of these features may become eligible for inclusion on the National Register in the coming years.

FORT POINSETT

Fort Poinsett, as previously described, was established by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Lawson and Pennsylvania, New York, and Louisiana Volunteers in February 1838. Colonel Lawson described the construction of the fort in the following manner:

As there is little or no building timber around, and I have as yet neither horse or proper boat to bring it from a distance, I shall attempt to rear a Fort from the beach:--That is with the Sand thrown out from a ditch, saplings or split logs as a face, & fascines as a body, raise a curtain to a star figured spot which will baffle the Skill of the Red man to surmount.¹

The uncompleted star fort was evacuated at the beginning of May 1838 when the United States forces withdrew to summer

1. Lawson to Smith, February 20, 1838, NA, RG 94, General Thomas S. Jesup Papers, Box 4.

positions. It may have been occupied for brief periods of time during 1839 and 1840, but was abandoned thereafter until a brief period of occupation during the Third Seminole War. In 1854, the crew of the coast survey camped near the abandoned fort and mapped it as being 25 degrees, 05 minutes and 40 seconds latitude, but gave no longitude. The fort may have been used in 1856 or 1857 for a short time before being abandoned permanently. A remote sensing and archeological survey of Cape Sable in 1974 and 1984 failed locate the remains of the fort.²

FORT CROSS

Captain John Porter McCown and Company H, 4th Artillery, were ordered to established a depot for the military on Cape Sable during the Third Seminole War. On January 18, 1857, Captain McCown selected the site for Fort Cross which he named in honor of Colonel Truman Cross, who was killed by Mexican partisans near Fort Brown, Texas, on April 21, 1846. No description of the post is known, but approximately 60 to 150 men and officers of the 4th Artillery and 5th Infantry were stationed at the post from January until June 1857. They conducted a number of scouts against the Seminoles from the fort. In early June, the post was abandoned with the

2. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, pp. 126-127; United States, Coastal Survey, Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey Showing The Progress of the Survey During the Year 1854 (Washington D. C.: Beverley Tucker, 1855), map; and Taylor, Everglades National Park Archeological Inventory and Assessment Season 3: Interim Report, p. 11.

men and property taken to Point Russa. Today no remains of this post can be found.³

CAMP MOULDER

In January 1857, Camp Moulder was established on Chokoloskee Island, but in February was relocated to Pavilion Key. The camp consisted of 114 men and two officers of the 5th Infantry under the command of Second Lieutenant Thomas Wilson. The number of men station at Pavilion Key increased to 163 in March and then dropped to around 120 men in April and remained near that number until the force was withdrawn from the island in June. Today no trace of the camps remain nor can their sites be definitely located.⁴

3. Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, From Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903, 2 Vols. (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), Vol. 2, p. 341; Returns of the Department of Florida for February 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1629; Returns of the Department of Florida for March 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1629; Returns of the Department of Florida for April 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1629; Returns of the Department of Florida for May 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1629; Colonel Loomis to Adjutant General Col. Cooper, June 7, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1617, Department of Florida, Letters Sent, p. 228; Loomis, Special Order No. 67, June 6, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1625; and Loomis to Cooper, June 23, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1617, Department of Florida, Letters Sent, p. 240.

4. Returns of the Department of Florida for February 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1629; Returns of the Department of Florida for March 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1629; Returns of the Department of Florida for April 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1629; Returns of the Department of Florida for May 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1629; Colonel to Cooper, June 7, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1617, Department of Florida, Letters Sent, p. 228; and Loomis, Special Order No. 67, June 6, 1857, NA, RG 393, Entry 1625.

HABITATION SITES ON THE TEN THOUSAND ISLANDS

The Ten Thousand Islands over the centuries have been the home for fishermen, hunters, homesteaders, outlaws, and hermits either on a seasonal or permanent basis. Today most of these habitation sites have gone back to their natural state, with only a few crumbling ruins left. Many of these sites have been evaluated during the multi-year archeological inventory for significance and the results can be found in the recommendations.⁵

These habitation sites fall into several broad categories which can be described in terms of general site elements. The seasonal fishing camps are fairly utilitarian sites with the most elaborate being the pre-Calusa and Calusa sites which sometimes consisted of large shell midden. The historic sites by contrast are far less elaborate, usually containing small shacks or camp sites. Examples of this type of usage can be found on Pavilion Key, Camp Key, Comer Key, Plover Key, and numerous other small keys. Pilings existed at Camp Key for the fishermen to dry their nets. Turkey Key over the years served as a rendezvous for fishermen to meet and transfer their catches to large boats to be taken to various fish houses. These fish houses prepared the fish for sale and served as focal centers for

5. See Taylor's Everglades National Park Archeological Inventory and Assessment Season 3: Interim Report for habitation sites considered eligible for National Register of Historic Places.

small fishing villages usually consisting of palmetto shacks. One such fish house village was located near the mouth of Lostman's River.⁶

Permanent habitation sites established by farmers, fishermen, hermits and others could be as casual as the fishing camp, or could be much more elaborate. Permanent habitation sites existed near or on Lostman River, Turner River, Gomez Key, Sandfly Island, Chatham River, Mormon Key, Hog Key, Wood Key, Joe Kemp Key, Johnson's Hammock, Russel Key, Possum Key, Pavilion Key, St. Mary's Island, Ferguson River, Tiger Key, Bradley Key, Dave Foy Bank, Avocado Creek, and numerous other small keys. Components for these sites often include a small house, cistern, privy, outbuildings, stone walls, and nearby fields of lemon, banana, avocado, sugar cane, coconut palms, and other crops that could be grown easily in subtropical climates. More elaborate homesteads had outdoor ovens, canals, docks, and sugar mills depending on the desire, needs and wealth of the owner.⁷

EVERGLADES CITY

6. Taylor, Everglades National Park Archeological Inventory and Assessment Season 3: Interim Report, p. 28; "Camp Key," Everglades Place Name File, Everglades National Park, Homestead, Florida; Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, p. 107 and "Comer Key," Everglades Place Name File, Everglades National Park, Homestead, Florida.

7. Site specific information can be found in the previously mentioned archeological inventories and assessments completed by the Southeastern Archeological Center.

While individual settlers were selecting homestead sites in the Ten Thousand Islands and Florida Bay, small embryonic communities began to form in the Everglades. William Smith Allen, returning from an aborted effort to raise castor beans on Sanibel Island in 1868, sailed into Chokoloskee Bay where on the mainland, he found John Weeks growing an impressive array of crops. Allen was so taken by the fecundity of the land that he returned to occupy and own the present-day Everglades town site from 1873 until 1889, when he returned to Key West and died there. George W. Storter came in 1881 to join Allen in his farm venture and the next year brought his family to Everglades. They sold crops of cucumbers, tomatoes, and eggplants to merchants in Key West and New York.⁸

After Allen's death, George Storter, Jr., purchased all the Allen property. Gradually, Storter established a trading post and a small fishing village began to grow, with the town of Everglades being formally incorporated in 1923. Barron Gift Collier made Everglades, later to become Everglades City, the base for his vast land development operations in 1922, which led to a period of boom for the small community when it became the county seat of Collier County. The end of the land boom in the late 1920s and the loss of the county seat to Naples resulted in a marked

8. Tebeau, The Story of the Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood, p. 32; and Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, pp. 114-116.

decrease in economic prosperity for the small community. On September 10, 1960, Hurricane Donna created flooding in Everglades City which reached a depth of eight feet and inundated the community for several hours. After this, the Collier Corporation moved to Naples, leaving Everglades a small fishing village.⁹

CHOKOLOSKEE AND FLAMINGO

Six miles southeast of Everglades City is the small community of Chokoloskee on Chokoloskee Island. This island, consisting partially of a shell midden some twenty feet above sea level, measures approximately 150 acres. Here John Weeks induced Adolphus Santinis to come to the island in the late 1860s. Santinis owned half of the island with Weeks owning the other half. Weeks sold his part of the island to William H. Von Pfister, who later sold out to Santinis. Later, Nicholas Santinis came with his family to join his brother on the island. Various other people came to live on the island using it as a base for fishing, farming, trading, and turtling.¹⁰

9. Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, pp. 262-264; Tebeau, The Story of the Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood, pp. 32-35; and Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, p. 181.

10. Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, pp. 96-98; Tebeau, The Story of the Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood, pp. 16, 52; and Kersey, Jr., Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930, pp. 115-117.

Around 1900, the Smallwoods purchased the Santinis interest in the island. Ted Smallwood in 1906 began a trading post in his home and in 1917 built a trading post on the waterfront. After the store was partially flooded in the storm of 1924, Smallwood raised the structure on pilings which saved it from damage during the severe 1926 hurricane. He next had a canal dredged to his dock to allow large boats access to the area. The trading post became a focal point for community life. The Smallwood store is now listed on the National Register of Historic Places.¹¹

At various times in the nineteenth century the Cape Sable area around Flamingo attracted farmers, fishermen, and hunters. It was not until 1898, however, that approximately fifty families engaging in fishing and plume hunting gathered around Flamingo to form a small community. Guy Bradley became the most famous inhabitant of this settlement. When the Florida East Coast Railroad officials began surveys for a route to Key West at the beginning of the twentieth century, the citizens of Flamingo had their lots surveyed in hopes that the railroad would bring prosperity and increased land values to their community.¹²

11. Tebeau, Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County, pp. 96-98; Tebeau, The Story of the Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood, pp. 54-55; and Kersey Jr., Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930, pp. 118-119.

12. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, pp. 144-145; and

Once it was announced that the railroad did not intend to use the Cape Sable route to Key West, the community declined. A brief revival for Flamingo occurred during the period of the Florida land boom with Steve Roberts adding on to his house in 1915 to make a two-story hotel with four bedrooms for guests. Mattresses would be placed on the floor to accommodate additional guests. A hurricane destroyed the hotel in 1926 and Roberts rebuilt it with only one story.¹³

By 1919, only a half-dozen structures constituted Flamingo. The community included a school at the turn of the century, but by the 1920s, only three houses were found by a visitor to the town. In 1921, a road was opened from Homestead to Flamingo and a few years later a fish house opened, but the village still had inadequate water access, limited road access, little economic prospect, and a plague of insects. These factors all limited the growth potential of the community. A hurricane considerably damaged the community in 1926 and during the next several decades, the community gradually was abandoned. Hurricane Donna in 1960 severely damaged or destroyed the remaining structures at Flamingo.

Blassingame, The Everglades: From Yesterday to Tomorrow, p. 61.

13. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, p. 149.

Today only a few pilings remain to mark the site of Flamingo.¹⁴

CAPE SABLE

Plans to develop Cape Sable for agricultural purposes began in the 1820s and continued throughout the Second and Third Seminole Wars. The first farming did not occur until during the Civil War. In 1871, a writer for Harper's New Monthly Magazine wrote: "At Cape Sable more thorough and successful experiments have been made in agriculture. Parties in Key West own large tracts, and considerable income is derived from the products of the plantations."¹⁵

Some fourteen years later, a visitor to Cape Sable found only one house between Cape Sable and Point Palm and that was shuttered and closed. Reports by visitors over the next several decades suggest that two or more houses may have been located on the cape at one time or another. The beginning of the twentieth century found a coconut plantation belonging to James A. Waddell, of Key West, on Cape Sable along with a house for the caretaker. The coconut groves were destroyed by a hurricane in the 1930s and the house no longer exists. Virtually nothing remains

14. Lawrence E. Will, "Digging the Cape Sable Canal," Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, XIX (1959), p. 37; and Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, pp. 152-159.

15. J. B. Holder, "Along the Florida Reef, Second Paper," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, XLII (March, 1871), p. 519.

today to indicate the past agricultural activity on Cape Sable.¹⁶

HOLE IN THE DOUGHNUT

The "Hole in the Doughnut" agricultural development consisted of 7,500 acres of land brought under cultivation beginning in 1916 south of the present day South Florida Research Center. The last of this farmland became part of Everglades National Park in 1970 with farming continuing until 1975. Today, the fields are overgrown with exotic and native vegetation. The tomato packing house which served the farm community stands besides the South Florida Research Center and has been partially modified to serve as a storage facility for the park. The center building was originally a bunkhouse for farm laborers and housed a field study unit from the University of Miami then a seasonal Youth Conservation Corps camp before being converted to the South Florida Research Center.¹⁷

The J. B. McCrary Company began to survey a road and drainage ditch from the vicinity of present-day Homestead to Cape Sable in 1910. In 1915 the road went beyond Royal Palm

16. Tebeau, Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park, pp. 133-135.

17. Van Smith, "Hassle in the Everglades," Florida Agriculture (July, 1975), pp. 4-7; "Hole-in-the-Doughnut Farm Land Reclamation/Management Program," Pamphlet File, Everglades National Park Library; and Copeland, Hoffman and Porter, A Report to Everglades National Park Commission by Committee on Lands and Boundaries Relative to Boundaries for Proposed Everglades National Park, pp. 7-8.

Hammock and in 1921 reached Flamingo. The road surface was rock until reaching the Monroe County line, where the road became a track in the natural marl surface. Rains would make the portion of the roadway beyond Dade County nearly impassible on occasion. May Mann Jennings in 1915 campaigned to have the road named in honor of James Ingraham because of his work in assisting in the establishment of Royal Palm State Park and development of Dade County. The highway was officially designated as the "Ingraham Highway" on November 23, 1916, at the dedication of the Royal Palm State Park. The National Park Service has greatly modified the original route through a variety of highway improvement projects which have led to the abandonment of sections of the road and construction of new sections over the years. A small portion of the original route can be found in Royal Palm Hammock, but it is covered with vegetation and is only discernible as a wide footpath.¹⁸

Another site within the "Hole-in-the-Doughnut" area is "Missile Site HM-69." The United States Army in 1963 received a special use permit from the National Park Service for the construction of a missile complex near the present

18. Jennings to Mrs. Kirk Monroe, June 5, 1915, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 6; Jennings to T. Gilbert Pearson, June 4, 1915, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 6; and May Mann Jennings, A View of Ingraham Highway Through Royal Palm State Park, May Mann Jennings Collection, P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Box 10.

South Florida Research Center. The complex consisted of an administrative center which encompassed a radar installation, barracks, mess hall, and headquarters for approximately seventy-five men. This facility contained various support structures. About two and one-half miles south could be found the missile launch complex including storage facilities and launch site for several missiles. This missile facility remained active until 1982 when the area was transferred back to the National Park Service. The headquarters building was refitted to become the Dan Beard Center while the missile sheds at the launch site became hurricane shelters. Today six building remain in the headquarters complex while four building remain at the launch complex.¹⁹

ROYAL PALM STATE PARK SITES

The lodge and most other structures associated with Royal Palm State Park have been destroyed or removed. New growth now covers the former lodge site with only a few remnant plants from the original specimen gardens growing wild and a sunken area of ground all that remains of the lily pond. A deer feeding station consisting of a small concrete structure with tile roof and natural stone exterior is all that remains of the Civilian Conservation Corps work in Royal Palm State Park.

19. Interview with Alan Mebane, Chief Interpreter, Everglades National Park, Homestead, Florida, 11 September 1986.

CANAL SITES

In the 1920s, a number of canals were constructed to drain Cape Sable. The Buttonwood, Homestead, and East Cape canals date from that period. The Buttonwood Canal runs from Florida Bay to Coot Bay Pond. The Homestead Canal was constructed as part of the Ingraham Highway between 1915 and 1921. It follows the route of the Ingraham Highway until just south of Coot Bay, where the Homestead Canal travels in a westerly direction to East Cape. The East Cape canal connects the Homestead Canal with Florida Bay. All three canals now form part of the wilderness waterway and canoes trails maintained by Everglades National Park.

