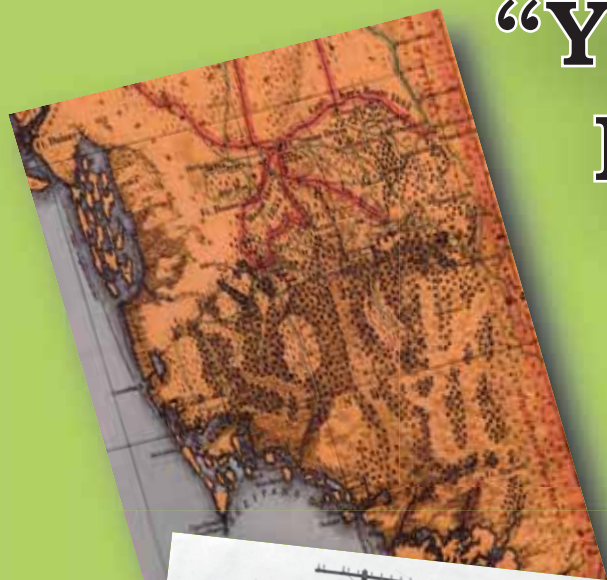


Ethnographic Study and Evaluation of Traditional Cultural Properties of the Gladesmen Culture

Comprehensive Everglades Restoration Plan (CERP), Southern Florida

**“You Just Can’t
Live Without It”**



NEW SOUTH ASSOCIATES

PROVIDING PERSPECTIVES ON THE PAST

**"You Just Can't Live Without It:"
Ethnographic Study and Evaluation of
Traditional Cultural Properties of the Gladesmen Culture,
Comprehensive Everglades Restoration Plan (CERP),
Southern Florida**

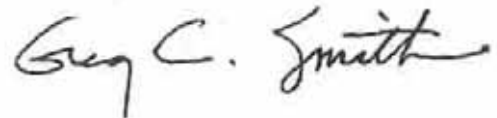
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ABSTRACT

As part of the Master Recreation Plan component of the Comprehensive Everglades Restoration Plan (CERP), the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (Corps), Jacksonville District, in cooperation with the South Florida Water Management District (SFWMD), will be constructing a number of projects throughout southern Florida that cover large acreages and will impact cultural resources. During public meetings for the Recreation component of CERP, members of the public identified the potential for adverse effects to Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) associated with the "Gladesman/Swamp Folk culture," as defined by Ogden (2005) (hereinafter referred to as "Gladesmen"). The Jacksonville District determined that an ethnographic study was appropriate to determine if there were any TCPs eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places associated with the Gladesmen Culture within the CERP restoration area. The cultural resources study area covers much of southern Florida and includes all or portions of 13 counties: Broward, Charlotte, Collier, Glades, Hendry, Highlands, Lee, Martin, Miami—Dade, Monroe, Okeechobee, Palm Beach, and St. Lucie. Fieldwork also extended north into the Kissimmee Chain of Lakes portion of the larger CERP project area.

New South Associates conducted interviews with 34 self-identified Gladesmen and, as an overview of cultural resources, evaluated 13 historic properties to determine if any were eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places as Traditional Cultural Properties. These properties are located throughout the southern Florida and have been classified into three resource group types related to function: commercial properties, non-commercial properties, and waterways and roadways. Of these 13 properties, New South recommends five as being eligible to the NRHP as TCPs: Mack's Fish Camp (DA11448); the Airboat Association of Florida (DA6768), the Everglades Conservation and Sportsmen's Club (CR01084), Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area (GL00440), and Loop Road (DA06984/CR01086/MO01920). As this study was of an introductory nature, it does not represent an attempt to locate all potential TCPs in CERP, but is meant to provide a sample of types of resources associated with Gladesmen Culture in the unique environmental and cultural region of southern Florida.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study could not have taken place without the assistance and cooperation of many people, organizations, and government agencies. The project involved close cooperation and communication with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Jacksonville District (Corps). We would like to thank Grady Caulk, Archeologist at the Corps, who provided information and guidance throughout the project. Additionally, we gratefully acknowledge the constructive and very helpful editorial comments received from Grady and fellow USACE archaeologist Dan Hughes.

Members of the Gladesmen Culture and their associated organizations were a tremendous help to the project ethnographer in all phases of the project. All the Gladesmen who assisted with this project gave of their time and knowledge repeatedly and without them, fieldwork and oral interviews would have been impossible. We thank all who participated in the oral interviews and ethnographic study: Franklin Adams, Dave Balman, Don Barton, Ronnie Bergeron, Danny Brantley, Costas Cavas, Frank Denninger, Mark Dombroski, Chuck Hampton, Harold Hampton, Sheri Hampton, Frank Harben, Sean Hauser, Christine Howell, Wayne Jenkins, Marshall and Nicole Jones, Eric Kimmel, William "Nubbin" Lanier, Larry Lucky, Byron Maharrey, and Joel Marco. Several people worked especially close with New South including Frank Denninger and Barbara Jean Powell (Wildlife and Resource Management Liaison, Everglades Coordinating Council), who were always available to answer questions, arrange interviews, and guide the ethnographer in the field. Byron Maharrey gave of his time and hospitality and was also a font of information about Gladesmen Culture. Joel Marco, Ronnie Bergeron, Mark Dombroski, Bishop Wright, Jr., Danny Brantley, Byron Maharrey, Frank Denninger, Barbara Jean Powell, and William Lanier generously served as guides during fieldwork, safely escorting the ethnographer through the Everglades by airboat, canoe, on foot, and by truck. Joel Marco arranged a day tour of Water Management Area 3 in the company of members of the Airboat Association of Florida, and Paul Bailey provided the ethnographer with her first airboat ride during the tour. Thanks also go to Russell Larker, the caretaker at the club property. To all those Gladesmen and their families, we thank you for sharing your time, great wealth of knowledge, hearts, and minds in conveying an understanding of the traditions and social institutions that define the Gladesmen Culture. We also thank Dr. Laura Ogden for her assistance and advice during the course of the study.

Several individuals at Everglades National Park and the Big Cypress National Preserve assisted New South with archival research, obtaining field permits, and providing information about both the Park and Preserve. Melissa Memory, Chief of Cultural Resources, Everglades and Dry Tortugas National Parks, was very helpful in setting up meetings with NPS contacts and was always available to answer questions. Nancy Russell, Museum Curator and Isabel Villanova, Museum Technician, at the South Florida Collection Management Center, provided access and assistance to the historic photo collection at the for Everglades National Park and the Big Cypress Preserve. Edward Clark, Chief Ranger, P. J. Walker, Acting Research Permit Coordinator, Everglades and Dry Tortugas National Parks, and Steve Schulz, Park Research Coordinator, Big Cypress National Preserve, facilitated the field permit process. During the course of archival research and report preparation, many Florida state agencies provided vital assistance to the New South team. Celeste Ivory, Assistant Supervisor, Florida Master Site File, was extremely patient and provided much

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This study and the following report would not have been possible without the support, collaboration, and hard work of the staff at New South Associates. Thank you to Julie Coco, Jennifer Wilson and Joe Joseph for their editing of the report, and to David Diener, Matt Tankersley, Diana Valk, and Tom Quinn, who did a dynamite job preparing the graphics.

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I. INTRODUCTION AND METHODS

Florida's Everglades region is not merely an ecosystem of biological communities. In addition, its geographical and environmental uniqueness has contributed to an evolving cultural landscape and folk region that developed out of a long history of human habitation and resource use. A folk region "lies in the mind and spirit as much as in physical or political boundaries" (Bucuvalas et al. 1994: xiv). The individuals studied in this report all share an identity that is tied to the unique characteristics of southern Florida, where the boundless wetlands environment, as well as the mind and spirit of the numerous peoples who have settled there, have produced a set of cultural lifeways passed down through generations and shared by a cultural community known as the Gladesmen.

The Gladesmen (who are also known as the Swamp Folk Culture) have been identified as a rural folk culture with unique cultural and socioeconomic ties to the southern Florida environment (Ogden 2005). Historically, they were primarily Anglo settlers in southern Florida who survived by literally living off the land and whose identity is tied inextricably to the environment of the Everglades ecosystem:

...it is important to realize that a gladesman's identity, or sense of self, is fundamentally connected to the Everglades wilderness (Simmons and Ogden 1998: xx).

The Gladesmen of yesterday and today share a special knowledge of the complex Everglades ecosystem. In past times, utilizing this knowledge was a matter of survival; today, in fact, survival can still be at issue in this remote, harsh, and challenging environment. For contemporary Gladesmen who have adapted to the unique environment of southern Florida, the Everglades ecosystem is a home, as well as a source of recreation, escape, and social interaction with others who share their frame of reference.

As part of the Master Recreation Plan component of the Comprehensive Environmental Restoration Plan (CERP), the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (Corps), Jacksonville District, in cooperation with the South Florida Water Management District (SFWMD), will be constructing a number of projects throughout southern Florida that cover large acreages and will have the potential to impact cultural resources. During public meetings for the Recreation component of CERP, members of the public identified the potential for adverse effects to Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) associated with the "Gladesman/Swamp Folk culture," as defined by Ogden (2005). TCPs are defined in National Register Bulletin 38, Guidelines for Evaluations and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties (Parker and King 1990). According to Parker and King (1990:1), TCP's are properties that are eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) for their association with the cultural beliefs and practices of a living community: "(a) that are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community." The Jacksonville District determined that an ethnographic study was appropriate to determine if the CERP restoration area contained any TCPs associated with the Gladesmen Culture. Hereafter the term Gladesmen (plural) is used in referring to members of this culture.

The goal of this study, conducted from April through July of 2008, is to identify places within the ethnographic study area that are of continuing cultural significance to the Gladesmen culture, and to determine if any are TCPs. The results will also be used to evaluate potential social impacts for a National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) analysis of CERP. All work was conducted in compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (PL 89-665) as amended, and the Archeological and Historical Preservation Act of 1979 (PL 93-291).

Prior to preparing this report, the project involved two primary tasks: literature review, and informant interviews conducted during the course of fieldwork. This document presents the findings of the ethnographic study conducted by New South Associates at the request of the Corps. The study area included all or portions of Broward, Charlotte, Collier, Glades, Hendry, Highlands, Lee, Martin, Miami-Dade, Monroe, Okeechobee, Palm Beach, and St. Lucie counties (Figure 1). Additional interviews with Gladesmen within the larger CERP restoration area (the Kissimmee Chain of Lakes region) were also conducted. Dr. Greg C. Smith, RPA served as Principal Investigator and Archaeologist, Susan Perlman as the Project Ethnographer, and Mary Beth Reed as Historian.

METHODS

IDENTIFYING TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES

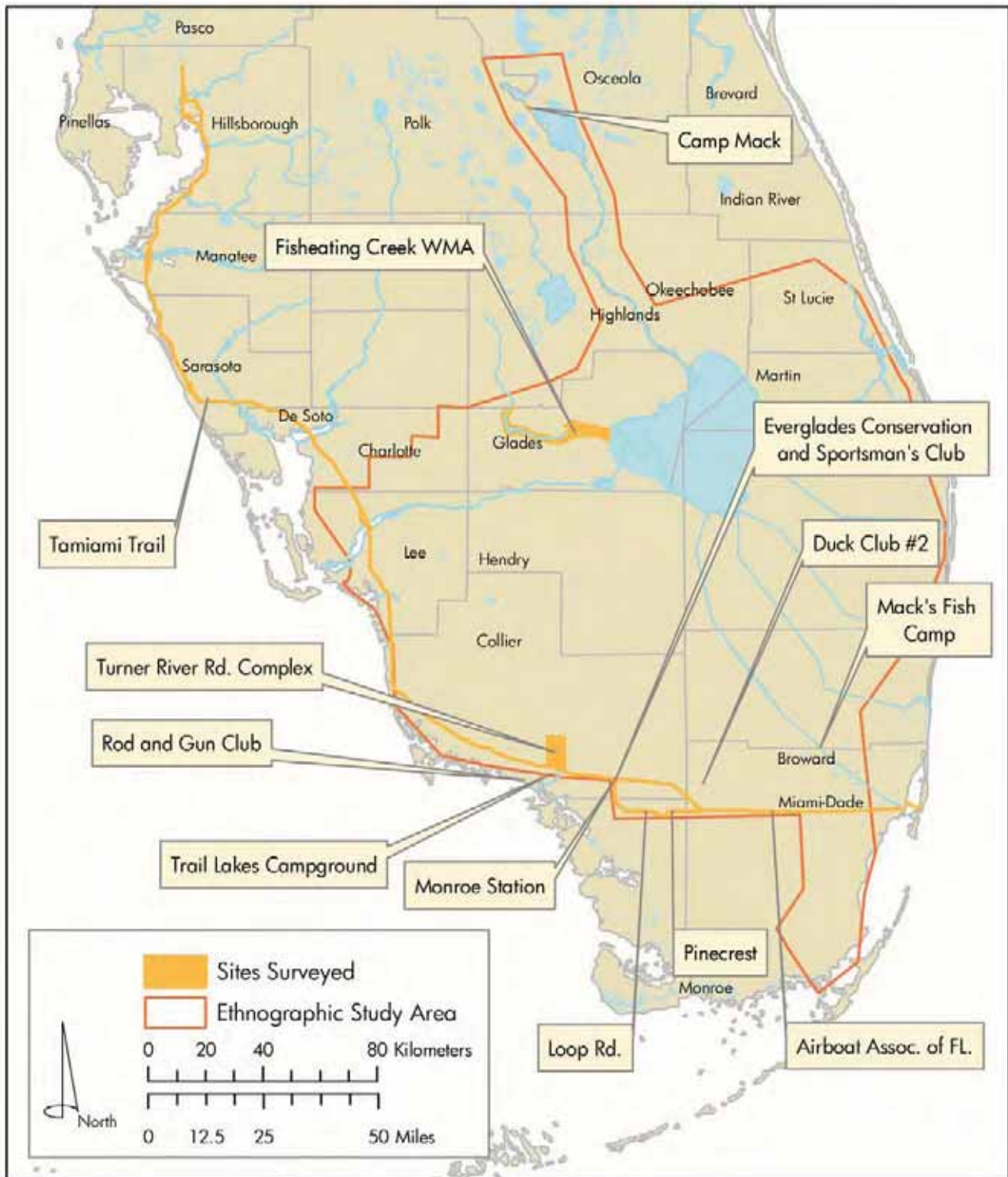
The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) contains a broad range of historic property types that reflect the diversity of the nation's history and culture. Buildings, structures, and sites; historic districts; landscapes; and individual objects can be included in the Register if they meet the criteria specified in the National Register's Criteria for Evaluation (36 CFR 60.4). Such properties, usually over 50 years old, reflect many kinds of significance in architecture, history, archaeology, engineering, and culture.

There are many definitions of the word "culture," but in the National Register programs the word is understood to mean the traditions, beliefs, practices, lifeways, arts, crafts, and social institutions of any community, be it an Indian tribe, a local ethnic or social group, or the people of the nation as a whole. One kind of cultural significance a property may possess, and that may make it eligible for inclusion in the National Register, is "traditional cultural significance." In this context, "traditional" refers to those beliefs, customs, and practices of a living community that have been passed down through the generations, usually orally or through practice (Parker and King 1990:1). The traditional cultural significance of a historic property, then, is significance derived from the role the property plays in a community's historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices.

For these reasons, a significant property reflecting a continuing association with the Gladesmen Folk Culture of southern Florida would be considered a TCP if it meets NRHP eligibility criteria under the following definition, taken from National Register Bulletin 38 (Parker and King 1990:1):

A property associated with a rural community whose organization, buildings and structures, or patterns of land use reflect the cultural traditions valued by its long-term residents.

Figure 1.
Map Illustrating Ethnographic Study Area Boundary and Sites Surveyed



A TCP must be a tangible resource – a district, site, building, structure, or object — associated with the beliefs or practices of the study group. This association between beliefs and resource gives the property its significance and makes it eligible for inclusion in the National Register. It also serves to distinguish a TCP as a property that not only meets the criteria for a standard historic property (e.g., a building, site, or structure), but is also a property that represents a continuing association with maintaining the (Gladesmen) culture and is important in maintaining cultural identity and practice.

An identified historic property usually must be 50 or more years old to be considered a TCP and must maintain its integrity. The latter refers to whether the property has an integral relationship to traditional cultural practices or beliefs and if its existing condition is sufficient to convey significance. If a property meets these requirements, it is further evaluated against the four basic criteria for eligibility established in 36CFR Part 60:

- A. Association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history;
- B. Association with the lives of persons significant in our past;
- C. Embodiment of the distinctive characteristics or designs of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant or distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction;
- D. History of yielding, or potential to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES IN PRESERVATION PLANNING

The criteria for identifying and evaluating TCPs are specified in National Register Bulletin 38 (Parker and King 1990, revised 1992, 1998). Much of the information below is drawn from that document.

Some TCPs are well known to the people of an area. The San Francisco Peaks in Arizona, for example, are extensively documented and widely recognized as places of cultural importance to the Hopi, Navajo, and other American Indian people of the southwest, just as Honolulu's Chinatown is a place of known cultural importance to the city's Asian community (Parker and King 1990:6). Most TCPs, however, must be identified through systematic study, just as most other kinds of historic properties must be identified. Identifying and evaluating TCPs requires literature review and consultation, ethnographic fieldwork, and informant interviews.

When identifying TCPs within a large area, such as the CERP-related properties of southern Florida, the NR guidelines (Parker and King 1990:7) observe that:

...most day to day management activities of a land management agency may have little potential effect on traditional cultural properties, but if the management activity involves an area or a kind of resource that has high significance to a traditional cultural group...the potential for effect will be high. The way to determine what constitutes a reasonable effort to identify traditional cultural properties is to consult those who may ascribe cultural significance to locations within the study area. The need for community participation in planning identification, as in other forms of preservation planning, cannot be over-emphasized.

In identifying TCPs within the current CERP study area, it was necessary to consult with groups and individuals who have special knowledge about and interest in the history and culture of the southern Florida area. In the case of TCPs related to the Gladesmen Culture (Simmons and Ogden 1998; Ogden 2005), this refers to people who specifically see themselves as members of that group, and who acknowledge shared traditions, behaviors, and ideology with other members. An important first step in identifying such individuals and groups is to conduct a review of existing literature to determine what is already recorded about the area's history, ethnography, sociology, and folklife.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Prior to fieldwork, the Project Ethnographer completed a literature review that involved research at various repositories, as well as research via the Internet, i.e. archival and institution databases, federal archival databases, and JSTOR. The objective of this research was to examine the origins, environment, and history of the Gladesmen and related Florida Cracker cultures and to determine the extent and use of the culture area, as determined by historians, archaeologists, and the Gladesmen themselves.

Research and literature reviews were conducted at the following institutions: Collier County Museum, Museum of the Everglades (Everglades City and Naples), Historical Museum of South Florida, Miami-Dade Public Library-Florida Collection, Florida International University-Special Collections, and individual non-published collections. Additionally, professional and avocational anthropologists and folklorists who have studied the area were consulted, and contacts were made with the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), the Florida Master Site File (FMSF), and the Bureau of Archaeological Research for suggestions and to acquire existing data pertinent to the study.

Electronic research was completed at a variety of sources: CERP Website; Emory University's Woodruff Library; Everglades National Park Archives and Photo Collection; the Florida Master Site Files; individual Florida Memory Collection; Publication of Archival Library and Museum (PALMM)-Reclaiming the Everglades Collection and the Big Cypress National Preserve Collection; Library of Congress-WPA Collection; Florida Historical Quarterly On-line Archives; University of Florida-Samuel Proctor Oral History Program. Telephone and electronic inquiries were also made to various institutions to determine the extent relevance of their collections: Florida State Archives and Library; University of Florida's Smathers Library; University of Miami Library-Special Collections; and the Florida State University Library-Special Collections.

New South also contacted and met with Dr. Laura Ogden, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, at Florida International University, to discuss her knowledge of specific sites and locations associated with the Gladesmen Folk Culture. Recent work by Ogden (1998, 2005) and Simmons and Ogden (1998) serves to formally identify Gladesmen culture as a distinct cultural entity and to elaborate on the determinants of significance within that culture. These studies provided some of the best first person accounts available and, in combination with the results of the literature review, served as a good beginning point for conducting interviews with the Gladesmen themselves.

INFORMANT INTERVIEWS AND FIELDWORK

After reviewing available background data, the next step in identifying properties and evaluating TCPs is to contact knowledgeable individuals and groups directly, particularly those that are native to the area or have lived there a long time (Parker and King 1990:7). This process of obtaining first hand information from individuals representing a group/culture is known as ethnography. Ethnography, or ethnographic fieldwork, can be most clearly described as “participant observation,” wherein the ethnographer spends time with members of the group being studied in order to elicit information about what is important in their culture and to learn about their ways of life. Ethnographers take part in the activities of the people they study because it helps in understanding local behaviors, traditional practices, and collective thought. For this reason, the ethnographer met with many subjects in the field and experienced traditional Gladesmen activities (by boat, canoe, airboat) in the company of Gladesmen themselves, with many interviews taking place in camps and in remote locations that are the realm of the individuals interviewed.

TCPs are often hard to recognize by an outsider (Parker and King 1990:2). For this reason, the existence and significance of such locations can often be ascertained only through interviews with knowledgeable users of the area investigated. As stated above, a TCP must be a tangible resource/property – a district, site, building, structure, or object – associated with the beliefs or practices of the culture group under study. In addition to this, a TCP must retain two types of integrity: it must have maintained a significant relationship to traditional cultural practices, and its condition must be such that the relevant relationships survive and are still in evidence today. Finally, the property must be determined to meet one or more of the National Register Eligibility Criteria (A, B, C, or D), cited above.

In order to identify Gladesmen-related properties, establish significance criteria, and evaluate properties as TCPs, New South Associates conducted oral interviews with 33 individuals and a obtained a written interview from one person. These individuals are part of the Gladesmen culture and thus they provided a wide range of valuable information regarding the history and use of the project area; their means of transportation; their personal opinions regarding the CERP project; and their personal/cultural connections with the Everglades ecosystem as Gladesmen. Interviews were conducted with subjects throughout the CERP region (Figure 2), and included the following locations: Clewiston, Collier County, Everglades City, Ft. Myers, Glades County, Hialeah, Homestead, Lake Kissimmee, Kendall, Miami, Miami-Dade County, Naples, Ochopee, Pembroke Pines, Pinecrest, Southwest Ranch, and West Palm Beach.

All of the people interviewed identified themselves as members of the Gladesmen Folk Culture. Potential interviewees were identified through a variety of methods, including contacting individuals named in the study’s Scope of Work (SOW), provided by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, as Gladesmen contacts who were interested in sharing their input relative to the CERP Master Recreation Plan. From that starting point, locating additional interviewees was very successful and was stimulated by suggestions and introductions made by members of the Gladesmen community. Some members even sought out the ethnographer and arranged introductions and interview schedules. All subjects were contacted by phone and a meeting time and place were set.

Figure 2.
Field Oral History Interviews



A. Susan Perlman Conducting Oral Interviews with Dave Balman, Jr. and Eric Kimmel, Pinecrest, Florida



B. William Lanier on Fisheating Creek

The project ethnographer developed a set of interview questions based on the purpose of the study and designed to obtain personal histories, family ties to southern Florida, information on the history of the Gladesmen, and the types of activities Gladesmen engage in. Information was sought regarding the physical location of traditional activities, with an emphasis on identifying places with strong social histories and those reflecting continued cultural associations with the Gladesmen. The questions were designed to elicit information on backcountry camps, personal experiences, and on what the Everglades means to a Gladesmen. A blank interview form is included as Figure 3.

Prior to each interview, subjects were given a consent form that verified their willingness to participate in the study (Figure 4); all interviewees read and signed that form prior to their interview. Each oral interview was digitally recorded by the project ethnographer and transcribed literally by a professional transcriptionist, with use of vernacular maintained. In minor instances the ethnographer edited the transcriptions for accuracy/clarity, without changing the content. The interview transcriptions are included in a separate volume on file with the Division of Historical Resources.

PROPERTIES EVALUATED

As a result of this ethnographic study and property evaluation, New South Associates identified 13 properties associated with the Gladesmen Folk Culture and evaluated each for nomination to the NRHP as a TCP (Table 1). All but one of these was 50 years old or more. It should be restated that the most important criterion used to identify these 13 properties was that they appeared to represent a significant and continuing cultural association with Gladesmen as a collective group. In contrast, individual camps utilized by one or a few Gladesmen, for example, were not considered to be potential TCPs, although some of these property types may warrant recording in the future as individual historic sites associated with Gladesmen. A few backcountry camps, a swimming hole, and a shooting range were initially considered as potential TCPs, but these were ultimately not evaluated as they did not meet the necessary criteria.

The 13 evaluated properties represent only those locations that were identified during the current study as a result of informant interviews and fieldwork. They are located throughout the project area and are classified into three resource groups types related to function: commercial properties, non-commercial properties, and waterways/road systems. These are undoubtedly not the only properties important to Gladesmen in southern Florida, but they do represent those that were identified and evaluated under the scope of the present study. Table 1 presents the site number and name, location, site type, and approximate dates for the 13 properties evaluated.

Table 1. Identified Properties Associated with the Gladesmen Culture by Type

Site No. & Historic Name	Location	Type	Date
Commercial Sites			
PO07201 Camp Mack River Resort	14900 Camp Mack Road Lake Wales, FL Polk County	Historic Commercial Fishing Camp	Ca. 1928; 1940
CR01083 Everglades Rod & Gun Club	Everglades City Collier County	Historic Building	Foundation circa. 1864; Current lodge late 19 th -early 20 th century?
DA 1144 Mack's Fish Camp	Broward and Dade Counties on the bank of the Miami Canal	Historic fish camp; resource group dating to the 1940s	1944
CR01082 Trail's Lake Campground	Tamiami Trail/Big Cypress Preserve	Historic Campground; resource group under 50 years old	ca. 1961
8DA6768 Airboat Association of Florida	40904 Tamiami Trail Dade County	Private airboat club	1951
Non-Commercial Sites			
DA11449 Duck Camp #2	Water Management Area 3, Dade County	Airboat camp over 50 years old	ca. 1958
CR01084 Everglades Conservation & Sportsman's Club	50940 Loop Road Ochopee Collier County	Historic sportsmen's club	1950
Site MO1919 Pinecrest	Collier County	Historic structure	ca. 1918
Site CR00677 Monroe Station	Junction of Tamiami Trail and Loop Road, Monroe County	Historic structure	1928
Waterways and Road Systems			
Site GL00440 Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area	Highlands and Glades Counties	Historic Linear Resource	n/a
Site DA06984 Site CR01086 Site MO01920 Loop Road (County Road 94)	Collier, Dade and Monroe Counties	26-mile road served as main access point for airboats and swamp buggies; contains remains of historic way stations, a town, and camps	ca. 1920s
Site CR1085 Turner River Road Complex	Collier County, Big Cypress Preserve	Includes Turner River Road, Upper and Lower Wagon Wheel roads and Birdon Road	ca. 1950s
Site DA6510 (formerly Site 8DA6765) Tamiami Trail (US Highway 41)	Dade County	Historic trail/road	1928

Questions/Topics for Oral History Interviews

Interview introduction (baseline information and questions to be included at the beginning of every interview):

"Interview with _____ conducted by _____ [interviewer], historian with New South Associates, being conducted on _____ [date] at _____ [location]."

If needed: "Other persons present at the interview are: _____."

"This interview is being conducted as part of the Gladesmen/Swamp Folk Culture Ethnographic Project for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Jacksonville District. This project involves the collection of information regarding Gladesmen/Swamp Folk Culture in the CERP impact areas, including traditional cultural properties.

Mr./Ms. _____ is being interviewed because _____." [Short statement of the reason we chose this person to be interviewed.]

Interviewer should state date and general purpose of interview.

QUESTIONS:

The following information should be asked next, or restated to the interviewee if the interviewer already has this information:

- Full name
- Age or date of birth,
- Place of birth, and
- Occupation

Some general information on your life history. How long have you lived in or adjacent to the Everglades?

Did your family live in the area? How did your family make a living? What was your mode of living like?

What do you remember the area being like?

What kind of changes have you seen through the years?

Tell me a little about the camps. Types of structures, what they were made of, locations, usage, how long used.

Modes of transportation in the Glades: glade buggy, skiffs, boats, canoes, airboats.

Activities in the Glades, past and present.

What is your definition of the Everglades. Is it just the park boundaries or areas outside the park?

What do the Everglades mean to you? Is it a geographic obstacle to get around, or something that you use?

How do you define your space (territory?)

What areas in the Everglades are important to you? Why? Can you describe them? How long has this area been used? Location?

What changes/modern adaptations do you think occurred to earlier Glades Folk Cultural patterns after the establishment of ENP in 1947?

Figure 3.
Blank Interview Form For Projects

What were the continuities in Gladesmen practices from earlier times?

Out of all the different environmental components to the Everglades area, which are your favorites: mangroves, sawgrass plains, inland marches, cypress wetlands?

How much time do you typically spend on a normal trip to the Everglades.

What is the role of agriculture, if any?

What role does barter play in the folk culture? Does one person specialize in gator and one in fish, etc.?

How has technology changed life in the Everglades? (e.g., refrigeration)

How have the Everglades (or Big Cypress Swamp) changed in your lifetime?

What is the impact of tourism in your area?

How do you feel about CERP? What parts are good, what parts bad? (optional)

What town or community do you most identify with or use (assuming interviewee does not live in a town)?

What types of boats do you like to get around in? What types are most popular in your area? Are they customized? What's the difference in the use between airboats and swamp buggies?

Hunting: what animals most popular to hunt—turtles, alligators, others? Is hunting done for food, pleasure, or as source of cash? How has hunting changed in your lifetime?

Are game wardens and/or hunting laws an issue?

Is the burning of some areas still done today?

What kinds of challenges do you face—environmental, laws, etc? (What makes it hard on you?)

Fishing: Where do you prefer to go to fish? Prefer boating fishing or on bank? What fish most common? How has fishing changed in your lifetime?

Any personal or cultural connections with similar swamp & boat ways of life in other areas? For example, in the Okefenokee Swamp, or the Cajun areas of Louisiana?

Do the Gladesmen have any clubs or organizations (past and present)?

Types of businesses in or on the border of the Glades?

Figure 4.
Interview Consent Form

**Release Form For Use Of Interview/Photographs
Gladesmen/Swamp Folk Culture Ethnographic Project**

Interviewer/Photographer: Susan Perlman, New South Associates

Interviewee:

Address: _____

Phone: _____

Date of Interview/Photographs:

By signing this interview/photograph release form, I agree to take part in the oral history interview conducted on the above date on a voluntary basis, as a contributor to the Gladesmen/Swamp Folk Culture Ethnographic Project for the Army Corps of Engineers, Jacksonville District (COE). I also agree to the use of my image, photographed on the above date, on a voluntary basis, as a contributor to the same project. I understand that I am entitled to a copy of the final report in which this information and these photographs may be used. I also understand that these images, video and audiotapes of this interview, as well as the text of the transcript may appear in part or in whole in publicly accessible research and information formats such as the Internet and broadcast media unless otherwise specified below.

I understand that while this project is underway, New South Associates, Inc., will, upon request, provide me with a copy of notes taken during this interview, as well as a copy of the photographs, audio or videotape made during this interview for the purpose of my review and comment. I also understand that photographs, tapes and transcripts of this interview will be archived at the Army Corps of Engineers, Jacksonville District and will be available for research purposes unless otherwise specified below

Prior to project completion, the photographs, tapes and transcripts of this interview will be kept by New South Associates, Inc., at 6150 East Ponce de Leon Avenue, Stone Mountain, Georgia, 30083, for research purposes. Upon project completion, the tapes and transcripts will be turned over to the COE. Local libraries, museums, or historical societies may acquire copies of the final report, photographs, oral interview transcripts and oral interview digital recordings from this project. Photographs may be used in the Executive Summary report, final report, draft report and the New South Associates website.

Restrictions (check one): ☐ No Restrictions ☐ Restrictions (specify):

RESTRICTIONS: _____

*Interviewee Signature:

Date _____

Interviewer Signature: _____

Date _____

DOCUMENT ORGANIZATION

This document contains seven chapters including this Introduction. Chapter II provides an overview of the Everglades environment and discusses some of the geographical regions that Gladesmen utilize and that were shared with the ethnographer during this study. Chapter III describes the historic setting in southern Florida that resulted in an increase in settlement, brought many inhabitants into the region, and influenced the development of the Gladesmen Culture. To provide an analytical perspective, Chapter IV begins with an etic discussion (from the ethnographer's viewpoint) of Gladesmen culture, followed by an emic (or insider's) perspective through excerpts from oral history interviews; these document the Gladesmen's own point of view on their identity, group affiliation, and shared cultural lifeways. Chapter V contains a description of the types of resource that were identified during this study. Chapter VI presents the results of the TCP evaluations, and Chapter VII contains concluding comments and recommendations. References Cited are provided, and Appendix A contains a Survey Log Sheet as well as Resource Group and Historic Structure forms for the identified properties.

II. EVERGLADES ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

This chapter provides background for visualizing the Everglades ecosystem by presenting brief environmental and cultural overviews of select landscapes and natural areas within southern Florida. To understand Gladesmen utilization of the region as a whole, it is useful to examine some of the different geographic areas that combine to form the unique environment that this culture utilizes in maintaining itself. These overviews are not intended to be an exhaustive treatment of all of southern Florida, but they serve to highlight several well-known and important subregions visited by New South Associates during the fieldwork component of the ethnographic study.

The Everglades ecosystem, as it pertains to this study, encompasses the lands from the Lake Kissimmee in Central Florida, south to Everglades National Park and the Florida Keys; northwest to the Big Cypress Preserve and Fakahatchee Strand; and east to the state water management areas in Broward, Dade and Palm Beach counties. The Everglades are considered to be a world treasure, the most famous wetland in the world. There is no other ecosystem like it on earth. Originally a contiguous marshland of around 4,000 square miles, the Everglades filtered water flowing south out of Lake Okeechobee to the tip of south Florida (Florida Game and Freshwater Fish n.d.:2; Grunwald 2006:3; Lodge 1994:10).

While Everglades National Park is the most well known component of the Everglades, the larger geographic region comprises much more than this one portion of southern Florida. What many refer to as "Florida's swamps," actually includes sawgrass prairies, cypress wetlands, lakes, hardwood hammocks, inland marshes, and deep freshwater sloughs. It is also known as the Kissimmee-Okeechobee-Everglades, or the southern Florida ecosystem (Grunwald 2006:12; Ogden 2005:1).

The natural Everglades, before its alteration by humans, was a seemingly unending sheet of shallow water spreading across a prairie, occasionally interrupted by small islands of trees. Specifically, prior to drainage projects, the Everglades:

...seeped all the way down Florida's southern thumb, from the giant wellspring of Lake Okeechobee...to the ragged mangrove fringes of Florida Bay and the Gulf of Mexico, a sodden savanna more than 100 miles long and as much as 60 miles wide—just grass and water...except for the tree islands...and the lily pads and algal mats that floated on the water (Grunwald 2006: 9,11).

One of the defining aspects of this ecosystem is that it is almost totally flat, a characteristic that allows for the sheet flow of water throughout its system. Throughout its existence, the Everglades region has been an uncompromisingly rough and unforgiving environment. Shadeless areas alternate with swamps that are dark as night. Dense thickets of sawgrass cut the skin like razor blades while the thick muck underfoot can suck the boot off one's foot. The environment is both loud and quiet: bellowing alligators compete with screaming frogs and screeching owls; while at times the silence can be eerie and frightening.

This one of a kind ecosystem is much more than lacerating sawgrass and swarming bugs. The Big Cypress Swamp, in southwest Florida, is "...a mosaic of pinelands, prairies, and blackwater bogs...." (Grunwald 2006:12). In addition to its diverse flora, the ecosystem supports an incredible array of wildlife: alligators and crocodiles, bear, deer, panthers, rare butterflies, manatee, scores of species of bird and fish and aquatic organisms. Before the impact of humans on the ecosystem, it was home to 350 bird species, and 1,100 species of trees and plants (Grunwald 2006:12).

The term "Everglades" has only been in use for over one hundred years. The word "glade" is of old English origin, originating from the Anglo-Saxon "glaed" with the "ae" shortened to "Glad." This word meant "shining" and which could refer to bright water. Another early English version of the word comes from a map by Gerard de Brahm, who called the vast expanse "River Glades." The Turner map of 1823 was the first to use the term "Everglades" while the 1823 Ives map called it "ever glades." Native Americans, the first to access the region and avail themselves of its bountiful resources, used the word "Pa-hay-okee," meaning "Grassy Water," to describe the area (Douglas 1988:7-8). The "okee" in "Pa-hay-okee" suggests this word has a Creek origin used by the Seminoles, and is probably not the term used by their predecessors in the region (Grady Caulk, personal communication 2009). According to Lodge (2004: 9):

The word Everglades has an obscure and apparently accidental origin, with the first part, ever, originally indicating river. The second part, glade, is probably the English word meaning an opening in a forest where grasses cover the ground.