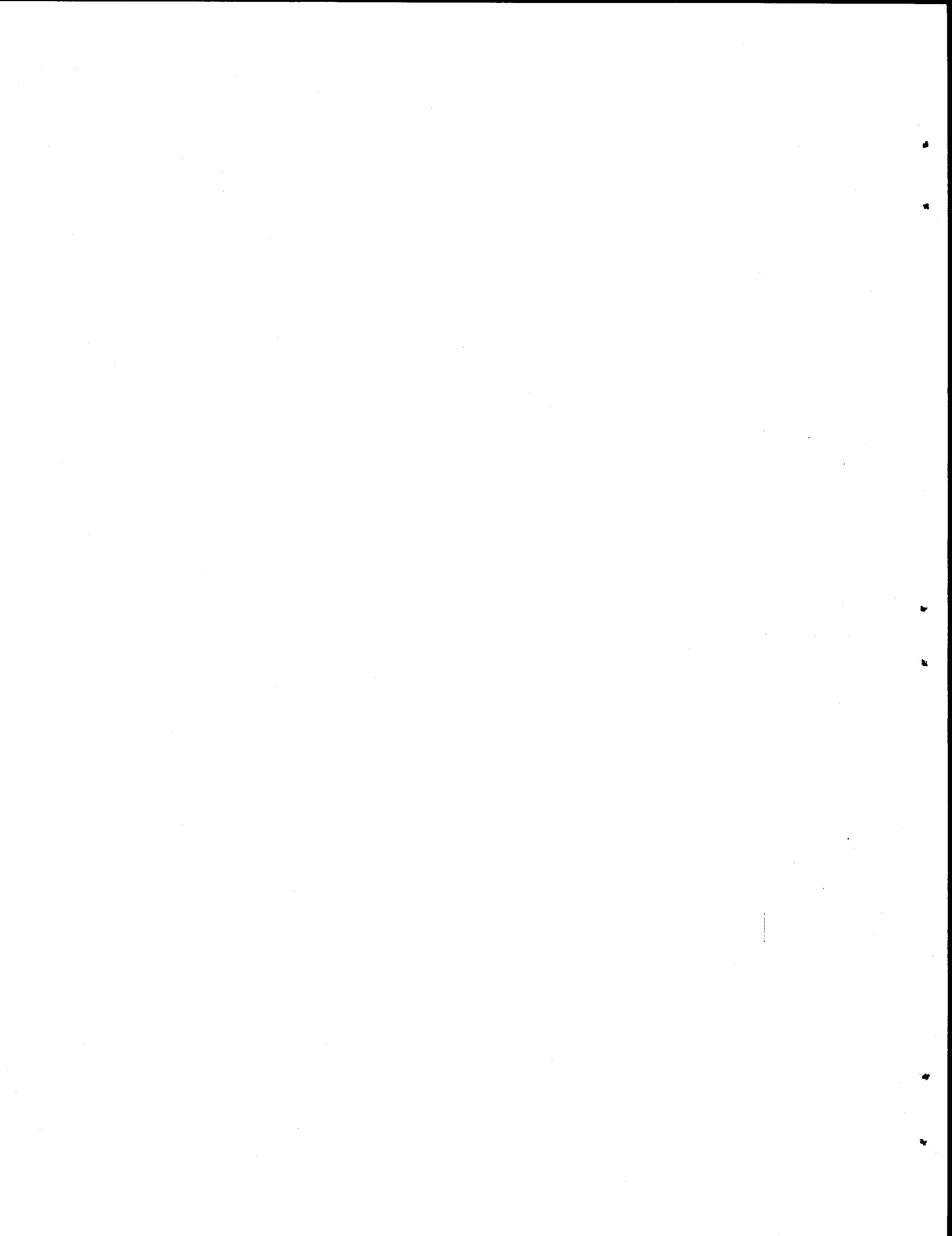
CHAPTER 8: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

A number of studies should be undertaken to supplement and expand the information found in this study and to provide park management with additional information for cultural resources management. The Seminole Wars encompassed military activities in Big Cypress National Preserve, Biscayne National Park, and Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, as well as in Everglades National Park. A special study should be undertaken to evaluate the significance of each of these parks in the three Seminole Wars and to place the military activities in proper historical context. For example, the military operations in Everglades National Park often went beyond park boundaries into Big Cypress National Preserve and Biscayne National Park. These areas are treated only superficially in this report and each unit should have a special study on the Seminole Wars within its boundaries. This work could be most efficiently done in a special study covering all the above mentioned areas in one report.

An administrative history of Everglades National Park would provide useful data for management decisions, as this park has a particularly complex history somewhat abbreviated in this report. Due to funding constraints, the records of the National Association of Audubon Societies for the Protection of Wild Birds and Animals at the New York Public Library were not consulted, but could likely yield valuable

information for an administrative history. Also, no attempt was made to describe the work and policies of the various Everglades National Park Superintendents after 1947. This information might provide much of value for the park's data base.

Much mythology surrounds habitation and commercial development in the Ten Thousand Islands and the Cape Sable regions of Everglades National Park. A special study should be undertaken to examine the folklife of the area and an attempt made to separate fact from fiction in regards to human activity in these areas. This would be done not to destroy the rich folklore of the area, but to describe what falls into the category of folklore and what is factual data. This study should prove of value to the park's interpretive program.



MAPS

Map 1.

Map which accompanied report of an expedition into the Everglades by Lieutenant Bell, 1st Artillery, April 26, 1856.

Courtesy of National Archives.

Map 2.

Map of Florida reconnaissance of the region south
of the Caloosahatchee by Lieutenant G. L.
Hartstuff and Captain H. P. Pratt, 2d Regiment
Artillery drawn by Captain J. W. Abert U S T E by
order of General W. S. Harney, March 1857.

Courtesy of National Archives.

Map 3.

Military map of Florida showing the routes of the various scouts made by order of General W. S. Harney and drawn by Captain J. W. Abert U S T E, April 22, 1857.

Courtesy of National Archives.

Map 4.

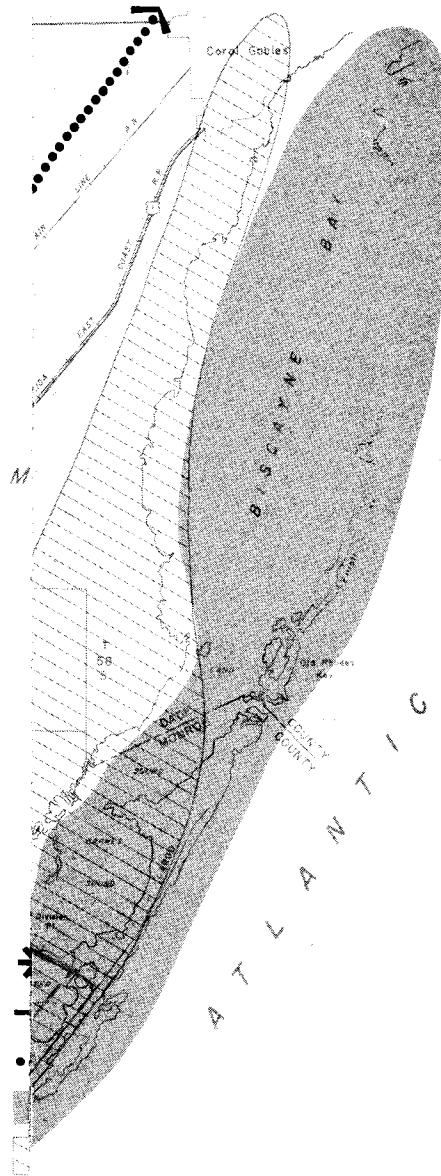
Map of routes of a scout under the command of
Brevet Captain T. Seymour, 1st Artillery, December
26, 1857 to January 15, 1858.

Courtesy of National Archives.

Map 5.

Historical Base Map for Everglades National Park.

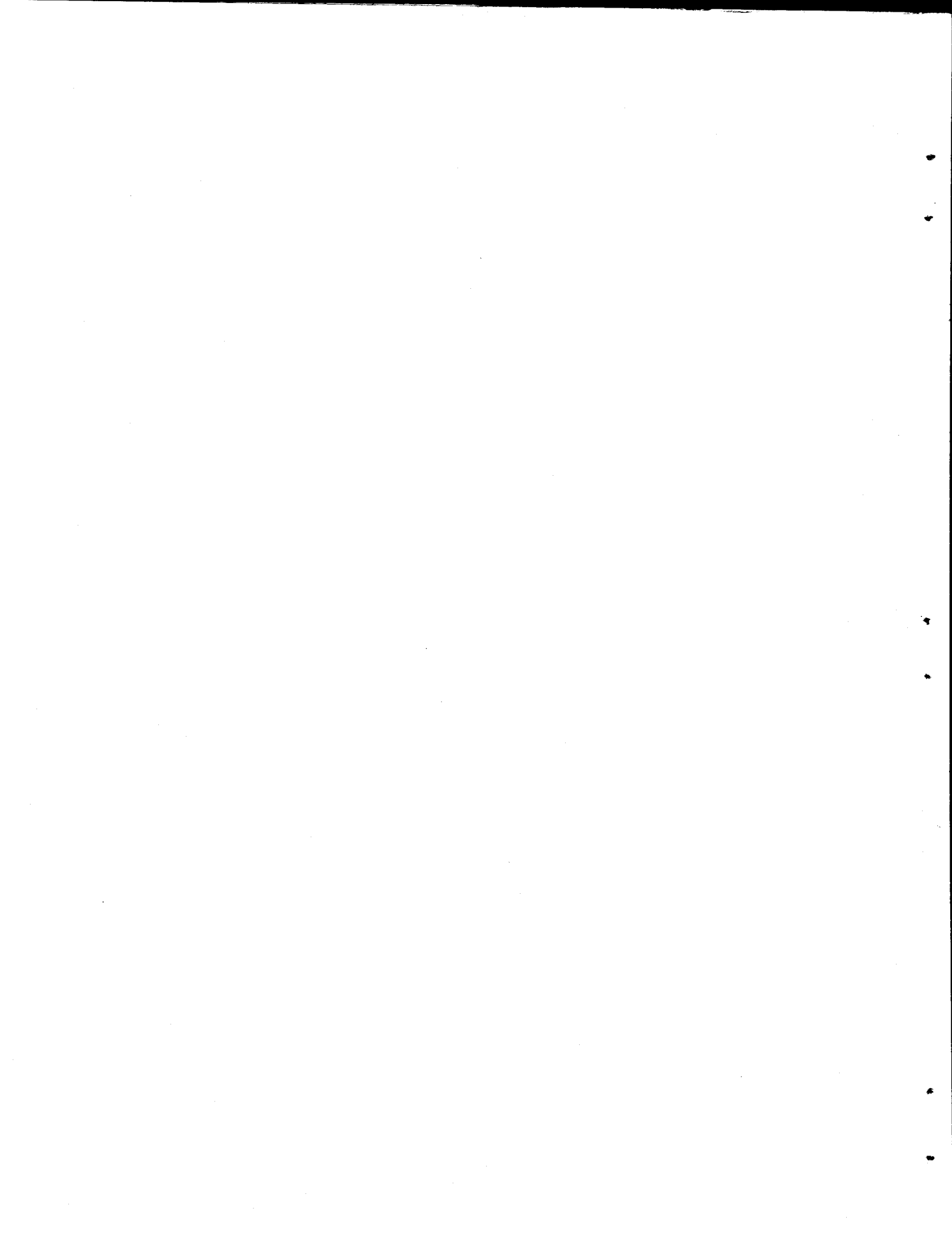
Courtesy of National Archives.



HISTORIC BASE MAP

EVERGLADES NATIONAL PARK

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
COLLIER, DADE, AND MONROE COUNTIES
FLORIDA



Map 6.