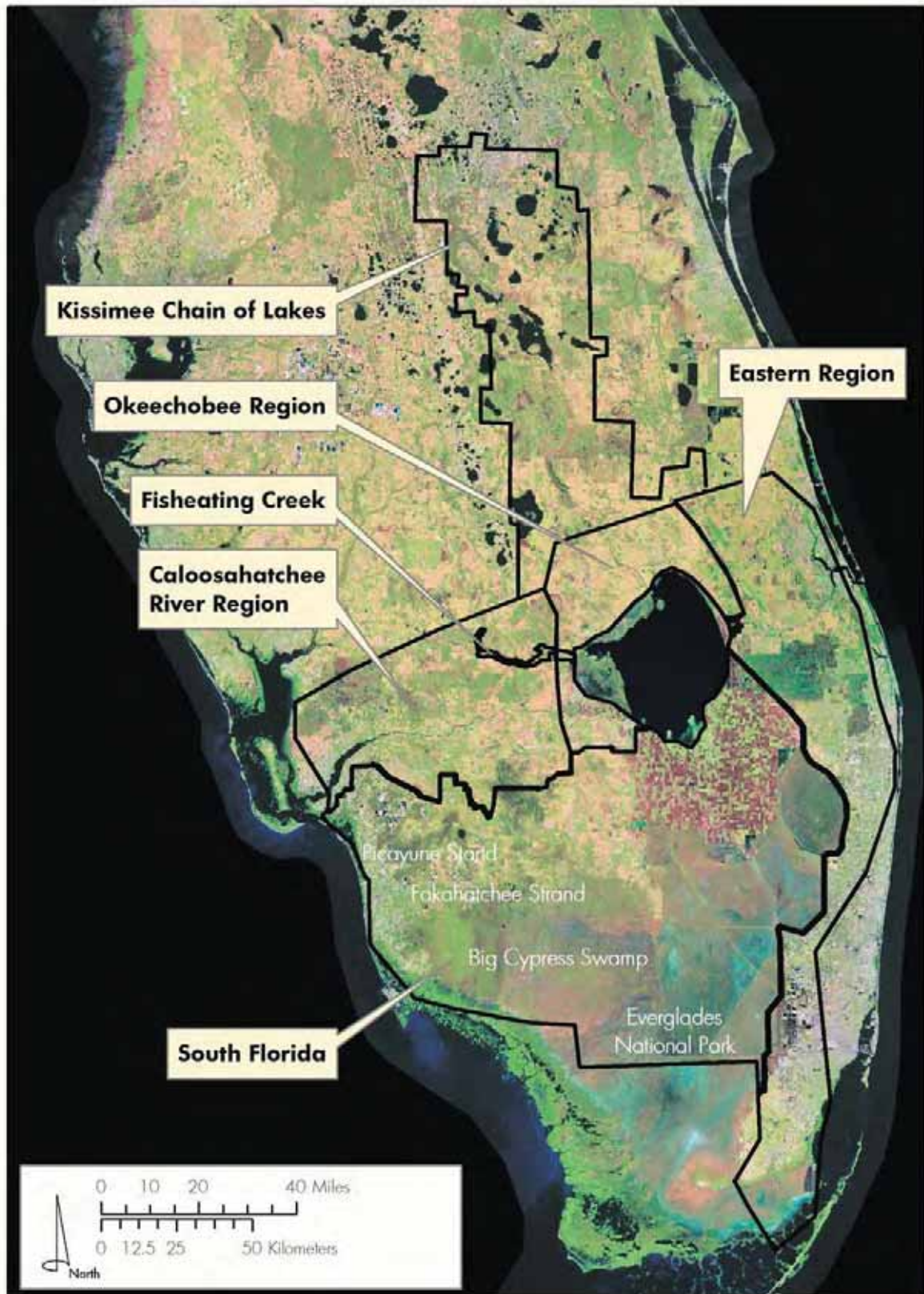
EVERGLADES SUBREGIONS

For the purpose of discussion, the Everglades ecosystem, as it relates to lands associated with CERP, has been divided here into six subregions (Figure 5): Kissimmee Chain of Lakes, Lake Okeechobee, Fisheating Creek, Caloosahatchee River Region, South Florida, and the Eastern Region. These are arbitrary divisions that represent geographical referents that came out in discussions with Gladesmen during interviews and serve to highlight the areas visited by the ethnographer within the vast area under study. This chapter provides a brief characterization of each general area, noting significant physiographic and hydric features, major historic alterations to the landscape, and efforts at restoration to date. In closing, a brief discussion of traditional use of southern Florida by Gladesmen to illustrate how the region is used and perceived by Gladesmen and as an introduction to subsequent chapters.

KISSIMMEE CHAIN OF LAKES

The headwaters of the Everglades system consist of a chain of lakes that travel through portions of Highlands, Orange, and Osceola counties and feed into the Kissimmee River. These waters were originally a serpentine waterway that fed the marshes in its narrow floodplain, before finally emptying into Lake Okeechobee. Physiographic features include the Carlton Ranch Ridge, with the Kissimmee Valley to the east and the De Soto Slope to the west. The Kissimmee Chain of Lakes (KCOL) watershed covers about 1,633 square miles, and includes 26 lakes greater than one square mile in area.

Figure 5.
Subregions Visited by Ethnographer



USGS Color Orthographic Map

Historically the waters of this region were connected by broad waterways and sloughs that flowed during the wet season. The upper Kissimmee Chain originates in Orange County and includes several small lakes including Hart, Alligator, and Brick. The lower chain comprises several large lakes such as Tohopekaliga, Cypress, Hatchineha and the largest, Kissimmee. Lake Kissimmee (Figure 6), which originally flowed directly into the Kissimmee River, discharges into the river through the S-65 water control structure (SFWMD et al. 2008:2-3 – 2-5).

In 1902, dredging operations began from the town of Kissimmee downstream to the town of Basinger. Between 1964 and 1970, flood control works were constructed in the basin as part of the Central and South Florida (C&SF) Project and consisted of the building of nine water control structures to regulate lake levels and outflows; in addition, interlake canals were enlarged and new ones dredged (SFWMD et al. 2008:2-8). The Kissimmee River, once a winding waterway, was now straight and configured as canals.

As part of CERP, construction has begun on the Kissimmee River Restoration Project to backfill the canalized Kissimmee River and help restore sections of the river to its original channel. The original flow of the river was 103 miles, from south of Orlando to Lake Okeechobee. When the restoration is completed, over 40 square miles of the river-floodplain ecosystem will be restored (Corps 2006).

LAKE OKEECHOBEE REGION

Lake Okeechobee (Figure 7) is the second largest freshwater lake in the continental United States. The lake covers portions of Glades, Martin, Palm Beach, Hendry, and Okeechobee counties and is 730 square miles in area with a drainage basin that covers over 4,600 square miles (SWFWMD n.d.a). Physiographic features around the lake are many, and include the Istokpoga and Okeechobee prairies to the north, Green Ridge-Loxahatchee Karst and Andytown Ridges and Sloughs to the east, Saw Grass Plain to the south, and Okeechobee Prairie to the west. A flat prairie surrounding a large percentage of the lake dominates the region. There are several inflows to the lake, including Taylor Creek and the Kissimmee River, and several small outlets, such as the Miami River, the New River on the east, and the Shark River on the southwest (Smith 2008:71).

The earliest maps have referred to Lake Okeechobee as “Spirito Santo” and shipwreck survivors in 1561 called it Lake “Sarope” (Grady Caulk, personal communication 2009). Early 1800s maps label the lake as “Macaco,” or “Majaco,” or “Major.” It was not until the 1840s-1860s that the lake became shown on maps as “Kee-Cho-Bee,” or Okeechobee, a name the Seminole used for Big Water.

An 1848 survey report on the lake concluded that the region could profitably produce a wide variety of crops by lowering lake levels. In 1881 Hamilton Disston purchased 4 million acres of land in South Florida, including the lake. In order to convert these acres into agricultural lands, he proceeded to dredge a canal between the lake and the Calooshatchee River and dredge the Kissimmee River. Sugar cane was then planted on these lands. After the creation of the Everglades Drainage District in the early 1900s, a 47-mile long levee was constructed around the southern rim of the lake, thus allowing the water level to be further lowered (LakeOkeechobee.org n.d.; Will 1977:2-3). These intensive agricultural activities resulted in increases of nutrient inputs to the lake, causing detrimental changes to its water quality.

Figure 6.
Lake Kissimmee



Figure 7.
Lake Okeechobee



USGS Color Orthographic Map

Following these actions, much of the area around Lake Okeechobee became agricultural land. In addition to the cultivation of sugar cane, cattle and dairy farms sprung up south of the lake and sugar cane and vegetable farming increased to the south. With these operations came the development of several communities in the vicinity of the lake, some right along the lake's edge. Disaster struck these communities in 1926 and again in 1928 when two major hurricanes hit southern Florida; one generated a storm surge at the lake that flooded acreage to the south and killed over 2,000 people. In response to this disaster, the Corps constructed the Herbert Hoover Dike to surround the lake (Grunwald 2006:192-194, 199). Today all discharges, except for Fisheating Creek, are artificially controlled.

FISHEATING CREEK

Fisheating Creek (Figure 8) is an approximately 60-mile long tributary that flows from Highlands County through Glades County, draining into Lake Okeechobee at Fisheating Bay; it is the only non-dammed tributary to the lake. Originating in western Highlands County, the creek flows south from the community of Venus, then east, draining into the western side of the lake below Brighton Indian Reservation. Fisheating Creek's diverse environment, ranging from pine and oak to thick cypress swamp, has long been a haven for area Gladesmen as well as a recreation area for campers and picnickers (Will 1977:27). Former Assistant Attorney General David Guest said that "There's no doubt that Fisheating Creek is the center of the collective psyche of the people in the county as far back as anybody can remember" (Crook and Henry 1990). The entire river corridor is owned by the Lykes Brothers, though a 40-mile stretch of the creek is administered through the Florida Fish and Wildlife Commission and is designated as the Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area (WMA). Picnicking, fishing, boating, hiking, hunting by permit, and wildlife viewing are some of the activities common to the WMA.

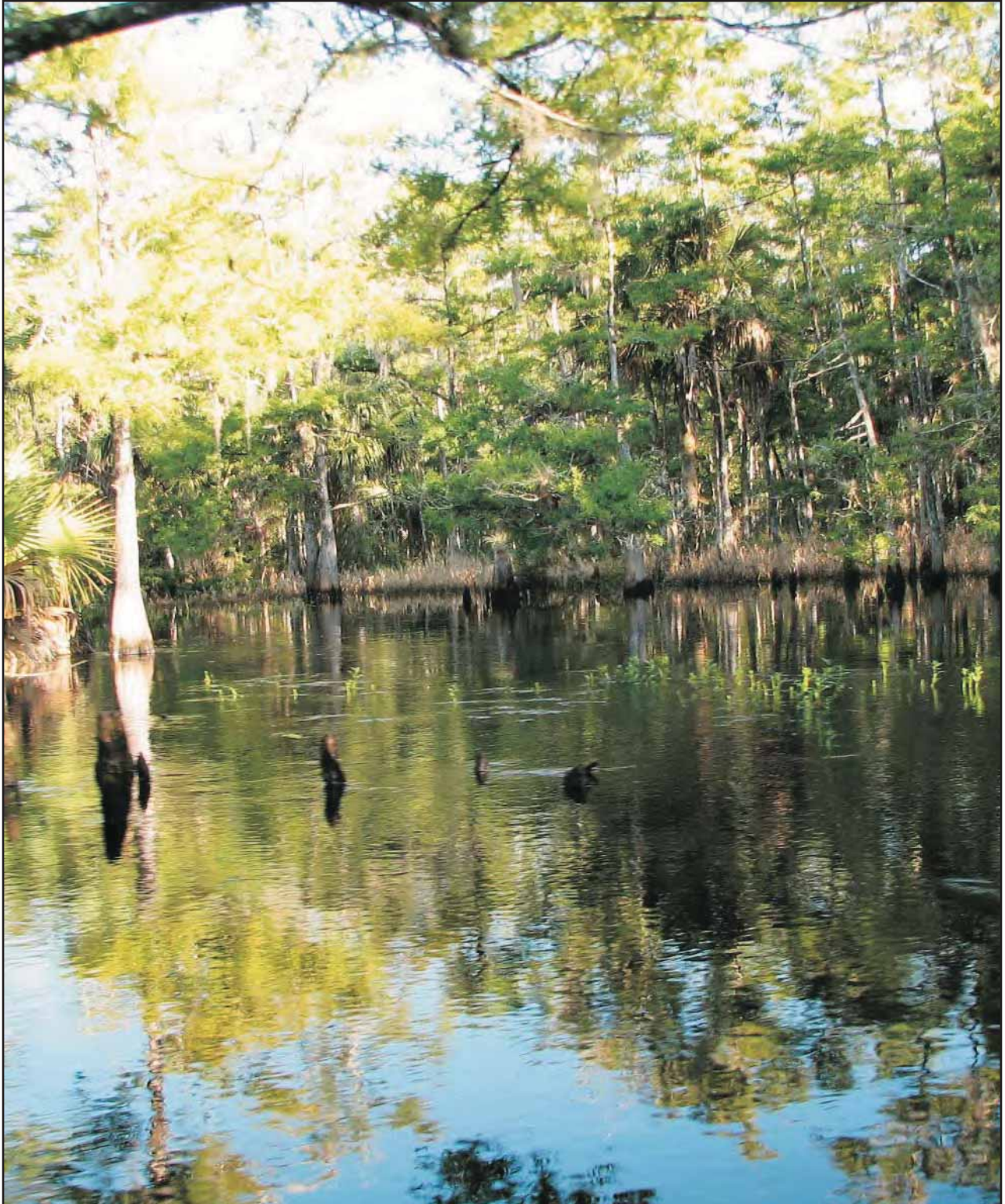
CALOOSAHATCHEE RIVER REGION

The Caloosahatchee sub region lies immediately west of the Okeechobee Basin, at the northern limit of subtropical southern Florida and covers portions of Charlotte, Lee, Highlands, Glades, and Hendry counties. Physiographic areas include the Barrier Island Coastal Strip to the west, the De Soto Slope to the north, the Caloosahatchee Valley (through which the river flows), and the Immokalee Rise to the south. Three major rivers, the Myakka, Peace, and Caloosahatchee, drain interior lands to the north and east, emptying into Charlotte Harbor and San Carlos Bay to the west. The sub region includes a vast savannah, much of which has been adapted for agriculture.

SOUTH FLORIDA

The immense landscape between Miami and Naples is more than just the swamps of South Florida. For purposes of this study, the region can be seen as comprising several major natural resource areas: Big Cypress Swamp, Fakahatchee Strand, Picayune Strand, Water Conservation Area 3, and Everglades National Park. Each of these provides significant access to interior regions in the pursuit of traditional Gladesmen activities.

Figure 8.
Fisheating Creek



Big Cypress Swamp

The Big Cypress Swamp (Figure 9) covers portions of Hendry and Collier counties and consists of sandy islands of slash pine, mixed hardwood hammocks (tree islands), wet prairies, dry prairies, marshes, and estuarine mangrove forests. Big Cypress Indian Reservation lies to the north in the southeastern corner of Hendry County, and the Miccosukee Indian Reservation lies to the east. About one-third of the Big Cypress is covered with cypress trees. Broad belts of cypress edge wet prairies; cypress strands line the sloughs; and occasional cypress domes dot the horizon. Seasonal rainfall provides a steady mix of freshwater and saltwater in the estuaries along the boundary of Everglades National Park, and this nutrient rich mix supports marine animals such as pink shrimp, snook, and snapper. In the dry season, water evaporates or flows into downstream estuaries and the swamp's aquatic life concentrates in the remaining deeper pools and sloughs (Smith 2008:89).

According to Lodge (1994:67), the Big Cypress Swamp has been defined at 1200 square miles in area and approximately 2500 square miles using its hydrological boundary, including areas near Naples. The elevation here is slightly higher than the Everglades, resulting in a wider range of environmental communities including deep sloughs, open ponds, and cypress swamps. One of the unique features of the Big Cypress is that it has no outside source of water. The majority of its water is supplied by rainfall, with over 60 inches per year on the average (Butcher n.d.).

The freshwaters of the Big Cypress Swamp are essential to the health of the adjacent Everglades and its associated flora and fauna. In order to protect this important Everglades water supply, the U.S. Government created the Big Cypress National Preserve in 1974. The preserve is located between Miami and Naples in portions of Collier, Monroe, and Miami-Dade counties. It is accessed by Interstate 75 along Alligator Alley and the Tamiami Trail (U.S. Highway 41). The area of the preserve, as of 2006, is 725,561 acres (Melissa Memory, personal communication 2008).

Fakahatchee Strand

West of the Big Cypress National Preserve is the Fakahatchee Strand Preserve State. Located in Collier County, the strand is a linear swamp forest, about twenty miles long and five miles wide. It is the one of the main sloughs into the Big Cypress Swamp and is home to a number of diverse habitats and forests. It is the only ecosystem in the world that has both bald cypress and royal palms in the same forest canopy, and is known as "big cypress country," with huge cypress stretching upwards of 130 feet. The Fakahatchee Strand is truly a unique ecosystem. Frank Denninger (2008b) recalled that in the 1960s, the parking lots would be full with the cars of hunters but you would never see a person in the swamp, as it "kind of absorbed people and made them disappear."

The road that takes the visitor into the park is called Janes Memorial Scenic Drive, an 11-mile road that is part of an old Cypress logging trail. According to Mr. Frank Denninger, the road was originally a logging tram built in the late 1930s or early 1940s for locomotives carrying cypress logs. Additional spurs were cut off from the main tram, allowing logging operations to reach deep into the cypress swamp. During World War II, the demand for cypress increased as this type of wood was used to build PT boats. Many of the local residents used to catch the tram and ride it into the swamp and go hunting (Denninger 2008b).

Figure 9.
Big Cypress National Preserve



A. Big Cypress Swamp



B. Frank Denninger Launching His Canoe



C. Early Morning in the Swamp

Picayune Strand State Forest

Picayune Strand State Forest lies west of Fakahatchee Strand. Natural areas in the vicinity include Corkscrew Swamp Sanctuary and Stumpy Strand. Physiographic areas include portions of the Barrier Island Coastal Strip, Immokalee Rise, and Corkscrew Swamp. Picayune Strand State Forest is a hydric forest that is under water during periods of considerable rainfall. The forest comprises cypress strands, wet prairie, and pine flatwoods in the lowlands and subtropical hardwood hammocks in the uplands. Much of this area had canals cut through it to permit the construction of roads during the 1960s for a residential community that never materialized; some of these roads are being removed by the South Florida Water Management District to restore the natural sheet flow of water. Adjacent areas to the north and west have seen a good deal of agricultural development.

Water Conservation Area 3 (WCA 3), Dade and Broward Counties

A water conservation area (WCA) is a multi-purpose location designated by the SWFWMD to:

- (1) act as a depository for excess water from the agricultural areas;
- (2) provide the levees necessary to prevent Everglade floodwaters from inundating the east coast;
- (3) aid in recharging underground freshwater reservoirs;
- (4) provide a water supply for east coast agricultural lands;
- (5) benefit fish and wildlife in the Everglades; and
- (6) release excess water to Everglades National Park and from storage to assist in restoring and maintaining natural conditions (Neidrauer n.d.:3).

WCA 3 is designated by State and Federal governments as Tribal Lands for the use and benefit of the Miccosukee Tribe. This area covers 915-square miles in Dade and western Broward counties, north of Everglades National Park, and is characterized largely by Everglade sawgrass marsh intermixed with tree islands and hammocks. Numerous canals run in and through the area including the Tamiami and Miami, making WCA 3 accessible by both boat and levee bank. Managed by SFWMD, the area is divided between State, SFWMD, and private landholders. The State of Florida leases portions of its lands to the Miccosukee Indian Tribe. The Florida Fish and Wildlife Commission manages WCA 3 and conducts yearly hunts for small game, waterfowls and deer. The interior marshes are most easily accessible by airboat though low water levels may hamper access during the dry season (Florida Wildlife Commission 2008a; SFWMD n.d.b). WCA 3, according to SFWMD, contains at least 75 private hunting camps, many of which are under 20-year leases. These camps are reached by airboat with some of the camps built on stilts over open water while others are situated on hammocks (SFWMD n.d.b).

Everglades National Park

Everglades National Park was authorized through an Act of Congress in 1934, though the park was not dedicated until December 1947. Located in portions of Dade, Collier, and Monroe counties, the original acreage of the park was 460,000 acres; boundary changes in subsequent years have greatly added to that number. As of 2006, the gross acreage of the park and the Eastern Expansion Area is 1,508,540 acres (Melissa Memory, personal communication 2008).

Everglades National Park is but one component of the larger Everglades ecosystem. The Everglades is the most extensive swamp in the United States and covers most of the South Florida peninsula, from the southern shore of Lake Okeechobee to the tip of the Florida Keys. The Everglades are a shallow, slow-moving river that progresses southward through sawgrass, sedge and aquatic vegetation. Along the way are small hammocks or islands on slightly higher ground; hammocks are the only lands that remain above water during the summer rainy season. In a 1938 National Park Service wildlife survey, the Everglades were described as a "...watery wilderness of prairies, cypress, mangrove swamps, rivers, lakes, and little islands" (Beard 1938:2).

The establishment of Everglades National Park in 1947 altered traditional practices of the Gladesmen Culture in that region of south Florida. It became illegal to establish permanent camps within park boundaries or set fires on the prairies (to increase game density). When hunting was no longer legal within the park, poaching became a problem as many hunters chose to move to new locations to hunt (Simmons and Ogden 1998:xxi).

THE EASTERN REGION

For purposes of this study, the eastern region includes portions of St. Lucie, Martin, Palm Beach, Broward, and Miami-Dade counties (Figure 10). The North and South Forks of the St. Lucie River are primary hydrological features of Martin and St. Lucie counties, with freshwater flowing toward the sea and mixing with the ocean saltwater as the two merge and become the St. Lucie Estuary. To the south, Palm Beach County comprises natural areas that include the J. B. Corbett Wildlife Management Area and Loxahatchee Slough. A varied environmental zone, physiographic features here include portions of the Sebastian-St. Lucie Flats, St. Johns Marsh, Kissimmee Valley, Allapattah Flats, and Green Ridge Loxahatchee Karst (Smith 2008:107). The more southerly portion of the east coast region is distinguished by residential, commercial, and agricultural development that is much more dense than to the north. Physiographically speaking, the area corresponds with portions of the South Atlantic Coastal Strip, Saw Grass Plain, and Andytown Ridges and Sloughs, as well as the easternmost extension of the Shark River Ridges and Sloughs.

USE OF THE EVERGLADES REGION BY GLADESMEN

As a prelude to subsequent chapters, here we briefly introduce some of the ways the extensive Everglades region is used by Gladesmen today. While there have been modernizations in technology since the time of the earliest Gladesmen, the importance of this unique region in terms of resource extraction, recreation and socializing with fellow members of the larger culture, and in maintaining an intimate relationship with the environment, have remained constant.

Figure 10.
Eastern Region Images



A. Grassy Waters Preserve



B. J. W. Corbett Wildlife Management Area

Gaining access to remote locations is fundamental pursuing Gladesmen activities. For the early Gladesmen, access depended on shallow skiffs and canoes that could access almost any location. However, more recent drainage projects have lowered water levels and limited access in navigating many of the creeks, rivers, and swamps. Many Gladesmen interviewed recounted how they or their ancestors could formerly paddle a canoe from Lake Okeechobee straight to Miami. Today, fluctuating water levels and terrain dictate the type of vehicle used in the Everglades region and, according to Denninger (2006), the success of many Gladesmen activities is dependent upon this wide range of vehicles. Today's Gladesmen use both motorized and non-motorized vehicles, including airboats and swamp buggies, which have made accessing the backcountry quicker and easier. To support their traditional activities, contemporary Gladesmen use a variety of off-road vehicles (ORV's) in the CERP area. These are used in locations where the water is too shallow for conventional watercraft or the land is too soft for automobiles or motorcycles.

Subsistence hunting has always been a very important activity among Gladesmen. The list of available game is long, but some of the animals that Gladesmen have hunted include deer, otter, turkey, various birds and ducks, rabbits, wild pigs, frogs, and raccoons. Hunting remains central to contemporary Gladesmen culture and utilizes many of the same traditional skills employed in earlier times. These would include the use of hunting camps as a base of operation for storing gear and supplies, processing the daily catch, and housing airboats, swamp buggies, and water craft.

Recreational fishing is one of the most popular activities for contemporary Gladesmen. The type of fish sought and the method of capture vary depending on geographic location and the preferences of the fisherman. Long-term fishing trips are facilitated by the use of backcountry camps. Throughout the CERP area, people fish from airboats, canoes, off bridges, and from the shores of lakes and canal banks. Today, alligators are hunted for both hides and food during a designated season, when hunters are required by the State of Florida to buy a permit. The most common means of contemporary alligator hunting is by airboat.

As the use of motorized vehicles increased, clubs and organizations developed – not only for the common enjoyment of airboats and swamp buggies, but to foster the shared Gladesmen experience of the natural setting that is unique to southern Florida. Additionally, knowledge of the backcountry and skill at operating airboats enables Gladesmen to assist in search and rescue efforts in the swamps and sawgrass country. Almost every region of southern Florida has an airboat club and, in addition to wildlife preservation and conservation, search and rescue is one of the most important functions of these organizations. Members share a common purpose and a sense of connection with others of the same larger community.

It is membership in these clubs that strengthens ties to the physical environment of the Everglades ecosystem and further reinforces the identity of a shared Gladesmen culture. In addition to possessing a specialized, knowledge of hunting and fishing in a unique regional setting using airboats, swamp buggies, tracked vehicles, and all-terrain vehicles, the camaraderie of belonging to a group whose members share traditional behaviors provides cohesion and structure within the Gladesmen culture. To the Gladesmen, the Everglades ecosystem is central to their lives – it is part of who they are, it is the focus of what they do with most of their time, and it establishes a strong relationship with the world around them that is shared by others. As one Gladesmen (Wright 2008) said: "you just can't live without it."

III. HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS

This chapter provides some background on the peopling of southern Florida that occurred after Spanish and British colonization efforts in the region came to an end in the late eighteenth century. During Florida's territorial and early statehood periods, opportunities for settlement brought many newcomers to Florida and laid the groundwork for the emergence and development of the Gladesmen Culture.

THE TERRITORIAL AND EARLY STATEHOOD PERIODS

Andrew Endicott led the first American survey party into Spanish Louisiana and Florida, with his expedition landing on the tip of the Florida peninsula in October 1799. Endicott's account of the area is one of the first. Near the end of Spanish rule in Florida, new settlers coming from Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina were interested in adding Florida to the United States. When Andrew Jackson invaded Florida during the First Seminole War in 1818, it became clear that Spain could no longer control the region and it was transferred to the United States in 1821, the same year Jackson was named the first Governor of the Territory of Florida (Adams 1990:4). Secretary of State John Quincy Adams commissioned Andrew Jackson "to receive, possess, and occupy the ceded lands; to govern the Floridas; and to establish territorial government" (Tebeau 1971:117). The relative prosperity of the 1820s was shortened due to hostility between the settlers and the Seminole Indians, culminating in the Second Seminole War (1835-1842). What was to follow were seven years of brutal conflict resulting in hardships to both Floridians and Seminoles.

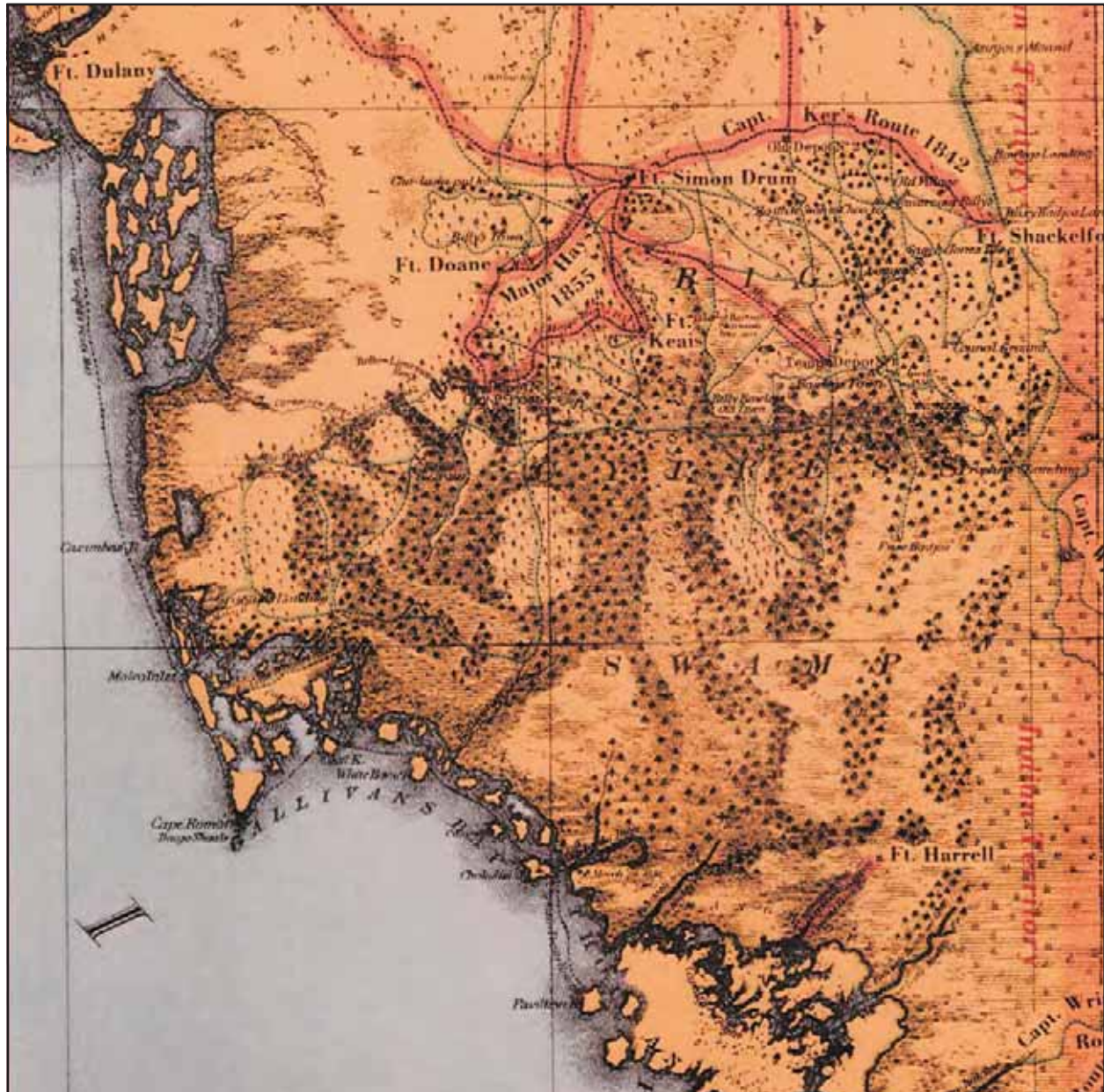
During the Seminole War conflicts, Colonel Persifor Smith's assignment was to deny the Indians access to the coast and the Big Cypress Swamp. His column was responsible for establishing Forts Denaud, Center and Keais (Knetsch 1996:21). Fort Dulaney was also established during this period at the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River (Board and Bartlett 1985: 21). On January 24, 1838, a skirmish occurred just south of Jonathan Dickinson State Park where Major General Thomas S. Jesup's troops encountered a force of 200-300 Seminoles and attacked them. After a short but fierce encounter known as the Battle of Loxahatchee, the Indians dispersed. After this point, most of the Seminoles moved deep into the Everglades and much of the hostilities subsided (Hutchinson and Paige 1998:29-31). Figures 11 and 12 are maps depicting southern Florida in 1839 and 1865, respectively.

In 1842, the commander of all troops in Florida, Colonel William Worth, recommended that the Seminoles be allowed to remain in peace in Florida. The termination of the Second Seminole War followed and the conflict came to an end. The Seminoles were allowed to remain on a reserve in southwest Florida, but the war had been costly to the Seminoles; out of a population of 5,000 in 1835, only about 600 remained in Florida after the close of the war (Covington 1993:106-109; Adams 1990:6).

Figure 11.
1839 Seat of War Map



Figure 12.
Section of the Ives Map (1865)



Due to the peace that had finally come to Florida, the federal government initiated a plan to attract settlers. The Armed Occupation Act was signed into law in 1842, and made land available for those who would brave the inhospitable frontier and risk the possibility of Indian attack. The land had to be two miles or more from a fort and not near the coast. Each family head or single man over 18 years of age would receive 160 acres of free land if he improved and defended five acres of land continuously for five years. Some land was given to current residents who sought to increase their existing landholdings, but the majority went to newcomers (Covington 1993:110; Grismer 1950:99).

The end of the Second Seminole War also saw the development of a crude system of roads and trails from coast to coast that was used by homesteaders and ranchers. In addition, military maps of the interior had been created that served useful during subsequent settlement. The war also provided southern Florida with a series of forts that could be used as bases and settlements where supplies could be landed and taken to the interior, or where goods from the interior (e.g., hides, alligator skins, game, fish, feathers) could be brought and loaded for sale or export.

Communities in southern Florida began to take root, including Cape Sable, Cape Romano, Flamingo, Chokoloskee, and Boca Grande along the southwestern coast (Douglas 1988:271-271; Grunwald 2006:73). In south-central Florida and along the eastern coast, communities such as Okeechobee, Belle Glade, Homestead, and Hialeah began to grow. Settlers also lived in the backcountry, eschewing civilization for the freedom of living off the plentiful natural resources of the Everglades. The people who occupied these remote areas across southern Florida were a hardy, resourceful, and independent people.

POST-CIVIL WAR DEVELOPMENT AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Significant growth began in Florida during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Because northern businessmen and entrepreneurs drove this development, Florida was often characterized during this time as a subtropical colony of the North rather than an extension of the South. In Miami, progress was helped along by oil and railroad magnate Henry Flagler's decision to extend his Florida East Coast Railroad to that community. When the first train arrived in April 1896, the region had already begun to boom. In 1885, the population of Dade County as a whole stood at 332, but by 1896, Miami's population alone had soared to approximately 3,000 (Azzarello et al. 2006:38). The new city incorporated areas on both sides of the Miami River and business, shopping, and residential districts developed. A bridge across the river, opened in 1903, facilitated the growth of upper- and middle-class residential neighborhoods on the city's south side.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, southern Florida was largely a wilderness where those who lived outside established communities had to be totally self-sufficient (Simmons and Ogden 1998). Many settlers eked out a living by hunting and fishing while living in temporary camps in coastal areas (Tebeau 1957:233). By the 1920s, roads and railroads had been constructed, improving access to the region. Southern Florida's permanent residents continued to grow in number, many raising commercial crops for developing markets in Key West and even New York City (Tebeau 1957:234). These crops included sugar cane, tomatoes, beans, bananas, cabbage, melons, okra, peppers, potatoes, and pumpkins. Pineapples were also grown in Florida, although this market could not compete with imported pineapples (Tebeau 1957:225, 236).

Commercial fishing, both on a large and small scale, became the primary means of livelihood for many Florida pioneers. Fishing methods ranged from two men in a skiff fishing with cane poles or hand lines to large-scale fishing operations utilizing nets and boats with steam engines (Tebeau 1957: 238-239). Clams, oysters, turtles, and turtle eggs were also harvested and proved to be a profitable market, as was the sale of fur and hides. Exotic birds, caught primarily for their feathers for use in women's hats, faced extinction during the nineteenth century. In 1901 the Florida Legislature passed a law forbidding the killing of wild birds at nesting time for their plumage. The demand for plumage stayed high, however, and the trafficking of feathers was hard to stop (Tebeau 1957:240-241). Eventually women's hat fashions changed and the plumes were no longer in such demand. The sale of hides and furs also played a large part in the economy of southern Florida. Other important industries that grew during this era included cattle ranching, farming, the lumber industry, and tourism.

New city growth focused on a strip of land between the Everglades and the Atlantic Ocean, and draining of the Everglades to permit further expansion began as early as the 1880s with Hamilton Disston, a real estate developer who purchased four million acres of the Everglades with the intent of draining and developing these lands. A development boom in the 1920s led to a doubling of the Miami-area population between 1920 and 1923, and fueled the establishment of outlying towns such as Hialeah, Miami Springs, Buena Vista, and Opa Locka. The boom peaked in 1925 but was cut short by a hurricane in September 1926 (Moore 1991; Dade County 1982). Miami underwent another boom between 1940 and 1950, its population nearly doubling and growth was particularly intense in the outlying suburban communities (Patricios 1994).

The Tamiami Trail opened in 1928 linking Tampa to Miami and providing important access to Fort Myers and Lee County. Construction of the Tamiami Trail (U.S. Highway 41) began in 1915. The road took 13 years to complete at a cost of 13 million dollars. The stretch through the Everglades was the most difficult section to construct and constituted an unprecedented engineering feat (Janus 2001:21). Originally known as State Road 27, the Tamiami Trail became part of the federal highway system as U.S. 41 in the 1940s.

The Second World War had an enormous impact on the State of Florida, where dozens of military bases were established or expanded. The war also spurred economic development and led to a huge postwar population surge. Additionally, civilian workers came to find employment in the various camps and bases that were established, and in the shipyards and other industries that expanded during the conflict (Coles 2002). It is during this time that airboat use increased dramatically, incorporating aircraft-styled propellers, airplane (or automobile) engines, and riveted sections of aircraft aluminum. Many soldiers, sailors, and marines who served in Florida later returned to the state to live. The state's population grew 46.1 percent during the decade of the 1940s, and would expand at an even more rapid pace during the 1950s. World War II helped serve as a catalyst for the state's explosive postwar growth. By 1943, approximately 172 military installations were in existence in Florida, compared to only eight in 1940 (Coles 2002).

In the 1960s, development continued. There were many new bridges constructed that linked the mainland with the coastal islands. Development continued with many of the cattle ranchers selling out to subdivisions. The Miami area population continued to spiral, reaching 54,500 in 1960, 87,500 in 1970, and 205,000 in 1980 (U.S. Census Bureau). Growth spread eastward toward I-75, which was completed in the 1980s. The Tamiami Trail was widened to four lanes in the mid-1960s and is now six lanes.

IV. THE GLADESMEN CULTURE

This chapter begins with a discussion of Florida Cracker Culture, which shares certain parallels with the Gladesmen Culture. A developmental summary of what characterizes the Gladesmen tradition follows, including those activities practiced by the group and the ways in which those have evolved with new technologies over the last several decades. The chapter closes with a description of the characteristics that define what it means to be a Gladesmen today.

FLORIDA CRACKER CULTURE

Between 1821, when the Spanish left Florida, and the eve of the Civil War in 1861, the region evolved from a sparsely populated frontier to an American agricultural society. This period saw a tremendous influx of immigrants moving to Florida, with the population soaring to 160,000. Settlers came from all areas of the East Coast, with the majority arriving from the neighboring states of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Tennessee. The most important factors in drawing people to Florida were the promises of fertile soils for farming and an abundance of land suited to raising livestock (Denham 1994:454).

One of the interesting facets of this nineteenth-century migration concerned the Anglo and Celtic cultural beliefs and value systems that the new arrivals brought. By the eve of the American Revolution, the dominant immigrants in the South were people from the Celtic regions of the British Isles: Scotland, Ireland, Cornwall, and Wales. This emerging southern Cracker culture closely resembled Celtic culture, characterized by expert herdmanship and close kinship ties. The Cracker economy was one of open-range herding and rural values of "wasteful hospitality...reckless indulgence in food and drink, a touchy and romantic sense of honor, and a strong tendency toward lawlessness...." (Ste. Claire 2006:61-62).