Historic Trail Map for Everglades National Park

Courtesy of Denver Service Center

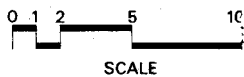


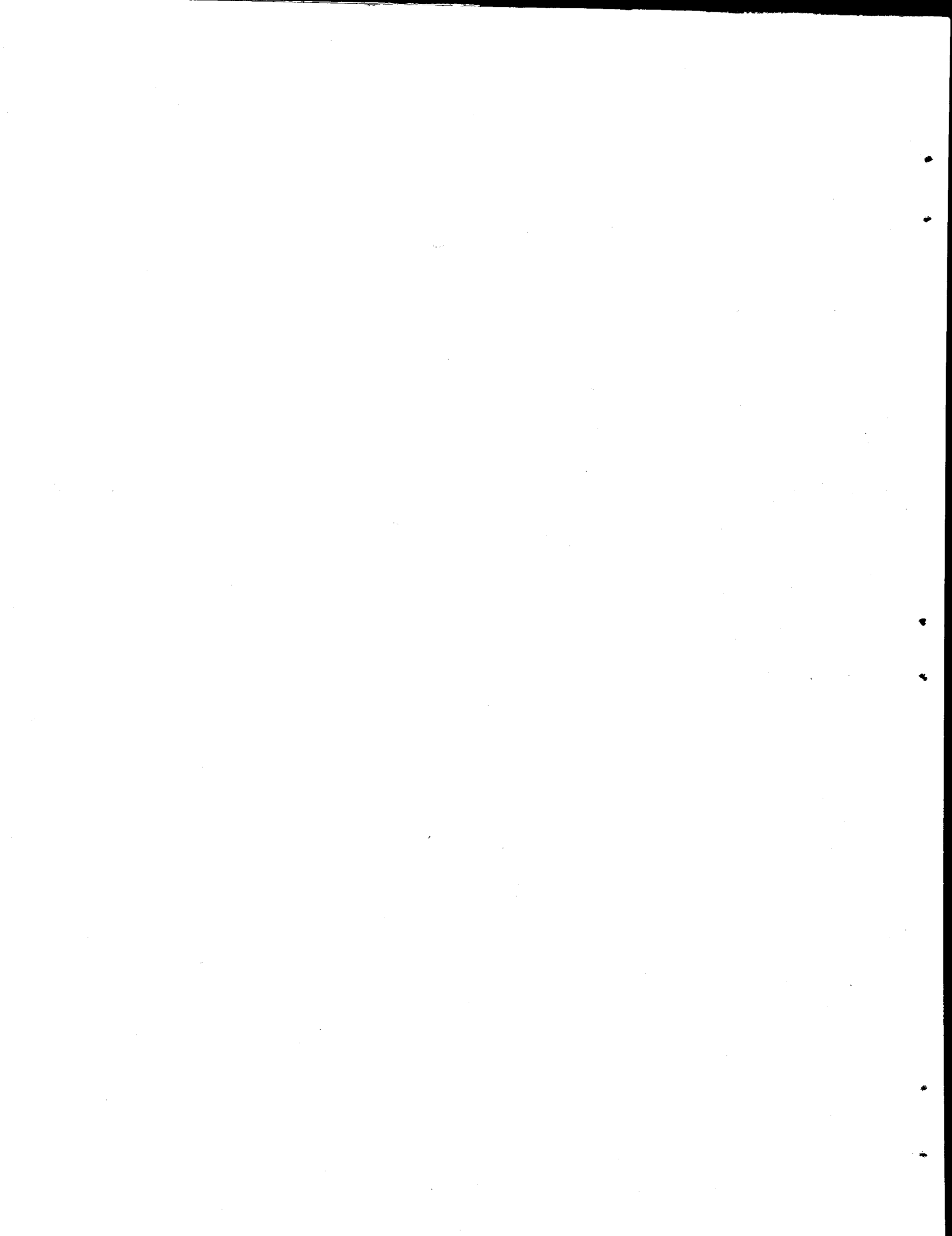
LEGEND

- SCOUTING TRAIL
- NAVAL ACTIVITIES
- ▨ ARMY ACTIVITIES

TRAIL MAP

DES NATIONAL PARK
 NC
 DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
 AND MONROE COUNTIES
 FLORIDA

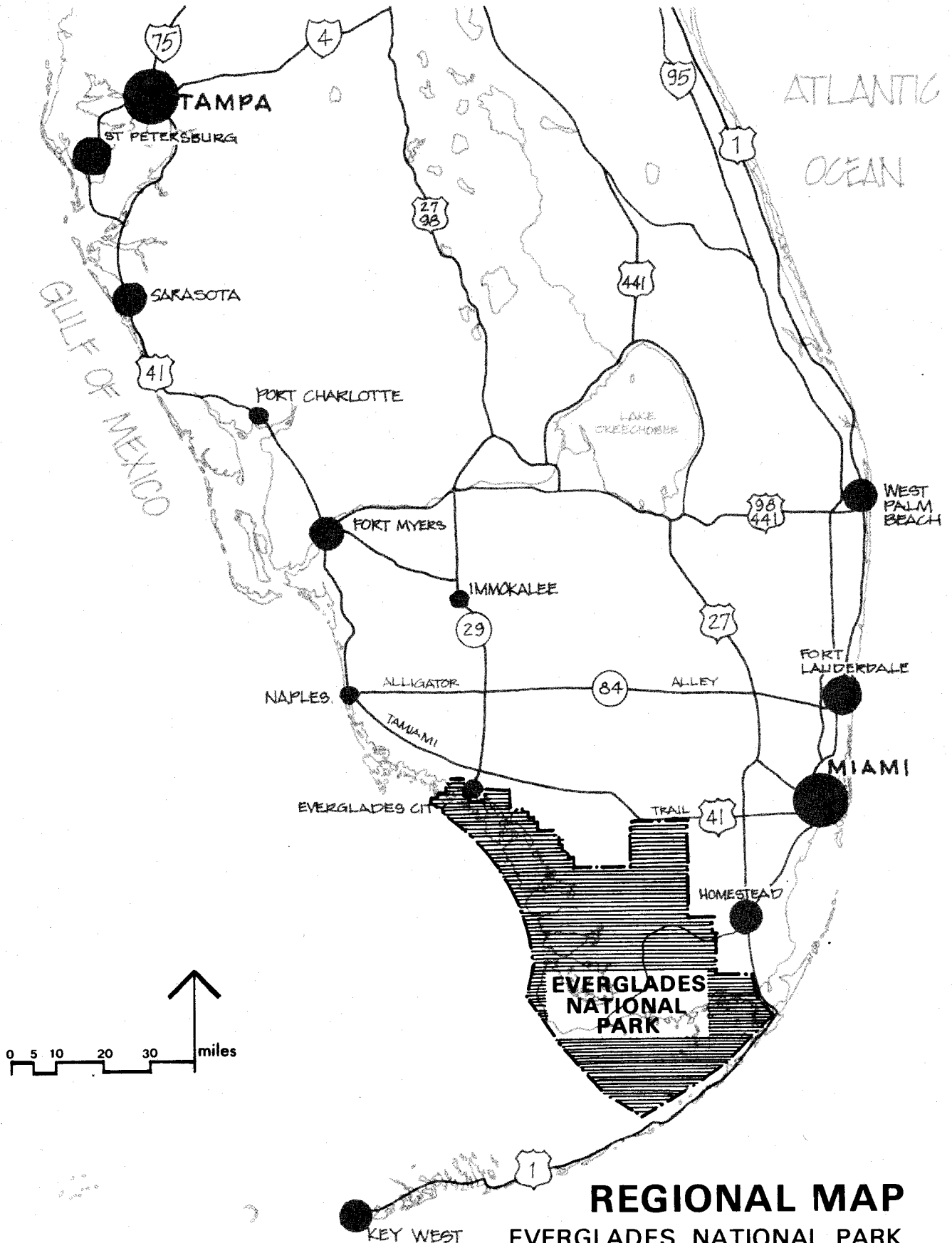




Map 7.

Regional Map of Everglades National Park

Courtesy of Denver Service Center



160 | 25002
DSC | JANUARY 1986

REGIONAL MAP
EVERGLADES NATIONAL PARK
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

APPENDIXES

Appendix A.

Sites on National Register of Historic Places Significant
for Everglades National Park.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Type all entries - complete applicable sections)

STATE: Florida	
COUNTY: Collier	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

1. NAME			
COMMON: Ted Smallwood's Store			
AND OR HISTORIC: Smallwood's Trading Post			
2. LOCATION			
STREET AND NUMBER: U.S. #41, west to S.R. #29; south on S.R. #29 to Chokoloskee Island; right on Chokoloskee Drive; left on Mamie Chokoloskee			
CITY OR TOWN: Street; approx. 1/4 mile south, past Blue Heron Motel; Island			
STATE Florida	CODE 12	COUNTY: Collier	CODE 021

3. CLASSIFICATION			
CATEGORY (Check One)	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	ACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC
☐ District ☒ Building ☐ Site ☐ Structure ☐ Object	☐ Public ☒ Private ☐ Both	Public Acquisition: ☐ In Process ☐ Being Considered	☒ Occupied ☐ Unoccupied ☐ Preservation work in progress
PRESENT USE (Check One or More as Appropriate)			
☐ Agricultural ☒ Commercial ☐ Educational ☐ Entertainment	☒ Government ☐ Industrial ☐ Military ☐ Museum	☐ Park ☐ Private Residence ☐ Religious ☐ Scientific	☐ Transportation ☐ Other (Specify) _____ _____ _____

4. OWNER OF PROPERTY			
OWNER'S NAME: Thelma Smallwood			
STREET AND NUMBER: U.S. Post Office Zip Code 33925			
CITY OR TOWN: Chokoloskee Island	STATE: Florida	CODE 12	

5. LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION			
COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC. Collier County Court House			
STREET AND NUMBER: Court House Complex			
CITY OR TOWN: East Naples	STATE: Florida	CODE 12	

6. REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS			
TITLE OF SURVEY: N/A			
DATE OF SURVEY: ☐ Federal ☐ State ☐ County ☐ Local			
DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS: _____ _____			
STREET AND NUMBER: _____ _____			
CITY OR TOWN: _____ _____	STATE: _____ _____	CODE _____ _____	

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

STATE: Florida
COUNTY: Collier
ENTRY NUMBER
DATE

FOR NPS USE ONLY

7 DESCRIPTION	
CONDITION	(Check One)
	☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☒ Fair ☐ Deteriorated ☐ Ruins ☐ Unexposed
	(Check One) ☒ Altered ☐ Unaltered (Check One) ☐ Moved ☒ Original Site
DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (If known) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE	
Ted Smallwood's store and trading post is located on the eastern portion at the southernmost tip of Chokoloskee Island in Collier County, Florida. The Island is surrounded by Chokoloskee Bay, and is separated from the Gulf of Mexico by the Ten Thousand Islands, just south of the Florida Everglades. The one-story, board and batten structure is rectangular in plan, and is raised on wooden pilings. When built in 1917 by C.S. "Ted" Smallwood, the structure was a few feet above ground level; however, a storm in 1925 flooded the floor of the building, and it was in this year that Smallwood elevated the building to its present height. A six-foot space under the entire structure is perhaps the main reason the building has withstood the many years of hurricane and wind damage. The building is of simple construction design, and has a gabled roof covered in corrugated tin. The north and south sides of the structure are also covered with corrugated tin. The single entry on the main (east) facade extends through to the west portion of the structure which faces Chokoloskee Bay. An open veranda at the rear of the building spans its width, and a portion of it extends out over the Bay. The upper one-fourth of the building is covered with corrugated tin. A steep, wooden stair leads up to the entrance which consists of a heavy wooden door. Two pair of windows flank this entry; those on the left (south) side were boarded. In addition to a meager inventory of some modern-day merchandise for sale to the local residents, the store contains a vast collection of memorabilia dating back to the early part of the decade. Unsold merchandise which has accumulated over the years is found on nearly every shelf and counter. Among the relics are tools, cooking implements, photographs, posters, and displays of shells and artifacts. A set of Howe Scales, dated 1898, used when Smallwood first opened his trading post, rests on the old wooden counter. The porch still contains an old gasoline pump used when Smallwood's was the center of an active trading post and fishing center. Scattered around the grounds of the building are the rusted remains of boat ways which were used to haul boats up from the Bay. The Chokoloskee Post Office is also contained in Smallwood's Store, as it has been since the pioneer proprietor was appointed postmaster in 1906.	

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

8. SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD (Check One or More as Appropriate)

☐ Pre-Columbian☐ 16th Century☐ 18th Century☒ 20th Century☐ 15th Century☐ 17th Century☐ 19th Century

SPECIFIC DATE(S) (If Applicable and Known)

1917

AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE (Check One or More as Appropriate)

Aboriginal

☐ Prehistoric☐ Historic☐ Agriculture☐ Architecture☐ Art☒ Commerce☐ Communications☐ Conservation☐ Education☐ Engineering☐ Industry☐ Invention☐ Landscape☐ Architecture☐ Literature☐ Military☐ Music☐ Political☐ Religion/Phi-

losophy

☐ Science☐ Sculpture☐ Social/Human-

itarian

☐ Theater☐ Transportation☐ Urban Planning☒ Other (Specify)

U.S. Post Office

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

C.S. "Ted" Smallwood came to Chokoloskee Island as a permanent settler in 1897, and was one of the largest landholders in the area, having owned 35 1/2 acres. The Post Office at Chokoloskee was established November 27, 1891. As a pioneer, Smallwood started his trading post in his home which was located only a few yards from the water which surrounds the Island. In the same year, 1906, he became postmaster--a post held by him for 35 years until his daughter, Thelma, succeeded him. The post office was also operated from his home. The Smallwood trading post became trading headquarters for the region, although the Storter interests at Everglades were also prospering and rivaled Smallwood's business.

In 1917, Smallwood built the general store that still serves as postoffice and store for the residents of Chokoloskee Island. The structure has weathered South Florida hurricanes during the 56 years of its existence, and appears relatively unchanged during all this time. The fact that the structure has withstood the elements of time and weather could be attributed to Smallwood's ingenuity when, in 1925, he raised the building on pilings in order to prevent flooding. He is also responsible for discovering one of three artesian wells on the Island.

Smallwood was a seafarer who sailed along Florida's east coast and was a frequent visitor from Key West in 1894, prior to the advent of the railroad. He was born in Lake City, and went to sea from Punta Gorda at the age of ten. In 1918, he recognized the need for easy access to his island enterprises, and dredged a channel from the deep water to his dock at store front--a move which proved a considerable commercial advantage, as well as opening up that side of the Island to increased trade. Fish houses which formerly were located farther back on the Island, were relocated to either side of his trading post; a boatways was erected to haul boats from the Bay; and the water's edge settlement became a center of activity for several years.

Included among the significant facts associated with Chokoloskee Island is its use as a military base for expeditionary forces during the final days of the Seminole Indian wars.

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Florida	
COUNTY Collier	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

9. Bibliography.

"Chokoloskee Pioneer," Fort Myers News Press, October 26, 1955.

Collier County Court House, Naples, Florida. Office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court. Collier County Records (Subgroup: deeds).

Fuller, Walter P. "State Your Name; Don't Ask Name of Islander," Tampa Tribune, n.d.

Morgan, Tom. "Mystery of E. J. Watson Gets Deeper Every Year," The Miami Herald, April 21, 1964.

Pratt, Theodore. "Papa of the Everglades National Park," Saturday Evening Post, August 9, 1947.

Smallwood, Thelma. Personal Interview (by Mary K. Evans), July 23, 1973. Chokoloskee Island, Florida.

Tebeau, Charlton W. Florida's Last Frontier. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1957.

Tebeau, Charlton W. The Story of the Chokoloskee Bay Country with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1955.

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

(SEE ATTACHED SHEET)

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE COORDINATES DEFINING A RECTANGLE LOCATING THE PROPERTY				OR	LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE COORDINATES DEFINING THE CENTER POINT OF A PROPERTY OF LESS THAN TEN ACRES				
CORNER	LATITUDE				LONGITUDE				
	Degrees	Minutes	Seconds	Degrees	Minutes	Seconds	Degrees	Minutes	Seconds
NW	°	'	"	°	'	"			
NE	°	'	"	°	'	"			
SE	°	'	"	°	'	"	N 25	48	34
SW	°	'	"	°	'	"	W 81	21	45

APPROXIMATE ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY: less than ten acres

LIST ALL STATES AND COUNTIES FOR PROPERTIES OVERLAPPING STATE OR COUNTY BOUNDARIES

STATE:	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
N/A		N/A	
STATE:	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
STATE:	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
STATE:	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
STATE:	CODE	COUNTY	CODE

11. FORM PREPARED BY

NAME AND TITLE: <u>Mary K. Evans, Historic Sites Specialist</u>		
ORGANIZATION <u>Dept. of State; Div. of Archives, History, &</u>	Records Management	DATE <u>9/12/73</u>
STREET AND NUMBER: <u>The Capitol</u>		
CITY OR TOWN: <u>Tallahassee</u>	STATE <u>Florida</u>	CODE <u>12</u>

12. STATE LIAISON OFFICER CERTIFICATION

As the designated State Liaison Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service. The recommended level of significance of this nomination is:

National ☐ State ☐ Local ☒

Name _____

Title Historic Preservation Officer

Date _____

NATIONAL REGISTER VERIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is included in the National Register.

Chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation

Date _____

ATTEST:

Keeper of The National Register

Date _____

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

FOR FEDERAL PROPERTIES

RECEIVED

DATE ENTERED

SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS
TYPE ALL ENTRIES - COMPLETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS

1 NAME

HISTORIC Turner River (8Cr8)

AND/OR COMMON

2 LOCATION

STREET & NUMBER

Big Cypress National Preserve

☒ NOT FOR PUBLICATION

CITY TOWN

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

STATE

Florida

VICINITY OF
CODE

COUNTY

Collier

CODE

3 CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	PRESENT USE
☐ DISTRICT	☐ PUBLIC	☐ OCCUPIED	☐ AGRICULTURE ☐ MUSEUM
☐ BUILDING(S)	☐ PRIVATE	☒ UNOCCUPIED	☐ COMMERCIAL ☐ PARK
☐ STRUCTURE	☐ BOTH	☐ WORK IN PROGRESS	☐ EDUCATIONAL ☐ PRIVATE RESIDENCE
☒ SITE	☐ PUBLIC ACQUISITION	☐ ACCESSIBLE	☐ ENTERTAINMENT ☐ RELIGIOUS
☐ OBJECT	☐ IN PROCESS	☐ YES RESTRICTED	☐ GOVERNMENT ☐ SCIENTIFIC
	☐ BEING CONSIDERED	☐ YES UNRESTRICTED	☐ INDUSTRIAL ☐ TRANSPORTATION
		☐ NO	☐ MILITARY ☐ OTHER

4 AGENCY

REGIONAL HEADQUARTERS (if applicable)

Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service

STREET & NUMBER

1895 Phoenix Boulevard

CITY TOWN

Atlanta

STATE

Georgia

5 LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE
REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC

County Clerk, Collier County Courthouse

STREET & NUMBER

CITY TOWN

Naples

STATE

Florida

6 REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE

Preliminary Report of Archeological Survey of Big Cypress National Preserve

DATE

1978

☒ FEDERAL ☒ STATE ☐ COUNTY ☐ LOCAL

DEPOSITORY FOR

SURVEY RECORDS National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center

CITY TOWN

Tallahassee

STATE

Florida

CONDITION		CHECK ONE	CHECK ONE
☐ EXCELLENT	☐ DETERIORATED	☐ UNALTERED	☒ ORIGINAL SITE
☐ GOOD	☐ RUINS	☒ ALTERED	MOVED DATE _____
☒ FAIR	☒ UNEXPOSED		

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Context

The Turner River mounds were first recorded by Ales Hrlicka during his visit to the south Florida coast (1922:24). John Goggin also visited the site (1941:24). The site was assessed by the National Park Service in 1977 during their survey of the Big Cypress National Preserve. The Turner River mounds are one of seven sites in the preserve considered eligible for nomination on the National Register.