The word "Cracker" has its roots in sixteenth-century England and denotes a braggart; in the United States, the term came to mean a class of rogue settlers. Some in Florida use the term with a sense of pride, while in other regions of the southeast it is considered a pejorative term. There are several conflicting American definitions of the term "cracker," with one explanation being that before the advent of a hand-mill, people of this culture pounded their corn. By placing the corn on a flat rock, it was beaten and cracked with another rock (Hill and McCall 1950:224; Ste. Claire 2006:235). A more popular explanation pertains to the sound of whips cracking over cattle or teams of oxen. A similar but separate definition refers to Florida-born people who drove their brush cattle into the palmettos and flat lands. On the end of their whips was a small strip of buckskin known as a "cracker." Observers of these cattle drives would remark: "here come more of those Florida 'crackers.'" Whatever the origin of the term, Cracker signifies a culture, not an economic condition (Ste. Claire 2006:28-30;66). Gladesmen Ronnie Bergeron (2008) agrees with this interpretation:

The cracker culture really developed when the families moved in to Florida to round up all the cattle that had multiplied that was turned loose by the Spaniards back in the 1500s. They turned loose cattle, they turned loose horses, and the cattle adapted to the environment and multiplied by the millions. So people migrated into Florida and they were cow

hunters. And they would go out and round up all these wild cattle. And as they would come into the different little ports and—through the little towns, they all had whips that cracked so they developed the name of Cracker.

Ste. Claire (2006: 41) claims that by the mid 1700s, the term “Cracker” had begun to be used by Florida gentry as an ethnic slur for Scotch-Irish frontiersmen in the South who were typed as rootless, unruly, and corrupt renegades. Others identified Crackers as criminals organized as gangs of horse thieves, counterfeiters, and slave-nappers.

This characterization had changed, however, by the turn of the century (Ste. Claire 2006:34-35). In the mid eighteenth century, the term cracker “respecialized,” and was used to characterize poor or rogue settlers of the rural south, and later, to describe a proud Florida backcountry culture. Throughout Florida’s history, the meaning has vacillated considerably, alternately taking on derogatory or desirable tones.

Some of the best descriptions of the Cracker Culture are found in the accounts of soldiers stationed in the Florida territory between the 1830s and the 1860s. Many Florida Crackers served as volunteer soldiers during the Seminole Indian Wars and these units were referred to as the “Cracker Calvary.” Most Crackers resented the Army and in turn, the commissioned officers held no fondness for the Cracker volunteers, who they claimed drank and gambled, and were not very good soldiers (Ste. Claire 2006: 50).

By the eve of the Civil War, the term had become a general designation for a lower class, non-slave holding white who resided in the Deep South. But defining Crackers as poor, lower class, or white settlers ignores the cultural characteristics of this group that distinguished them from other cultures in Florida. Proud, independent, tenacious, and self-sufficient would be better descriptions of the Florida Cracker. It was these characteristics that allowed the Florida Cracker to adapt to and survive the diverse, and in some places, inhabitable environment of Florida (Ste. Claire 2006:51; 67-68).

By the early twentieth century, a Cracker was still considered an affectionate term by many, but by the 1950s it again took on a pejorative tone, referring to a bigoted, country Southern white. It is still considered a racial slur by many in the South (St. Claire 2006:34-35). On the other hand, many Gladesmen interviewees proudly proclaimed themselves to be Florida Crackers, so it appears that the term is subjective in meaning.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE GLADESMEN FOLK CULTURE

A parallel to the Florida Cracker Culture is the Gladesmen Culture. The Cracker and Gladesmen groups certainly share several similar characteristics, including a fiercely independent spirit, a desire to be self-sufficient, and a rural lifestyle, often in times past as a squatter on remote lands. While Florida Crackers are associated largely with cattle in northern and central Florida, they did extend into southern Florida as well. Some Gladesmen derived from the Cracker culture, while others practiced both the Gladesmen and Cracker lifestyles:

... a lot of the large landowners in Florida ended up owning large pieces of property by virtue of coming down and cutting the virgin timber. And that started in probably the 1830s right through the 1800s, up to the turn of the century. So after the timber was cut, all these families were here, and they more or less developed what I would call the Gladesmen's culture. All of these families, some of them made a living off of commercial hunting and furs and alligator hides and frog hunting.... So you actually went from the cattle originally that brought people down here to the timber. And with all these families here into commercial fishing and trapping and frog hunting and gator hides, that was the beginning of the Gladesmen's culture, and—which still exists today, not as much as commercial but as a way of life, a traditional culture of a way of life probably more into the recreational enjoyment of their past and their history of being a part of the environment (Bergeron 2008.)

As these people, many of whom were of Celtic derivation, began to settle along both coasts of Florida, they adapted their lifestyles and subsistence patterns to the diverse southern Florida environments. Settlers along the southwest coast took advantage of the plentiful fish and wildlife resources; instead of livestock herding, these people harvested shellfish and bird plumes, hunted alligators, and fished coastal areas and nearby rivers. Both groups retained the cultural traits of self-sufficiency, independence and an uncanny ability to adapt to diverse environments. "Swamp rat," "skiffer," "glader," regardless of the term, the Gladesmen culture has always been deeply linked to the environment of southern Florida. The early Gladesmen lived a rural life where survival depended on the resources of the Everglades.

A seminal study on the Gladesmen written by Glen Simmons, a Gladesman, and Laura Ogden, an anthropologist, presented the first glimpse of Gladesmen culture in 1998. According to that study, the term "Gladesmen" has not historically been used by members of this culture to describe themselves (Simmons and Ogden 1998:xv-xvi). Instead, members of the culture referred to themselves as "swamp rats," "glade hunters," and even "crackers." Ogden in her later work (2005:1) refers to "gladesmen" as "the people, mainly Anglo-American, who began settling along the edge of Florida's Everglades during the mid-1800s." She recalled first seeing the term in a letter written in the mid-1970s by John S. Lamb, Sr., to the manager of the Loxahatchee National Wildlife Refuge. Mr. Lamb used the term to describe the lifestyle of those who hunted and camped in the northern reaches of the Everglades. He further explained that these men lived off the land, harvesting whatever grew there, even producing moonshine whiskey; Ogden (2005:1) stresses the existence of this strong relationship between local cultures and the environment of the Everglades (Figure 13). Those early Gladesmen could be considered some of the South's first naturalists.

The rich natural resources of the southern Florida marshes, sloughs, and mangroves have always provided a steady supply of fish and game. Early Gladesmen sold hide and pelts as a cash crop while hunting game animals to provide food for their families, who lived on the edge of the Everglades or in frontier outposts such as Flamingo (Simmons and Ogden 1998:xvii):

The landscape of the Everglades must be understood as more than a mere backdrop to the culture of the Gladesman. On the one hand, they were keen observers of this wilderness spending weeks at a time walking across endless sawgrass marshes, setting camp...and poling flat-bottomed skiffs through labyrinths of mangrove forests...their livelihoods depended upon the rich bounty of the Everglades wildlife...

Figure 13.
Historic Views of the Everglades Region



A. Lettuce Lake, Corkscrew Swamp



B. Early Camp



C. "Entering Everglades," 1923

Source: Historical Museum of South Florida

Area locals depended heavily on the game of the region to supply food for their families. Deer and wild birds provided the main meat staple to their diets. Other meat staples included wild turkeys, raccoon, opossums, rabbits, and squirrels. Since refrigeration did not exist at this time, the meat was smoked, stored in salt brine, or packed in lard to preserve for later consumption. These early Gladesmen did not consume much alligator meat as they considered it to be unclean and very tough. People also tended small gardens and citrus groves to round out their diets (Ogden 2005:2).

While early settlers to southern Florida were attracted by the rich natural resources and livestock herding, by the 1920s, a different lure also beckoned people to the region: the land boom. The promise of high paying jobs to drain and pave the swamps resulted in an influx of people from throughout the country. The land boom resulted in the construction of roads and subdivisions staked out through the pinewoods of southern Florida (Simmons and Ogden 1998:20-21). Many Gladesmen adapted to economic opportunity by taking advantage of new employment while still maintaining a connection with the backwoods. They could work at wage paying jobs and still hunt, fish, and trap in the afternoon or on weekends.

James Wile was one of these land boom settlers. Wile and his family moved to Florida in the 1920s from Nova Scotia, Canada. Mr. Wile heard from a Canadian neighbor about the land boom in Florida so, along with his sons, he went to work for the Chevellier Corporation on the construction of the Tamiami Trail road (Kirkland 2001:2). The men stayed in the community of Pinecrest, on the Loop Road, in what is now the Big Cypress Preserve.

In 1926, Wile sent for his family to join him in Pinecrest. The Wile family moved into a three-room house made of rough-cut lumber. Mr. Wile's daughter, Mabel Kirkland, described the community as:

... several small homes, a commissary was built to buy groceries and a mess hall where everyone ate for free. They had a big sawmill too. They also had slot machines to play.... They had a small school where all the children attended... There was a hotel where everyone gathered to dance and have parties... (Kirkland 2001:2).

Kirkland characterized life in Pinecrest as "fun" and included mention of "hoppies," a form of backwoods transportation using a "cut down Ford with hard rubber tires." She may have been referring to an early version of the swamp buggy (Kirkland 2001:3).

Wile's story is typical of many families who migrated to southern Florida in the 1920s and 1930s. They were looking for a better life and Florida offered this with decent paying jobs and plentiful land. Gladesmen Don Barton, a long-time resident of Everglades City, was born in Ohio, where his father had temporarily relocated on a construction job. Mr. Barton's father, also an Ohio native, spent winters working as a commercial fisherman in Everglades City during the early 1930s. In 1943, the family joined the elder Barton in Clewiston, where he had secured employment on a government construction project. When the Clewiston project was completed, the Barton family moved to Everglades City, where Don's father returned to commercial fishing (Barton 2008). This lifestyle was typical of many people in rural southern Florida during this time period. They worked in wage paying jobs and supplemented their income through commercial fishing, frogging, and alligator hunting.

Many early Gladesmen made their living entirely from the resources of the Everglades region, subsisting on game, fish, and plants. They earned a living hunting and trapping animals and selling the plumage of exotic birds (Owens 2002:86). For those Gladesmen who utilized the area that became Everglades National Park, their way of life changed dramatically after the establishment of the park in 1947. The lifestyle of roaming the land at will, building camps, hunting, fishing, and riding swamp buggies was no longer permitted. "Gladesmen could no longer keep permanent camps within the park's boundaries or set fires on the Everglades prairies – a practice traditionally carried out during the wet season to increase game density" (Simmons and Ogden 1998: xxi).

Many modified their resource use to accommodate the restrictions, while other Gladesmen moved to different areas of the state. It should be emphasized, however, that the Gladesmen culture has always existed far outside the present park boundaries. It is a culture that has always extended throughout the entire CERP area, although cultural, subsistence, and recreational practices may vary according to geographic region.

Florida is home to thousands of transplants from all over the country and the world. But it is also home to those whose families have been in the state for several generations. Gladesmen Byron Maharrey's family has been in southern Florida for five generations. At the turn of the twentieth century, his paternal great-grandfather moved from central Florida to Fort Myers, where the family opened a dry goods store. His grandmother later married Joe P. Maharrey, who worked for the Atlantic Coastline Railroad. At some point Joe quit the railroad and took up vegetable farming on Whiskey Creek, north of Fort Myers. Bryon stated that Joe hunted the Everglades areas near the Big Cypress Swamp. He apparently used his Model-A Ford to traverse the sloughs. In order to get through high water areas without flooding the engine, the hunting party would take their rain slickers and secure them to the front of the radiator. This would push the water ahead of the vehicle and create a hollow where the engine was located (Maharrey 2008a).

Arthurine Wilson, born in 1927 in Okeechobee, is a six or seventh generation Floridian. Though Mrs. Wilson does not recall the date, her grandparents and their family moved from the Pensacola area by covered wagon to Fountain, Florida; they later moved to the Okeechobee area some time before Arthurine was born. After her mother married, she lived in Canal Point, on the lake, where Arthurine's father took a job as a night watchman at the Old Sherman, a sawmill on Lake Okeechobee. He also participated in a common regional activity, selling moonshine. Like most people living near the lake, he fished and hunted alligators, while her grandfather hunted and trapped raccoons near Moore Haven (A. Wilson 2008).

Many families moved to Florida in the 1930s and 1940s were lured by the land boom and the abundance of employment opportunities. Charles Nesbitt was born in Clewiston in 1947 but his family moved to Florida from Indiana in 1942, when Charles's grandfather settled in the Kissimmee area to commercial fish. Grandfather Nesbitt later moved to Clewiston, where he took a job at U.S. Sugar and commercial fished Lake Okeechobee (Nesbitt 2008). Frank Denninger's family, attracted by the economy and warm Florida weather, relocating from Connecticut to Hialeah in 1948, when Frank was six months old. During Frank's childhood in the 1950s, he and his friends rode their bicycles out to the Everglades to fish. This was his first exposure to the backwoods and he spent all his free time in the woods hunting, fishing, and enjoying the outdoors. These activities continue today for Mr. Denninger, as he still spends most of his free time in the Big Cypress Swamp

(Denninger 2008a). Tom Shirley, born in 1930 in Texas, has lived in Dade County since about 1932. His father moved the family to the Miami area after a cousin told him there “was a mint to be made in tropical fish.” The business did well until the late 1930s when a cold front killed the entire stock. The elder Mr. Shirley then went into the construction business (Shirley 2008).

Mr. Shirley’s first exposure to the Everglades occurred as a boy when he accompanied his father and a family friend on a Sunday afternoon automobile excursion to the Loop Road. He fell in love with the area and remembers that some of his best moments in life were spent fishing with his father off Highway 27. He later bought property in the Big Cypress and recalled:

... [it] puts a great value in life when a family can go to the woods. Like I have property out in the Big Cypress, and our greatest times are when family and friends, we all go to [the] woods. And not [for just] hunting. We all enjoy hunting... our best time is to go out in the Everglades and camp... sit around the campfire at night. That’s a great value (Shirley 2008).

THE LIFE OF A GLADESMEN

Glen Simmons was born in 1916 and grew up on Long Glade, between Homestead and Florida City (Simmons and Ogden 1998:1). He is well known in the southern Florida Gladesmen community and his experiences in the Everglades provide a glimpse into the life of someone who used the area for subsistence as well as enjoyment. Sometime after Glen was born, his father James Simmons built a house of rough lumber that stood off the ground on wooden blocks on two acres in Long Glade. The house was located on land that Glen’s mother, Maude, had purchased using money she had saved from her husband’s earnings. The 1926 hurricane moved the Simmons house into the glade though they did not rebuild it; instead the family “leveled it up a bit” and continued on with life (Simmons and Ogden 1998:10-12).

For a boy growing up in the woods, life tended to be an adventure for Glen:

Any boy fortunate enough to have grown up along these inland glades before too much settlement can remember romping barefoot, swinging from one willow tree to another, fishing, hunting, and working, toting logs on our shoulders... and rambling the trails and wagon roads (Simmons and Ogden 1998:12-13).

Glen Simmons’ father was killed at the beginning of the Great Depression but his mother Maude was a resourceful woman who kept the family fed and took in sewing as income. Long Glade provided plenty of food for the Simmons family, with an abundance of fish, crawfish, rabbits, and herons. Mr. Simmons has never left the Everglades, continuing the Gladesmen lifestyle of alligator hunting, camping, and fishing and he is well known as a guide and expert skiff builder. He has never lost his wonderment for the Everglades but laments the loss of so much of the Everglades environment and culture.

One did not have to live in an isolated rural community to be exposed to the Everglades way of life (Figure 14). Many men who grew up in the Miami-Dade County area and surrounding environs during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s actually had the pinewoods and swamps of the Everglades as their backyard. Since the urban explosion of the past several decades, these areas have been

Figure 14.
Early Gladesmen Life



A. Backcountry Camp, from left: George Espenlaub, Henry Espenlaub, Unknown

Source:
Christine Espenlaub Howell



B. Hunting Trip in Glade Skiff

Source: Historical Museum of South Florida

drained, paved over, or built upon, but to these Gladesmen the childhood memories of the swamps, prairies, and pinewoods are still vivid. Frank Denninger grew up in Hialeah in the 1950s and remembers outfitting his bicycle with wire baskets to hold his tackle box and fishing rod, and peddling with his friends to fish in a canal a few miles from his home:

... we started going out on the edge of Hialeah where there was the edge of the Everglades, used to come within five, six miles of here and it was within easy range of a bicycle. Well, we only went so far and we caught little dinky fish and we knew there was bigger ones out there, but we were a little worried about going out there (Denninger 2008a:5).

Owens (2002:86) aptly describes today's Gladesmen:

Like the Cajuns of Louisiana's bayous, the Everglades boasts its very own one-of-a-kind culture and heritage, a peaceful way of life largely independent of its outer-lying densely populated areas...Today's Gladesmen's relationship to the environment is more in a ritualistic sense: traditional and lingo, intimate knowledge of the geography and natural processes of the land. They are regular people with regular jobs and homes in the suburbs.

Most contemporary Gladesmen also have a deep respect for the environment and its proper management. When discussing how heavy hunting decreased the deer population in the Loop Road area before the establishment of the Big Cypress National Preserve in 1974, Franklin Adams (1992) recounted that, "You know, we were crackers but we were raised to obey the law and if there was no law out there, you disciplined yourself. You were ethical..."

Most of the Gladesmen interviewed have roamed the Everglades since childhood. Many were introduced to this lifestyle by their parents, who in turn introduced them to the backcountry. Others discovered the Everglades on their own and roamed at will with friends or siblings or by themselves. They did what kids do, they went to the woods, which in the 1940s and 1950s in southern Florida were relatively unspoiled and unpaved. Franklin Adams (1992:1) remembered:

I started coming out [into the backcountry] when I was just a child, I started coming to the woods with my father when I was about five...And would just sort of tag along with [him] and his friends... and they'd go hunting... in Everglades National Park prior to the park being dedicated in 1947, I would go... to West Lake and go ducking hunting... And we'd go to the fish houses down in Flamingo... and get fresh fish... so I started being involved in the Big Cypress, as going out there, by about 1943.

Activities in the backcountry included hunting deer and turkey during hunting season, while during the rest of the year, people would just go out to be in nature, to explore, picnic, take photographs, and bird watch (Figure 15). Both resource consumptive and non-consumptive activities continue to be an integral part of the Gladesmen Culture. Families travel to the Everglades to camp, hike, observe wildlife, and enjoy fellowship with fellow Gladesmen.

Figure 15.
Backcountry Camping



A. Frank Espenlaub's Jungle Hammock



B. Meal Time in Camp. From left: Unknown, George Espenlaub

Source: Christine Espenlaub Howell

TRADITIONAL GLADESMEN ACTIVITIES

Historically, Gladesmen activities reinforce the tenet that many, if not most, of the early activities are shared with the earliest inhabitants of Florida: hunting, fishing, and living off the land's natural resources for survival. The close relationship to the land as a cultural and natural landscape is an important trait shared with Florida's Native American cultures. The traditional practices of the culture, like those of the early Native Americans in the region, are inextricably intertwined with the natural environment. Early Native American access to hunting and fishing areas in the Everglades was by foot or canoe, transportation modes adopted by early Gladesmen. They, in turn, later adapted their activities to the available technological advances, namely motorized vehicles.

ALLIGATOR HUNTING

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the alligator hide trade has traditionally been a lucrative cash crop for hunters in southern Florida. This resulted in an increase in men venturing into the swamps. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the well-established Florida alligator trade provided the largest number of hides to tanneries on the East Coast. Early hunting methods varied depending on the season and terrain. During dry season, access into the backcountry was on foot, with hunters walking from camp to camp, hunting the animals from their alligator dens. After harvesting an alligator, they cleaned and salted the hide and left it hidden in camp until it was time to return to their cars, parked on rudimentary roads on the edge of the Everglades. During the wet season, access was more difficult and the hunters used various means of adapting their Model A's to the wet and muddy conditions (Ogden 2005:4). To many early Gladesmen, the revenue from alligator hides provided their primary means of support. During the early twentieth century, hides might have gone for around \$1.75 per foot for a 7-foot alligator.

Hide dealers had their own means of preparing hides. One method was to build a house, around 10 feet wide and 20 feet long. Inside was a bench with notches cut every foot or so to measure the hide. The house was filled with salt; the more salting done, the more the salt piled up. When a hunter brought an alligator in, the dealer measured it and examined it for holes and defects (Charles Nesbitt 2008:11). Frank Denninger (2008a:22) recalls alligator hunting at Lake Okeechobee in the late 1980s. There were hide buyers at the lake that would meet hunters at the docks and pay them in cash for the hide. According to Mr. Denninger, prices varied from \$35.00 per foot to \$55.00 per foot, depending on the size of the alligator.

Today, alligators are hunted during a designated season and hunters are required by the State of Florida to buy a permit (Figure 16). The most common means of contemporary hunting is by airboat. At present, alligator hides sell for \$12.00 to \$30.00 per foot, depending on the size, width, and age of the alligator, as well as the region of the state in which it is sold (Byron Maharrey, personal communication, 2008b; Bishop Wright, Jr., personal communication, 2008a).

Figure 16.
Game Animals



A. Alligator, Turner River Road



B. White Tail Deer, Kissimmee Chain of Lakes



C. Florida Wild Turkey

Source:
National Wildlife Federation Website;
www.nwf.org

SMALL AND BIG GAME HUNTING

Subsistence hunting was a very important activity to the early Gladesmen. The abundant natural resources of the Everglades region provided a plethora of available game for the hunter to put on the family dinner table (Figure 16). The list of available game is long but some of the animals that Gladesmen hunted included deer, otter, turkey, various birds and ducks, rabbits, wild pigs, and raccoons. Hunting is still central in contemporary Gladesmen culture with many of the same traditional practices employed, such as the use of hunting camps as a base of operations. But instead of walking or skiffing to a hunting area, the modern-day Gladesmen is able to employ swamp buggies, ATVs, and airboats to access their camps and hunting areas.

BIRD PLUME COLLECTING

By the nineteenth century, hunters earned the most money from selling exotic bird plumes. During this time period, plumes had become the fashion in the millinery industry and the hunting of these birds nearly led to their extinction. By the 1900s, the practice had decreased due to the passage of bird protection laws and a decline in the use of colorful bird feathers in women's hats (Paige 1986:98-99).

COMMERCIAL FISHING

As previously discussed, many early Gladesmen participated in commercial fishing, either fulltime or part-time as a means to supplement income from a fulltime job. The waters of the Everglades have been fished, clammed, and turtled for centuries. The shell middens and mounds left today testify to early resource exploitation by Indian inhabitants of the region. Because of hostilities with the native population, early Spanish colonists were unable to take advantage of the rich freshwater and marine resources of Florida. But by the 1730s, Spanish fisherman began to fish the southwestern coast and probably made temporary camps in the Ten Thousand Islands and Florida Bay regions. After Great Britain obtained east Florida from the Spanish, their fisherman fished the lower tip of Florida (Paige 1986: 83) and by the 1880s commercial fishing was well established, with Key West fisherman selling a variety of fish in Havana and lower Florida (Paige 1986:85).

Two fish processing plants opened in Chokoloskee in the 1890s, and were operated by the West Coast Fishing Company at Punta Gorda and the South Fish Company out of Fort Myers. By the turn of the twentieth century, commercial fish houses had opened in the Ten Thousand Islands, with the Hamilton brothers operating a profitable operation on Wood Key, selling salted mullet to Cuba. Fish processing plants sprang up in the 1920s in Everglades City after the Barron River was dredged, allowing deep-water vessels to dock locally. Small commercial fishing operations continued to grow during this time along with the associated ice hauling business that delivered ice to the fish houses. In 1936, there were over 100 fish houses, with a lesser number of ice plants, situated from Chokoloskee to Cape Sable (Paige 1986:86-87). Much of the commercial fishing in the Everglades City area focused on mullet, though in the winter fisherman also harvested trout. One of the smaller scale fishing methods involved taking a small boat out and catching minnows with a net. The fisherman then went out to the edge of the Gulf and caught trout with cane poles using minnows for bait (Barton 2008).

Everglades City still relies on fishing and crabbing for its economy. But a ban on gill-net mullet fishing has hurt the local fishing industry, resulting in a difficult transition from fishing to tourism. Some former commercial fisherman now run airboat concessions and guide services, though according to Ogden (2005:6), anti-government sentiment resulting from the ban runs high in the community. The fishing restrictions have also brought to light conflicts over natural resource protection. "The sentiments of these former fisherman reflect the conflict over and complexity of natural resource protection – the preservation of an important species causing the loss of a traditional way of life" (Ogden 2005:6).

One of the larger, although more isolated, fishing villages that developed as a result of commercial fishing was Flamingo, established around 1900. Located in Monroe County, on the eastern edge of the Cape Sable Prairies, this small settlement originally consisted of several small stilt houses. Due to its geographic isolation, intense heat, humidity, and mosquito infestation, only a small core of fisherman lived in the village. Flamingo remained unreachable except by boat until the completion of the Ingraham Highway in the early 1920s. Although that new highway connected the community to Homestead, the road was often impassable. The hurricane of 1935 destroyed all the permanent structures in Flamingo and by 1939 the already small population had dwindled to only 21 residents. In addition, as new technology developed in the fishing and processing industry, the fish plants and icehouses closed, further sealing Flamingo's fate (Paige 1894:87; Simmons and Ogden 1998:122-126). Flamingo is now part of Everglades National Park and the location of a National Park Service visitor center and campground.

By the early twentieth century, Lake Okeechobee had a vibrant commercial fishing industry with catfish harvesting the most important operation on the lake (Will 1977:114). Many fishermen worked at U.S. Sugar Corporation and ran their traps in the afternoons and on weekends. Early commercial fishermen used plank boats, and later boats made out of marine plywood, to fish the lake (Nesbitt 2008). During the early 1900s, several fish camps appeared on the lake and in 1904, Fernando Miller started the OK Fish Company. Though Miller also purchased fish from other fisherman on the lake, his enterprise established several fish camps, employed about 25 workers and owned 18 boats. More commercial fishing operations followed and for over 40 years, commercial catfish fishing boomed on Lake Okeechobee. Ronnie Bergeron (2008) recalled how his mother's family moved to Lake Okeechobee to take advantage of the commercial fishing opportunities:

They lived on the rim of the lake prior to any levees or any restriction of any... natural flow. They made their own boats, they made their own traps, they made their own bait, and they fished for catfish in the lake. And they basically would catch the fish and bring them up Taylor Creek to the Ice Plant where the railroad came in and those fish would be shipped all over America.

Commercial operations at Lake Okeechobee eventually declined due to over fishing of the catfish population, the lowering of the lake, drainage of the spawning grounds, and the 1925 passage of a law prohibiting seining in fresh water (Will 1977:115,125). Today sport fishermen fish for bass, crappie, and bluegill on the lake and there are several sport fishing camps and guide services located in the area.

RECREATIONAL FISHING

Recreational fishing is one of the most popular activities among contemporary Gladesmen. The type of fish and method of fishing can vary depending on geographic location and likes of the fisherman. Throughout the CERP area, people fish from airboats, canoes, off bridges, and from the shores of lakes and canal banks. Southern Florida is known for its backwater fishing (tidal creeks, mangrove islands, and bays) where there is an abundance of saltwater fish. Freshwater fishing is just as popular, with species including bass, bream, snook, snapper, and grouper. Exotic fish species have been introduced to Florida intentionally and unintentionally during the past several decades. These non-native species compete for food with the native fish and have drastically altered the aquatic environment. Non-native species that compete for aquatic resources include the oscar, armored catfish, walking catfish, tilapia, and jewelfish (Florida Wildlife Commission 2003).

FROGGING (FROG GIGGING)

Frog gigging is a practice of hunting frogs with a three or four-pronged spear called a gig. The spear is attached to a long pole that is thrust at the frog. Before airboats, froggers used wooden poled skiffs and canoes to hunt. They attached the gig to the cane pole they used to push their boats through the shallow water. By the 1940s, froggers began to use airboats and no longer had to push their boats and gig the frog with the same pole. Frog gigging is done using flashlights to spotlight the eyes of the frogs; boats are sometimes outfitted with a long, cylindrical tube where they store the frog after it has been giggered. Gigging is also still done on foot and out of a canoe. Frog gigging is currently practiced both commercially and for personal use. The meaty hind legs are a popular delicacy in this country and abroad (Stuempfle 1998:28).

TURLING

Turtles have historically been a favorite staple of people living in and around the Everglades region, with fisherman supplementing their income by hunting for both the animal and the eggs. When the turtles come ashore at night, the hunter captures the turtles and collects the eggs. Cape Sable and some of the small keys in Florida Bay became main hunting grounds in southern Florida until the establishment of Everglades National Park (Paige 1986:89-90). Though turtle hunting is illegal within the park, this did not bring an end to the turling industry, as this practice continues commercially throughout southern Florida.

Today the Florida Soft-Shell Turtle is the most favored species and is hunted through trot lining. This method involves hand feeding a baited multi-hook line across a waterway. Enough play in the line to allow the turtle to swim to the surface to the bait. The fisherman pulls the lines in and removes the turtles, depositing them in a sack. Dealers then sell most of the turtles for consumption in Japan, although turtle is still eaten locally (Ogden 2005:3). Turtles are caught in the lakes, streams, and creeks of the Everglades using a canoe or airboat.

ACCESSING THE EVERGLADES

Transportation to and within the Everglades is an important feature of Gladesmen lifeways shaped by the unique Everglades environment and changing technologies. Contemporary Gladesmen access the Everglades to hunt, fish, and enjoy nature in a different manner than their ancestors. Frank Denninger (2006) states:

This culture today includes those of us who fish, hunt, frog, etc. and utilize specialized motorized or non-motorized transportation systems to engage in traditional cultural activities and access traditional cultural properties throughout the CERP regions. Today's modern community members have evolved from predecessors... who arrived at this Traditional Cultural Property... by ox-cart prior to any highways about a century ago.

While most of the contemporary Gladesmen utilize motorized transportation such as airboats and swamp buggies, these inventions have origins dating back to the 1930s and signify a continuance of traditional cultural practices. The evolution from canoes and pole-driven skiffs to powerful airboats driven by aircraft engines reflects the technological changes, environmental adaptations, and resource improvements that have taken place in this culture through time.

TRADITIONAL MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION

Before the advent of motorized boats, Gladesmen accessed the backcountry using glade skiffs, which are traditional flat-bottomed boats necessary for very shallow water. Poles were used to propel the skiffs, as oars are virtually useless in shallow waters of the swamps, mangroves, and sawgrass marshes. The pole also provides balance when the one is standing, and poling is less tiring than paddling. Master skiff builder Glen Simmons' boats are 16 to 18 feet in length and just over 2 feet wide. The bow is held together with copper wire and the gunwale and transom are made of cypress or redwood planks. He finishes the boat with a layer of fiberglass resin (Simmons and Ogden 1998:27; Simmons 1985:7). Before motorized boats, these skiffs transported Gladesmen into the backcountry to their fishing and hunting camps. Early skiffs were constructed of cypress boards and, later, marine plywood. Because farmers and settlers in the Everglades depended on the game and fish to provide income and food, glade skiffs and canoes were key to survival in the swamps. Non-motorized boats did not die out with the appearance of airboats and motorized jon boats; some are still in use today, as there seems to be no better way to traverse the shallow, narrow confines of the swamps than with a pole-driven skiff or canoe (Figure 17).

CONTEMPORARY MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION

In order to support culturally traditional activities, contemporary Gladesmen use a variety of off-road vehicles (ORV's) in the CERP area where the water is too shallow for conventional watercraft or the land is too soft for automobiles or motorcycles. ORV's have enhanced the Gladesmen's ability to traverse remote areas, though Gladesmen of the pre-motorized era did not let difficult access deter them from traveling the backcountry by skiff or canoe. Many of the activities that are currently central to the culture are dependent upon the use of both motorized and non-motorized vehicles, although use of such vehicles as airboats and swamp buggies has certainly made access into the backcountry quicker and easier. The fluctuating water levels and diverse Florida terrain dictate the type of vehicle used in the Everglades region and, according to Denninger (2006), the success of many Gladesmen activities is dependent upon this wide range of vehicles.

Figure 17.
Everglades Water Craft



A. Butch Wilson and William "Nubbin" Lanier in a Jon Boat on Fisheating Creek



B. Canoe on Fisheating Creek

As the use of ORVs increased, clubs and organizations developed based on the use and enjoyment of not just the ORV but to promote its use in the Everglades. It is membership in these clubs that strengthens ties to the physical environment of the Everglades ecosystem and further reinforces the identity of a shared Gladesmen culture. In addition to sharing a specialized knowledge of airboats, swamp buggies, tracked vehicles, and all-terrain vehicles, the camaraderie of belonging to an organization whose members share similar passions, attitudes, and a variety of small sites scattered throughout southern Florida, provides cohesion and structure to the Gladesmen culture.

Airboating

Airboats are flat-bottomed crafts propelled in a forward direction by an aircraft-styled propeller and powered by either an airplane or automotive engine (Figure 18). A metal cage encloses the engine and propeller to prevent foreign objects coming in contact with the propeller. The flat bottom of the boat and the lack of a propeller in the water allow airboats to operate through very shallow areas and even on dry ground. As development and drainage of the Everglades increased in southern Florida, the need to travel deeper into the backcountry also increased; the airboat allowed increased access into this difficult terrain.

According to Ogden (2005:4-5), the “backyard mechanic” hunters, fishermen, and froggers in South Florida developed the airboat for use in the shallow conditions of the swamps, ponds, and sloughs. Airboat design varies according to local conditions. Airboats used in northern Florida employ manufactured fiberglass or welded aluminum hulls outfitted with a tough sheet of polymer on the bottom; this allows for ease of navigation through the deeper waters of the area. In the shallow, rocky terrain of extreme southern Florida, shallow draft hulls that use riveted aircraft aluminum sections are more effective. Some sources claim that Glen Curtiss, a Florida developer and aircraft builder, was the first person in southern Florida to bolt an airplane propeller and engine to a small fishing boat in 1921. First known as frog boats, they were initially used to deliver supplies and transport catches from froggers in the Everglades. Constructed with marine plywood, these first boats were gradually replaced by aluminum bodies (Azzarello et al. 2006:45). Although there are still many airboat owners that continue to build their own boats, commercially produced airboats are extremely popular. These craft vary from the functional to highly customized boats with intricate and colorful paint schemes, high performance engines, and quality workmanship. High technology hulls are now constructed of welded or riveted aluminum and can be painted in a camouflage scheme for hunting. Airboats can be further customized with bimini tops, windshields, composite propellers, and wraparound decks.

In addition to providing access into the Everglades for recreational activities, airboats are used commercially and for search and rescue operations. There are several businesses along the Tamiami Trail that use airboats to take tourists into the Everglades. Some have been in business for decades, including several in Dade County such as the Coopertown Restaurant and Airboat Rides, the Frog City, and Gator Park (Azzarello et al. 2006:43). Other commercial uses of airboats include surveying, pipeline inspection and maintenance, and law enforcement.

Figure 18.
Airboats



A. Airboat in Water Conservation Area 3; Paul Bailey and Susan Perlman



B. Two Seater Airboat



C. Commercially Produced Airboat

Southern Florida airboaters often refer to themselves as the “eyes and ears” of the Everglades. Their knowledge of the backcountry and skill at operating airboats enables them to assist in search and rescue efforts in the swamps and saw grass country. Almost every region of southern Florida has an airboat club and, in addition to wildlife preservation and conservation, search and rescue is one of the most important functions of these organizations. On December 29, 1972, Eastern Airlines Flight 401 crashed in the Everglades in Water Management Area 3. Bud Marquis, a member of the Airboats Association of Florida and his partner Ray Dickinsin, were frog gigging nearby and witnessed the crash. Mr. Marquis navigated his airboat through the saw grass and was the first person on the scene, where he rendered aid to victims (American Airboat SAR 2007). Other club members participated in rescue operations, working long hours under dangerous conditions.

Half-Tracks and Full-Tracks

A half-track is a motorized vehicle that has conventional tires on the front and tank like tracks on the rear; the front-end tires are directed by a steering wheel. A full track vehicle has tank like tracks on both the front and rear and is steered by a system similar to a bulldozer, whereby movement is accomplished by controlling power input to the left or right track system individually using two vehicle steering sticks in front of the driver. In both types of vehicles, the driver and passenger sit on a high platform above the tracks (Denninger 2008c). The weight of the tracked vehicles is more evenly distributed than that of a swamp buggy, allowing them to be used on soft ground where a swamp buggy would sink. Many track vehicle users built their own systems using junk parts. Frank Denninger (2008a) recalls that he built his first half-track in the 1960s at his employer’s machine shop. This half-track greatly expanding his hunting opportunities, allowing him to progress from hunting on foot to using what he called “the most sophisticated type vehicle of the era for hunting the Glades.” Denninger used the vehicle for deer hunting in areas north of Alligator Alley, utilizing access points off Route 27 and the L-5 Levee on the Broward and Palm Beach county line. He states that the use of tracked vehicles is still popular, as seen by the number of track clubs in southern Florida. Most of the vehicles currently used are full tracks that, due to regulatory changes, are smaller in size than earlier vehicles.

Swamp Buggies

Swamp buggies are all-terrain vehicles built of necessity by hunters and others in the Everglades to traverse the region’s swampy areas. They are tall, awkward looking, gas-powered vehicles with huge, balloon-like tires (Figures 19 and 20). The swamp buggies of the 1930s and 1940s incorporated Model T engines and parts and used aircraft tires. Some modern buggies are still homemade and consist of various automobile body and engine components, though many are now manufactured commercially. Ed Frank, from the Naples area, is considered by folks in southwestern Florida to be the inventor of the swamp buggy. In order to better access hunting areas in the Big Cypress Swamp, he utilized parts from a Model-T Ford and a seat from a World War I airplane (Ogden 2005:5). According to Ed Frank’s niece, Christine Howell (2008), Ed and Christine’s father built these buggies for their own use and not commercially. Ed so enjoyed being in the woods, however, that he gave up his gas station business and began a guide service, using the buggies as transport. “And he enjoyed going out. And so he took daily, guided swamp buggy tours into the Everglades. My mom fixed a lunch, and he could only carry [around] four people... but it [the swamp buggy] had rails back there—for daily trips into the Everglades.