The site encompasses at least four black dirt mounds that are situated along the east bank of the Turner River near its headwaters. The four mounds are part of an extensive midden complex represented by extensive material remains such as shells, faunal bone, ceramics, and shell and bone artifacts. The mounds are roughly oval or loaf shaped in format and range in elevation from .5 meter to 2.5 meters above the surrounding terrain. The mound dimensions range in length and width from 10 meters to approximately 20 meters.

Diagnostic artifacts indicate an occupation that extends from as early as the Glades I (Late) Period through the Glades III A Period. This time span reflects a chronology ranging from ca. 400 AD to 1400 AD.

Boundary Justification

The nominated boundaries include all of the known components of the site as well as a portion of the river that bounds the site. The river portion is included because this ecotone would have served as an important resource area as well as the major transportation route for the site's inhabitants. In addition, the survey team observed a large quantity of artifactual data within the river. It is possible that organic artifacts, such as netting and wooden tools, may be preserved within the river mud, a circumstance not uncommon within the Glades Area. The nominated property encompasses four acres.

Environment

This site is located on the east bank of the Turner River. The site area is dominated by a hydric hardwood hammock community. Exotic flora has been introduced here, and one of them, Australian pines, grow profusely upon the site. The site is located near a wide variety of ecotones that would have offered a large quantity of resources to the prehistoric inhabitants.

Archeological Investigations

The survey team conducted tests on various mounds and recovered cultural data from as deep as 60 cm. Recovered material data included approximately 250 pottery sherds, bone tools, a drilled piece of limestone (possibly a net weight), faunal bone and carbon samples were also collected and subjected to C14 tests. The results of these tests are as follows:

Sample #1um-1095	1300±60 B.P.
#2um-1095	1460±100 B.P.

**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM**

RECEIVED

DATE ENTERED

CONTINUATION SHEET

ITEM NUMBER

PAGE

Turner River

- 7

1

Data Limitations

Excavations by amateur archeologists have disturbed several of the mounds with trenches and test pits. It is estimated that between 10% to 20% of the site has been disturbed, generally on the highest parts of the mounds. The site has also been subject to extensive agriculture in the past century. Sugar cane and vegetables have been grown there, contributing to disturbances to the upper zone of the site.

HISTORIC
 1800 1899
 1900 1899
 1900 1899
 1700 1799
 1800 1899
 1900

COMMUNITY PLANNING
CONSERVATION
ECONOMICS
EDUCATION
ENGINEERING
EXPLORATION SETTLEMENT
INDUSTRY
INVENTION

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE
LAW
LITERATURE
MILITARY
MUSIC
PHILOSOPHY
POLITICS GOVERNMENT

RELIGION
SCIENCE
SCULPTURE
SOCIAL HUMANITARIAN
THEATER
TRANSPORTATION
OTHER (SPECIFY _____)

BUILDER/ARCHITECT

—

These data sets may be described as follows.

1. Artifactual data is primarily composed of pottery sherds. Ceramics in the Glades Area are the principal artifactual marker for chronology. Other artifacts include bone and shell tools and ornaments. This type of data still remains in undisturbed portions of the site. These artifacts would reflect subsistence patterns, technology, and, in some cases; chronology.

Subsistence data comprises a major percentage of the site's data universe. Consisting of shell, faunal bone, charred seeds, and human coprolites. This data offers investigators an unusual opportunity to reconstruct subsistence patterns; particularly types of food being exploited, resource selectivity, prehistoric hunting, and fishing methodology, and food preparation. The human fecal material, commonly preserved in large prehistoric middens in the Big Cypress, offer an opportunity to study diet and human parasitic pathology.

3. Large quantities of charcoal, remnants from fire pits and hearths exist throughout the site. To date, four samples have been collected and submitted for C14 dates. Sufficient charcoal exist at all occupational levels to probably determine the complete chronology of settlement.

Studies of prehistoric culture in Big Cypress have been nonexistent. Although close similarities are apparent between this area and the coastal Everglades, differences in adaptive strategies to local microenvironments are apparent. Future research may be able to answer questions about these differences. Other questions, such as whether seasonality is a factor in settlement selection, can also be addressed.

(continued)

10 GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY 4

UTM REFERENCES

A 17 473000 2863600
ZONE EASTING NORTHING

B
ZONE EASTING NORTHING

C

D

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

The Turner River Site is located along the east bank of Turner River about 300 meters north of SR 40.

LIST ALL STATES AND COUNTIES FOR PROPERTIES OVERLAPPING STATE OR COUNTY BOUNDARIES

STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE

11 FORM PREPARED BY

NAME / TITLE

Robert S. Carr

12/77

ORGANIZATION

NPS, Southeast Archeological Survey

DATE

(904) 222-1167

STREET & NUMBER

P. O. Box 2416

TELEPHONE

CITY OR TOWN

Tallahassee

STATE

Florida 32304

12 CERTIFICATION OF NOMINATION

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER RECOMMENDATION

YES

NO

NONE

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER SIGNATURE

In compliance with Executive Order 11593 I hereby nominate this property to the National Register, certifying that the State Historic Preservation Officer has been allowed 90 days in which to present the nomination to the State Review Board and to evaluate its significance. The evaluated level of significance is National State Local

FEDERAL REPRESENTATIVE SIGNATURE

TITLE

DATE

FOR NPS USE ONLY

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THIS PROPERTY IS INCLUDED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER

DATE

DIRECTOR OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATTEST

DATE

KEEPER OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER

**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM**

CONTINUATION SHEET

ITEM NUMBER

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Turner River (8Cr8)

9

2

Hrlicka, Alex

1922 Anthropology of Florida, Publications of Florida State
Historical Society, DeLand

Laxson, Dan

1966 "The Turner River Jungle Gardens Site", The Florida Anthropologist,
Vol. 19, No. 4., pp. 125-140

Appendix B.

Royal Palm State Park Legislation.

"Royal Palm State Park" Granted the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs
by the Legislature of 1915.

An act to Cede Unto the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs Section Fifteen (15) and North Half of Section Twenty-two (22) in Township Fifty-eight (58) South, Range Thirty-seven (37) East Dade County Florida and to Designate Said Lands as the Royal Palm State Park, Granting the Procession Thereto and the Beautifying. Thereof to the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs for State Park Purpose for the Use of the Public to provide for its Maintenance and Care and to Appropriate Funds in Aid Thereof.

Whereas Attention has been called to an island situated in the Everglades in the lower part of Dade County said to be very fertile and covered with a dense growth of tropical forest trees and growth and surrounded with most beautiful royal palms estimated at from 60 to 1060 in number, many of these royal palm sugstained an estimated height of one hundred (100) feet, making altogether a most beautiful and unique natural park of rare plants and a magnificent body of royal palms which are not known to exist in the forest eleswhere in Florida or in the United States, which should be protected, cared for and the grounds beautified in the interest of all of the people of Florida and whereas the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs have taken a lively interest in the dedication of the lands aforesaid and its designation as the Royal Palm State Park to be used perpetually for state park purposes, improved, cared for and beautified and will undertake to procure a like acreage of kinds in the vicinity of the proposed Park, suitable for agricultural pursuits of equal market value, to be used in kind

or the proceeds arising from the rents, profits and sale thereof as an endowment for the perpetual care maintenance and beautifying of said state park, under the supervision, direction, and care of the officers and members of the Florida Federation of Women's Club therefore.

Be it Enacted by the Legislature of the state of Florida:

Section 1 The Section Fifteen (15) and the North Half of section twenty-two (22) in Township Fifty eighth south Range Thirty seven (37) East, situated in Dade County, Florida, be and the same is hereby ceded to the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs and designated as the "Royal Palm State Park," to cared for, protected, and to remain in the full possession and enjoyment, with all the possessory rights and privilege thereunto belonging to the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, for the purpose of a State Park, for the benefit and use of all of the people of Florida perpetually, provided than the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs shall procure a deed in 960 acres of lands in Dade County. Florida in the vicinity of said State Park, suitable for agricultural purpose, conveying to said Florida Federation of Women's Clubs free simple title thereto said lands to be used as an endowment for the perpetual use and benefit of the said Park, its protection improvement and the beautifying thereof, including the construction of roads and other improvements either in kind or by the use of the rents and profits occurring therefrom or the proceeds of sales thereof or any part of said endowment tract.

Sec. 2 That One Dollar (\$1.00) be and the same is hereby appropriated out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated annually, to be used by

the officers and members of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs in the protection,-beautifying - and improvement of the Royal Palm State Park, as aforesaid. Conditioned upon and always provided that the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs procure the conveyance of the 960 acres of land as above referred to as endowment.

Sec. 3 The lands described above as the Royal Palm State Park and the lands to be conveyed to the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs as an endowment for the use and benefit of said State property be and the same acreage be exempt from the payment of State, country, or other special assessment or any assessment of taxes.

Sec. 4 All laws and parts of laws in conflict with the above be and the same is hereby repeated.

Sec. 5 This law shall become operative and make effect immediately upon its passage and approval by the Governor. Approve June 5, 1915.

Appendix C.

Everglades National Park Legislation.

An Act To Provide for the establishment of the Everglades National Park in the State of Florid and for other purposes, approve May 30, 1934 (48 Stat. 816)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of American in Congress assembled, that when title to all the lands within boundaries to be determined by the Secretary of the Interior within the area of approximately two thousand square miles in the region of the Everglades of Dade, Monroe, and Collier Counties, in the State of Florida, recommended by said Secretary, in his report to Congress of December 3, 1930, pursuant to the Act of March 1, 1929 (45 Stat., pt. 1, p. 1443), shall have been vested in the United States said lands shall be, and are hereby, established, dedicated, and set apart as a public park for the benefit and enjoyment of the people and shall be known as the Everglades National Park: Provided; that the United State shall not purchase by appropriation of public moneys and land within the aforesaid area, but such lands shall be secured by the United States only by public or private donation. (16 U.S. C. sec. 410).

Sec. 2 The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized, in his discretion and upon submission of evidence of title satisfactory to him, to accept on behalf of the United States, title to the lands referred to in the previous section hereof as may be deemed by him necessary or desirable for national-park purposes: Provided, That no land for said park shall be accepted until exclusive jurisdiction over the entire park area, in form satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior, shall have been cede by the State of Florida to the United States. (16 U.S.C. sec. 410a).

Sec. 3 The administration, protection, and development of the aforesaid park shall be exercised under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior by the National Park Service, subject to the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes", as amended: Provided, That the provisions of the Act approved June 10, 1920, known as the Federal Water Power Act, shall not apply to this park: Provided further, That nothing in this Act shall be constructed to lessen any existing rights of the Seminole Indians which are not in conflict with the purposes for which the Everglades National Park is created: And provided further, That the United States shall not expend any public moneys for the administration, protection, or development of the aforesaid park within a period of five years from the date of approval of this Act. (16 U.S.C. sec. 410b).

Sec. 4 The said area or areas shall be permanently reserved as a wilderness, and no development of the project or plan for the entertainment of visitors shall be undertaken which will interfere with the preservation intact of the unique flora and fauna and the essential primitive natural conditions now prevailing in this areas. (16 U.S.C. sec. 410c).

Appendix D.

Amended Everglades National Park Legislation.

Everglades National Park

An Act To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to procure for the Everglades National Park with available funds, including those made available by the State of Florida, the remaining lands and interest in lands within the boundary agreed upon between the State of Florida and the Secretary of the Interior, within and a part of that authorization by the Act of May 30, 1934 (48 Stat. 816) and within which the State has already donated its lands, and for other purposes, approved October 10, 1949 (63 Stat. 733).

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in order to consolidate the Federal ownership of lands within the boundary set forth in deed numbered 19035 executed December 28, 1944, by the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund of the State of Florida, and accepted by the Secretary of the Interior on March 14, 1947, for Everglades National Park purpose, the said the Secretary is hereby authorized, within the aforesaid boundary and with any funds made available for that purpose, to procure lands or interests therein by purchase or otherwise, subject, however, to the right of retention by owners of lands, interests in oil, gas, and mineral rights, or realities, their heirs, executors, administrators, successors, or assigns (hereinafter referred to as "owners") at their election, of the following:

- (1) The reservation until October 9, 1958, of all oil, gas, and mineral rights or interests, including the right to lease, explore for, produce, store, and remove oil, gas, and other minerals from such lands: Provided, that if on or before said date, oil, gas, or

other minerals are begin produced in commercial quantities anywhere within the boundary set forth in aforesaid deed number 19035, then in that event the time of the reservation as set forth in this subsection shall automatically extend for all owners, regardless of whether such production is from land in which such owners have an interest, for so long as oil, gas, or minerals are produced in commercial quantities anywhere within said boundary. To exercise this reservation, the owners, their lessees, agents, employees, and assigns shall have such right of ingress and egress to and from such lands as may be necessary; and

- (2) After the termination of the reserved rights of owners as set forth in subsection (1) hereof, a further reservation of the right to customary royalties, applying at the time of production, in any oil, gas, or there minerals which may be produced from such lands at any time before January 1, 1985, should production ever be authorized by the Federal Government or its assigns. (16 U.S.C. & 410e).

Sec. 2 Unless consented to by an owner retaining the reservation set forth in subsection (1) of section 1 hereof, no action shall be taken by the Federal Government during the period of such reservation to purchase, acquire, or otherwise terminate or interfere with any lease or leases which may be applicable to said owner's lands. (16 U.S.C. & 410f).

Sec. 3 Any reservations retained under the provisions of subsection (1) of section 1 here of shall be exercised by the owners subject to reasonable

rules and regulations which the Secretary may prescribe for the protection of the park, but which shall permit the reserved rights to be exercised so that the oil, gas, and minerals may be explored for, developed, extracted, and removed from the park area in accordance with sound conservation practices. All operations shall be carried on under such regulation as the Secretary may prescribe to protect the lands and areas for park purpose. (16 U.S.C. & 410g).

Sec. 4 In any action caused by the Secretary of the Interior to be commenced for the acquisition of lands under the provisions hereof, reasonable diligence shall be exercised by him to ascertain whether owners elect to retain reservations in accordance with the provisions of this Act. If, after the exercise of such reasonable diligence, owners cannot be located, or do not appear in judicial proceedings to acquire the lands, so that it may be ascertained whether they desire to retain reservations in accordance with the provisions hereof, the Secretary may acquire the fee simple title to their lands free and clear of reservation as set forth in subsections (1) and (2) of section 1 hereof. (16 U.S. C. & 410h).

Appendix E.

Mineral Rights Legislation for Everglades National Park.

An Act to amend an Act entitled "An Act to provide for the establishment of the Everglades National Park in the State of Florida and for other purposes," approved May 30, 1934, approved August 21, 1937 (50 Stat. 742).

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United State of America in Congress assembled. That section 3 of the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the established of the Everglades National Park in the State of Florida, and other purposes" approved May 30, 1934, be and the same is hereby, amended by striking therefrom the following words: "And provided further, that the United States shall not expend any public moneys for the administration, protection, or development of the aforesaid park within a period of five years from the date of approval of this Act." (16 U.S.C. Sec. 410b).

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