Figure 19.
Swamp Buggies



A. Byron Maharrey's Swamp Buggy with
1929 Ford Model A Engine



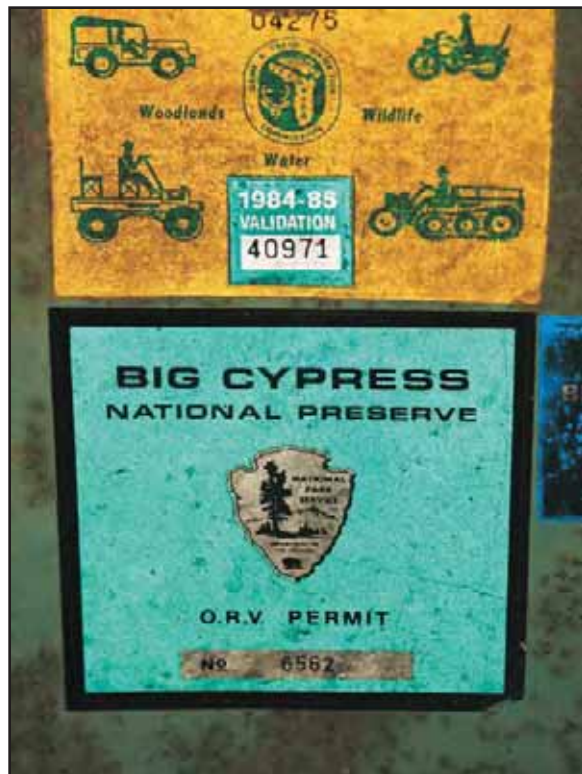
B. Early Swamp Buggy:
Everglades Guide Services
"South Under"
Source: Christine Espenlaud
Howell



C. Impromptu Gladesmen Swamp Buggy Meet-Up in the Woods

Source: Barbra Jean Powell

Figure 20.
Swamp Buggy Culture



A. Big Cypress National Preserve
O. R. V. Permits



B. (from left) Harold Hampton, Chuck Hampton, and Costas Cavas on the Hampton Swamp Buggy, Arcadia, Florida

Other innovations incorporated into buggy construction include the use of two transmissions to provide lower gear ratios, extra cutout tires over the existing tires for added traction, and Jeep components (Ogden 2005:5).

All-Terrain Vehicles (ATVs)

An ATV serves the same purpose as a swamp buggy but is smaller and lighter and generally commercially produced. Whereas a swamp buggy may be large enough to carry several passengers, the ATV will only seat one to two people. Though this vehicle will cover the same terrain as a buggy, its smaller size allows for passage into tighter areas than a swamp buggy would be unable to access (Denninger personal communication 2008c).

WHAT IS A GLADESMEN?

Outside of Florida, the Gladesmen Culture is little known. Within Florida, it has been little studied and is largely misunderstood. This chapter has presented a discussion of how the culture evolved from its historical beginnings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Here we provide a definition of who or what is a Gladesmen, as drawn from personal accounts and ethnographic participant observation. What are the traits that make Gladesmen different from anyone else that hunts, fishes, or uses a swamp buggy or airboat in southern Florida? How are people recognized as Gladesmen?

A Gladesmen is a member of a rural folk culture that has a shared identity characterized by a strong sense of community based on unique cultural, behavioral, and ideological ties to the Everglades (southern Florida) environment. As described by Simmons and Ogden (2005::xviii-xix), the quote below serves to define the Gladesmen of the pre-1950s in relation to their chosen surroundings:

The landscape of the Everglades must be understood as more than a mere backdrop to the culture of the Gladesmen. On the one hand, they were keen observers of this wilderness—spending weeks at a time walking across endless sawgrass marshes, setting camp on slightly higher hammock-covered islands, and poling flat bottomed skiffs through labyrinths of mangrove forests. As their livelihood depended upon the rich bounty of the Everglades wildlife, gladesmen necessarily monitored the seasonal fluctuations in the region's game. They were also able to interpret subtle signs in this landscape (such as slight depressions in the mud, the presence of certain birds, or specific odors) to track their prey.

Their reading of these signs and their complete immersion within this environment often granted gladesmen a unique insight into the workings of this complex ecosystem. The landscape was central to their daily experience, as their self-imposed isolation in the Everglades back-country provided them with scant other diversions. At the end of the day, gladesmen often gathered around campfires and smoking smudge pots, some sipping moonshine, to rehash their observations, to speculate, and to tell tall tales. Although most of these men received little formal education, they well understood the complexities and variations of this environment.

Over subsequent decades the traditions and knowledge of the earliest Gladesmen have been passed on to and adapted by their successors. Through time, there have been changes in the technology used to access and make use of the Everglades, but the Gladesmen traditions and shared culture have remained constant. Today's Gladesmen come from many walks of life, and reflect a broad range of background and ethnic heritage, especially Hispanic-, Anglo-, and African-American. As one informant (Dombroski 2008) stated, there is no "stereotypical Gladesmen anymore." While many Gladesmen are now retired, their employment reflects a wide range of both blue- and white-collar fields. Some of these include the military, construction/fabrication, and a variety of trades, while other Gladesmen are doctors, lawyers, dentists, engineering and electrical contractors, schoolteachers, cooks, public officials, Commissioners with the Florida Fish and Wildlife and the Florida Game and Freshwater Fish commissions, firemen, insurance salesmen, and certified public accounts, to name a few.

There are Native Americans in southern Florida that share Gladesmen practices and have similar interests in resource access and preservation. Some of the interviewees mention "hanging out" with Native Americans and going to school with them as children; others shared encounters on islands when stopping off by boat. There are also stories of early Gladesmen trading with Native Americans. Today, Native American traditional cultural practices are protected on reservations, where the same access limitations that Gladesmen are subject to in other areas would not be in force. One interviewee likened Native Americans who shared Gladesmen's love of the region to members of a separate subgroup, or "tribe," and saw a parallel in the past when Gladesmen with different interests (use of airboats vs. swamp buggies, for example) competed among themselves. Today, however, Gladesmen feel that such differences have largely faded, with all parties now working together for the common good in promoting preservation and ensuring backcountry access, and by assisting agencies in seeing to it that their traditional use of the region is maintained (Frank Denninger, personal communication 2009). One interviewee (Schramm 2008) stated that "if you want a good opinion on how to save the land, talk to the Indians...They will tell you the true way to help save the Everglades."

Contemporary Gladesmen share the characteristics and attitudes of the early Gladesmen. They are independent, self-sufficient outdoorsmen who are very proficient in surviving in the wilderness that is southern Florida. Gladesmen men, women, and children of today may no longer depend solely on the natural resources of the Everglades ecosystem for subsistence, but they continue to depend on it in other ways to fulfill a variety of needs: hunting, fishing, recreation, contemplation, family time, camaraderie, search and rescue, and serenity. Some of the philanthropic work they do includes building common use emergency shelters, firefighting, replanting native vegetation, helping to control exotic plant intrusion (i.e., cattails and melaleuca), and advocacy. Activities within the glades provide Gladesmen with a strong sense of self, a spiritual connection with the world around them, and a unique self-reliance within their chosen environment. As one interviewee (Shirley 2008) said of the reverence that Gladesmen share for southern Florida:

...they love it, they'd give their life for it, they fight for it, spend money on it, just enjoy it (as a) great part of their life, and they'd be lost without it.

Gladesmen have developed a common identity based upon activities that depend upon the host environment for cultural and spiritual nourishment. As a reflection of this shared identity, throughout southern Florida there are airboat, swamp buggy, sportsmen, and conservation clubs that are

organized on a regional basis. These clubs not only provide advocacy and camaraderie, they also play important roles in search and rescue operations and environmental conservation efforts. These organizations and regional clusters of Gladesmen reflect their common desire to maintain their traditions, practices, and the Everglades ecosystem itself. Gladesmen see themselves as conservationists who want to preserve nature, not “environmentalists,” who they see as wanting to put up fences and keep people out.

In keeping with this sentiment, many interviews indicate a certain distrust of governmental agencies, whose actions have restricted Gladesmen access in many areas. Many feel they have been “run out” by the loss of access rights for large acreages they have a history with; while interest in pursuing traditional activities is high, today’s Gladesmen see limited opportunities to do so. On the other hand, many Gladesmen acknowledge the need for cooperation, see some good in environmental protection efforts by governmental agencies, and are willing to share concerns in creating a Master Recreation Plan that will ensure long term public access and make things better for people and the environment in the future.

A Gladesmen has a highly developed knowledge of the Everglades as a natural resource, a cultural resource, and a home. Gladesmen want to continue to have the ability to hunt, fish, and recreate in areas they have visited for decades and are passionate about their right to maintain their traditional practices. Their sense of place and their identity reside in the Everglades region of southern Florida.

V. GLADESMEN PERSPECTIVES

This chapter begins with a discussion of what "culture" is and provides, through oral history excerpts from Gladesmen themselves, a sense of contemporary Gladesmen culture. These highly personal accounts indicate that this distinctive cultural group is a living culture characterized by a set of shared traditional practices, a strong sense of community, and a determined desire to maintain their lifeways within the natural environment of southern Florida. All of these characteristics set Gladesmen apart as members of a distinct Florida culture.

DEFINING CULTURAL MEANING AND THE EVERGLADES AS A FOLK REGION

There are many anthropological definitions of human "culture." It is important to provide a definition that can be used to understand the Gladesmen Folk Culture in context as representative of a cultural group that has a unique adaptation to the environment of southern Florida. According to E. B. Tylor, the term "culture" was used to denote the totality of the humanly created world, from material culture and cultivated landscapes, via social institutions (political, religious, economic, etc.), to knowledge and meaning. Tylor's (1958 [1871]:1) still widely cited definition states, "Culture (or civilization), taken in its broad, ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."

Ecological anthropology, the study of the complex relationships between people and the environment, offers a means of refining that "complex whole." Within ecological anthropology, there is a tendency to describe culture as a "tool" used by society to maintain its adaptation to nature. This "tool" comprises concrete, physical tools, but also knowledge, skills, and forms of organization. Rappaport (1968[1980]:233, 1984), offers the following definition of culture, suggesting that it is "... a part of the distinctive means by which a local population maintains itself in an ecosystem and by which a regional population maintains and coordinates its groups and distributes them over the available land."

This line of inquiry, which focuses on people and the environment, has a lot of interpretive power to offer to an understanding of the Gladesmen culture, its beginnings, and its change over time within the southern Florida environment. As the previous chapter has established, in the past Gladesmen developed a common identity based upon a subsistence strategy involving hunting, fishing, etc., but also that drew upon its host environment for cultural and in some cases spiritual nourishment. Previous scholarship has described these origins, but has stopped short in its analysis, seeing changes in culture as an end of a "traditional" culture. This chapter will establish through oral history that the once essential survival strategies based on resource procurement have become ritualized and that the identity and social organization of Gladesmen culture remains vibrant and still uniquely tied to the environment that shapes them and that they in turn shape.

Traditional cultural properties are clues to this dynamic process, providing us with cultural information about the physical context where the Everglades and Gladesmen connect either as hunters, fishers, naturalists, or in other pursuits. Adaptation has occurred over time particularly in the manner in which both men and women in this culture access the Everglades and use its resources, but contemporary Gladesmen culture follows the same cultural continuum set by its earlier members in adapting to nature. The tools may have changed but the cultural imperatives remain constant.

While “culture as tool” offers strong explanatory power, another way to understand Gladesmen culture is to examine the Everglades as a folk region within Southern culture. This line of analysis follows the work of Hill and McCall (1950) on the Cracker Culture.

Hill and McCall (1950: 223) considered Cracker Culture to be a sub-type within the larger culture denoted as “Southern.” They distinguish this culture by three characteristics: geographic features, social organization, and the rationale that supports and gives meaning to the culture. These three factors may also be applied to the Gladesmen culture.

Geographically, the Gladesmen culture and the lands of southern Florida are inextricably intertwined; one could not exist without the other. The environment is why the Gladesmen culture exists and the goal of this culture is to co-exist and utilize the components of the environment. The geographic feature of this environment is the Everglades ecosystem. It is large and diverse and Gladesmen activities respond to this diversity, as seen by differing means of use and transportation employed in this ecosystem and how these are related to the location of particular activities within this large ecosystem. The use of airboats in the open waters of Lake Okeechobee would not be required, while the use of larger outboard motor boats in the Big Cypress would not be the best choice either.

Social organization is quite simply how people of a group interact, how they divide up various tasks in order to get work completed. Though sportsmen and conservation groups are relatively new organizations in relation to the history of the Gladesmen culture, they are one of the main threads that unite the culture. Not only do these organizations provide a voice of advocacy to their causes, they also serve as a social thread to other club members and other organizations. Early Cracker culture consisted of a close kinship system; today this translates into a close kinship system with the other members of a Gladesmen club organization. Throughout Florida there are airboat, swamp buggy, sportsmen, and conservation clubs that are organized on a regional basis. These clubs not only provide advocacy and camaraderie, they also play important roles in search and rescue operations and environmental conservation efforts. As noted, members of the Airboat Association of Florida, for example, have participated in several search and rescue efforts to locate downed airliners. Club members are called out when people become lost in the backcountry. Many of these clubs and organizations participate in annual exotic plant removal days and trash cleanup efforts. These clubs engender a sense of stewardship.

The rationale that gives meaning to the Gladesmen culture is visceral and complex. Many contemporary Gladesmen share the characteristics and attitudes of early Gladesmen. They are independent, self-sufficient outdoorsmen who are very proficient in surviving in the wilderness. The main difference is that the Gladesmen of today does not depend on the wilderness for survival like his early brethren did. Ogden (2005:7) states:

The swamp culture of the Everglades people suggests ...interdependence with the “natural” system. As their livelihoods depend upon the rich bounty of the Everglades...Their material culture...reflect this relationship to the swamp environments. Local dependence upon these environments grant cultural significance to local practices, while at the same time local people construct the swamps as places of cultural meaning.

Ogden and Simmons (1998:xxii) state that traditional Glades culture ended with the establishment of Everglades National Park in 1947. But the Everglades ecosystem is much larger than the national park boundaries and what the ecosystem provided had more cultural meaning than just its natural bounty. Gladesmen men, women, and children, today may no longer depend on the natural resources of the Everglades ecosystem for subsistence, but, as the following oral histories show, they do depend on it for a variety of needs that include hunting, fishing, recreation, contemplation, family time, camaraderie, rescue, philanthropy, and serenity.

New South Associates conducted interviews with 34 self identified Gladesmen. During these interviews, the ethnographer asked what the Everglades meant to each person. She received several similar answers to this broad question. To the majority of the Gladesmen interviewed, the Everglades ecosystem and their experiences there are considered a way of life that they have tried to pass on to their children. But the most common answer was that the Everglades meant “everything” to them.

The Gladesmen Culture has an interdependent relationship with the Everglades environment. Every aspect of this culture is inextricably related to the environment; this is embedded in every aspect of this culture: language, attitudes, practices, and worldview. A Gladesmen can be viewed as the ultimate naturalist in that he/she has studied every aspect of the Everglades ecosystem and adopted their lifestyle to the nuances of the seasons, weather, and the human alteration of this system.

The Gladesmen Folk Culture has never existed in a vacuum; it is composed of pockets of Gladesmen whose activities vary according to geographic region but who share the same core Gladesmen beliefs and whose goal is to engage in traditional cultural activities in traditional use areas. The contemporary Gladesmen has evolved from the first settlers in the Everglades who survived by hunting and fishing and basically living off the land. The Gladesmen of today reflect a wide range of ethnic heritage and background. Through changing economies, land development, and technological advances, many of the traditional practices and the manner in which they are accomplished have changed or been made more productive/efficient, but the attitudes and purpose of the Gladesmen Folk Culture has basically remained the same: to engage in traditional activities that reflect a shared culture within southern Florida.

The previous chapter provided historical background on increased settlement in southern Florida and the development of the Gladesmen Folk Culture. This chapter explores this living culture, providing excerpts from the oral history interviews that speak to Gladesmen lifeways and identify the places and activities that are important in maintaining their cultural identity. Various cultural themes are repeated in these personal biographies. The interviewees delve into the beliefs and practices of the Gladesmen Culture; interestingly, though traditional practices may vary according to geographic region, the belief system behind these practices is relatively the same. The Gladesmen of yesterday and today are self-sufficient, independent individuals who have a highly developed knowledge of the Everglades ecosystem. Members of the contemporary Gladesmen

Culture speak candidly about Gladesmen history and resource use areas within CERP and how the usage of these areas has changed and adapted in response to technological advances and land development.

The interview excerpts below have been edited slightly to improve readability; the full transcriptions of each oral interview conducted during the fieldwork phase of the ethnographic study are on file at the Division of Historical Resources in Tallahassee.

FRANKLIN ADAMS

I was born in Miami, Florida, Dade County. I've had many occupations, but I started out as a land surveyor. My father was an old-time land surveyor in Dade and Monroe County, so that's how I began. I was born there in 1937. My mother's family originally was from Alabama. Some of the family left Alabama, three generations, four—will be five generations ago now and came to the Panhandle of Florida, the coastal area. And my mother's [side]—the other branch of the family came to Dade and Monroe County and Florida Keys, and that's where she met my father, G. B. Adams, there. And so I guess Michael, my grandson, is about one, two, three, four—five generations, six. Yeah—yeah we've had a presence in Florida. The family didn't start out in Florida, but they just came here after the Civil War. So we've had a long love of Florida.



Most [of my family] were farmers and fishermen and—but it was my father that introduced me to the Glades, and his friends. We lived on the Miami River, right near the Moose Isle Indian Village, and I grew up, my brother John and I playing with the Indians there at the Moose Isle and swimming in the river (It was really polluted then, we just didn't know it). And jumping on manatees and trying to ride them. And when the Seminole Queen would come up from Bayfront Park with the tourists, they would throw nickels and dimes in the water and we both were pretty tan then, had dark hair, and so we hung out with Indians. We'd dive for nickels and dimes in the river that the tourists threw in there. And then we would go with my father. I remember going with him when I was very young to what wasn't Everglades National Park then. It was not the park. That was in 1946 and we went duck hunting at West Lake, which was a big favorite duck hunting area during the

winter down there. And I got to see summer vacations, and when I was out of school I would go with my father on surveying trips. And he liked to do boundary resection surveys, not so much in town. So he actually surveyed in what was Everglades National Park and in Big Cypress and some of the coastal islands, and so I had that opportunity to get out in an early age and see those areas with him, and of course that influenced me a lot to go hunting with him and his friends in the Big Cypress.

We used small wooden boats. In the coastal area and down the Keys then you didn't have fiberglass or aluminum boats. And out in the Big Cypress he had a big what they call recon car, [it] was kind of a swamp buggy type thing that we'd use to get into some areas and then we would just park and we'd walk. We did a lot of walking back in those days. We didn't hunt out of tree stands, and we did what they called still hunting and stalking. And so it was mostly walking.

[We hunted] white-tailed deer and wild turkey and hogs, yeah. The favorite fish for—in our family was mangrove snapper. My dad loved mangrove snapper. We didn't eat redfish or sheepshead. We threw them back. Nowadays, we're not so picky. Fishing's not quite (laugh) what it used to be. But mostly it was mangrove snapper and trout specks, and that was my dad's favorite fish so that's what we went after.

Lots of [memories of] old friends that lived there [Loop Road] that are gone now, growing up out there, going with your daddy and your granddaddy and your family and getting on a buggy or an airboat and going to the woods. I think probably [for] a majority of people, while hunting's part of our life, we like that tradition and we like the fresh venison, [it's] the sharing with our family and friends. Just being out there is—that's kind of my—that's my cultural foundation. It's—my experiences out there growing up; it taught me self-reliance. When I was 16—17, I was going to the woods without any adult supervision and I built my own little swamp buggy in my backyard of my parents' home in Miami near the River. And we just had such total freedom. And it teaches you lots of self-reliance I think, to be on your own and be in the woods.

And it's harder and harder for the younger generation coming up today to have those kinds of experiences. You can't be on the swamp on your airboat after ten o'clock at night. You have to shut down. You can't go to camp. We never get off work until eight or you break down, what are you going to do, with this curfew? And so it's taken a lot of spontaneity and enjoyment away from the old timers and the crackers. I know it's hard for people to understand it sometime maybe. The area belongs to everybody, taxpayers that bought it.

But it's not just—The Big Cypress is not just a place that we go once or go occasionally and that's the end of it. It's really the foundation of our culture and what we enjoy. It's— That's my church out there, Cypress Cathedral. That's where I feel closest to the creator and who I am is out there. I think it's—If I didn't get out there—Well it's kind of why we live here. We have a little peace and quiet, little piece of the Big Cypress, but if I didn't get out there, I probably wouldn't be the person I am today if I hadn't had those experiences, and [I] want to continue to share those with younger people.

And we take people out sometimes, agency people, regulators and it's a whole eye-opening experience to them to go to camp and be out there to see what we do. It gives them a whole different perspective on who we are and why we go there. Some people [think], Oh it's just a bunch of drunken, ignorant, backwoods crackers, you know, riding around poaching and drinking and all that. And there was a certain amount of that, of course. You're going to find that anywhere you go, city or the woods. But there are people out there today ... they don't hunt, they don't drink. They like to go out there and cook and bring their family and friends out there, just relax in the peace and quiet without hearing the noise of traffic—cars screeching and sirens. And it's very, very important to people like that.

Nowadays, a good friend of mine from Homestead has an exempt camp in the Cypress about halfway between the trail, north of Monroe Station and the Alley, and it's about 13 miles. And so it's very comfortable. So we— I spend as much time as I can out there in the winter and spring. And in the spring when it's real dry— Like last year a friend of mine from North Florida came down and we took the buggy up. And it was so dry and then we'd park the buggy and walked into these pretty islands and cypress heads and walked into the gator holes. And in most all of them the gators had left, it was so dry. And it was real interesting, because it's not an area you normally [get to]— up here. So it was real interesting. But that kind of thing—We hear about old sites, old camps, old Indian sites. We try to find them and go there. And then during hunting season, we hunt deer and hogs. And then in the spring we [hunt] spring turkey or [have] a spring gobbler hunt. But I probably spent more time just roaming the Glades and the Cypress than actually hunt, because I just like to be out there ... Growing up, Thanksgiving, the week between Christmas and New Years when I was in school, my family, we were out there in the woods camping and cooking and just having a good family vacation.

But so occasionally Michael and I get out, my grandson. And we're trying to plan a trip this spring for my granddaughter, Emily, she's 12 now, and all the family and go to camp three or four days. ... Growing up, we didn't have a whole lot of money. We just were hardworking people. And we didn't play golf and weren't interested in that kind of stuff. Woods—what we called woods was our recreation, our escape. And so we—that's where we always went when we had time off was out to the Everglades and Big Cypress.

I think it's important to hear from the local people and why it's so important to us. It's something we love and it's deeply ingrained in us and I wouldn't want to be around—I couldn't live anywhere else. I've traveled some and everything. This is my place in the swamp and that's where I'm happy and what I know and I'm a master naturalist, and I'm still learning at my age.

DAVE BALMAN AND ERIC KIMMEL

BALMAN: I was born [in 1946] on 107th Avenue in between Kendall Drive and Sunset Drive. That's what's now known as Marjory Stoneman Douglas Drive, Sunset Drive. And the only people that used that hospital out there were the Indians [and us.]



My ancestors come down here...a long time [ago]. My grandmother, from what I was told, was a Huron Indian and she rode a horse from Lake Michigan to Miami when she was 14 or 15 years old, and she settled up over here on—near—two miles this side of Carnestown on U.S. 41. And my parents had a sawmill in the Everglades all them years, even through World War II, and my daddy grew up out here.

After Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, my dad joined the Marine Corps and he spent five days at Camp Perry Marine Corps and he made the front page of the Miami Herald, "Local Boy Out Shoots the Marines at Camp Perry Marine Corps." And I still got a copy of that paper....He was on two islands and he was wounded on two Jima and he got better from that and they hired him as a game warden. And he was a game warden from the late forties to like '67. I said, Why did they hire you? They said they couldn't catch him so they hired him. But my dad still holds the record for the amount of alligator cases made in Tallahassee. His name's on the wall.

I feel closer to God out here in these woods.... If you just sit on an airboat and watch the sun come up one morning, you'll think, My God, this is the house of God. The way the spiders make their webs on the grass and the sun comes up, it all sparkles like diamonds out there and all you see is diamonds sparkling for about— I don't know, I can't explain it.... And you just sit there and you don't worry about hunting or nothing, you just watch the sun come up. And when it first comes up, you can look right into it and it don't hurt you until the rays get here. But by then it's just like amber waves of—you know, golden grain in the sun and the sparkles all off of them....That's one thing that you experience out here.

KIMMEL: It's the most diverse, the prettiest part of the whole Everglades to me [the Loop Road area]. I mean, I used to go from here...to the mangroves. It's not legal to go to the mangroves, but we used to go.... And then in '88 is when we really started losing access. That's when they changed the Stairstep Boundaries [Unit of the Big Cypress National Preserve]. Before we could cut all the way across and they moved the boundaries so then we couldn't get to Chokoloskee anymore, but at one time the Stairstep Boundaries aren't—they moved them on us, forced us into the pines.

BALMAN: Yeah here's the boundaries now. And if you go down here in an airboat and go to each one of these and run an airboat around there, at each one of these steps, there's the God-awful rock pile and stumps you ever seen in your life, but right down here is the main airboat trail fifty yards away where there's no rocks or stumps and it doesn't bother nothing. You can just slide on across. It's beautiful. Now used to— One thing I used to enjoy looking at down there, it's gone now. There was a palmetto stump up about nine, ten foot high. And the orchids got on it. They killed it is what they did. But when all them orchids were blooming at night and the dew on it, look like a purple pole sticking out in the middle of a big swamp, man this is neat.

... if the water was down I could show you some cypress logs going across the canal [where] my dad and them, they used to drive the team of oxen. They had four oxen that they'd pull the logs out of the swamp with, cypress trees this big around with a team of oxen. Some of them are still in these canals where they made a bridge to get across.... And during World War II cypress was used on your minesweepers, a lot of your PT boats and the decks for aircraft carriers, and a lot— because it's very light wood and very strong. And a lot of people don't know that, but my Grandpa Charlie figured out that he could make more money if he spelled Mill— M-i-l-l S-t-i-l-l [moonshine still] and that's why grandma drives a team of oxen across the Everglades. My family didn't move into Miami until 1925. And they didn't build the Tamiami Trail 'til 1928.

They were living out here on the Tamiami Trail two miles east of Carnestown, which is just past the Oasis Ranger Station over through there. But Grandma Dick used to drive a team of oxen. A lot of people called her the Fort Myers Ox Woman. And over there in the Everglades City when that old boy, what was his name brought them people back? He didn't bring them back but he had them

down there working his farm? A lot of people, the old timers before they passed away, a lot of people say, Your grandma was there whenever he come up to that store. She fired the first shot. I wouldn't doubt it. I wouldn't doubt it at all. (laugh) I wasn't there then, but they said she fired the first shot, probably emptied every gun she had on her and she used to carry two or three guns on her when she needed to.

Pinecrest, it was a logging community. And there was a lot of people logging out here. And then there was a lot of people come out here, so they say. I've met a few of them. Like my dad was a game warden. When I was growing up, there's certain places he wouldn't let me go wander and play with the kids that lived there. He'd say, No you don't want to go back there. Then the bad folks and they find out who you are they might do something then I'd have to do something and that wouldn't work. But it's a lot of community. There's people living everywhere. Two school buses of kids leaving here everyday. Before that, I don't know how many people were here that didn't go to school. And a lot of them were running from the law, so they say. I knew a few of them that were running from the law.

Yeah they're people living along Loop Road back in the pines there by the sawmill, where the old sawmill houses were, back inside. Down here, this road goes down about a mile called Jim Deal Road.

Well we've had gunfights and knife fights right here in the road. The Pinecrest Restaurant was right across the street. You can still see some of the steps over there and all, but my dad was in a gunfight out there and a knife fight when he was wildlife officer. And luckily enough of them—they couldn't even get their gun out before he had his pointing at them.

[The] Park Service came in and the people were offered so much money for their land. [This occurred in the] early seventies [on the Loop Road]. And shortly after that the Park Service came in [again] and they offered more people [money] than a lot of them had ever seen for their land because they... figured they were making money, which they did. They [were] paying ten to twenty dollars an acre, and they sold out and moved out. And a lot of them died out. A lot of them stayed 'til they died because they didn't want to live [any]where else.

And I grew up out here and in town and hunting and fishing and frogging and airboating and swamp buggies. It's part of my culture, my son's culture. It's just a lot of people's culture that have moved out, but they still come down here and ride their airboats when they can and visit people.

[A lot of the buildings in Pinecrest] were torn down or [people] lived in trailers. There's a few still standing back there.

That was just the kids going on the school bus. And they just lived all over the place in trailers. And one old guy, his place is still standing down there. He was a retired railroad man. And he built a house down there and it's still standing today. Not what you call a big house or nothing, just a house and it's made out of railroad ties.

KIMMEL: That's a strong house.

BALMAN: I don't think they could blow that thing up with dynamite, you know. (laugh)

Seven or eight [people presently live here] full time. I'm not out here full time. I work in town so I just stay in town and come out weekends.

Ann Coven [presently owns Pinecrest]. But Jack Coven did own it. It was a Pinecrest Service Station and trailer park. There's still two old trailers back in the bushes you can't see and another one way back over there in the bushes. I don't mean little trailers, I mean fifty-footers.

Oh right across the street, there's still a tractor and trailer, not the tractor, just the trailer right across from Merle's. That was the University of Miami's laboratory and the trailer's still sitting there in the bushes. Park Service didn't do [anything with it], just let the Everglades take over. And the Everglades will take over everything.

The Loop Road and all like that was actually built by a big mistake. They started from the west coast, building the road towards the east. They started the east coast building the road to the west. And this road was actually built by accident. And they figured out, Oh we made a big jog around here.... And then the guy that was doing the survey and all made a big mistake. But anyhow, there's still a 2,000-acre hiatus up in this area where they don't even know who owns it.

KIMMEL: They missed their alignment... originally they're bringing in supplies for the trail, they were coming in by barge through here.... o that may have been why they made a mistake. That's why this part of the road may have been built on purpose.

BALMAN: You don't know how pretty it is down here on an airboat. It's a transition zone.... You leave the road here and it goes from cypress strands, then it goes to hardwood mahogany hammocks in some of the trees down there. The leaves even change colors on some of them hammocks. And then you get on over here it turns to pine islands and then you get down there and it's mangroves.

And then when Al Capone had his restaurant and gambling house over here [Pinecrest], somebody had done their homework. Because this is Monroe County. When you go across Loop Road, you cross three counties. You go through Dade, Collier, and Monroe. And Al Capone and them boys found out that if you—the police to have any jurisdiction out here had to be Monroe County Sheriff Department. So they got to come all the way up from the Keys. So they'd sit out here and have the people sitting here in their cars or what have you and if somebody come through look like the law, they'd fake an accident or block the road and send somebody running down here to hide their stuff. We have pictures of the actual gambling house and all before it burned. And it burned in 1930 or '31.

You name it, it went on [on the Loop Road].

When I worked for the game commission for about 20 years, I used to do the vehicle count during hunting season. I worked for them for about 20 years. And they'd be 125 to 150 airboat trailers at the county line ramp. There'd be that many at the tunnel trail we called it, not to mention the people that are camping along the side of the road, that hunt inside the Loop, walking or just going up near the tree stand. And then there'd be—down at Mitchell's there'd be about another 15 more boats...you'd have one-way traffic through a lot of them.... The usage [of the Loop Road]

decreased immensely when the Park Service started taking over. They just started harassing people.... Hell, I've gotten seven tickets in one day myself.

Oh absolutely [the Loop Road is still important to the Gladesmen Culture]. It's the only road of access you've got into the area, except for U.S. 41. But they [resource users] can't really go now because they've closed a lot of areas [off the Loop Road] where— Each area dictates what type of vehicle you need to go through there.... Six months it healed up. The Everglades reclaimed itself. Fire's part of the ecosystem out here. And on the off-road vehicle study they done in the Loop Road, the people that done the study says, Well we—a wildfire came through and wiped out our study.

KIMMEL: [The Loop Road] It's our only access to get to south of the Loop. I still sightsee, recreate, frog, fish, and hunt south of the loop.

BALMAN: When schools out we used to be able to take our kids out and camp during the summer. But now they've—they closed it to where you have to walk. You can't take an airboat or a buggy.

KIMMEL: It's my second home, I grew up out here [the Loop Road].

BALMAN: It's a historical site really. Well it's a part of my heritage, my upbringing, my culture.

KIMMEL: It's my identity....My parents would drop me off on the trail and I'd walk through, the time I was eight years old to Ben's, and this is where I grew up.

BALMAN: I think so [consider myself a Gladesmen].

KIMMEL: Yes [I consider myself a Gladesmen].

BALMAN: Well they used to call us just swamp rats. Because we love being out here.

KIMMEL: Swamp man. They used to call us skiffers because we had the pole boats. Gladesmen just stuck. We're in the Everglades, we're men....

BALMAN: There's another place up there. What's the airboat rides, Gator Park? Glader Park. Airboat rides and a restaurant, Glader Park.

KIMMEL: And there was a lot of farming going on out here too when I was in elementary school still, because I knew Dennis LePrad and all them, we used to come here and work the cucumber farm as a kid.

BALMAN: Off of [U.S. Highway] 41 there was a lot of farms.

KIMMEL: Cucumber farm or tomato farm.

BALMAN: Strawberries, tomatoes, cucumbers.

KIMMEL: Off the Loop Road.

BALMAN: For four miles, it went on for four miles.

KIMMEL: So we could farm. We get to stay at that place. You'd help Dennis do the chores then could go hunting and camping the rest of the week on his— It was his uncle's property.

KIMMEL: The park took them [the farms].

To me, this is my area south of the Loop. This is where—my home [is]. But to me I look at the Everglades as a whole thing, we all interconnect. I like to be able to go north of the trail, south of the trail....And it's important that we get written into any plans in the restoration, that we are included in it. And then as far as the history of Loop Road, too also we at one time also south of here is another place that's [can now only be accessed] now legally would be from Loop Road, and it was historic— Before Loop Road was even built and before the trail was built, it was an original trading post, was over in Coconuts. And without access from Loop Road, I'd never be able to go back there again, and I've been going there since I was a kid, my father took me there.

I was born in Miami, Florida in 1957, and I've been coming out here since like I was old enough to ride with my dad. He worked the Miami River a lot. And he was here both before World War II and after World War II, working the river. What other people don't know about the Gladesmen culture....It's a culture made up of— It's not just— It's Anglo whites, but it's also had a lot of Latin influence because like my father worked the Cuban freighters—

BALMAN: And blacks—

KIMMEL: —and the blacks, and he would work in Cuba, he'd come to Miami, he'd work the river and we had free time off, he'd come out here hunting. And since the statute of limitations is out of the question, he wouldn't even buy a hunting license. He hunted strictly for subsistence [deer, hogs, curlews, white ibis].

BALMAN: Back then we could hunt hogs year round, and we had our own breed of dog, pit bull crossed with mastiff, the biggest one was 98 pounds. We used to hunt hogs year round and sell them cause it's good—it's good—good—better than a domestic hog. Not near as much grease on it, fat. Then they stopped that and we didn't do it, but—

They're delicious. They're just absolutely delicious. Even an old tusker with a big old tusk sticking out, even though it's—even though a big old boar hog stinks....

KIMMEL: I used to have 10 to 20 hogs a day come through the property I showed you earlier. And once the panther regained its strength back here on the Loop, I haven't seen a hog since. They've wiped them out within a two-year period.

BALMAN: We get into that too besides Loop Road culture but it's all the cultures combined. I just think back a lot of the things that went on out here is just hard to believe. It was a fun place to grow up, it really was. I didn't realize it at the time.

KIMMEL: I came out here every chance I got....In fact, when all the kids in our neighborhood would run away from home, their parents always knew where to look for them. We'd be anywhere from Betty and Johnny's to Ben's. They knew we were somewhere in between, in the woods somewhere, either out here on our bicycles or mini bikes.

BALMAN: And Greyhound bus would bring us out here with our guns in our hands. They said— Before they get on the bus, You boys got guns? Yep. Are they unloaded? Yes sir. Let me see. Okay get on. I think it was a quarter to ride all the way out here.

KIMMEL: I didn't ride the bus, I rode my bike.

BALMAN: I mean, there's a lot of people lived [out here]—hundreds of people lived out— Oh one guy even run for the president of the United States lived here. He spent every nickel he had running for president and I think he got 1200 boats or something and he homesteaded right on the side of the road down here, right where the park rangers takes their people out for a slough slog, and that was what we used to call the president. His name was Rouse too. It was Ervin Rouse's brother, but we called him the president because he run for president once and spent all his money and he lived out here in a trailer on the side of the road and just squatted there. I don't think he ever owned the property. He might have. There's a lot of colorful characters.

KIMMEL: Yeah, there's a lot of stories we can't tell.

BALMAN: There've been a lot of people come out here. The ex-mayor of Hialeah, both of them, Henry Mylander and, I done his eulogy at the pub, I can't—what's his name, ex-mayor of Hialeah, Dale Bennett and the other guy that come out here had a camp out here was Jimmy Lauderdale, part of the Fort Lauderdale group. (laugh) And another guy that's on the game commission today is—he was around Davie and all like that, Ronnie Bergeron, Bergeron Rodeo Arena. I remember when that wasn't nothing but one little store and all cowboys. They used to come out here hunting a lot. Well Ronnie still does. He's got a place north of here.

Well Mitchell's Landing was our property. And we sold it to Joxie Redding and Ed Mitchell, and they held on to it as long as they could because at that time I was building a house in Miami and I had the choice of either building the house here and staying out here, and I wished I did, but I built—started building the house in Miami and 1974 come along and you couldn't buy a job and I ended up having to sell that, but didn't lose money on that—

BARABARA JEAN POWELL: But that's one of our access sites.

BALMAN: Yeah it was absolutely the access site....Mitchell's landing, yeah. It's an airboat landing.

POWELL: They call it Red Bird Lane.

BALMAN: I helped pour the concrete at the boat ramp.... Oh we've had it since the middle of—I think picked it up in 1951. It's a high dry hammock really, in the middle of it [the swamp]. You [have] your islands out here that are called hammocks or dry spots. And the elevation is higher so you don't get the wetland vegetation. You get oak trees and what have you. This is the highest point out here right here [Pinecrest.] And we have real good water. We used to park—come in through the back and park the airboats all up here in the yard. Carol [Balman] came out one morning and walked over there and there was about a five-foot alligator laying under the cookhouse. (laugh).

RONNIE BERGERON

[My] date of birth was September 15, 1943.... My occupation is engineering contractor. I'm in the agricultural business with cattle and also in real estate development. I was born in New Orleans on vacation—and we returned to Florida shortly thereafter. My family has been in Florida all the way back to about 1875.... Most of my relatives come out of Georgia to Florida. My great-grandmother was born in Florida in 1882—or 1882, on my mother's side. And my grandfather was born in Florida in 1901 in Mulberry, Florida, which is close to Plant City. Plant City is just east of Tampa, a little bit below Tampa and to the east.



My mother's side of the family moved down to Lake Okeechobee from the Plant City area to fish off of Lake Okeechobee. Commercial fishing. They lived on the rim of the lake prior to any levees or any restriction of any flow, natural flow. They made their own boats, they made their own traps, they made their own bait, and they fished for catfish in the lake. And they basically would catch the fish and bring them up Taylor Creek to the Ice Plant where the railroad come in and those fish would be shipped all over America. And my mother was born in Okeechobee in 1922.

And they actually lived off the land, traditional cultural cracker culture, very few people lived here back in those days.

Lonnie Harvey—my mother's father, started fishing on Lake Okeechobee shortly after the turn of the century, probably in about 1910, at a very young age. And they lived on the north bank, the ridge of the lake. Lake Okeechobee had a natural ridge all the way on the north side and nothing on the south side of the lake. The St. Lucie and the Kissimmee River, Taylor Creek, and Cabbage Creek and all of the different drainage would come into the lake, fill the lake up and then the lake would overflow into the River of Grass, the Everglades, and run south all the way to Florida Bay. So they lived on the north bank, which was a very high ridge, made their own boats, made their own traps, made their own bait.

Their boats were wooden boats, and they were designed to do commercial fishing, and very stable, could tote quite a load of fish. And a lot of my ancestors actually lived on houseboats too, where they would stay out on the lake for a considerable length of time and then come in with all the fish. So you had two types of fishing out there, one in the smaller boats where they'd go and check all their traps, and then you had the houseboats that would stay out there for weeks at a time. And like I said, all these catfish would come up Taylor Creek to the ice plant and the railroad and it'd be shipped all over America. And it was that particular culture, these people were completely independent. They grew their own vegetables.... If they wanted a turkey for Thanksgiving, they just went down the ridge and hunted turkey. They repaired everything themselves and they built everything themselves. It's not like today where we have our profession and we hire everybody else to do multiple things for us—repair our vehicles and give us a haircut. and mow our lawns. They

did everything themselves. And I was very fortunate—very close to my grandfather, to be able to see that culture before it disappeared.

I spent a lot of time with my grandfather. Actually, my grandfather moved from the lake in the early forties into West Palm Beach. And he used to run the little railroad that went to Okeechobee to Palm Beach for a short period of time. And then he moved to Davie, which is just west of Fort Lauderdale, and become a game warden, back in the forties. And when I was about three years old, I asked him to take me in the airboat. And fortunately, he took me. I was his favorite to start with. I used to mow his lawn, a 10-acre lawn with a push mower. And he wanted to pay me, but I said, Well you don't need to pay me, just make sure I go in the airboat. And the fortunate thing about that is if he would have turned around to me and said, Well son that's a wilderness area and nobody can go in there but me, I would have never fallen in love with the Everglades and I would have never developed the culture, the Gladesmen's culture, and I wouldn't been spending half my time today to try to save the Everglades and the environment.

Well he [Bergeron's grandfather] was a game warden and [in] the summer when he went into the River of Grass, the Everglades, he would go for a month. It wasn't a weekend warrior type deal. And he would pack so many groceries...and we'd go to an island. And these islands were built by the Glades Indians ten thousand years ago....West of Fort Lauderdale. And we would set up a camp and we would stay a month as he toured the whole Everglades, protecting the wildlife. And so he was able to introduce me to the environment. And back in those days, in the late forties, I was very young, but all of the cultures that were there from the turn of the century were still there. There were no levees, there were no pump stations, there were no restriction of the flow out of the nine avenues. Water flowed freely in the Everglades. And there were Indians still living on various Indian Mounds. And there were certain hunting camps that the Indians would come to every year and kill their wildlife, smoke it, and then go back to the Tamiami Trail, the Miccosukee, or to the Seminole Indian Reservation. So I got to see the native Indians on these islands with dugout canoes. I remember one particular island where there were about 40 dugout canoes around the island that we pulled up on. And this was a hunting camp. And it was called Willie Jim's Island. I still go to that island today. And they had tikis built. And that was one of their hunting islands, where the Indians would leave the reservations and they would go to certain islands and hunt and then go back to the reservation. And that was prior to Alligator Alley, prior to the Indian Snake Road, prior to any levees and pump stations....I was the last generation to see the Everglades and the Indians living the way they lived for hundreds of years exactly the way it was before the turn of the century.

I was so fortunate to be raised by a real woodsman, a real Gladesman. I mean, he was a true Gladesman that understood the environment and was able to teach me how important the environment is to the quality of our life and how important the resource that lives in there and the respect, if you're going to hunt, you hunt properly. You never kill anything more than you can eat. And it's a beautiful culture because just being in the environment, just the beauty of nature, what God made, is what the Gladesman is all about. Actually, the Gladesman are the eyes and ears of the environment. And we enjoy being in the environment—protecting it, managing it, utilizing the resource in a very high respect, and I think it's one of the greatest things in my life, even with all my success in business. I always said I never traded my airboat in for a yacht or traded my roping horse in...for a thoroughbred racehorse. My mother was a great outdoorsman, loved to fish and loved to be in the Everglades, in the natural environment. My dad was the same way.

My grandfather and my grandmother on my father's side were both born in America, but their parents were—my grandmother was from Spain and my grandfather's family was from France, and they ended up in Louisiana. You know, they were—lived in the bayous. They actually lived on islands and their transportation was boats. And everywhere they went was in a boat. And then my father ended up in World War II stationed in West Palm Beach and met my mother. And they fell in love and got married, and I just thank God they stayed in Florida because I love Florida, mainly because of the Everglades and the culture of the Gladesmen. And like I had said earlier, I come from a poor family, rich with love. And my dad had a little grocery store....my dad helped build in Davie and my grandfather, [who] was a true Gladesmen and a true Florida cracker and introduced me to the Gladesman's culture in the Everglades.

My grandfather taught me how to hunt, taught me how to frog hunt, gator hunt, deer, hogs, turkey. And he taught me to be respectful about it, that when you hunt, you only hunt what you can eat. He loved the environment and he, [as] all Gladesmen that I know, wanted to protect the environment and protect the resource that lives in it. Taught me how to wrestle alligators, which is a cracker culture [activity] and similar to running with the bulls in Spain or fighting bulls in Mexico. It was a Florida culture, and at the turn of the century there was an alligator wrestling team in every little town in Florida, not a football team. Very interesting. And I have maintained all those cultures all my life. And you know what I'm so proud of is I'm able to bring people that [have] moved into Florida from all over the United States and all over the world and introduce them to the Gladesmen culture, introduce them to one of the seven wonders of the world—there is no other Everglades—and be able to make a difference in people understanding how important the environment is to the quality of their life and future generations. Education is so important, because without education you don't have public awareness. There's a lot of issues that go on in the Everglades that are very, very damaging regarding quality and quantity of water. And in order to save the Everglades, I have recognized that the Gladesmen and the generations that have been here for many, many years—the old cracker families and the Gladesmen—have been the eyes and ears of the environment. They fell in love with the land.

Well the definition of a Gladesman is a person—is probably more of a conservationist and sportsman...that was raised in the traditional cracker families, that was raised by their parents and their grandparents—to enjoy the environment, protect the environment and in some cases made their living in a commercial fashion, whether it was frog hunting or alligator hunting when it was legal, a person that comes from a family that introduced him to the environment....I would say a Gladesman is a person that loves to be in the swamps as a part of the environment and enjoys nature, enjoys the beauty of it. And it's sort of like a getaway back in time to me....It's a part of Florida that is real Florida. It's the real Florida. And you're going back in time and you're experiencing the real Florida in a natural way. And my generation saw it all before the boom. If I'd have been 10 years older, I wouldn't have seen the turn. I would have seen progression after it turned. But at my age, I was able to see [it] before the boom, before the levees, before the restriction of natural flow. I've seen the culture of my grandparents and my parents in a traditional, let's say old Florida cracker family that being in the woods and being in the swamps and learning how to love it and enjoy it was part of making a living as well as part of entertainment—part of a way of life.

I do frog hunting for personal [use], go out and get a few frogs and cook them for breakfast. I hunt one deer a year, and I may sit five years before I see one that I really like. And I tell my children the same thing—you can have one deer, make it a good one. I don't think there's anything wrong with

hunting as long as it's respected properly. And you know, the thing I've seen over time is that the Gladesmen, the conservationist, the sportsmen, the hunting is—it's a little plus if you get a nice buck, but it doesn't really [matter]. They just want to be in the environment....[the] greatest pleasure is to leave out in the middle of the dark with mosquitoes all over you and dress up in camo and climb up a tree and sit there, you know what I mean, and see the wildlife—not all about whether you shoot something. And that's good....But, I think it's being in the environment, having access to it, and learning it and understanding it

I have two camps. One was originally my grandfather's in the forties. That's an airboat camp in the River of Grass in Conservation Area 3.

[My grandfather] had a camp south of Alligator Alley that he built in 1946. I was three years old, and I've been camping on that island for 50 years. And I have a camp there today, it's called a Bergeron Camp. And the old original camp burned down, I think, in the early seventies, and then of course I rebuilt it. But that camp has been there since 1946. No original structures are there, it's just a camp site that he originally built.

[The cabin] was made out of cypress and it had one camp that had bunk beds in it and it had a little private bedroom that my grandfather stayed in and a little porch... very comfortable.

[The camp] means an awful lot.

I rebuilt it out of cypress and—And most of the time I go out there on Monday, Tuesdays, and Thursday afternoons, enjoy the beauty of the swamps, stay overnight, get in my airboat, come back and go to work. Those are the three nights I normally stay in the swamp. And then on the weekends, I'm normally at Green Glades West in the Big Cypress, which is a different—It's part of the Everglades, but it's a different environment. The River of Grass, where my airboat camp is, is 95 percent sawgrass, ridges, myrtles, sloughs, with deer islands. And then the Big Cypress is a more diversified habitat because the geology of the soil changes from muck to rock, sand and marl.... And the Big Cypress is 50 percent uplands and 50 percent wetlands, so it's more diversified. You have the pine islands and the palmettos and the oak hammocks. Then you have the transitional prairies into the cypress swamps. And it's about a 50/50 mix.

[The camp] in the Big Cypress [is accessed] by swamp buggies, the ORV— You can drive to my property on a rock road to the campsite, but I left my whole place natural, totally natural. I built a cookhouse, and I built some little cabins that are all Florida cracker architecture. [They are made of] cedar with tin roofs. It's beautiful. I took three acres out of the 5,000 acres, and I didn't touch one tree. I fit the little cabins for my guests and my family without touching one tree. I fit them into the environment, built a little cookhouse for my family and my friends to come for dinner, and I built a cracker house. And it's all in one little three acre of the 5,000 [acres].

[A cracker house is] the old architecture....They're up three or four feet off the ground so you get air ventilation under the floor with—and then tin roofs, just like they built back in the 1800s. So I duplicated the architecture of the old cracker houses.

I'm a Florida Fish and Wildlife Commissioner appointed by Governor Charlie Crist in August of last year. I think the Governor recognizes that for the protection of the natural resources of Florida that he has to appoint people that have lived it and that understand it in order to allow the people of Florida to enjoy it properly managed. And I'm honored that he appointed me. And then in December of last year, the commission appointed me as the czar of the Everglades, ambassador—the point commissioner. And I was so honored. But they recognize that I understand it all. I think the most important thing is that we preserve and we protect the natural resources of all of Florida, and we preserve and we protect the traditional culture of the Gladesmen.

DANNY BRANTLEY

Next month I'll be 53 on July 8th. I was born in Winter Haven, Florida, and I've been a native here, lived here all my life except for the couple years I went to college at Mississippi State.



My dad was a member of the Lake Region Sportsmen's Club and I am now a member of that same club. But back then they had a camp. We had the McNamara property. Roger McNamara is on the oxbow off of the main canal going to—between Hatchineha—Lake Hatchineha and Lake Kissimmee. We had a cabin out there. We'd spend all summer out there. We were there every weekend during the year, and I grew up out here on these chain of lakes, the Kissimmee Chain. [But we] lived in Winter Haven and it was a 30, 45 minute ride, you know, on the

weekends and—and then—and during the summertime we were here all summer.

Camp Mack is a public camp. And it is also side by side with Camp Lester, but they're both also on the oxbow on the C-37 canal between Lake Kissimmee and Lake Cashihal.

They [Brantley's parents] were natives of Winter Haven, born and raised, right in Winter Haven. And my grandmother died last year and she [was] like 19 days of being 103 years old. If I'd known I'd had such good genes, I'd have took better care of myself growing up, but (laughter) it didn't happen like that. Actually at one time before my grandmother died, we had five generations [of Floridians]. We've got pictures of five generations.

My grandmother was a hunter and a fisherman, and my granddaddy actually all he ever got to do was row the boat so she could fish. (laugh) She actually one time brought a 16-pound bass that she caught, [at] the little piece of property to the north of here. Back then it belonged to the Snively family. It was called Rolling Meadows Ranch. And they ended up selling it to a guy named Andy Moshota, and then Andy sold the majority of the ranch to the state. My grandparents took care of the Snively young'uns during summertime out here on the ranch and we had access to all the lakes and stuff, private lakes, on the 10,000-acre ranch they owned called Rolling Meadows Range.

My granddaddy was a—like a wheeler dealer type. He never was a punch-the-clock hourly man. He bought, sold, traded, and everything he did was like that. He also raced boats—motorboats, when he was young. My dad—He had an airboat when I was in elementary school. We used to go down to the Glades. We had friends down there that had cabins in the Glades and on stilts and stuff and that's when I got introduced to airboating... at a young age in elementary school. And I've got just hundreds and hundreds of stories and experiences. ...a lot of people don't get to be out in the outdoors and hunt, fish, and swim and hike and run through the Florida, the real Florida, the native Florida, the woods part. The kids these days get brought up, their young'uns go to the mall, they go to the movies, you know, they hang out at the mall and stuff and they don't get to see the—what I call the real Florida, which is the outdoors. It starts—this area for me all ways out to the Everglades. My family goes to the Keys every year lobstering and we scallop and we fish and we hunt and we swim....My kids and my grandkids are being brought up in the outdoors.

We have had a hunting camp for years in Gulf Hammock, which is north of here [Lake Kissimmee] an hour-and-a-half, and is now a wildlife management area up there, but back then it was woods, [it] wasn't [a] wildlife management area. That's where I killed my first deer ever at age 16 and they put it on my back and [I] toted it for miles out of the woods by myself.

My first vehicle ever was a 1953 Willys Jeep that I bought for five hundred dollars from my grandfather. Everybody else had either the hot rods, the sports cars and stuff back in the seventies—I graduated in '73—that everybody thought was neat. But come Saturday night or Friday night after football games and Saturday nights, everybody piled up in my jeep 'til it was overflowing, couldn't get no more people in there. That jeep, might do 40 mile an hour because it had such low gears and it was for the woods. But that was—that was my ride. It was my first ride ever 'til I bought my first vehicle...but it was my first vehicle I could ride on the road, and it was a 1953 Willys Jeep and top in it was maybe thirty five mile an hour. But nothing could outrun it through an intersection, because the gears were so low (makes noise) and you—to the intersection they were behind you.

The hunting camp at Gulf Hammock you either came in by boat or that Willys jeep....we used those motorboats, little 12- and 14-foot wooden hull boats and jon boats. I'm talking about old school boats that you could pick up and tote with your hands. We put all of our gear in there and we'd come into the hunting camp. You could come by jeep, but most of the time we came by boat because we were so far back off of Ten Mile Creek and Cow Creek that it just took forever to get here by a jeep, and then it was only after winching through mud holes and everything else because it was—there was no roads back then in the woods.

We'd [the family] go down there [to the camps], we would fish and it was—I mean, we had all kind of experiences down there. I can remember when I was just in elementary school we were fishing on—I had my dad's airboat on one little levee and we'd pin all the fish on a fish string like you always do. Next thing you know, you look down there and there's something moving in the water on our stringer, and a humongous water moccasin had started at the bottom of that stringer and was eating the fish as it come up the stringer. And of course, he didn't make it, but things like that happen in nature. (laugh) But it was just experiences like that, that if we wanted— Back then if you wanted an alligator to eat, you just killed it. These days you can't do that. You got all the rules and regulations. There of course was game wardens back then, but they were few and far between. It was way after we started being at Shell Hammock a lot right here on Kissimmee Chain

before I can remember a game warden that I actually would see on a regular basis. And he—Rudolph Dunn was his name. And if we were out there in the woods, you were apt to see him because he knew we were there.

[The Everglades is] an area [that's like] nowhere else...in the world, period. The restoration of the Everglades is the biggest undertaking of any restoration in the world ever. More money is going to be spent trying to restore this sea of grass back to a sea of grass.

You know, you ask what is my favorite [place in the Everglades]. As long as I'm in the outdoors in the woods, in Florida, central Florida, south, from the Kissimmee Chain, which is the head waters of the Everglades on down, I'm happy. I'm not a townsperson, I'm not a mall person. It's been years since I've been in Wal-Mart. The only thing I like is being out here in the woods with—I call it my airboating family.... The airboating community, there's none of them that you can't call in the middle of the night if you need help and they'll hurt themselves trying to get to you. These are the country folks, these are the backbone of the state. These are the people that came here, fought out for a living and if you need them, they'll be there if you call them, if they know you and you were their friend. And if you're not, they're still going help you [on] the side of the road. They might not change the tire, but they'll give you the tire to put on, you know. We call ourselves country folks, and we're family. And it goes from the old timers way back when and my grandfather's age to—There's very few of us. We're a dying breed, we really are.

[The definition of a Gladesmen is] it's a part of our heritage that we grew up with, where we came from, where we go to recreate, where we go to hunt, fish, swim, you know. If we're going to plan an outing, that's where we plan it, in the woods, in the Glades, on the lakes, you know, from here to the Keys, all the way down. And it's what we're used to doing, it's what we're used to—where we're from and it's what we care about.

You still have families that grew up like that [practicing traditional Gladesmen activities], but in 20 more years I don't think you will have. Every century the children are becoming less and less likely to be there....And my son, you know, my son's killed some good deer and some good hogs and stuff with his dad, but he's 21, he's not married. If they keep encroaching on us, if we don't keep fighting for our hunting rights out here and our access rights on these lakes and in the Glades and everywhere else, where they going have to hunt? They going to have a wildlife management area with a quota permit? Do they have to apply for it? If you don't get a permit, you don't get to go. And so then unless you're filthy rich and can buy into a big high-dollar hunt lease, the true native Floridian will have no place to go.

...most of everything we do [when we go to the woods] is fly by night. You load up what you need—you load up food, you load up groceries, your guns, your dogs, your boat, and you go. When you get tired or run out of food, if you're any type of outdoorsman you don't run out of food [because there is so much wildlife in the woods.] And you're not going to run out of things. You're going to carry our staples like your salt and your pepper and your sugar and that kind of stuff and your drinks. I don't need anybody with me, I don't. Matter of fact, lots of times I enjoy going by myself so you don't have to worry about taking care of anybody else.

Like I said, back when I started this thing, airboating and had my own first airboat, I'd come out here [the Lake Kissimmee area] and spend all night and never see another soul. There was probably well over a thousand airboats out here on Memorial Day when I was out here Memorial Day.

[Mr. Brantley is the president of the Kissimmee River Valley Sportsmen Association] Our monthly meetings are held in Bartow, and we have all kinds of deals on the lakes and in the marshes and stuff all the time, cleanups and exotic plant eradication, and we take fence posts and old docks and stuff out of the lakes, and we're doing something like that all the time.

I deer hunt, I turkey hunt, I hog hunt. I am to the point where if I kill something it's probably going to be a trophy animal. I have a few trophy racks on my wall at the house. I have a minimum of what goes on the wall, and if it's not 16 inches inside spread, it doesn't go on my wall.

Sometimes we use the airboat to get to areas that you can't access [to hunt] and then get out and walk with your dogs. Sometimes it's still hunting off the airboat, just sitting up in an area where you know that the hogs traverse. Turkeys, absolutely. I'd actually rather harvest a turkey than any other game. One, it's 10 times easier to clean, two, my wife's fried turkey breast is awesome. (laugh) She can make you hurt yourself eating fried turkey breast. Like I said, If I kill a deer it's pretty much a trophy anymore because I'll be 53 next month, I've killed quite a few deer in my lifetime because I spend quite a few hours in the woods. You notice how they knew me at Camp Mack? They know me for a reason, because that's where I launch at normally when I go hunting. I launch there and I go launch at Camp Mack and I go north. And I did used to live there.

I don't know if it's obvious or not, but I attend a lot of meetings and events fighting for our access and our rights to our properties out here on these lakes. I'm passionate about it, I'm a native. I was born and raised here. My kids are here. I got grandkids coming up. My four-year-old granddaughter just loves to go boating out here on these lakes. She grabbed that life preserver, said, Let's go Papa Bear. And you know, no matter what I'm doing, we go. And that's—that's what's the next generation coming up. My daughter, she's airboated and hunted and fished and swam out here in these swamps all of her life. She's 23 now. My stepdaughter's 25. I raised her from the time she was 10. And she's used to these woods and swamps out here. And she now lives in Tennessee, but I've got two grandsons coming up. I just can't wait 'til I get them here and get—expose them to what we have down here, why we still have it. We never know what development's going to do. You never know what water management's going to do or FWC or anybody to our properties, and all we can do is just keep fighting for our access rights and our hunting rights and our culture rights, our heritage period. This is our heritage. It's what we came up living and doing and it's what we want to continue to do.

FRANK DENNINGER

[I was] born in Waterbury, Connecticut, in 1948 and lived there for about six months.... My parents moved from there down to here in Hialeah, probably around June of 1948, and I've been here ever since. And I've been on this street for all but two or three.



My father's parents moved down here and I think they saw Florida as a newly emerging good place to be with good weather and down they came. (laugh) I was a kid. They didn't really ask me. (laugh) He was [in] appliance repair. Like back in the old days, they used to make like irons and toasters and things to last and then so instead of throwing them out when they broke you would fix them. And then he was the guy that fixed those kind of things.

My occupation has varied though my life. I mean, it's been in machinery and mechanical things mostly. Getting through junior college, I got into building and technician type work on custom molding equipment for manufacturing then wound up going into the air force for four years and working with sheet metal on B-52s, structural airframe repair. And then while I was in the Air Force, actually, I kind of got struck with the airboating bug, because my friends shifted over from the hunting we did on foot—they shifted into airboats, and then I would come down and help them and show them some of the fine points of riveting and how to do it right. And the boat you saw on the little video there is kind of the result of that. I mean, it was built definitely to Air Force specs.

And then I got out of the Air Force and went to work for an old friend of mine, actually he asked me to be the manager of a company, which I knew nothing about. And I went ahead and took the chance because I was fresh out of the military and didn't have anything else to do particularly. And so I worked there for a while.... And then I went and got into marine exhaust system layout and design and engineering over here in Hialeah.... And then I wound up getting in sales engineering of metal products, got fairly experienced at that. It was a combination of sales and engineering. And eventually wound up working on my own right here at home, as far as like metal fabrication.

...I've lived on this street all my life and my family wasn't particularly into the outdoors—really extreme outdoor activity. Some people would call what I do extreme; I just call it natural. But some people would like to see the Everglades on a boardwalk. I want to see it [in] a whole lot different way. I want to see it from the animal's viewpoint and become a part of it when I'm out there as if I've been there for ten thousand years. But how that started was my friends' ... the Washuta's, their dad fished in the Everglades, and we were chums on the street, we hung around and eventually they took me fishing one time. And then as we got a little older, when we had our bicycles, we set up our bikes with little wire baskets on them that would hold a tackle box and a—or a fishing rod and stuff, and we'd have all this stuff hanging out of the bicycles, and we began riding up maybe two miles from here to a little canal and fishing....His dad would take us every once in a while out in the Everglades.

I fished with Dave and Joe...we started going out on the edge of Hialeah where there was the edge of the Everglades, used to come within five, six miles of here, and it was within easy range of a bicycle. Well we only went so far and we caught little dinky fish and we knew there were bigger ones out there, but we were a little worried about going out there. And I bugged my dad and finally he gave in and we went fishing, and actually the first place I ever experienced the awe of the Everglades was actually someplace I've told you about, Mack's Fishing Camp.... And you'll see if you go there, when you come up over the dike, that's the first time you see then [the] real expanse of the Everglades. And first day I saw that I was very amazed, as a kid. And I don't even think I said anything to my dad.... He was just taking me out to throw a line in the water, but when I saw it, it was a big deal in my head, as I think back on it. And we fished that day and then a couple of times me and my mom and my dad would actually go down to Mack's Fishing Camp and rent a boat and really get adventure. That, to me, was really high adventure in a boat.

But then we would ride our bikes out there too. Because after the first time my dad took me, me and my buddies got a little more adventurous and we didn't make it all the way out there...we learned how to get out there. We learned how to get on the right road to [to get] out in that direction. So we started riding out there. And then sometimes we'd leave at four o'clock in the morning on our bicycles. And by that time, my friend's dad had built an icebox (laugh) on one of the baskets on the side of the bicycle. And we could put in ice and big Royal Crown Cola's, big 16-ounce RCs and Topp Cola back in the old days. And we thought it as pretty neat, but the bike weighed about 50 pounds extra, because we had two wooded boxes on each side for balance and they were bigger than normal. And we had all our tackle boxes and rods on one side and ice chest with the built-in ice chest and cokes in the other. And then we would have to take turns riding that bike, because nobody wanted to drive it.

As I started fishing, once in a while I'd hear a story at school from a classmate, I think maybe around the fifth grade, something about Loop Road, this place called Loop Road and he saw a big hawk. And I mean, back in those days, you didn't see a hawk on TV very often.... And then I wondered what a hawk was, and boy I'd like to see that, and little other various little stories. And as I was getting up, I guess, I don't know, 11 or 12—that'd put you what, about the seventh grade—one of my classmates, I went up to his house north of here a couple of miles and about two miles north of here, there used to—there's a big regional park now. But that used to be abandoned government fields. And in those abandoned fields, people would hunt back in the old days. They'd hunt dove and rabbits and quail and small game.

And me and my friend were near that area one day and we heard, pop, pop going off. And I asked him What's that, what's going on? And he said, Oh they're hunting. I was, Well what's that? He said, They're shooting guns, man, they're getting doves. I says, Man and we just—I just—let's go, let's go, let's go see. We went out there and we smelled gunpowder. We were standing by grown men that were shooting and very exciting it seemed like. One guy had a bird get up in a tree and he had to go after it, to claim it. And we followed along. We probably drove the poor guy crazy.... And so that kind of thing happened and then I started—saw the guns and thought it was kind of neat and looked in the western auto catalog and there was little—low quality little hand drawings of a guy pointing a gun with a dog and the bird flying and that kind of fascinated me, and so I started bugging my parents—my dad for a gun. And then eventually he gave in and bought me a little single barrel 410 relatively low-powered shotgun. And then a week or two or a month or two after that, my grandfather actually gave me a 22 rifle, which I says, Oh my God. If

grandpa gives me a rifle, he must really trust me. And I was a pretty mischievous kid.... And what I think a lot of people failed to realize— I mean I was mischievous. And when I got the guns, I mean I got the guns but I didn't get to keep them in my room. They were kept in my parent's room, and I was not to mess with them unless I was doing well in school and reasonably good conduct and stuff like that, so as I look back on it, my parents actually got a lot of leverage over me by controlling, if I didn't do right, I didn't get to go hunting.

I would go up to those fields [to hunt], but I would strap my shotgun to the frame of a bicycle and go to 7-Eleven two blocks away and buy shotgun shells, and I would drive right down the main street of this town with a shotgun on my bicycle and go hunting... I hunted small game for two or three years—rabbits...

Well, until I got a car... I'd have to hitch a ride with somebody or be invited, so I was kind of wanting to [go hunting], but didn't have my own independent means of doing it. And so eventually I was hunting the small game and I got to hanging around with some kids in high school or junior high that said they hunted deer. And I said, What do you mean deer? Because at that time, I didn't know there was deer out there. I just knew that the largemouth bass and the bream were out there, and I was going out there for them.... So eventually a friend of mine...said, Well we need to go deer hunting. That's better than dove hunting. You get more per shell. (laugh) But [he] hadn't never got a deer but it was just what he was saying. So we took his car one weekend and went out in the Everglades about—Yeah, we went out Route 27, kind of where we used to go fishing, but we went around the curve, west of Hialeah that starts up the road going to Lake Okeechobee. And we went up about a mile or two north of what's called now Pines Boulevard. It's kind of like a main drag back into Broward County. And back then there was nothing there, a place called Buzzard's Roost, The Big Hammock—Big Everglades Hammock. The Everglades were right there. And so I went out with Gary and one other of his friends for a day of hunting....

Finally I got a car and boy once I got a car that was it, I was all over. At a gun shop up here in Hialeah I heard some older men one day talking about the Fakahatchee Strand. And I said, What's that? So they handed me this very crude map. And all it was, was a couple lines for the highway, State Road 29, U.S. 41. And then there was this ominous-looking black blob, linear blob going from northeast to southwest, for a long ways, for about 15 miles. And it was an old aerial type map somebody drew. It wasn't a photograph. And they said, That's the Fakahatchee, boy. And when you know what you're doing, you might think about going there, but you better be careful when you do.

Like you'd be waiting for every Friday so you could load up your gear and get your butt out there [the backcountry] to hunt because you had to work all week, and you wouldn't if you didn't have to but you had to. You couldn't live out there because things were changing. You had rules and stuff like that. I mean there was times I'd loved to have just built a shack and just moved out there, but you just—you couldn't do it. And so you just went every chance you got.... And this is kind of still that way for me, especially since when you're married you kind of got to back off for a while, stay around the house, taking care of things.... But you might slack off for a month, not go out for a month after hunting season because you been out there every weekend or some days during the week, trying and get two- or three- four- or five-day weekends during hunting season. And then after that, you take that little break. And within three or four weeks, don't ask me why, but you got to go. You just want to get back. I haven't been out there in two weeks and I'm itching to go now.

Well we didn't always camp. See, what a lot of people do, a lot of people have a fixed camp where they've built a little house or what have you, and they kind of hang out in that area, within five or ten miles of it, depending on the type of machine you have. You got a swamp buggy, it takes longer to get a mile or two away from your camp. You speed out there with a swamp buggy... probably two-mile, four-mile-an-hour average. And then in different type terrain, you have different vehicles, because really that's what's odd about our grouping of people that do this. Some of them do airboating, swamp buggies, hiking, many different things. But then depending on what you can afford or dream up....Like when we used an airboat, that's pretty much what we used, was an airboat. While we were airboating, we got a little bit away from what we call foot hunting. Well a lot of times... me and my friend, Ralph, who I eventually started hunting with quite a lot—because you kind of want somebody with you out there. In case something goes wrong, you got somebody to drag you back.... We always liked foot hunting. So we combined that with our airboat type hunting, and we would airboat near a hammock and then we'd get off and inspect the hammocks. And when we found one where the deer were hanging out and there was some dry ground you could sit on or logs you could sit on and stuff like that, that's the way we really hunted.

We never had a permanent camp. We had talked to some people. Some old guys we ran into—Well we found a camp south of the Alley one time, didn't look like it was being used. And we talked to a few people that came into the camp. We started sprucing it up. We just took over a camp. Sometimes you can take them over.... But if you do that, you've got to understand if the guy that owns it comes back, or the guy that built it—because these are squatter camps I'm talking about. You had to respect the guy that built it. If he came back and says, Oh well I took a couple of years off, I'm coming back, you got to get out—you get out. But like this one bigger camp we took over, we found out who owned it and called the guy and he was old and didn't go no more so he said, No y'all can have it.

For me, the state legalized, I think, alligator hunting in '88.... And after four alligator hunts, I had just about all the alligator hunting I wanted.... Because it's very, very hard to do. It takes place at night. It's not real dangerous but still you're playing around with deadly animals in the dark floating around, bouncing on a lake. Sometimes the waves are pretty high. And it's just fatigue. Because we would be working down here [Hialeah.] And we hunt at Lake Okeechobee a hundred miles away. So we would be working all week, going up to Lake Okeechobee on the weekend, hunting all night every night—Friday night, Saturday night, Sunday night, then you come home and try and work during the day and I mean it gets very old very fast. Plus, it became a lot less economically rewarding.

The way we handled [selling the alligator hides] we all formed a little partnership and we saved every single receipt, whether it was my cigarettes or somebody else's candy bars and all the gas receipts and all this stuff, everything, down to toothpaste. And the first year we were allowed to get 15 alligators. And eventually when we figured it all out after we were done paying all the expenses and splitting up what's left between three people, I think we had about two, three thousand dollars apiece from that hunt. That's a month-long hunt. You can hunt everyday of the month.

They had buyers that were around the lake. If you wanted to, they would pay you cash greenbacks at the boat dock when you came in. They'd measure the alligator. You can sell them per foot, 55 dollars a foot, 65 dollars a foot, 35 dollars a foot. There was some breakpoints on size as far as

the price per foot. Under eight foot you got less money than if it was over eight feet, per foot. And— But we had a little deal with the fish house and we would just take our alligators and deliver them to him and drop them off.

I used a Cadillac-powered airboat [to hunt alligators], powered by a 500 cubic inch 1973 Cadillac engine with a direct drive wooden prop, and the boat was 8 by 14 feet long with the seat on— My driver's seat was 8 foot 6 off the bottom of the hull, vertically up. And I had two seats in front of there. And I would be driving, there'd be one assistant on the left side of the boat and the harpoon man would be on the right side of the boat up in the front. And we would see the alligator's eyes a long way off at night. We'd be running inside Lake Okeechobee and around the edge marshes. And you would just approach the alligator. And the first year, which was the second year of legal hunting—Well let me just say now alligators learn.... The first year we hunted there, the alligators did what we call holding. The alligator holds if he'll let you approach the boat and almost stop right beside him and then you throw the harpoon. And you hook him up and then you—they take off with a float tied to the rope on the end of the harpoon tip. Then you had to chase the float and when he slowed down and stopped, you—we used to tie it to the boat. And then we would turn the boat around and put pressure on the gator to pull it. And then he would pull back. And you keep pressure on him, and believe it or not in the driver's seat of an airboat, I could tell when the gator gave up. You would feel the boat just move more for the same amount of gas pedal. And then you'd drag him in beside the boat. And then you had a scuba diving tool called a bang stick. And the bang stick is a pole with a fixture on the end of it that will hold a bullet, a cartridge. And then you bang it into the animal's neck or head, and that causes the bullet to be fired into the—where it's pushing against. And that's the way you do it. And it's—sometimes you got to do it more than once.

It's like the Everglades to us is—to me I—it's kind of a weird description. It's like a vacuum cleaner, it keeps sucking you in, as deep, as deep, as deep as you can get. Every time I'm out there on a Sunday evening—late in the day on a Sunday if I'm on an ATV or even this weekend I was on foot in an area that was new to me, and I hated to leave. I wanted to see more. Everything was new. You didn't know what was around the next clump of trees. You never know. I mean you can be in kind of boring scenery that you've seen all your life that's not exciting in any way. You might go 20 feet and all of a sudden you'll see a prairie or a slough scene or something like that and from that day on you just want to see it every year. You just want to go back. And it's just— It's hard to explain. The Fakahatchee looks the same, the saw grass looks the same. If it looked too much different, I probably wouldn't want to go. But certain things have changed.... In certain areas, there's cattails where there didn't used to be. That's part of why they're wanting to do this Everglades restoration, we're told. I suspect there's other reasons, but we're told it's to make it where the cattails won't grow. It used to be sawgrass. They want to purify the water and the cattails really are growing because the water is fertilized by runoff from the farming community up around Lake Okeechobee or the cattlemen north of Lake Okeechobee, all the droppings from the cows and all that. That's fertilizer just being pumped into the water system. And so that has an effect and that's what we're saying we want to fix.

It [the Fakahatchee] was natural at a certain level of density, but then in the old days in the twenties or thirties when they logged the place, they took out all the big trees and then the shade was gone. So when the sun hits the ground, different things grow. So now they call that succession growth took over...and the shade's come back.

[The Everglades mean] everything. I mean aside from my wife and my home and my responsibilities here, that's me, in my mind. I haven't moved, I haven't thought about moving out of Florida. A lot of people do. They get fed up. They uproot themselves and go to Alabama or they get in a—wherever they can get where the government won't mess with them. That's the truth. Hunters down here, Gladesmen, whatever we want to call them, many of them have gotten fed up and left for the last 20 years. Not because of CERP, I mean just because of regulatory pressure that makes their life less and less worthwhile in their mind.

Nobody's ever running me out, ever. That's all I know.

Usually when I go in the woods—I mean, getting from Miami to where I go in the Everglades is part of every trip, but I don't consider that part of my Everglades, activity. I'll put it this way, whenever I can, I get up at daylight and hit the woods, what I call hitting the woods, starting entering on foot or with an ATV on a specific trip to scout or whatever. It's usually daylight until dark and then some. And when it's not like that, it's usually five or six hours.

I mean I have a trailer. I don't have a regular hunting camp like some people do. Out on the Big Cypress now my main area that I go to is the Big Cypress National Preserve.... And then they're getting ready to do a plan on a new place called the Addition Lands, which is an additional 147,000 that have always been there, adjacent to the Big Cypress. They're part of the watershed. But when the federal government got it, they just shut everybody out for 10 years. So we're getting ready to get back in there, but my main area is out there. And I have a commercial campground, I have a trailer set up in—out in the middle of that preserve. It's the only private campground there. And I keep it there year round, so I drive—I commute from Miami to there as kind of my base camp.

The Airboat Association [of Florida] is out on the Tamiami Trail. They've been around since fifty—I think 1950 or somewhere around there. And just—there's a lot of them [Everglades-related organizations]. I mean now we've got groups like the Big Cypress Sportsman's Alliance, the Everglades Conservation and Recreation Club, the Airboat Association of Florida, Florida Sportsmen's Conservation Association. There's a lot of them... we do conservation work ourselves as far as like I'm a member of the Jetport Conservation and Recreation Club. The only reason for it to exist is to assist in maintaining the hunting camps that are out in that particular region. It's kind of on the dividing line between Dade and Collier, north of U.S. 41, the Tamiami Trail. And there's probably 20 or 30 old hunting camps out there and those people work together. I don't have a camp, but see I can still be a member, because they like my money. (laugh) And I like them. I mean, I go and visit people's camps and hunt out there occasionally. I don't hunt that much. And it's a little rough country. Aesthetically, it probably doesn't please me as many other areas do. Because people ask me, Why do you hunt where you hunt? I say, I hunt where I like the scenery. I don't hunt to get the deer necessarily. I mean, I'm going to get the deer; I'm not worried about that, but I like to go to places I like to see. It's a lot about visual to me.

Oh the clubs, they look to protect people's interest, and at the same time work with the government to stay engaged...as much as you can to get everybody to do the right thing for our benefit, for their benefit, for the animal's benefit. Like, I think two or three weeks ago I was out at the Jetport with the Fish and Wildlife Commission. Their people from Naples came out and joined us and we had about 30 or 40 people go back in the Everglades in that area to cut down Melaleuca trees.

We do that once a year. And then the week after that, we had a youth outing for kids, to take them out in that area, let them throw a fishing line in the water, experience fishing and discussions about the Everglades and things like that, and—that sort of thing.

[Camp buildings are usually] wooden structures. I guess you have like a screen porch then a main building that sometimes houses your bunk beds and cooking area. probably have a barbeque grill out on the deck, out to the side. You do a lot of outdoor cooking—hamburgers, hot dogs, whatever. And you got a roof to keep you dry and then a lot of times out back a ways from the building, you have a generator shack where you'll have a gas- or diesel-powered generator.

It depends on the camp, some don't and some do [have electricity.] But nowadays generators are relatively cheap. Just put them out 50 or 100 feet away from the [cabin], run an extension cord and you can at least get lights. And it helps you at night. It's a little safer than a Coleman lantern.... In fact, a friend of mine on the Jetport, his camp is in one area and probably 600 feet away there's another camp. And a couple years ago, that camp burned down.

But [the] Fakahatchee Strand, my experience stemmed from probably the early to mid-sixties when I first discovered it. It was a very foreboding and awesome place that I'd heard about in Hialeah and it drew me to it just because I was told it was a very treacherous swamp, something of that nature, and I had to come out and see it. Then we became involved in hunting the area and things of that nature. What I remember back then is you could hardly find a parking space on this road, it was such a very, very popular hunting area. It was always amazing the way you'd see so many cars on the road. You never would see a person in the swamp. It kind of absorbed people and made them disappear. From what I've heard, the Indians refer to this place as the land of little people. What they mean when they say that is when a man goes in the swamps he becomes very little. And I agree with it, because you feel very small and vulnerable. If you get in the center of this swamp.... It's the most intimidating swamp I know of in the Everglades, and I've been in most of them....

MARSHALL AND NICOLE JONES

MARSHALL: I was born January 9, 1979 in Miami at a holistic medicine center. [Marshall's twin brother is] John Keith Jones....We grew up right here at the fish camp [Mack's Fish Camp.]

NICOLE: I was born November 23, 1978 in Hollywood, about 20 miles straight east of here. Marshall and I met in 2002 and I moved out here and since then I've made some adjustments to the swamp (laugh) life.



MARSHALL: Well my great-grandfather and his family came to Florida in 1926 from Shaw's Creek, South Carolina.... It took them about a week, maybe 10 days to get down here. On the way down, they had to stop in West Palm Beach to earn a little extra money to finish the trip to get down here. Once they got down here, they moved—they bought a house and moved in on Seventh Avenue and Northwest 18th Terrace in Miami. There, his second, third, fourth, and fifth children were born.

His name was Mack Charles Jones, MC Jones or Mr. Jones, as they used to call him, Mr. Jones. And he worked as a farmer down near Lemon City in Miami in those days for a couple of years until he was able to save enough money for a couple of years and then buy a restaurant, upon which time they opened a restaurant at Seventh Avenue and 20th Street, which only lasted about three-and-a-half years. After that....They worked in Davie at another farm, strawberry farm, and the children—most of the children who were of age went there and helped farm the land and pack the fruit. They would go to the causeway going to South Beach, I guess [that] would be the MacArthur Causeway down there. They would sell the berries, and that's how they earned a living. They did that from around 1932 until 1939, when they saved enough money and bought into the land here at Mack's Fish Camp, which was paid off and deeded in 1944.

My grandmother, her family was from Screven County, Georgia. She was born in 1920. And in 1933 at 13 years of age, her family moved down here to Miami, to roughly near the same area as my grandfather's family, off Seventh and Thirteenth Street is basically where they were at, Seventh Avenue and Thirteenth Street. And she worked at Blue Ribbon Laundry for numerous years and then met my grandfather and they were married in 1950, August of 1950 and then she—that's when she came into the picture.

...from 1939 [for] about 10 years, roughly about a decade, he continued farming the land here. He was farming collard greens, pole beans, and tomatoes. That was the main crop they farmed here.... there were dwellings here.... What happened was, there were people that would come and go, fishing on the levee. And the place was originally started as a farm back in 1939, and the business started producing more money as a general store/fish camp because there were just people coming and going, they needed supplies and they needed fishing poles or bait or things of that nature. And so around 1945 is when he actually opened the shop up to customers or fisherman. That's when the original shop was actually built in 1944 or so, as far as the bait shop and general store. Like I said, previously he still grew produce for around a decade until the fishing became the means—the main means of the business, then in 1945 my grandfather, Mack Charles Jones, Jr., was—he went to the army. He was inducted into the army in September of 1945 throughout that time, the next four years he had a tour in the service. He was all over the world. He was honorably discharged in October of 1949. He maintained active duty as a reservist, however, until 1952. During that time, the Jones family stayed here and worked the land, helping one another out through these years until which time my grandfather returned from the service to aid the family business.

Around 1950, he married my grandmother, Nell Margaret Ziegler. That was August of 1950. At that point in time, my grandfather was already a plasterer and a member of the mason's union. I believe in 1949 was his first year of joining the plasterer's union and mason's union and so forth. He married my grandmother in 1950 but he worked throughout the day and then in the evening they would come and on the weekends they would stay here. But my grandfather's father and brother and sisters were still here working the property while he was at work as a plasterer.... He had to earn his own living as well. Anyhow, my grandfather and grandmother bought a house in Miami off of Northwest 112th Street and 13th Avenue. They— That's where they would live and they would commute back and forth to here. The general store was here. It was run by the Jones family, including my grandfather and grandmother when they were here. Now they actually moved here in 1952, late '52, early '53 on a more regular basis. They still owned the house in Miami, but they primarily lived here. In 1957, my mother was born, Danelle—Karen Danelle Jones, and when she

was born they basically moved back to the house in Miami, stayed there on a more regular basis again, and came back and forth. There was several things took place throughout those years. Well the fish camp business started, as I was saying, by the fact that fishermen would come and traverse this levee. And my grandfather already had a produce stand set up and things like that. And the fishermen would need bait or sodas or snacks, things of that nature. And so that started becoming a part of the business as well as the produce sales and farming. And then—and that started off in the mid-40s. And towards the early to mid-fifties is when the business as a general store became better than the produce business, as well as the Corps was doing all sorts of different things out here—starting to change the land and dig more canals and dredge some existing canals. And they started to actually maintain a little higher water levels. So the farmland that was here started becoming unusable other than the drought months of the year. So the business somewhat had to just shift over to what was making a means of living, which was a general store/fish camp. And in the mid-forties, they started acquiring some boats and motors and started off basically as rowboats and then they started acquiring motors for the boats and more boats and more motors throughout the later part of the forties and throughout the fifties as well. In 1954 is when the business was—that's when [livery] licenses were actually [obtained.]

[Location of Mack's Fish Camp] We're on the Miami Canal levee, approximately two miles north of Krome Avenue. We're in Pennsuco. That's short for Pennsylvania Sugar Company. At one point in time, they were the original owners of all this land. Back in those days, in the original days, the canal was basically limitless. It didn't have the levee of the size like it is now. That happened after it was dredged because this is the Miami River and originally it was the river. And then it was dredged and became the canal. They straightened it out quite a bit and they put the levee on both sides.... But back in the early days, the canal was limitless. You can go from the Bay of Biscayne to Lake Okeechobee, and there were several untouched finger canals that went off out through the Glades that went off. There were all kinds of old Indian trails, Indian mounds.

The canal—in the late sixties when it was dredged, they put in [levee] L-67, which landlocked us on the north end at about seven-and-a-half miles north of the fish camp here, but we still had the Miami Canal, which stretched south in towards Medley and Hialeah and down into Miami—excuse me—which they put a dyke in there in the early eighties, I believe '84, '85. Don't quote me on that, but '84, '85, I believe, is when they put the dyke on the Krome Avenue side of the Miami Canal.

... my mother was born in September of '57. And they were commuting back and forth from the house in Miami. At this point in time, they had a house on 94th Street in Miami. And in 1961 her sister was born, Carnelle. So there were Danelle and Carnelle. And the family still lived in Miami for a couple of years. In late 1962, 1963, the date I'm not a hundred percent certain, and I don't want to quote anything incorrect. But to the best of my knowledge, late '62, early '63 they left the house in Miami while still owning it, of course, but they moved into here because that employee we were discussing earlier, Captain Bill, was sneaking into the store at night and stealing products, primarily beer. (low laughter) Go figure. So yeah.

In the term between 1953 on through, like basically 1947 or '49 through 1970-something, business was good, really good, according to my grandparents. People were coming from all over—

NICOLE: Pretty much anyone you talk to from West Palm to the Keys knows about this place. Their parents have been here or their grandparents. [In the] 1960s when his great grandfather went across the street and [started] Jones Fish Camp, they put the house there, built five apartments—and they started a business over there called the Big Wheel, which was a catfish restaurant and bar, and it was huge, and it had a gigantic like wagon wheel on the front.... And I would have to say pretty much every man that was from 18 to probably 60 at the time used to go and hang out in that bar. The whole Jones family, they kind of— The business went back and forth. People would come down here. A lot of people came down here and just sit in the store, talk to his grandmother and buy some beer and just basically hang out.

MARSHALL: Okay the draw [to Mack's Fish Camp] was fishing That's a given. You're in the Everglades of South Florida in mid-century. The land was still semi-virgin, and it was just, the natural beauty here was a draw on its own. As well as back then just after World War II, the economy was still fairly poor and a lot of people were as well. And a lot of people didn't have the money to go out and go to the market and buy fish and things of that nature. And a lot of them just liked to get away. So this place was iconic in the way that they were able to leave the city behind. Most people had grass roots that lived down here back then. And they were able to make their way out here, which was near the city but yet an entirely different place. It was still untouched land. It was Old Florida and it still is Old Florida 'til this day. And my grandmother was— She stayed here as my grandfather went to work as a plasterer throughout the days. And she was very warm and inviting. She would offer people coffee or drinks and good conversation. And that was one thing that brought a lot of people back and created a lot of patrons to the business was she was such a great matriarch. She was known as the Queen of the Everglades.

In the fifties...they had, I believe 52 boats and motors and they used to rent on the weekends and certain weekdays. They would rent every single boat and motor, and they'd have people waiting to take them out in the afternoons. My grandmother said—and anybody, including Tom Shirley and other people that know the history of the place can tell you— They used to rent between 80 and 90 boats a day on a good day. ...they're jon boats. And they were left over surplus aircraft aluminum from the war. And then they used aluminum to make these boats. Still have over a dozen of them. That's the ones we still rent to this day. They're 40—44, 45 years old and they still are in great shape. It's a testament to the way they used to build things.

And in that timeframe from 1964 to 1966 that's when the first RVs became permanent residents here, people with RVs, recreational vehicle, mobile home, or what have you. The first telephone and electric were brought in at that point in time. The first phone—the first phone line from Bell South was brought here and contracted in 1966.

After '66— Basically business ran as normal. Business carried on, business was excellent. Those were the heydays as they used to call it, of the place. The place was— It ran like a well-oiled machine and continued on until the mid to late seventies when the Corps came in and redredged the canals, and that put a hamper on business. Slowed fishing down tremendously. We still had a lot of patrons to the business. The fishing just wasn't very good for a substantial amount of time, possibly up to three years. Fishing just didn't turn around. We still had, like I said, a good amount of business, but nothing like it was in the years prior to when they would rent all 50+ boats. Now at this point in time, my grandparents, they lived here full time. My grandfather still went to work as a plasterer by day and my grandmother, she was the one who stayed here, like I said, as the

matriarch and ran the place. And everybody would come and go and...they would stop in and sit and have conversation with her, those who had time that weren't in a hurry to get out and go fishing. My grandmother was a God-fearing woman and she always had great conversations. If anybody had anything bad to say, whether it be derogatory or curse words, she would flat out tell them where to go and that was out of here. She wouldn't stand for any nonsense whatsoever. But she was the warmest, kindest woman you could ever imagine, just very stern. And she had to be, living in excess of 40 years out here in the wilderness.

She [Grandmother Nell] was well known for breaking up fights between men. She was five foot two and probably a pounds or so, maybe a hundred and forty in her thinner days. I'll tell you, she had no fear to get in between two men and separate them. She'd pick up a broomstick or a shovel, what have you, and she'd separate them. If it was right down the middle by the blade of the shovel, she didn't care, she'd peel them apart, and nobody dare mess with her. She ruled with an iron fist. But like I said, she was—at the same time she was very loving and sweet....

She was a very respectable woman and she made sure people kept that mindset about her. And my grandfather, although he worked by day as a plasterer, he made sure no nonsense took place out here and everybody respected that when he was around, no nonsense would ever take place. There was to be no unruly hanky panky, as they put it, back in those days. There was no poaching of any animals. Everything was done by the book, by the law as best as could be managed by my family here on the property, on the surrounding properties. My grandfather was known by many as a guardian of the Glades because he made sure that people would not do those things, taking of the animals illegally and just wastefully taking of the animals.

And the business thrived still, it carried on. At around this point in time, Atlas, IRECO, Gyno Hercules and other companies that were here during the big boon of building, they built dynamite storage sheds down the levee from us on the north side and they used to come through and they stored dynamite down there. Wildfires were abundant in the early days and there was always a threat of wildfire out here burning the place down. Luckily that's never happened. Throughout the years, we've had several close calls. Let's see—carrying on through the late seventies, in 1979, January of 1979, my brother and I were born.

We [Marshall and his twin brother Keith] were born in 1979. And we commuted back and forth from here as infants, you know. And things were basically just business as usual here at the camp. In 1982, my mother was killed and my grandmother and grandfather pretty well took me and my brother in at that point in time in 1982. Our father was very, very distraught and had to work for a living and was pretty much incapable of raising us by himself. Years went by and business remained as usual.... Yeah, we grew up right here in this house since 1982. This is the only life my brother and I have ever known. We've never lived in the city beyond three years old, have no recollection of it. To live in the city would not suit me very well or my brother. I don't think we can survive there. Living in the concrete jungle just would never, ever suit me. I couldn't imagine living there and I wouldn't be comfortable living there.

Throughout this course of time, more RVers came and went throughout the seasons. There were several hookups, electric water hookups, and things of that nature. A lot of people came and went but several people stayed and made this their permanent home just because of the peace and tranquility here. The place is very unique. It has a very warm appeal. Most people say that it's

magnetic. And once you come here, you get the itch, you get the bug and people always want to come back and some don't ever want to leave. And that happened throughout the years with several people....There were a lot of characters throughout the years that came and went. A lot of people have passed away here. And a lot of people have chosen for this to be the place where they wanted to let their spirit go because this is a little piece of heaven on earth. But in the early eighties by this point in time, maybe mid-eighties, I believe there were about 27 different RVs on the property. The exact number of residents here, not certain of but I would imagine mid-thirties, maybe 40 residents that lived here, possibly more at any given point in time. Now fishing was very, very good throughout those years because after the dredging. Like I said, it took about five years, three to five years for the fishing to come back. So in the late seventies, early eighties, the business started to pick back up again. It was never quite as good as the heydays but business was good. I mean, it was nothing for anybody to go out and within a couple of hours catch 50 to 80 bass between one or two people, no problem whatsoever. People used to fill the boat—fill the whole bottom of the boats with fish.

Bass, bluegill, bream, stump knocker, shell cracker, sunfish, speckled perch, the whole nine, mudfish.... The place was teeming with wildlife to the level which most people can't understand that didn't grow up here, didn't traverse the area regularly back in those days and before. We had a pretty good drought back in '84 and '85, lasted for a while, but fishing was still good. We didn't lose too many fish out of the canal at that point in time. Then in '89, we had the 20—I forget exactly how many, but it was 20 some odd months, I think 26- or 28-month drought. It put a hamper on things. The wildlife in the Glades started to dwindle away because of the rookeries. There was nothing for the birds to build their nests out of because of things being so dry. There was nothing for them to feed on, to feed themselves or their young. So that's when the wildlife started dissipating really was in the late eighties. We had several fish kills from that point in time forward. We've had fish kills to the point where the 80-foot width of the canal, over three-, four-mile long stretches of it, the whole entire surface of the canal, two or three thick, layered with bass. And we had several fish kills, tens of millions of fish throughout these different fish kills, killed off, never been restocked. And the fishing has dwindled down as far as the quality and quantity of fish throughout the years. Now last year was 2007, was the best year of fishing I've seen in a decade. It was fantastic.

Well the business...still operates basically the exact same way as it has since the beginning. Business is fairly slow. The business isn't altogether poor, it's just, the rock road coming in and out of here is very rough. A lot of fishermen nowadays have their own boats and a lot of them don't want—the ones that have the nicer boats don't want to beat their boats up down that rock road. But we still have a lot of fishermen that come and go and rent our boats or have smaller boats and put them in and out. We have a lot of bank fishermen— We still have some patrons that are still around and they still use the property and come out. They've been around since the fifties. The place has seen a lot of changes throughout the years, but for the most part it still remains the same.

Things [structures at the camp] have been rebuilt and improved on over the years. There's been mobile homes that have been replaced over the years with new tenants and things of that nature, but for the most part it's all pretty much stayed the same. Now in the late- to mid-nineties, like '96, '97, '98, most of the RVs that were here—because like I said, there was at least 27 at one point in time throughout the mid-eighties up until the mid-nineties—we had county officials come out here and change our permitting around to where we were only allowed 10 RV spaces, which we're now

operating as such and we have been for over 10 years. The electric systems were all brought up to code at that point in time if any were out of code. There were new septic systems put in. And the place has been virtually unchanged since then. Business has remained the same. Business has been very good. We've seen years where they've been better than others and years have been worse than others. But we still have a lot of customers that come and go and utilize the property. Lots of airboaters come and go and still a lot of fishermen and avid hunters.

My personal earliest memories of the camp....They start off, I'd say around 1984, maybe late 1983, most of which are with my grandfather, the earliest memories. He would take my brother and I out on the airboat or we would go fishing out on the docks. He taught us how to fish, taught us how to bait hooks, how to cast, how to swim. He taught us how to shoot. And these were all in the earliest years, '83, '84, '85, because he passed away in 1986. And before my grandfather passed away, like I said, we knew how to fish, how to hunt. How to do mechanical things. We knew basic carpentry skills. He taught us some masonry skills as well. We were already responsible, at a very young age, for helping out with the business as far as cleaning up or stocking sodas, things of that nature, loading boats, mopping out the boats, cleaning up the boats. I started actually taking people out, not getting paid for it, but I actually started taking people out as a guide as early as seven years old, people from the newspapers and things like that, I would—friends of the family. I would take people out. And my brother and I, we grew up here and we got to know the place like the back of our hands by the time we were five, six years old. And we had free reign. Our grandmother, although fearful, was not afraid so much that when she would let us go and explore, she would—we were allowed to show other people the wonders of the area. There used to be panther here, an abundance of raccoons, possums, armadillos, foxes by the dozens, bobcats by the dozens. Deer used to roam right through the property. We used to be able to hand feed foxes here on the property, raccoons and possums as well.

But it was very tough when she [Grandmother Nell Jones] passed away. We already knew the intricate operations of the business—day-to-day operations, but she was very well guarded with the way she ran the business as a bookkeeper. We had no clue what the heck we were doing at twenty years old when we took this place over, no clue whatsoever. Everybody that knew us from the time we were adolescents thought we were just wild kids and we were just going to cut and run, we were just going to sell the farm and haul butt. They were dead wrong. We still have no intentions of that. My children— I have three gorgeous children that are four-year-old and a three-year-old daughter, and a fifteen-month-old son. And I hope that they get to grow up here as I did and get to take the place over. That's what I want. I want to be an old fart sitting around here on a porch step in a rocking chair with my children running the place—that's what I want to see, and be able to hold my grandchildren right here.

[What does Mack's Fish Camp mean to me?] Everything. Everything. Like I was explaining earlier, this is all I've ever known, and I couldn't imagine life without it. Life without this camp would—I just can't even fathom it. Now I'm not a materialistic person. It's not about any material possession here. This camp is my life, this camp is my heritage. My family came here and they toiled to get to this point here. And when they got here, they tilled the earth. And let me tell you, back in those days everybody thought because there was so much grass that the Everglades were fertile. The Everglades was almost a wasteland. That's why the only thing that grows out here they make money on is sugar. But back to the moral of the story, they toiled on this land to grow the crops they grew—the pole beans and the collard greens, the tomatoes, and the other items. My

grandmother and grandfather gave up a lot for their own personal lives to be here. But this was all my grandfather had as a heritage, because his father came here and worked the land and he chose to do the same. My grandmother gave up her retirement after my grandfather passed away and took in my brother and I, two little heathen twins. She was in her late 60s and took on a pair of twins. How hard could that—twin boys nonetheless that were hell on wheels. She gave up her life. She was a martyr for my brother and I. And I owe it to myself, as well as her, and all my family to be here. And it's not about feeling indebted, it's just—it's who I am. This is my makeup. This is my life. The Everglades and me live as one. We try our best to live in harmony with the environment around us. We don't harm the animals.... If I go out and fish, I catch and release only, even when I'm doing guide service. We'll keep pictures. Unless the fish is hooked in a manner which it's going to die, then we'll keep the fish to eat, never waste. My grandmother always taught us, Waste not, want not. And that's very, very true.... The Everglades mean home to me.

WILLIAM “NUBBIN” LANIER



I was born in Belle Glade.... 1952, October 15th, and lived there 'til I was like a year-and-a-half [years] old and my mom and dad moved back here because she was raised here on the [Fisheating] creek and my dad, he loved this creek and they moved back here and built a home, which is still here. My dad was...spent the majority of his life here. They lived... outside of Lakeland. When he was just a small boy and his mom and dad separated, he drifted around, him and his baby brother, which was four years old. I think my dad was six. And they drifted around where he told me he was farmed out to whatever relatives would take him and keep him, and they would kind of work for their living, is what they did. And he said they were passed around 'til they were fifteen, sixteen years old. Finally said they'd had enough of being abused and he said that's what it was. He said people used them. It's not like it is

nowadays, people don't work children, children don't do a whole lot. Back then daddy said they worked from daylight 'til dark just for what they got paid.

It was a lot of fun [growing up on Fisheating Creek]... a million people used to come here from everywhere, from Miami all around up Jacksonville would come down, anywhere from the coast, they always wanted to go camping in the woods. And we met a million people down here and made friends that we still know over the years. But we played, we fished, we hunted, and we done anything that you wanted to do. It was like really, totally being free and having several hundred thousand acres just to roam around on.

...[as] boys, we used to take bicycles, be seven or eight of us. We'd all get our bicycles and generally one of mama's worst blankets because we are going to sleep (laugh) on the ground anyway. And we'd all go and our old dogs would follow us and we'd ride two or three miles down [to the] lake or wherever, build us a fire out there and spend the night around that fire, just a bunch of old boys, 10 and 12 years old.

[The creek starts north of Palmdale]... starts up on a flat place up the other side of Lake Placid, about seven or eight miles to the west of Lake Placid. And what it is, it's a flood plain up there and it's near a place called Blue Head. And it's where all the flatlands, the water begins too trickle down and pours into what forms the creek up there. And the creek, they say, is like 52 miles long. Well it starts out in Lake Placid and ends up in Lake Okeechobee.

...my mom was raised on the creek and that my granddaddy, her daddy, used to live up here.... And he had permission from Lykes Brothers, when he was around, that he could fish and hunt in the creek, trap gators and coons or whatever, and that's what he did for a living the majority of his life after he come out of World War I. He came out and raised his family up here on the creek, right on the side of the creek. And they walked to Palmdale, which had a little single-room schoolhouse. They walked there, my mom did and a couple of her brothers. There were seven kids. They walked to school, went to school there, like three-and-a-half miles across the woods. They walked everyday and went to that little single-room schoolhouse.

...living was cheaper here. Plus you didn't have the problems here that you have in cities either, because you're out in the country. There was more to do out here to keep a child occupied than getting into trouble. And of course back then we didn't have video games, but they still had things the kids could do. You get a bunch of kids together unsupervised, they're going have problems, I tell you that. They going to have some. And in town, you seem to have a whole lot more of that. Out here, you know, mom and dad kept a pretty tight rein on you. Of course that was back the way things used to be anyway. I can remember getting a whipping on the bus for doing something, and then getting home and getting a whipping because the bus driver whipped me. But that was back when people took care of their children and your children. If your children done something wrong, they'd blister your behind and that was the end of it. Mom and dad said, Good, you needed a whipping. Now I'm going give you one for getting in trouble to start with.

I've raised four boys and I have not had a one in jail yet. I've raised four boys on this creek. We spend a lot of time here fishing, in this boat fishing, talking, asking me questions about things and I try to teach them what's right, respect other people and respect other people's property and stuff. And they've done pretty good.

You'll see ropes in several of these old trees up here on the creek where they [families] come. And they'll all get four or five families at one time, take three or four boats, everybody come up. They'll bring a cooler and go out here and they swim. A lot of them taught their kids how to swim on this creek. I learned how to swim out here on this creek. When I was like four years old I learned to swim here.... They come, just spend the day out here and ride, take pictures. Water's up right now. It's a flood stage. But when it gets down, people come and they camp all up and down these banks just enjoy life, very quiet, peaceful.

I really can't tell you [what is so special about Fisheating Creek] other than there's just a freedom up here. When you get in here, there's nobody telling you where to camp, where to stop, where to fish, what to do. Once you come and get in the water, you're on your own and you have a place that it's—there's big fish or small fish, kids love it. Those kids see things that they've never seen before. It's just a magic to it. I don't really know. I've been here all my life and I've just loved it. If I had any place they'd say where could you go today, I'd still want to go on the creek. I'd still just get in my boat, go up the creek, spend the day, cooking sausage, sit around on the bank, watch

the water flow. You see turkeys, deer, hogs, gators. There's bear in the creek now. There's things here that wasn't here when I was a kid. There are actually elk on the creek now.

Being on this creek was not what we do for recreation....It's a way of life. I'll tell you a hard thing is when I went off in the service in 1970, spent four years there. And when I came home out of the service, there were fences on both sides of the road and locked gates. And I went in there and spent four years, came home and couldn't get out of my backyard. I said, Wait a minute. I said, I've done this all my life. Anytime I took a desire to go to the creek, take my boat, we just went—my dad, mom, all of us. Butch and mom and dad used to come over and all. We all stayed down on the creek. It was just a great place to go, nobody bothered you. No problems. You get away from everything.

BYRON MAHARREY

I was born in 1936 in Fort Myers, Florida.... At least one side of the family has been [in Florida] five generations. Well going back to my paternal grandmother's side of the family, they came from Oxford, Florida, up around Wildwood where the turnpike intersects with I-75, central part of the state. And they had a dry goods store up there. And my grandmother's father had some type of asthma, pulmonary type of thing going on. And the doctor recommended that he move down because the cold weather would give him such a fit, and he moved down further south, so they moved into Fort Myers around the turn of the century, around the turn of the twentieth century, and opened up a dry goods store there.



...my grandfather was with the group that took their—probably were Model-T Fords in those days. I don't think it was as late as the Model-A. I've forgotten where the Tamiami Trail, U.S. 41, was built exactly. But they were going to blaze the trail across from Naples to Miami because there was no road there. They took provisions, they planned.... They took the dry season, of course, planned on getting across in about three days, took them three.

Well, as I said, my grandmother came around the turn of the century. I know exactly when my grandfather came there [Fort Myers]. He came in 1904, which is when the railroad first came. I still have his 1904 railroad watch, gold railroad watch, because there were no telegraph, communications, and all as far as routing trains and everything was done by timing, because if your time was wrong, you'd be head on into the southbound freight kind of thing. So anyway, that's when they came to Fort Myers, but on my grandmother's side of the family they were in Florida for, well if I'm fifth, my father's fourth, and my grandmother's third, they were there two generations before her, her father and his father or mother.

I went hunting with my father a lot. He taught me to cook in a Dutch oven.... We put in a lot of wells down in areas, some of these are CERP areas now, that it took so long to drive from Fort Myers, it'd take you almost a half-a-day to drive down there because so many of the roads are just

sand roads. And so we'd go down and stay a few days. Well if it was summertime, that was fine, I could go down, but—and I went down on Christmas vacation most commonly. And we would pitch a camp there and we would put in wells for him. But he would always let me wander off and go hunting in there. In fact, I killed my first deer down there near Rock Lake, east of Immokalee—I was 15 years old—about three miles from the well machine. And I was hunting with his helper, who he also turned loose that afternoon to hunt and we—between the two of us, safari style on a pole. I took my knife and cut a cypress pole with my pocketknife and tore up a red bandana handkerchief to tie the legs up, because I didn't have any rope with me.... We were way, way late at night getting back with this deer because it was so—we had to rest many times to get back.... In 1957, I built a swamp buggy. And I took the swamp buggy into Big Cypress in the fall of—November of 1957 for the first time. Swamp buggy isn't really conducive to the open sawgrass, but in the Cypress areas they're a little more upland, the woods—the palmetto and pine woods areas was fine because if you came across bad sloughs and all you could still get across it. And I still have the buggy today.... the power plant in it is a 1929 Model-A engine, big bore, long stroke, low compression. Pair of pliers and a piece of haywire you can fix anything on it practically. And I can let it sit up here for two or three months at a time and go out and the second or third piston that hits a compression stroke, it's running, which you cannot do if you set an '08 automobile up for that length of time, it would not start as quickly.

Well obviously I have a house here on Lake Kissimmee, so I recreate here. It's a beautiful body of water, it connects with other lakes. I fish and I hunt the areas around me. The turkeys—the wild turkeys walk through my yard. And it's a way of life with me. It's a way of life that I brought up—more my two boys more so than my two daughters because daughters seem to have a way of doing their own thing and not necessarily, unless they're a tomboy kind of daughter, of getting into the hunting and fishing, although my daughters can shoot. I taught them to shoot. But my two boys hunt, fish, and dive for lobster and do all the things that I did. So it gives them a place for them to come up here and do that, as well as bring friends of mine up here that I want to share this with. But getting away from the Lake Kissimmee area for a minute, the sawgrass part of the Glades is a whole different way, and that's strictly half-track, full-track, or airboat country, because there's nothing else that will traverse in there. And we are losing our ability—The whole thing's about access.

Anyway, the pleasure of getting there, of making a temporary camp on a tree island, of having the camaraderie of the people that are with you. The hunting is almost a secondary issue. I mean, if you harvest something, that's a plus, but if you don't, you've had a good experience.

[Hunting at Lake Kissimmee] I hunt wild hogs. I hunt deer and turkey and snipe and ducks. Dove hunt occasionally, but that's not one of my necessarily favorite things to do. Fishing. Especially in the wintertime, the speckled perch or crappie, if you will, are straight out from my place here. It'll look like a city at night lit up out there because they bite better at night and they take lights. They have generators on their boats with strong halogen lights. And they shine them down in the water. And those lights attract bugs and the bugs attract the minnows and the minnows attract the specks. And then in the summertime, in May and June especially, the bream are on the beds. Well actually in April the—yes, I'll think of the name of the fish in a minute—are on the beds. And in May and June, the blue-gilled bream are on the beds, and we fish those. And bass fishing is pretty much year round actually around here. I don't do a lot of bass fishing because I think the bass have been over fished in here and they aren't—the action is not there like they used to be.

I have a 16-foot jon boat, [with] a 30-horse Evinrude on it, which I primary use up here for fishing and stuff. I have a 17-foot boat also with a 70-horse on it, but it's not really needed up here. I do that more for the Keys and for other canals and lakes down south. And then of course you have the airboat for the bream beds and you're sitting up high so you can see the bream beds, you can mark them, go back and wade back and fish them. I think we saw a couple of airboats today stopped in one certain spot out there. They were bream fishing.

There are different depths of different Gladesman. Some are just absolutely by God dyed-in-the-wool people.... but down south...they probably use the Glades a little differently, because the topography's a little different down there than it is here. But my definition is— To me, it's more of a culture, it's more of a mindset than anything else. A person can be a banker or they can be a multimillionaire like a Ronnie Bergeron, who's on the Fish and Wildlife Commission, and yet be just as much a Gladesman as the average Joe can be. We all look to protect because we know what we have.

JOEL MARCO

[Mr. Marco was born in 1960 in Miami.] My parents on my mother's side were Floridians a couple generations and then— Now they would be called Florida Crackers on my mom's side.



I'll tell you, most of these camps that are out here, as you've seen noted on an official document of the Everglades National Park, [camps in the] the East Everglades... most of these camps are probably closer or older than 50 years old. Some of these camps were built back in the time when Stiltsville was built out in Biscayne Bay. These camps have been here a long time. We used to wheel buggy, track buggy, dune buggy to all these places. I wasn't around when all this was planned, I was too young to be engaged with it, they're saying it's just turned into airboat only, the park's not allowing anybody in there unless they're in an airboat. Well that pretty much kills half of the year because the area dries.

[The cluster of camps in the Everglades National Park Eastern Extension area.] Every camp is different.... You've got Cooperhead, the Coopers on that. Mitchell's. They're historic people in Homestead. They're several generations. Coptic, they're several generations. Roberts is [related to the] Mitchell's. I think they're actually married. Lost Johns, I think, is Big Johns.... Duck Club is actually owned by the Duck Club Boys who own the homes in Stiltsville.

[The camps are] typically....as far as inside square footage, between 300 and 800 square feet at best. They're not big Taj Mahal's. They're well made. They've held up a long time through all these storms and hurricanes. They're very rustic. And the means of building these camps when it's dry, we would load materials on tracks and buggies, wheeled tracks and buggies. That was the best time to bring out. It wasn't wise to bring out concrete and lumber on an airboat, which only should take a couple people. It just wasn't logical or feasible. So to support these camps and construction and maintenance, that's when we would do it, but we're restricted now to bring these things out by the airboats. That's a—that's a problem. We have a problem also with the park isn't

willing to commit to the camp staying. So most of the camps, even though they're in great shape, in '03 when the park finally coming in to enforce the 1989 Act, which they were years past their 15-year term limit, which this whole Act should have been cancelled probably if we had the attorneys to fight it. But we're just common folks. Because they didn't do what they said they were going to do in the time limit they said they were going to do it and they, therefore, lied to the Congress. So with that said, here we are trying to maintain these camps. Who in their right mind would pour two or three thousand dollars a year into a camp when you don't know if the next day they're going to come out and light a match on it?

Before I hunted, I would come out with people in the communities of Dade County, which they would either come out in buggies, airboats, depending on what time of year it was, and we'd have—we'd bring families out. We'd bring multiple families out and have big family reunions. And there was a getaway place and—before and after season, then during season it was a place where they would store the dogs, camp for bringing in the game.

DONNIE ONSTAD

I was born in Miami, Florida, 1941, April 29th. I was born in—actually in the house in Miami Springs and then taken to the hospital. They took me to a wooden hospital in Coral Gables, and then from there I just went through all my elementary, junior, high school and been going in the woods ever since



My parents are from Fargo, North Dakota. And my dad moved down here with Pan American Airways and worked on the flying boats and [I] just kind of grew up... being a barefoot kid and running around in the Everglades. I actually hunted off what's called Alligator Alley now. It wasn't even there when I first started going. We used to get to go [out to the] camps, myself and a couple of other young guys. And we'd have to clean the camps and cook the food and then we could hunt with the good old boys. So at about 14 years old I was involved with doing that part 'til I got my first airboat when I was 16, little 45-horse engine on it, pulled myself all over the Everglades. And I've been a member of the airboat club since I was 16, and I'm 67 now so I've watched it from when there were just a handful and today I think we have somewhere around 270 members. And just watched it all change back there. As we

began to get a little bigger, we finally got 10 acres.

[As a young boy, Mr. Onstad hunted an area behind Miami International Airport called the Pea Patch. As he got older, he hunted further from Miami.] And we just ventured out into like Clewiston area, Big Cypress, Dard Strand, all down through the—coming out at Monroe Station. We'd go all the way across from Clewiston—from Monroe Station to Clewiston in a straight line. Hardly anybody knew how to do that except for the old loggers that actually put those buggy rut trails when they went in there and cut the pines and stuff, and then all that got closed down and they run all them out in probably the late fifties like that. And we would travel all the way back and forth and hunt—hunt our deer and clean and package them up and bring them home....

Those camps were about, I'd say 10 miles west of U.S. 27 and what is now I-75, and about four miles north, ten miles west, four miles north was the Westbrook camp. And they had about eight camps in that area—the Deer Keys....And that turned into being not so much airboat as half-tracks and running motorized half-tracks. And then we found out about airboats because they were a lot faster to get to and come from. It wasn't leave the road and four hours to get to camp, it was 20 minutes you got to camp...don't know if I can remember right now offhand all the names of—Tom Shirley, was our mentor game warden as we were growing up. He caught (laugh) me one time at 14 years old with two mallard ducks out of season and shamed me so bad, made me cry, standing there crying, please don't take my daddy's gun. (laugh) And I've known him all my life now. And as you grow up and get older you start learning the values of how really good alligators are for our swamps and how the deer population has kind of dwindled because South Florida Water Management raises the water, lowers the water and we have trouble with our deer trying to survive. And right now it's probably at its best, being only eight, ten inches of water, pretty much the plain of it. And on my island that belonged to Governor Claude Kirk, 1958 to 1962, the camp that I own now, those guys were avid duck hunters, and the governor was a duck hunter. And they would fly him in by helicopter and take him duck hunting. And the name of my camp is Duck Camp II, LLC, that's the name of it now, that they call it the Duck Camp. And when he quit being Governor of the State of Florida in '62, he turned it over to FWC. They then had two or three game wardens living in that camp. And from what I heard, some big old redneck boys didn't like the game wardens living in the middle of them, so they burned the camp to the ground.

[What the Everglades mean to me.] Oh my gosh. I don't even know how to say this. It's probably my whole life [his camp in Water Conservation Area 3] to be able to go and to have the Airboat Association obviously, and that's where we keep all our airboats. But I'm probably there three days out of seven every week. Every 18 days you have to mow, it grows so fast....And to go there is like— I mean I'm just— Miami disappears. I don't hear anything. It's solitude, it's charisma at its best. And to be able to crank up an airboat and just ease on down and go in the canal and catch a few bass and just observe. There's not much hunting done out there anymore, very little deer hunting. Duck hunting mostly, I would say. Reflect on nature I reckon the most, just to be there and reflect on—But to reflect and kick back and drink a coffee in the morning and sit out there with nature, and every now and then I get an otter on the island that'll come slithering by and a deer here and there. I'll stick a frog or two maybe, for a dinner like that....And the rides are—to go on our [airboat] rides. And those trails are no bigger than they were 50 years ago, because they go through the cypress. You can't penetrate any of that. You couldn't walk in there....So as you saw, our trails are almost all the same. So as far as destroying any of that, you're not. You're getting to be able to see it, observe it, feel it and just reflect on nature....So it's pretty much just being one with nature, just cook your hamburgers and sit out there and watch the sun go down.

Of course, once it's dark, dark, you're pretty much inside unless I go get a frog or two or take a ride and look, just to see the nature and what's going on out there at nighttime. I'm not a nighttime guy really. When it's dark, I'm in the house and crank up your little generator and you got your little TV there and—or you play cards or, just sit and enjoy it. I hate coming home. (laugh) I hate coming home. And then back to the Airboat Club and I'm probably there the other three days out of the week.

BARBARA JEAN POWELL

I was born here [Florida]. My grandfather was an early settler [who came to Florida] back in about 1901; he came down [from] Georgia. [He settled in] South Miami. He was one of the first white settlers in what's now the City of South Miami. It was called Larkins at the time. And the Larkins family is a Gladesmen family. He [Mrs. Powell's grandfather on her mother's side] came down with Flagler's Railroad.... He traded with the early settlers, the Indians and stuff, and then later.... I don't know what he did after that. He built some homes and just made a living however they made a living.

And daddy's side of the family, my grandfather was an early immigrant from Germany. I think he had to flee. It's my understanding he wrote something unpopular about maybe the Kaiser or something and thought it would be better to immigrate to the United States. And my father's mother was from North Florida, many generations.

When I was very young, daddy and I fished. And then my uncle, who was a Gladesman from my mother's side of the family, Uncle Jimmy, he had been bugging us to go out and fish with him. So finally one day to shut him up daddy said, Yeh we'll go, and we never stopped going....I love to see the Glades for the first time again through other people's eyes, being very young and see the water, and just seeing the woods, is just magical.

Yeah there's buggy people and there's airboat people. And then there's some that do kind of both; we were buggy people.

[The] Turner River Road has never been paved. But it was put through— I mean it was filled, the rock road was, I believe about that period of time. My husband said that it went as far as Wagonwheel Road and then it was fenced off. The cattlemen had it fenced. There was no road beyond that other than a—like a buggy trail beyond that. You had to come in from the west heading east on Wagonwheel to—or from Tamiami Trail up that particular road. You just couldn't go north of Wagonwheel on Turner River Road.... prior to 1960, I believe it—before the actual road was constructed, I'm sure there was some type of buggy type road, a more primitive road. Because they were starting to use— Oh in the early 1920s they were using like Model-A's and that type of thing to get around out there. Yeah, early kind of very rough trails. The same as Tamiami Trail—at one time that was a route that—an east/south route that Indians and early settlers used. As a matter of fact, Dave Balman's grandmother reportedly... went to Miami with an oxcart along that Tamiami Trail route way before the road was put in, before it was paved....

Well we're [Mrs. Powell and her husband Donny] fortunate to have a camp. Formerly we had a squatter camp before the Park Service took them out, which was common for people to do. It was just kind of wild land and if you liked it you just found a place and built a camp.... We had neighbor camps and long relationships with "neighbors" out there, some people that you wouldn't—you knew them for ages but you never saw them in town, and they were just your neighbors there.... This was... all over the Glades really but the Big Cypress primarily. But the camps, the squatter camps, there's still some in the Water Conservation Area now that are protected by legislation. And so at any rate, and then the Park Service took them out and we're fortunate to have a lease of a sort on a camp in a different area of the Turner River Unit. And a lot of time all we do (laugh) is go to camp and mow the grass or maintain it or something, but hunting, kind of

hiking around, wildlife viewing. Just riding with the buggy and wildlife you see is from birds to other species, and it's really a great opportunity to see critters. There's always something to see and you're constantly looking for something. So that's pretty well what we do. Occasionally visit neighbors. There aren't as many neighbors out there as there used to be because the Park Service took so many camps over.

There are so many special places that our family has. My husband was going out a long time and his brother, who was much older than him, was more of a father figure probably, they went out very early. And there was one area long before it was banned or whatever, my husband had. He was just a very young man. He put some spikes in a cypress tree where he could climb the tree and look for deer or whatever. And now the tree is much larger, the spikes are much higher....But that's a special place because when we took our young grandson there [and when] he saw [that tree] then he wanted to climb the tree. And so that's— But there's so many—so many special sights out there that, you know, especially where former camps are. My husband's brother had a camp—couple brothers had a camp out there, my uncle had a camp, and those sites are important. But the woods are just full of places where special things happen. One of my other special places is the gator hole kind of behind...what was my daddy's camp.

[The Everglades] It's part of who I am. It defines who my family is, especially my husband, and it's just who we are. I don't know how to put it in words, it's just who we are.... Like my husband's late friend would call him up every once in a while and say, I've got to see a cypress tree, and they would just go to the woods.... It takes you back to a more simple time....some camps are very elaborate with generators and stuff like that. And ours, we have pitcher pumps. And it's quite—it's quite an elaborate setup because we have a pitcher pump outside and a pitcher pump in the kitchen, which is convenient. So it's just a simpler time, and it's just neat seeing all the wildlife.

TOM SHIRLEY



[My father] was a reporter for the newspaper and he worked for the oil companies. One of his cousins was married to a real famous tropical fish breeder by the name of Bill Struckey. So he wrote my father a letter. He says, Shirley come to Florida; there's a mint to be made in tropical fish. So the family packs up and we come to Florida. So we go into the tropical fish business [in Miami in approximately 1932]. Miami was hard. People made, I think something like seven dollars a week, so it was really rough and tough. But on the other hand,

they were happy. Everybody smiling and women out there doing the washing, singing, the guys working, building, whistling. You don't hear those things anymore. They didn't have all the pressures. But it was great. I remember butterflies, they was so plentiful that they used to sell butterfly kits. You go into a store they got the nets, they got the frames, tell you just how to do everything because there was so many butterflies, which was very healthy, beautiful. So things were different there compared to now well that's for sure.

He [Shirley's father] went to New York, made contacts. He was doing very [well.] He made his own tropical fish colors and so forth. And then in the thirties—latter thirties, we had an exceptionally cold front come through, and it froze the top of all his fish, fish pool. So it killed everything that he had. So we was out of the tropical fish business. Then he went into—he made a little newspaper thing in Little River. Then the war came, he went into construction.

During the war, gasoline was rationed, and there was a fellow, a friend of the family, he was at Opa Locka Air Station and he could come by some fuel. So he got 10 gallons of fuel. We had a old Model A..... So we was going to take a ride around Loop Road, which we did with [the] old Model A, ran out of gas. We get [another] five gallons put in some more gas. And away we went. Okay, now these was back in hard times, couldn't get fuel and oil back there. But I think back, and around Loop Road there was an enormous amount of people camping, fishing, picnicking, having a ball—having a lot of fun. Now with the park and all the rangers, you can go all the way around the Loop and not see a single person.

...it's extremely important and puts a great value in the life when a family can go to the woods. Like I have property out in the Big Cypress, and our greatest times is when family and my friends, we all go to woods. And not hunting. We all enjoy hunting, no—but there's hardly anything to hunt down there anymore because everything's been altered, mainly by water. But anyway, our best times is to go out in the Everglades and camp and maybe ride our Hondas or whatever, sit around the campfire at night. That's a great value. I had a Everglades camp in the grass. this is in the Everglades in the grasslands, north of Alligator Alley. I built that when I got on the game commission in 1955. I was with the Florida Game Freshwater Fish Commission. I got on in 1955 and retired in 1986... I was in charge of the Everglades. I was in charge of Everglades, the Big Cypress, the Ten Thousand Islands, and the Florida Keys.

I had a camp in the saw grass. I used that. There's a base camp for the wildlife officers, to store stuff that we had to spend the night and work at nights and so forth, so it worked out good. At the same time, my children, I let them—they grew up around there. They loved it. They dearly loved it....Of course, they're all old people now, but that—they think back, and it was the best time in their lives. Some of them want to—when I die I want my ashes thrown out there. So the Indians took that whole area over and I could no longer go there.

I remember [the] first time we crossed the Everglades, and this was probably when I was four years old. My father had to go to Tampa for some reason. They always say it's a great danger to cross the Everglades at night because the bugs and the darkness and depth of the Everglades and all this here, so it was very important that planning a trip we wouldn't have to cross the Everglades at night. So my father, my sister, my brother, we was late on getting started. So we crossed the Everglades at night. And there were bugs—I mean the sky was just lit up with lightning bugs. We had to drive so many miles, we had We wanted to be sure to carry a couple jugs of water, where you could clear off the windshield because there's so many bugs, and that was the truth. So that was the first time that we crossed the Everglades at night.

....when I started [working for the state] there was no dykes, no levees, no highways. In other words, I could put in the Tamami Trail if I wanted to, I could go to Clewiston when I would go early on patrol, and that's when I had rinky-dink airboats. But before the day's patrol was over, I'd go into sort of Dade, Broward, Palm Beach, Collier, Henry. I'd hit all them things. And I could run all

over the place without interference with dykes and levees or highways. So I saw the Everglades as it originally was....A vast, vast area. Back in the early days even your commercial airlines didn't even fly over it, because if they crashed, nobody could get to it. So it was—adventurous, peace and quiet. It's all undisturbed nature, as it was supposed to be. Peace and quiet for sure.

[The Everglades mean] Everything in the world [to Mr. Shirley.] Everything. I've got the camp years ago in the Big Cypress.... If I couldn't go out to my camp once every week or two, I'd be in bad shape.

I'm coming across the Everglades and I see an alligator there about eight foot long. He looked skinny and poor. I stopped. I caught the alligator. He caught me, wrapped his tail around my leg and I was— When alligator starts to twist they got so much power, you turn loose of them, supposed to. Well he was really starting to roll. And he looked so weak I figured, Well I can overpower him. That was a mistake. Bam, he got my hand in his mouth. So we hit the water and they start rolling....Yeah, the death roll. (laugh) And that's bad. He could wring my arm right off. So as he rolls, I'm rolling with him, trying to keep up with him. So finally he stopped after a while. So I'm laying there, my hand in his mouth, the nightmare come true, blood all over the place. So finally the alligator just decided he'd turn loose. I've got a camp in the Big Cypress, big deal permit and all the regulations and all. Okay they got laws now. Well because you're the owner you can have a permit to go out there. But that don't mean your kids do. Now my kids want to come out to my camp.... They're supposed to get a permit, okay. Next day they go out, they're supposed to get a permit. Now that can break somebody's spirit. So that's the future. There isn't anybody going to be left to fight for the Everglades if the people can't get out there and feel it and see it and enjoy it. They killed the spirit. They've already done that around Loop Road.

Well I can still ride [in the Big Cypress National Preserve.] In other words, I can still be a wildlife officer legally, which.... I can go. But I can't take my kids with me. That would be against the law. The only thing I can do is ride a road—a road along a canal that doesn't belong to the government. I can do that. I can take a canoe, for which I do—I can take a canoe and go through the Cypress, which we enjoy that. But at least I got ten acres there that's all mine. And we can camp and we can socialize and we can have a fire and we can fish from that little pond.

JACK SWITZER



I was born in Dade County in 1928 [and] grew up in Dade County... My father built us a home here.... my mother lived in the panhandle of Florida and my father was from Buffalo, New York. [He was a] brick mason....My occupation is electrician.

Well, my father used to go out there [to the Everglades] to practice shooting with his gun and I'd see snakes and alligators and they'd scare you to death. I didn't start going out there until I was about eleven. And a friend of mine, his father went out. We'd go out there fishing.

It's like going out in the prehistoric days, you know, everything was like prehistoric, hadn't changed in billions of years. And it was kind of scary, for a kid anyway. We'd go down to Loop Road, which originally was a trail and they bypassed a 40-mile Bend with a new trail. The old trail was—went down there through Pinecrest and around that way and out at Monroe Station. That was the original trail, but they bypassed that 40-mile bend....well back then, they'd dig a canal to create the road. And there was always a canal alongside every road, and there was always fishing.

As we got older, we started hunting. We'd go out there and hunt in the Cypress. We'd walk for days and never see a deer, then walk days and you'd never get close enough to shoot at one of them. Then you'd walk days before you ever thought you'd hit one. So it was about eight years before I got my first deer after I started hunting.

We'd walk with no camping gear. We'd just crawl up under some Palmettos and keep the dew off of us for the night, hope the red bugs didn't get us. And start walking next day. If we ever killed a deer, we'd have to be able to haul him out... That was some rough days.... Years later, we bought a jungle hammock and we started sleeping in the jungle hammock.

In '47 I built my first airboat, I started duck hunting, and that was in Dade County.... Well back then, anyone that wanted to travel the Everglades had to build the equipment to do it with. The airboats back then were Model-A engines, little small boats. I built mine a little bigger boat with a V-8 engine and I could have a little more power, I could go places that the Model-As couldn't go.... There was so many ducks out there that— There [were not] any game laws. You just go out and get what you wanted to eat and that was it.

The whole area [the Everglades] it's been there for millions of years and nature created it like it is, and wildlife and plant life, feed a lot of deer and animals and stuff and plenty of food out there for wildlife. Like I say, years ago, they didn't enforce game laws because there were plenty of wildlife—deer, ducks, all kind of birds and such—frogs and whatever. Now that it's so populated, they had to set game laws so you don't take more than the land would produce.

... we used to hunt the Fakahatchee [Strand.] They logged that years ago. There's old tram roads and log dragging trails. And there's a lot of deer out there, turkey, a lot of deer, turkey, alligators. A lot of animals out there, the Fakahatchee. The main road out there was Jane's Scenic Drive. I don't know how many miles it went out there, about 11, 12 miles.... It's on Highway 29.... about five miles north of Tamiami Trail.... There's a restaurant there. They called it Jane's Restaurant. And right across the street is this little paved road and then it cuts off of Rock Road. And that used to be Cypress logging. They had a railroad track that ran back there for dragging the logs out.

...they used to have farms in the Everglades, tomato farms especially.... And along the highways were tomato farms, just thousands of acres of tomato farms. But the big businesses used to cut down the Cypress trees, selling the trees for lumber. The cypress in Collier County, they've logged that from one end to the other. There's trees out there they've cut that's over eight feet across.

[Sig Walker is] the one that created the Everglades Conservation and Sportsman's Club. Sig and his brother talked the guy that owned the land into selling it and they created a club. I joined it about two years after it was created. And all it was is an old house, an old diesel generator....

They bought 20 acres and they built a clubhouse and bathrooms and kitchen and everything else out there. And when I was president, I talked them into buying the acreage behind it on each side of it. We had 80 acres. Then when the park took over, they didn't want any club or anybody in that land. So we gave them half the land to let us keep that 20 acres for the club. We had a fire tower on the land and of course it was open all the time for hunters and game commissioners and everything else. This is [located] about a quarter of a mile south of Monroe Station, on Loop Road.... That club was started in 1950.... It's been used continuously since 1950.

Well they [club members] would fight forest fires. Anybody went down in an airplane or anybody got lost, they have search parties. And when a land would dry during dry season, they'd go out with dynamite and blast water holes for the animals to drink. And when the Northeast Airlines plane went down, I was president then and the president is head of the rescue committee. And they called me to go out there and see if anybody was still alive. And the government stepped in [and] said, Nobody goes out there, dead or alive, no one out there. And Sig Walker made out like he was going home, went down the road a little ways further, took some news media with him. He went around the back way and checked to see if anybody was alive and they weren't; they were dead. And the news media took pictures. And the next day they came out in the newspaper. And the FBI wanted to know what plane flew over that area, because it's outlawed to planes and everything. And it wasn't a plane, it was a halftrack, a small halftrack. Sig took them out there. They should have seen flashbulbs all over the ground. (laughter) Because he checked to see if there was anybody was alive.

PEARL AND BOB WAGGONER [MOTHER AND SON]

PEARL WAGGONER: I was born in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, in 1927, and I've always been a housewife. (laugh)



BOB WAGGONER: I was born 1947, November 14th and was born in Fort Myers, Florida. That was the only hospital at the time that was here. And I'm a plasterer and a commercial fisherman by trade.... I fished all here up and all the way to Louisiana all the way around to North Carolina. PEARL: Some of them [relatives] were from Georgia. They lived in Georgia, but we've always lived in Florida. I was raised on the East Coast. Port Salerno, Florida....that's where I stayed until I met my husband and got married and we moved to Naples.

PEARL: Well, he [Pearl's father] hunted all over, but different places on the east coast you could hunt over there. And that was years and years ago. I remember going, but I don't remember where we went. (laugh).... We always ate the meat, but...it was more of a sport... for us to go hunting and fishing and all. That's all we've ever done (laugh) are outside things.... We used to use a jeep because we used to go right out here in Golden Gate [Estates] to hunt.

BOB: Yeah well right here where Home Depot [in Golden Gate Estates in Naples] is right here up on Airport [Road], that's where we used to live, Pine Street right over here Naples Steel Products... and Home Depot where it is right now is where you used to go in the woods. And it'd be five to six feet of water right here in the woods.... And we used to hunt over here where Publix is off of Santa Barbara. That was our camp years ago, so it's been a while. BOB: Most of the time we were out here, we was all kids and you stayed at the camp with the kids. But we leased the land right here going to Everglades at Dan House Prairie they called it, and built us a nice camp there and camped there for quite a few years. That's when you started hunting. PEARL: For a long time I used to go with my husband on his birthday and we'd walk hunt and he would kill a deer every year on his birthday. But I wasn't yet hunting then, I just would go with him on trips. BOB: Killed your [first] deer on Thanksgiving Day. PEARL: Yeah. Thanksgiving morning, I'll never forget how pretty that buck was coming down the prairie. And I was in a big old tall cypress tree because then you could—(laughter).... Then you could put spikes in the trees, which you can't do now. And we would have to climb up and they had you a little seatbelt up there. And that's where I was when I killed my buck, my first one.

BOB: Still going at 81. PEARL: I still go. Every time I get a chance I go. PEARL: But I worry about the alligators because they are something that—they get so big and now they're catching people. You hear them catching people everywhere. BOB: I know. Well, they're primitive and they're—

PEARL: And that's their home there, so you got to put up with them....

BOB: Yeah, live with them.

PEARL: But I am afraid of them.... People make it bad for everybody because they feed them and you're not supposed to feed them. And they connect you with food, I think. BOB: Yeah. PEARL: And so they're told not to feed them, but you will see people throwing things in there to them, which makes it bad. But sometimes I hear something around my tent, I get up and look to see (laugh) if it's one of them crawling around. And my girlfriend, one evening she was laying in her tent and she said she kept seeing her tent come in like that. And she said that she looked and this alligator was right there. She said she screamed (laugh) and run out of there. But her boyfriend just was coming up and he said, What in the world's wrong? She said, That alligator's coming (laugh) in the tent with me. So boy he ran him back into the water. But they're kind of brazen, the alligators are, and I am afraid of them. (laughter) I try to stay out of their way and— BOB: Just like the gators, some comes in there and they say, Oh get these gators out of here and.... That's their home out there and we're going out there. We've got to live with them and hunt, and that's their place. We've just got to accept them....

ARTHURINE WILSON

-With Additional Comments by her son Butch Wilson

ARTHURINE WILSON: I was born in Okeechobee County just out toward Fort Pierce January 6, 1927. And I worked in the post office some before I married and then after that in grocery stores and then a housewife. About six or seven generations [of her family have lived in Florida]. My grandparents and my mother and brothers and sisters came down from up near Pensacola, on the covered wagon, came down around Fountain, Florida, somewhere in that area.... They came to Okeechobee later. I don't know what year they came there, but that's where we were when I was born.



I lived in Okeechobee... then they [Arthurine's family moved to] Canal Point, right out the other side of Canal Point.... my dad made moonshine at that time. (laughter).... During the Depression, and they had to make a living.... But anyway, when they came down on the covered wagon, mother said that they had their beds and all in there and they would—they had two teams of oxen and two wagons.... Granddaddy would have the beds all set up and he would build a campfire and grandmother would cook and they would get out and sing around the fire, and they just enjoyed it. And then after my mother married...[they lived at] the Ridge up at Canal Point, where I remember my dad making moonshine.... They [federal agents] would come out. And I remember they came out one time and asked mother where he [Arthurine's father] was. She said, I don't know and I wouldn't tell you if I did. But anyway, they would come in—with axes and everything and just tear up the stills.

Well one time they [federal agents] came out checking my uncle. He lived next door to us and they would take long rods and stick in the ground hunting, see where they had buried it. And my uncle's wife, they had a little baby and she was going to try to go and let them know that they were there so they wouldn't catch them and she kept pinching the baby and making it cry, told them she had to go get the baby some milk so she took off and let them know. And when they [the moonshiners] would come out sometimes... they would have hogs or something and. sometimes they would just dump it [the moonshine] in there [the slop buckets for the hogs] if they had some on hand to keep [the agents] from finding it. Probably made the hogs drunk.

[Arthurine's father also used to hunt alligators in Lake Okeechobee and the adjacent canals. He used a "gator boat" to hunt.]

BUTCH WILSON: That's what they all used because they were very maneuverable. They could go into tight places. And a lot of areas wasn't developed so with these small boats, they could pick them up, carry them and walk to the next little gator hole or whatever.... There was one in South Bay, an old timer had one when I was a kid. So they just made these little flat bottom, small boats that was easy to transport, easy to pole. And they didn't get out there and try to make long runs; it was just going from Point A to Point B and they were very, very light and maneuverable.

BISHOP WRIGHT, JR.

I was born right downtown [West Palm Beach] in 1965 at a place called Good Sams Hospital.... My father was born in Alabama, but grew up as a kid off of 45th Street.... He had a Model-A swamp buggy and he traveled all of these woods here we're looking at. This is all the Grassy Waters Preserve. And he traveled all of this area, just drove out to the end of the street, which is less than a mile from his house, and unloaded his airboat or his buggy, and depending on the water table and struck out to go enjoy nature and wildlife.



This... boat ramp was created in the fifties. [The interview with Mr. Wright took place in Grassy Waters Preserve, Palm Beach County.] This is where my dad and all the pioneers, all my dad's generation, this is where they came to recreate, which was taken away from them in, I think the late, about '78, 1978. This was taken away because a well-known canoeist had a problem with the airboaters coming here. There used to be a restroom facility [that is] still over here. But this parking lot and all of this, was basically an airboat's paradise. We never really needed a fancy

paved parking lot like this. We always unload off— We still do, unload off the side of the road in different areas like that. But over here is a canoe ramp that has been turned in—which was an airboat ramp that was turned into a canoe facility, and all of this wood dock here was a white, pristine sand beach that airboaters parked up on. And basically, where the road we just came down, North Eighth Boulevard, used to be called West Lake Park Road. It was a two-lane road, and I'm going to show you on the way back where there was a wooden bridge. That wooden bridge, I remember when I was a kid, there was an alligator laying across that wooden bridge for probably two hours one day and we couldn't go either way.... I was with my mom and she didn't have the gumption—and I was probably seven or eight years old—to move the alligator out of the road... that road that we just came on... some of the nastiest mud holes in the world (laugh) are in this place right here.

I'm actually president right now of the Florida Airboat Association. But I'm a charter member of the Florida Sportsmen's Conservation Association, which was founded in 1994.

The Everglades? It means everything to me.... if I didn't have the Everglades when I was a kid I would probably be a couch potato. (laughter) Not that I don't have a computer today, but I wonder what would have kept me out of trouble when I was a kid... if kids today had this as their backyard, they actually could go in and fish... they wouldn't be looking to rob houses and shoot each other and hanging out on the streets selling drugs and doing all this crazy stuff they do, because you could come waste a lot of energy out here just walking around and being a part of this—fishing and just hanging out and enjoying nature like you should be.

In all actuality, in 1954 when we started the Florida Sportsmen's Conservation Association, I had a goal that— And I don't ever think I set a year... to preserve what I did when I was a kid for the next generation to be able to do when they were a kid. And I failed dramatically. I mean, when I was a kid, they actually didn't have a helicopter, they actually didn't have this chain link fence. All they had was signs. And as long as you didn't have a firearm, you could slip in here and go fishing. And the whole thing was, you weren't allowed in here. But there was no patrolman, no enforcement.... But today, if a kid goes in here to go fishing today, he'll have a record, he'll have a hundred dollar fine, his parents are going to be mad at him. So I look at what we've lost. So I look at what we've gained. When my dad was a kid he'd ride out here in his airboat and we'd literally catch the frogs off... the boat and we'd throw them in a bag and we'd go to some of his holes out here and just drop them in and catch fish until we were tired of that hole and we'd move to the other hole.... What the Everglades mean to me is it's a part of my life. I didn't play football, I didn't play any sports like that in school. I hunt and fished every hour or every minute that I had that I wasn't in school.... And I still do. I just have to do it in a different way and a different style. So it's my life, I guess is what it is to me.... And I guess if I didn't have the Glades and all of this to go, just get away from—you hear that sound, the cars and the roads? I mean, I can go get deep into the Glades and I can hear nothing but bird's....It's nothing but birds and frogs and quail and deer, and everything speaks to you. I can get that deep into the Everglades and just forget about where or what got me here, the money that I got the gas to get out there that far, to get out there. So that's what the Glades means to me. It's just— It's my life, I guess. And I'd starve to death if memories are all I ever had of the Glades.

In the Glades, I started out as a kid, I had a Jeep buggy and I followed my dad around in here.... And later I got introduced to the Corbett area, moved on to where—as you get older, you start doing... what you're supposed to be doing and you follow the rules, and I moved over into the Corbett area. But as a kid, I had a swamp buggy. And I was probably everybody's best friend in high school because on Saturday or Sunday—I didn't have to buy gas for my buggy. All my friends come with five-gallon cans. Let's go for a ride to the Glades. Let's enjoy it. And so I was like—everybody wanted to go with me, and that was my life back then. I look at it today to think I have to go weld that buggy or turn a wrench on it or replace the battery, I'm like, agh. But back then it was, You know what, that isn't quite right. Let's rebuild this and let's get it done before the weekend so we can go do something.... And I started out with a jeep buggy and got to a swamp buggy. And the swamp buggy era is dying.... There's more swamp buggies today than there was ten years ago. But there's probably 10 percent of [the] opportunity today than there was 10 years ago....[for lands available to take swamp buggies.]

My definition of a Gladesman is someone that would rather go to the woods than go to Walt Disney World... A true Gladesman is someone that has spent more time in the woods than probably—spare time. We all have jobs and we all probably spend more time at our job than anything. But a true Gladesman is someone that has to go to the woods, say once a month to get a fix. I mean, you just can't live without it. That's my definition of a true Gladesman, and I can name a couple hundred of them.

When my dad was out here [present-day Grassy Waters Preserve] they all had camps..... It was nothing more than a screened-in room and it was nothing more than a barbeque grill and maybe a couple of Coleman stoves and so forth. And they would come out and that's where they would fish and frog all night or all day or hunt in the morning and the evening. And they would just come

back there mostly to get out of the mosquitoes and get out of the bad—the element of weather and get a little rest, fuel back up to go back out and enjoy a little bit more of life.

Today I still even hunt hogs... when I was a kid... I had 15 dogs when I was 20 years old, today I have one (laugh), mostly because it isn't worth feeding 15 dogs... for the opportunity that's here today. But I hunt alligators, I hunt deer, I hunt birds, and I occasionally hunt hogs, but, hog hunting... it's the hardest of hunting. Whereas deer hunting, I can go out there and find a nice trail and I can sit up on it and I can wait for the deer to come by and harvest him. And as we're alligator hunting, we ride along in the airboat and we pick through what we want because.... I only hunt big alligators....

[Discussion about the diversity of the contemporary Gladesmen Culture] I have friends of mine that are lawyers, friends that are construction workers, friends that are restaurant cooks, friends that are property manager's... firemen. I can honestly say it's all walks of life. I guess that's how we survive there too. If we need something, it's a phone call away. You know, alligator hunting this year on the Kissimmee River.... I made a foolish mistake and I sunk my airboat in 12 foot of water. Okay, it was all driver error.... But it was midnight when I did it. Well it's a two-hour ride from here, okay. My phone went in the water. Another friend of mine come up in another boat and said, Bishop, what are you doing? I said, My boat's down there. Oh man. So we used his phone and called my wife, because it took two airboats to pull my boat out of the water. And at two o'clock in the morning, I had probably 15 friends there.... I had 15 friends that drove two, two-and-a-half hours, one of them my dad, (laugh) to come there and help rescue me. And I don't know where you could find 15 friends in the whole wide world to come rescue you and be back [at the] boat landing before the sun comes up....

And I would do it and not because they helped me but I've gone and done it to help others like them at any hour or any day of the night. If something happened to them right now and they needed help, I mean I would go.... Because, you know, there's nobody else. You can't call AAA, you can't call the wrecker. There's no one else out there that's going to come get you. So I guess that's why we're such a knit tight group for that reason. We'd help anybody. We would help a canoeist that was stranded.... Someone called and said, Look we got a canoeist that got lost, could you help? There'd be five airboaters or five Gladesmen show up right now, whatever it would take to help that person. And I guess that's just the way we are because we all know one day that'll happen. One day we'll be in that predicament and we'll need help too and there's no one else come get [you].

The Gladesmen are the eyes and ears [of the Everglades.] There's no one, no one in this whole world could care more about a piece of property than a Gladesman. No one. I don't care who you are.... It's the heart and soul. And so the little bit of impact that we may make, is a drop in the bucket to what we preserve and protect.

SUMMARY

These oral accounts of Gladesmen life, past and present, and the other interviews on file at the Division of Historical Resources, clearly show a living cultural group that is closely tied to the natural environment. For some it was cultural way of life that was entered into and adopted by choice, but for many the cultural traditions spawned in this environment constituted a multi-generational way of life that one was born into. In both situations, Gladesmen are eager to pass their cultural traditions of hunting, fishing, their love of nature in the Everglades, their sense of the past and of their community on to the next generation. The identification of cultural places where traditions are maintained and where information exchanges can occur are central to the purpose of this study. While these oral accounts have touched on Gladesmen identity, alligator hunting, and more, they are threaded with references to tangible places that are linked to Gladesmen heritage, e.g., Loop Road, Fakahatchee, fish camps both commercial and private, and lodges, etc. The next chapter describes these central places within the CERP area that represent cultural continuity among the Gladesmen.

VI. RESOURCE TYPES

Within the Gladesmen Culture are sites of importance that reflect the history, characteristics, attitudes, and purpose of the group. In keeping with the Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties (Parker and King 1990), examples of properties possessing the characteristics of a TCP are those of:

a rural community whose organization, buildings and structures, or patterns of land use reflect the cultural traditions valued by its long term residents.

Using this definition, the properties important to the Gladesmen Culture that represent potential TCPs fall under the functional categories of commercial sites, non-commercial sites, waterways/roadways. These descriptive categories were derived to classify those properties identified as important to Gladesmen during field visits and informant interviews. The physical characteristics and associated qualities that define each property type as such are discussed below

COMMERCIAL SITES

A commercial site, in respect to this project, is a privately owned enterprise located in or adjacent to the CERP project area that has historically been frequented and utilized by members of the culture in connection with the pursuit of Gladesmen activities. Commercial sites significant to the Gladesmen Culture include fish camps, hunting and fishing outfitters, trading posts, private campgrounds, and grocery/supply stores. In addition to providing necessary backcountry supplies, gasoline, and all things necessary to access the backcountry, these establishments serve several other functions. Many stores, camps, and campgrounds are meeting points for trips into the Everglades and also provide a place for Gladesmen to meet, socialize, and share camaraderie. Places such as Mack's Fish Camp, Camp Mack, and Trails Lake Campground are historically associated with the Gladesmen Culture and hold real significance to them. These properties are places where memories were made and cultural practices learned, and some provided the location of a boy or girl's first exposure to the Everglades. One of the owners of Mack's Fish Camp told the project ethnographer that some deceased customers of the camp have had their ashes spread over the area. A discussion of each of these types follows.

FISH CAMPS

Fish camps are properties that historically had both commercial and recreational uses. Early twentieth century fish camps owned by commercial fishing companies often served as the place for employees to have a meal, take shelter, and to skin fish (Butch Wilson, personal communication 2008).

At the turn of the century at Lake Okeechobee, the lakeshore did not contain private property so fisherman squatted on these lands and established primitive camps (Will 1977:120):

By the winter of 1913-14 there were already fifty camps [at Lake Okeechobee], and more came as time went on. A camp was nothing but a long, narrow shack built of palmetto thatch on a frame of cypress poles, or maybe it might be of tarpaper tacked on 2x4s.

Many of these camps grew into small settlements and, according to Will (1977:122), the first settlement at Lake Okeechobee grew from a camp established in 1897. Located eight miles south of Taylor Creek, the community of Utopia began as a hunting camp; soon area fisherman began to use it. The settlement eventually grew into a cluster of palmetto shacks, a two-story store, a school, and post office. The town died along with the commercial catfish industry at the lake in the late 1930s or early 1940s.

Contemporary fish camps vary in size, structure, and layout depending on the geographical region. They are located throughout the CERP region on or adjacent to lakes, creeks, and coastal areas. In southern Florida, the commercial fish camp serves as a headquarters for people using the area for fishing, camping, boating, and vacationing. Many probably started out with an enterprising local who built a few boats and rented them out to fisherman. The operation grew as a marina or dock was constructed and the boat fleet expanded. The camp owner might provide snacks and cold drinks for sale, as well as bait and tackle. Through time, some fish camps began to provide rudimentary cabins for lodging since many were located in rural areas with no options for overnight stays (Wilson, personal communication, 2008). In addition to outfitting fisherman, these camps provided a place for sportsmen, locals, and visitors to gather and tell stories, socialize, and relax.

Some camps have grown into large commercial operations (Figure 21). Camp Mack in the KCOL region has expanded from its original wooden docks, store, and boat bays to a small community with a marina, long-term rental houses, clubhouse, motel, and airboat concession. The camp is well known in the KCOL region and on any given day you may find locals gathered in front of the store, just hanging out and enjoying the day. The atmosphere is both modern and reminiscent of yesteryear, as many of the original wooden building (bait shacks, store, boats bays, cabins) are still used for their original purposes. Other smaller commercial camps are less elaborate and contain a dock or marina, boats for rent, a store for supplies and bait, and sometimes cabins.

SPORTSMEN'S CLUBS

The Everglades Rod and Gun Club is an example of a commercial sportsman's club (Figure 22). It is located in Everglades City, and the club lodge is situated on the site of the first structure on the property, a home built ca. 1864 by William Allen, the first permanent settler and founder of the town. Barron Collier purchased the property in the 1920s and operated the club as a private establishment for his friends. The main lodge has been enlarged over the years and is a large, two-story framed building with screened, wraparound porch, cypress paneled dining room, and mounted fish trophies in the lobby. Through the years the gun club property has expanded with the addition of docks, marina, additional lodging facilities, pool, bar, and restaurant. The club is now a vacation destination offering commercial services ranging from charter boat trips to deluxe lodging.

Figure 21.
Commercial Fish Camps



A. Camp Mack River Resort, (PO07201)
Photograph Taken From Kissimmee River

B. Mack's Fish Camp
(DA1148)



C. Open-Air Pavilion
Mack's Fish Camp
(DA1148)



Figure 22.
Commercial Sites



A. Everglades Rod and Gun Club, Everglades City (CR01083)

Source: www.evergladesrodandgun.com



B. Mitchell's Landing Campground, Big Cypress National Preserve

CAMPGROUNDS

Campgrounds and Recreational Vehicle (RV) Parks serve an important function in the Gladesmen Culture (Figure 22). Due to their location, adjacent to or within the Everglades backcountry, they serve as gathering and access points for entry into the woods and swamps. Airboats and swamp buggy users also utilize these sites as places to unload their machines and store transport trailers. Campgrounds additionally serve as informal gathering areas for sharing meals and fellowship with fellow Gladesmen. Many campgrounds have stores that provide food, supplies, and information about the area. New South Associates noted two types of campgrounds in the CERP area; privately owned and state or federally owned. The government owned campgrounds vary, with facilities ranging from primitive with no water or restroom facilities, to campgrounds with RV dump stations, RV and tent camping, water, showers, and restrooms. Some campgrounds have adjacent access to swamp buggy trails.

Private campgrounds also vary in complexity. Trail Lakes Campground, for example, is located on the Tamiami Trail in the Big Cypress National Preserve. It sits on the site of an old logging camp and many of its structures date to the 1960s. Trail Lakes offers RV and tent camping, concessions, showers, water, bait and tackle, and picnicking. There are several permanent structures on the property, many dating to the original campground construction. These buildings include the store, a zoo, the owners' residence, and a clubhouse. Due to its location in the Big Cypress, the campground provided ideal access into the Swamp until the NPS imposed swamp buggy restrictions that closed the buggy access trail located in the campground. Up to that time, the campground was a popular gathering point for swamp buggy users. Though some private campgrounds provide many, if not more, of the same amenities as Trail Lakes, others may consist of just tent and RV sites, water services, outhouses, and showers.

NON-COMMERCIAL SITES

CLUBS AND CONSERVATION ORGANIZATIONS

Clubs and organizations such as sportsmen's clubs, rod and gun clubs, and conservation organizations are an integral part of the contemporary Gladesmen Culture. The importance and history of some of these clubs date back to the early 1950s. In southern Florida there is a club or organization for practically every Gladesmen activity: airboating, use of tracked vehicles and swamp buggies, conservation, fishing, hunting, and search and rescue. The clubs meet at clubhouses that vary in complexity from a single building to large-acreage properties with multiple buildings, docks, campgrounds, and RV parking. Many of these clubhouses originated with a few sportsmen gathering at a selected place to hunt or fish; some have grown into a series of regional organizations with hundreds of members, organized activities, and governing by-laws.

The Airboat Association of Florida (AAF), for example, established in 1951, is a sportsman and conservationist organization with AAF property located on the Tamiami Trail in Dade County. Situated adjacent to Everglades National Park, the AAF property consists of a caretaker's house, clubhouse, RV storage/campground, outdoor cooking facilities, and a concessions area. The organization promotes conservation and recreational activities in the Everglades; members also participate in search and rescue operations and community service.

The clubhouse property is central to the organization and is extremely special to its members. It serves as the site of fundraisers, barbeques, airboat outings, and weekend stays in the RV campground.

BACKCOUNTRY CAMPS

The establishment of backcountry camps, both temporary and permanent, has always been a Gladesmen practice and necessity. Before the establishment of Everglades National Park and Big Cypress National Preserve, people roamed the land at will, because, as Glen Simmons phrases it, "all the land and marsh seemed to belong to me" (Simmons and Ogden 1998:35). The early Crackers and Gladesmen were land squatters, establishing themselves, their camps and homesteads, and small communities throughout the Everglades region. Many of these camps evolved into small communities, some of which still exist; others live on only in memory. The environment has reclaimed most of the abandoned camps though the remnants are scattered throughout the region. Other early camps are gone entirely; the NPS burned some of the camps that existed on land now owned by the federal government, while other camps caught fire due to droughts and lightning strikes.

Early camps usually did not have permanent structures:

Before the park, men had camps all over this country. There must have been a hundred of these camps that we used when gator hunting. A camp could be in a hammock or just a hole hollowed out; usually it was just a piece of higher ground that had been cleared. Most of these camps were just drift camps where the peat had settled... and a hammock would get started.... Rarely did any of our camps have any kind of permanent structures on them (Simmons and Ogden 1998:35-36).

Most of the camps had names that described an event, the distance from the road, a natural feature, or someone who had camped there. Camp Nasty was a favorite name among Gladesmen, and Broken Bones and Break-A-Leg need no further explanation (Simmons and Ogden 1998:36-37). The Gladesmen knew the names and locations of all these camps as their survival depended on it:

Well most of the time-they was like 20 x 20 [feet] and they were wood structures sitting on concrete blocks. They were very primitive, and they had old furniture in them for beds and... chairs. [The camps] were always open. If anybody broke down, they could always go to a camp, spend the night out of the way of mosquitoes, and there was always food in there. The law of the land was camps were never locked. They were open for everybody (Switzer 2008).

This open door policy is still evident in some camps. Many camps that the New South ethnographer observed in Water Management Area 3 contained screened enclosures on the docks. There were no locks on the doors and the enclosures allowed people protection from the summer lightning storms and rain that are common during the summer in southern Florida.

Simmons (Simmons and Ogden 1998:37) recounts that when traveling through the Everglades by skiff (glad skiffing) he always carried a mosquito bar to sleep inside. This necessity consisted of a sheet of cheesecloth or sugar sacks tied together and attached to a tarpaulin placed approximately

three feet off the ground. The tarp could be hung on a pole or rope that had been nailed between two trees. The sides of the bar hung down and tucked under the bedding, with the bar secured by guns, shoes or whatever was handy. Bedding consisted of piled up grass that Simmons called "gator-nest beds." In base camps, supplies would be buried or hidden to prevent theft (Maharrey 2008a; Simmons and Ogden 1998:37).

Temporary camps existed throughout the CERP region, with most people using them as a base for their hunting or fishing activities. People often just pitched a tent off the road and took it down after they finished hunting. Other camps were semi-permanent and consisted of walled structures on a platform. Many Gladesmen still camp in this manner, bringing their tents and supplies in on a swamp buggy and taking everything with them when they leave. Although Frank Denninger has a camp in the Big Cypress National Preserve, he sometimes hikes in the backcountry with just a tarp and food. He will pick a spot for the night, stretch the tarp over himself, and sleep on the ground.

Deserted camps were often taken over by hunters actively using the area:

...we found a camp south of the Alley one time, didn't look like it was being used. And we talked to a few people that came into the camp. We started sprucing it up. We just took over a camp. Sometimes you can take them over.... But if you do that, you [have] got to understand if the guy that owns it comes back, or the guy that built it – because these are squatter camps.... You had to respect the guy that built it... you get out. But like this one bigger camp we took over, we found out who owned it and called the guy and he was old and didn't go anymore so he said, No ya'll can have it (Denninger 2008a).

Through time, people began building camps with more permanent structures (Figure 23). Tom Shirley (2008) described one of the first camps that he saw, north of Alligator Alley, as consisting of a tin shanty that the owner added rooms to over the years. Byron Maharrey began to build his camp in the late 1950s on Miccosukee tribal land in Dade County on the edge of Water Catchment Area 3A. He had hauled all the building materials in on a trailer pulled by a swamp buggy and had almost completed the camp when the Miccosukee Tribe notified him that he was on their land, so he removed all of the camp except the platform (Maharrey 2008a).

Hundreds of camps existed in what is now the Big Cypress National Preserve. The NPS bought out much of the land that the camps were on but some people did not sell their holdings. These camps exist under a permit system, with the owner still owning the acreage. But restrictions have now been placed on the land around these privately owned parcels and people may no longer take their swamp buggies off of designated routes (Shirley 2008).

A well-established set of camps exists in the East Everglades Extension Area. Gladesmen Joel Marco stated that this series of camps, located on hammocks on the northeastern portion of the Extension Area, are over 50 years old. Mr. Marco pointed out that some had been built when the Stiltsville settlement was established out on Biscayne Bay in the 1920s or 1930s. He stated that these camps are still active and recalled accessing them by swamp buggy. At present, access is restricted by the NPS to airboat or on foot (Marco 2008).

Figure 23.
Duck Camp #2 (DA11449)



A. Cabin Exterior



B. Kitchen Area

Descriptions of these camps differ, depending on the size and what types of facilities the camp users have built:

They're typically in size... between 300 and 800 square feet at best.... They're well made. They've held up a long time through all these storms and hurricanes. They're very rustic. And the means of building these camps when it's dry we would load materials on tracks and buggies.... (Marco 2008).

Mr. Marco began visiting these particular camps when he was a teenager in the mid-1970s. Multiple families would buggy or airboat out and have big family reunions and gatherings. During hunting season they brought their dogs and would use the camps as a base for deer hunting. Generators supplied power to the camps and someone stayed in camp to take care of the dogs and the facilities (Marco 2008).

A National Park Service historian evaluated the camp cluster in December 2007 to determine their potential eligibility to the NRHP. The largest, Duck Camp, was recommended eligible to the Register; the other seven camps were not. The NPS report (Coffey 2008) gives detailed descriptions on each camp examined, and the description of Duck Camp provides a good account of a common backcountry camp. It consists of a large bunkhouse and a cluster of outbuildings, including storage shed, kitchen and duck cleaning shed, generator shed, outhouse, concrete cesspool, and a boat dock. The bunkhouse, kitchen, and outhouse have a wood-frame construction covered by painted, galvanized steel. The interior and floors are Dade County pine. The report described many of the other camps as containing a bunkhouse and outhouse made of a variety of materials including plywood, clapboards, molded wood paneling, rolled asphalt, and fiberglass insulation. A gasoline or diesel-powered generator or a car battery supplies power. Most camps have a gravity water system consisting of a water tank on the roof above the bathroom (Coffey 2008).

Camps are built to take advantage of the geography and weather of the Everglades. Wayne Jenkins had friends with a hunting camp in the Fakahatchee Strand. He used to accompany them to camp every weekend until the state purchased the property and it became part of the Fakahatchee Strand Preserve State Park. The camp was deep in the woods and it took most of a day to get there on swamp buggies. The camp consisted of a single, screened in room, with a slanted tin roof and a screen door. The screens allowed breezes to waft through the structure and the slanted roof kept rain out. One corner of the house, used as the kitchen, held a small woodstove. Jenkins and his friends hunted deer during hunting season but in the mid-1980s, the state restricted hunting in the area so they spent their time taking photographs and observing wildlife. No longer able to hunt in the area, the group eventually lost interest in the camp. It is still owned by Mr. Jenkins's brother, but has not been used for several years (Jenkins 2008).

Many of the contemporary camps are very elaborate, with all the amenities of a modern home in Miami; others camps are simple and consist of a single wooden cabin. All serve the same purpose: access into the backcountry to participate in traditional Gladesmen activities. For many contemporary Gladesmen, hunting and fishing are sometimes secondary to being in camp with family and friends, relaxing in the woods, and enjoying nature.

Many older Gladesmen interviewed by New South stated they don't even hunt anymore at camp. Instead they just "hang out" by themselves or with family, away from the noise and hustle of the city. Other Gladesmen recalled that they essentially grew up in these camps and this is where they learned about the plants and animals of the Everglades, had their first hunting and fishing experiences, and spent time with family and friends.

WATERWAYS AND ROAD SYSTEMS

WATERWAYS

Waterways in Florida include, but are not limited to, the Atlantic Ocean, Gulf of Mexico, lakes, rivers, swamps, marshes, streams, creeks, sloughs, sawgrass prairies, and man-made canals (Figure 24). All have served the Gladesmen Culture as a means of survival, transportation, recreation, and commerce. The sheer number of natural and man-made waterways in southern Florida makes it impossible to examine them comprehensively. Waterways are linear resources that are the lifeblood of any region and serve to nourish the environment and its inhabitants. Inasmuch as the Everglades ecosystem is an almost perfectly flat wetland basin without much natural drainage, water is the dominant characteristic of this landscape. Historically, the watercourse of the Everglades region began at its headwaters at the Kissimmee Chain of Lakes, which empties into Lake Okeechobee. This huge lake, which historically had no natural outlet, would fill past capacity during the summer rains, and overflow into a huge sheet that sloshed its way south to Florida Bay and the Big Cypress Swamp.

Flora and fauna took advantage of the plentiful water resources and the myriad natural environment that existed throughout the region, with each species adapting to its particular geography and conditions. People also used the waterway to their advantage, both for transportation and access to natural resources. They adapted and planned their means of travel based upon the geography, water levels, and seasons. The emergence of man-made canals opened up additional avenues of transportation and provided more areas for fishing and hunting; but the canals also closed natural, more favorable waterways that Gladesmen had traditionally used. These canals also altered and/or degraded the lands and associated natural resources, often resulting in less available food supplies in some areas. Many areas that had been open for unfettered use became restricted or closed entirely. Population growth and the drainage of swamplands further decreased traditional use areas. The natural and artificial waterways of present-day southern Florida are vastly smaller and different in character than in the eighteenth century, though the twenty-first century Gladesmen still hold these waterways as culturally significant but lament the loss of a part of Florida that no longer exists.

As an example, the Kissimmee River and associated KCOL have traditionally played important roles in the Gladesmen Culture. Gladesmen have lived in the area for generations, utilizing its natural resources for subsistence, transportation, and recreation. In terms of change to this type of system, the Kissimmee River Project, implemented between 1967 and 1971, channelized the river and drained two-thirds of the floodplain. The canal excavations and resulting placement of spoil material also destroyed a large portion of the original river channel.

Figure 24.
Examples of Everglades Region Waterways



A. Kissimmee Lake



B. Air Boat Path, Water
Conservation Area 3



C. Grassy Water Preserve, Palm Beach County

As an example, the Kissimmee River and associated KCOL have traditionally played important roles in the Gladesmen Culture. Gladesmen have lived in the area for generations, utilizing its natural resources for subsistence, transportation, and recreation. In terms of change to this type of system, the Kissimmee River Project, implemented between 1967 and 1971, channelized the river and drained two-thirds of the floodplain. The canal excavations and resulting placement of spoil material also destroyed a large portion of the original river channel.

Today the Kissimmee River and associated KCOL is one of the most popular recreation areas in southern Florida. The terrain is so swampy that a watercraft is the most feasible way to travel. Danny Brantley (2008) recalls travel to his family's hunting camp as an exhaustive operation best accomplished by boat:

We put all of our gear in there [the boats] and we'd come into hunting camp. You could come by jeep, but most of the time we came by boat because we were so far back off of Ten Mile Creek... that it just took forever to get here by jeep, and then it was only after winching through mud holes and everything else because... there were no roads in the woods.

Activities in this area include excellent fishing and hunting, camping, hiking, boating, and wildlife observation. But natural and man-made boundaries dictate where activities now occur on the river and lakes of the region. Before channelization, development, and the increase in private land ownership, people could roam at will, contained only by geographical restraints. The artificial changes made to the river, along with the increase in agricultural endeavors, have degraded the hydrologic and natural resources of the water system. Artificial boundaries such as canals and water control structures, coupled with land development, further decreased open areas within which to hunt, fish, airboat, and enjoy the environment. As part of CERP, the Kissimmee River Restoration (KRR), seeks to revitalize the river system and restore the original channel on part of the river (Corps 2008).

ROAD SYSTEMS

The existence of transportation systems in the form of trails, roads, or trails that evolved into roads, was critical in drawing settlers to southern Florida and in providing access to the resources of the region. Early Gladesmen traversed what is now the CERP area using linear resources such as waterways and rudimentary trail systems. As the infrastructure of Florida developed, one and two-track roads were built, some on existing trails and others constructed on virgin land. Many of these early road systems became maintained gravel or paved roads, or a combination of both. Individual camps and houses, as well as small settlements, communities, trading posts, post offices, and stores sprang up on the roads. Trails and roads, in addition to waterways, were the means of access into the culturally significant areas of the Gladesmen Culture as well as the mode of transport for extracted resources. Roads served as gathering spots, places to camp and live, the location of important events, and as the "jumping off" point into the backcountry. Many of the historic roads in the CERP area have a long history of association with the Gladesmen and most retain cultural importance to this culture. Many of them retain their historical significance, rural feeling, and setting. They have been the sites of events significant to them and their continuity of use remains the same (Figure 25).

Figure 25.
Road Systems



A. Turner River Road, Collier County (CR1085)



B. Loop Road, Monroe County (MO01920)

Road construction in swampy areas is a challenge that has been met by elevating the roadbed above the water level. Roads such as the Turner River Road were constructed by dynamiting the rock layer, digging the rock and other material out, and using the material to elevate the road above the swamp. The borrow canals that run alongside the roads resulted from road construction. Other roads, such as Birdon Road, do not include the adjacent canals and may have started out as cow paths. When more recent demands for access to an area increased, heavy machinery probably ground out a rudimentary road that has since been developed into a maintained gravel road.

These above resource types are described in more detail in the following chapter, which contains a discussion of properties associated with the Gladesmen Culture, as identified by this study.

VII. RESULTS

As part of this ethnographic study, 13 resources associated with the Gladesmen culture were identified and evaluated. All are over 50 years old (with the exception of Trail's Lake Campground), all have been identified by Gladesmen as significant to their culture, and all exhibited the potential to meet the definition of a TCP (Parker and King 1990) because of their association with:

...cultural practices, beliefs of a living community that are rooted in that community's history, and are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of that community.

Following brief discussion below of a recent overview of Gladesmen camps conducted by the National Park Service (Coffey 2008), this chapter summarizes New South Associates' findings and evaluates the eligibility of each newly documented property for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places as a TCP. Sites documented during the current study are organized and discussed by resource type: commercial, non-commercial, and waterways/road systems.

PREVIOUS STUDY OF GLADESMEN CAMPS, EVERGLADES NATIONAL PARK, FLORIDA

An evaluation of historic Gladesmen camps in the northeastern portion of Everglades National Park was conducted by NPS historian Brian Coffey (2008), who described individual camps and presented significance evaluations and recommendations for their management. While not all of the camps were known to be over 50 years old, the study was conducted to describe and evaluate these resources, as they are under the protection of NPS under the National Historic Preservation Act.

Generally speaking, the camps are isolated, unsecured, and in poor condition. They include such structures as bunkhouses, storage sheds, kitchens, sheds for cleaning game, generator sheds, outhouses, and sometimes a concrete cesspool. Typically, these were built from "an amalgam of inexpensive, readily available building materials including rolled asphalt, plywood, clapboards, molded wood paneling, exposed fiberglass insulation, and linoleum flooring" (Coffey 2008:2). It was judged likely that existing structures were built to replace earlier, more rudimentary shelters, at least in some locations.

One of these camps, the Duck Club Complex is the most thoroughly investigated site of its kind and, as such, provides a useful baseline for understanding these resources and their potential significance. The Duck Club Complex comprises several Gladesmen camps located on a prehistoric site named Sour Orange Hammock that was investigated and recorded by NPS archaeologist Margo Schwadron (n.d.) as 8DA2181. During his architectural evaluation, Coffey (2008:4) learned that in historic times, use of the Duck Club camp complex was limited to members of the Rod and Gun Club, who usually posted a guide and cook on site to serve members hunting ducks in the vicinity. Eventually the camp was used by various hunters and froggers not associated with the club; an informal policy of use developed whereby tenants were expected to maintain the

camp and its buildings and make sure that food, drink, and bed clothes were available for subsequent users. Despite their present deteriorated conditions, the NPS assessment group agreed that the Duck Club camp has National Register "potential as either an exhibit space or an exhibit in its own right." Of the nine camps evaluated, the National Park Service recommended Duck Club as potentially eligible to the NRHP at the local level (Coffey 2008:4). The other eight camps were not recommended eligible to the NRHP, although the hammocks on which such sites are located were described as follows:

Aside from Duck Camp...the significance of the camp hammocks is found in their long history of human use... The hammocks...are potentially eligible to the National Register as "sites" that possess historic, cultural, and archeological value (Coffey 2008:3).

The National Park Service has not yet applied for a Florida Master Site File number for the historic component at Sour Orange Hammock. Since further investigation of the Duck Club Complex is outside the scope of this report, New South Associates did not give further consideration to the site. The location does warrant additional research.

Although New South Associates did not evaluate this site, one of the individuals interviewed for the Gladesmen Project did discuss camps in the vicinity. Joel Marco (2008) stated that there are some camps that are over 50 years old and are still being used and maintained by individuals from Miami-Dade County:

I'll tell you, most of these camps that are out here, as you've seen noted on an official document of the Everglades National Park... most of these camps are probably closer or older than 50 years old. Some of these camps were built back in the time when Stiltsville was built out in Biscayne Bay. These camps have been here a long time. We used to wheel buggy, track buggy, dune buggy to all these places.... I wasn't around when all this was planned, I was too young to be engaged with it, they're saying it's just turned into airboat only, the park's not allowing anybody in there unless they're in an airboat. Well that pretty much kills half of the year because the area dries.

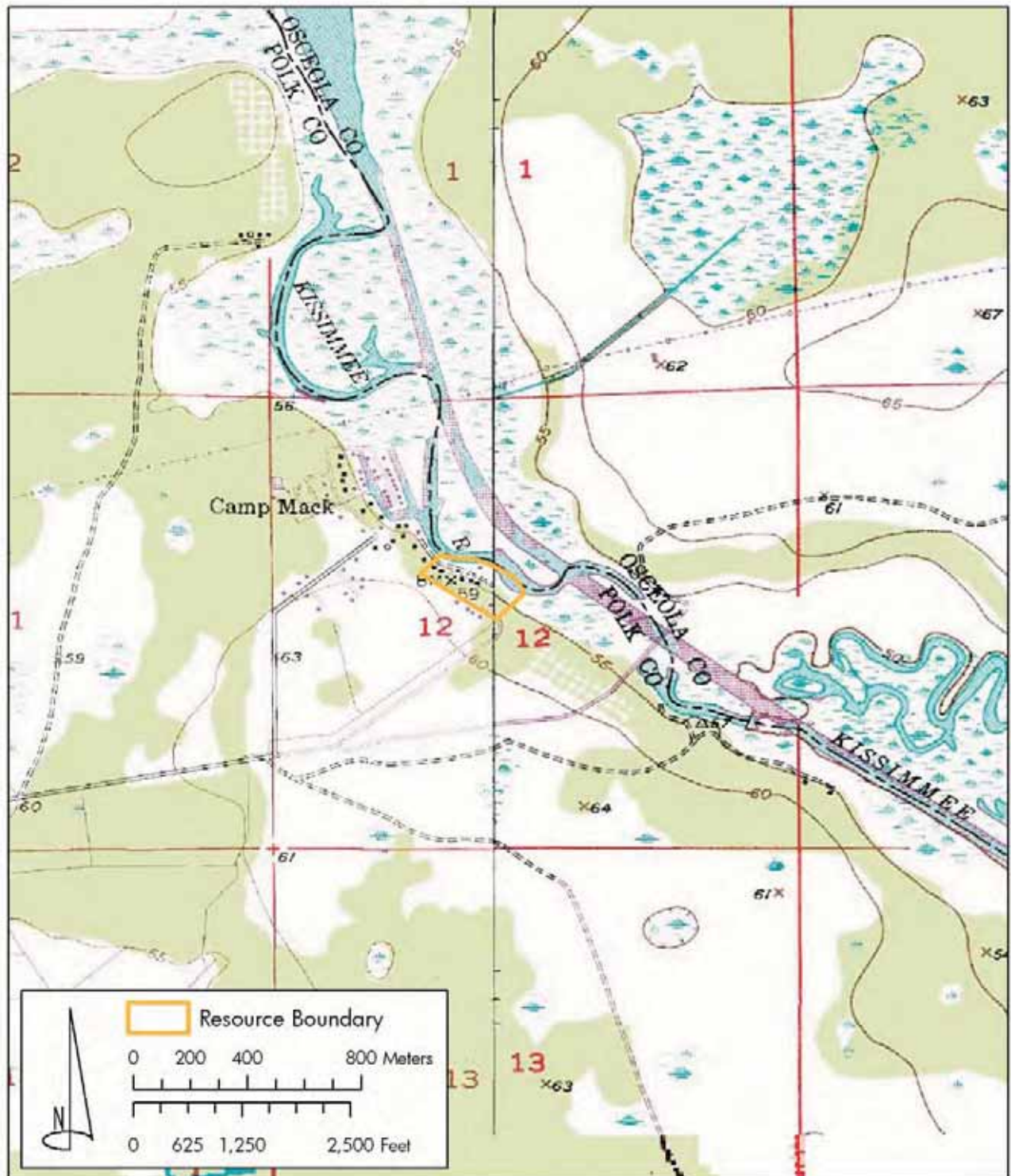
Mr. Marco also identified many camps by name and knew who built or now owns them. He described the typical camp as being between 300 and 800 square feet and very rustic, though made to withstand time and hurricanes. The materials used to build the structures were brought in on wheeled track vehicles or swamp buggies at a time when these types of vehicles were still allowed in the Eastern Extension Area of Everglades National Park (Marco 2008).

COMMERCIAL PROPERTIES

CAMP MACK RIVER RESORT - PO07201

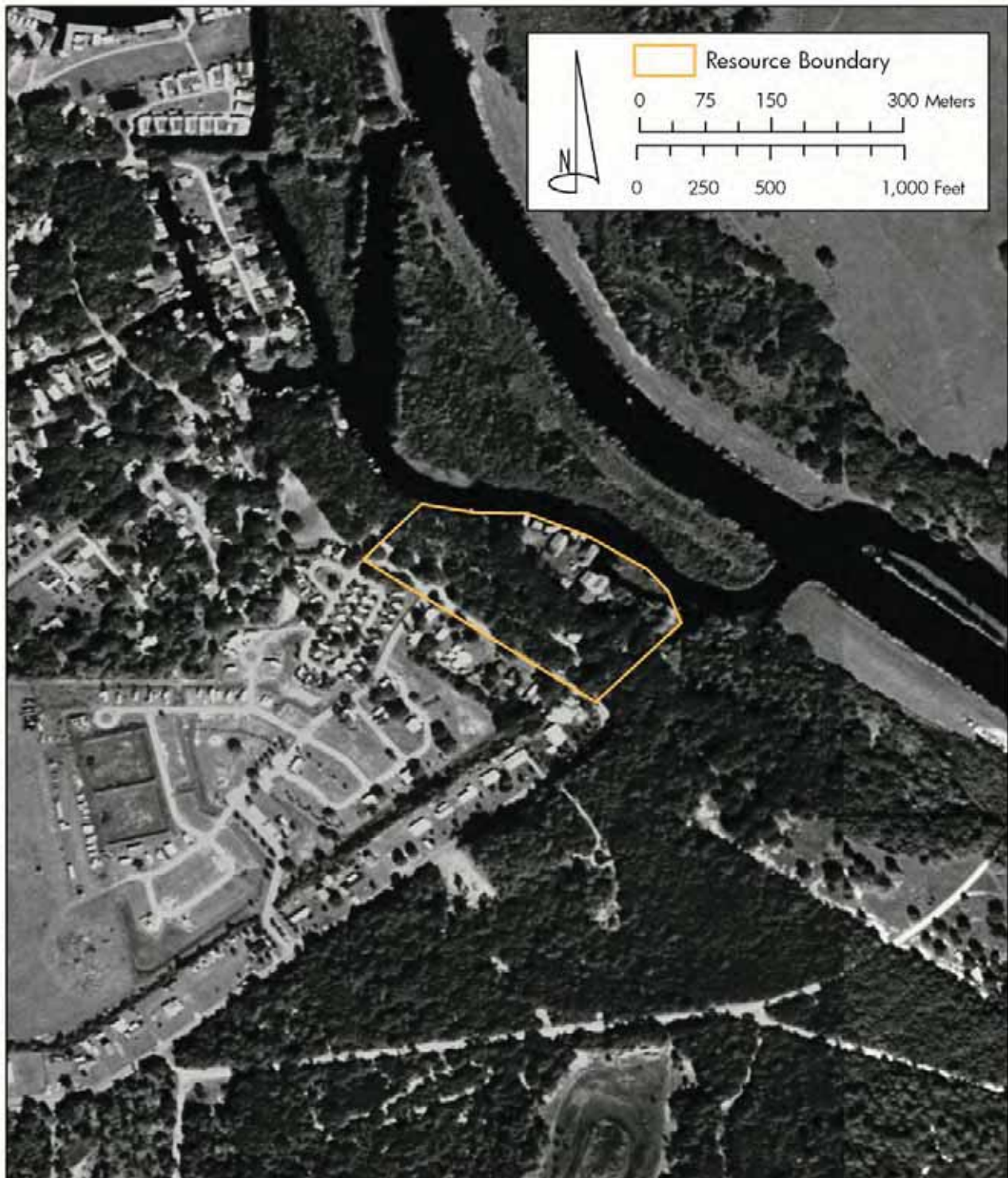
Camp Mack River Resort (Camp Mack) is located on a bend in the Kissimmee River, two miles north of Lake Kissimmee and one mile south of Lake Hatchineha at 14900 Camp Mack Road in Lake Wales, Polk County (Figures 26 and 27). This area is known to produce trophy Florida Largemouth Bass, Crappies, Shell Crackers and Bluegills and has been a popular location for fishing, airboating, and other recreational activities for over 60 years (Camp Mack n.d.).

Figure 26.
Topographic Map Showing Camp Mack River Resort (PO07201)



Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Hesperides (1975), Lake Weohyakapka NE (1975)

Figure 27.
Aerial Photograph Showing Camp Mack River Resort (PO07201)



Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1999)

During a brief, unofficial visit to the camp, New South Associates' ethnographer informally spoke with the camp owner, who stated that the camp dates to ca. 1928 and that it has remained a fishing camp since its inception. One individual out of 34 interviewees mentioned the camp during their oral interview; another interviewee mentioned Camp Mack during a casual interview. Gladesmen Danny Brantley (2008) related that Camp Mack is a mainstay in the Kissimmee area and has been a fish camp "forever." Although it is still used for this purpose, the facility has been expanded to include RV camping, an airboat concession, boat and cabin rentals, a motel, clubhouse, and pool (Figures 28 and 29). It also retains several historic buildings including the store, bait house, boat sheds, and some cabins. Temporally, the camp is consistent with other commercial fish camps in the region that began in the 1920s and continue to the present-day, as the popularity of recreational fishing in Florida grows at a steady pace.

Camp Mack's owner did not respond to the ethnographer's requests for a second visit to the property in order to conduct oral interviews and a survey; therefore, the physical description of the property is cursory and requires additional research. Camp Mack is accessed via the Kissimmee River to the northeast of the property or by Camp Mack Road to the southwest. The property is laid out in a semi-circular formation with the oldest buildings closest to the riverbank. The oldest portion of the camp includes the small cluster of wooden frame buildings northwest of the boat docks, and the cabins and boat bays situated along the riverbank to the southeast of these structures. These buildings are Rosie's Snack Shack, the Liar's Den, and two bait houses. These are small, wood frame buildings with sheet metal roofs. In front of Rosie's is a small concrete area with a fire pit. The store and the fire pit appear to be the hub of the camp. Further to the south, along the riverbank, are boat bays and small cabins that appear to be historic in nature. The boat bays are constructed of wood with sheet metal roofs and are open on the side facing the river. The historic cabins in this area are made of wood with sheet metal roofs and are of varying size; some have screened porch additions. West of the historic building cluster is the newer area of the resort, which consists of RV sites, rental cabins, a laundry, clubhouse, showers, restrooms, swimming pool, and storage units.

While Camp Mack does retain some buildings over 50 years old, and may have an association with Gladesmen culture, it was mentioned only by two of the interview subjects. This property does not appear to have continuing importance in maintaining Gladesmen culture and is therefore not recommended as a TCP.

EVERGLADES ROD AND GUN CLUB - CR01083

The Everglades Rod & Gun Club is located on the Barron River in Everglades City at 200 Riverside Dr., Collier County (Figures 30 and 31). The first building constructed on the property, a house, was built ca. 1864 by William Allen. He was the first permanent settler and founder of Allen's River, present-day Everglades City (K. Storter 1971:1). According to Rob Storter (2000:3), Allen owned the entire town site from 1873 to 1889; before that time a plume hunter and his five daughters occupied the property. Storter's uncle, George Storter, Jr., later purchased the property after Allen's death; this property included the entire town site, including the Allen house. He then established a trading post where the small fishing village of Everglades (as it was then known) began to grow (Paige 1986: 217; Storter 2000:4). Gladesmen Franklin Adams (2008) recounts some of the property's early history:

Figure 28.
Camp Mack River Resort Map (PO07201)



Source: Camp Mack River Resort Website: www.campmack.com

Historic Structures

Figure 29.
Images of Camp Mack (PO07201)

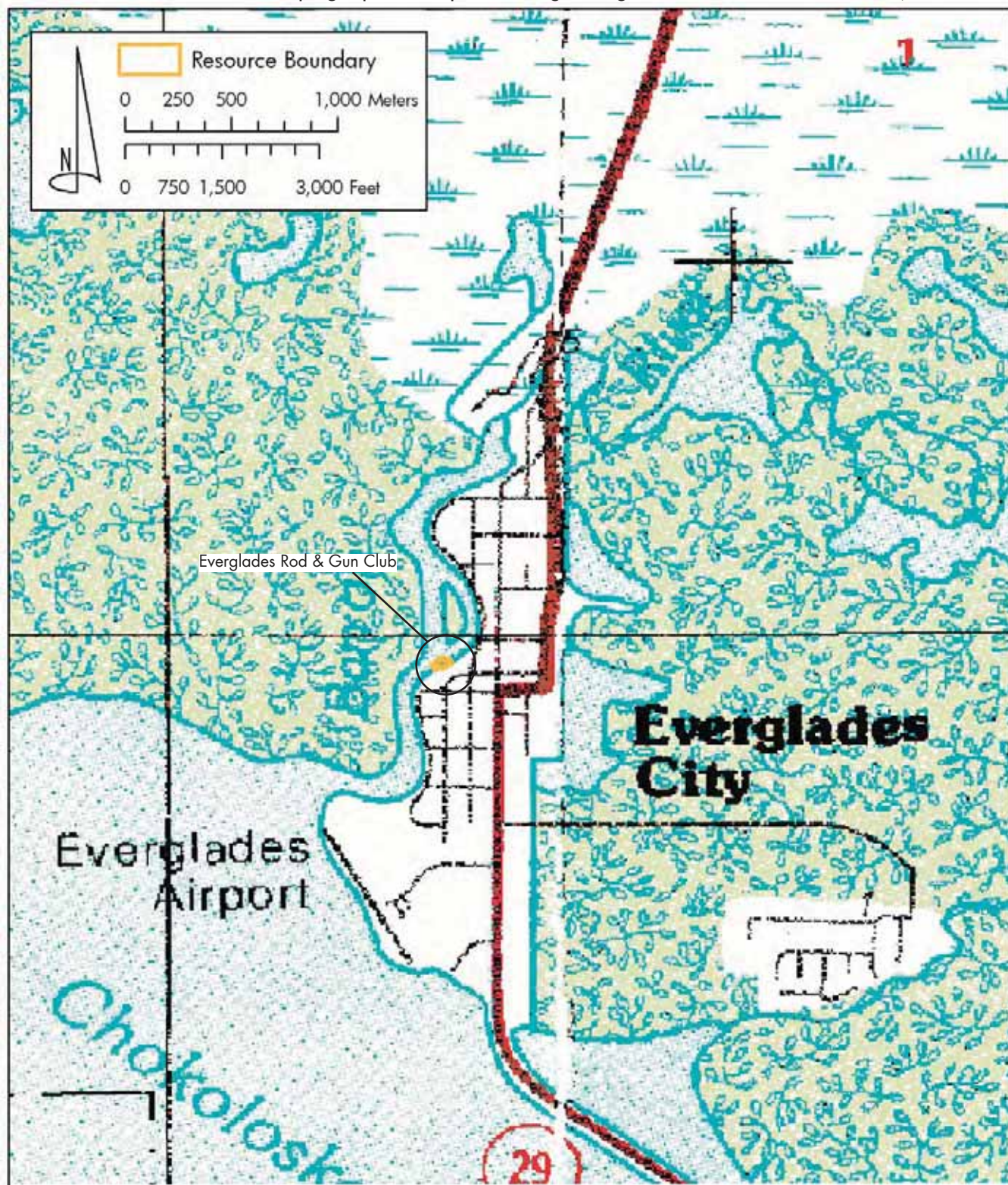


A. Boat Bays from the Kissimmee River



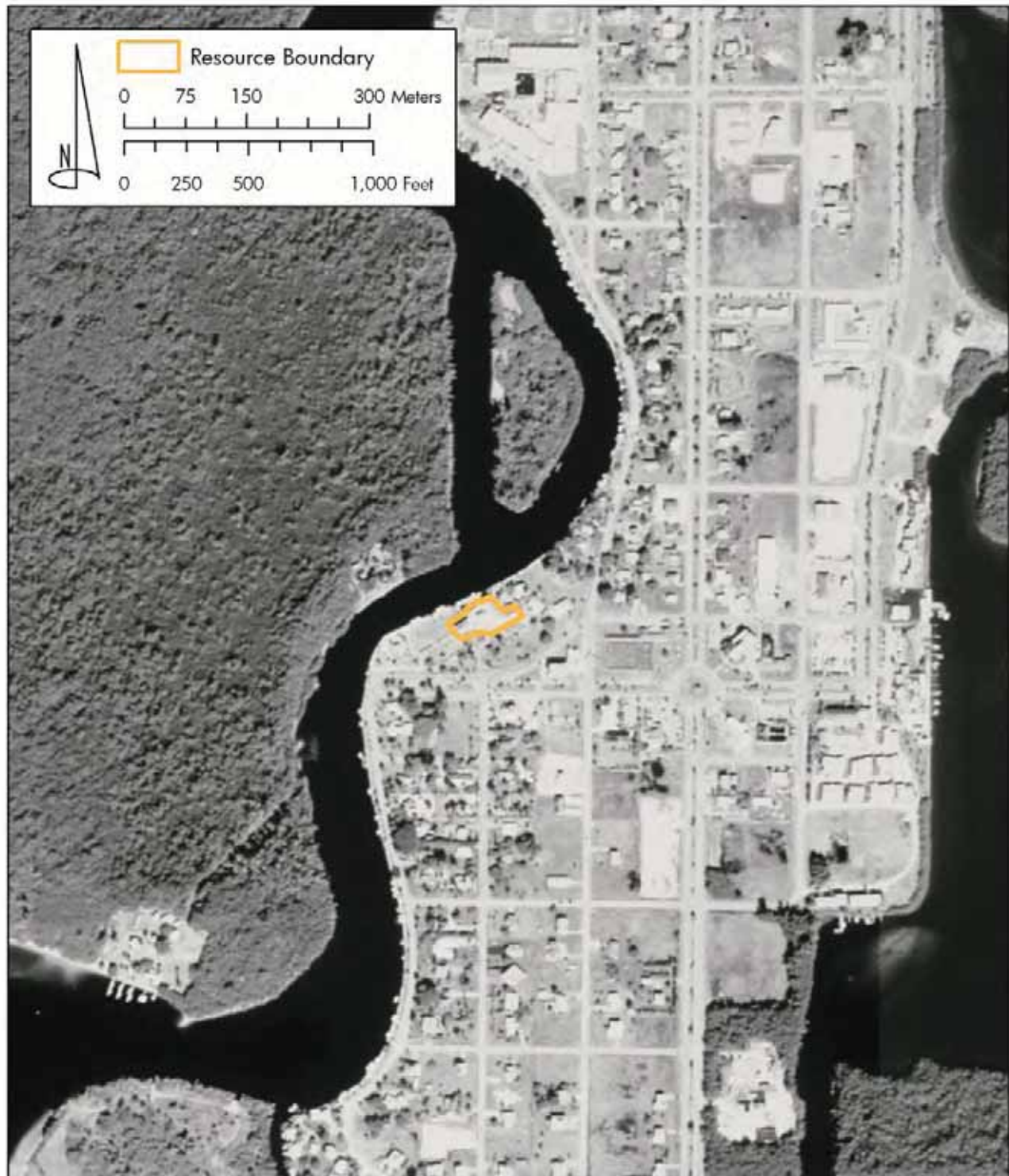
B. Cabins from the Kissimmee River

Figure 30.
Topographic Map Showing Everglades Rod and Gun Club (CR01083)



Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Everglades City (1979)

Figure 31.
Aerial Photograph Showing Everglades Rod and Gun Club (CR01083)



Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1999)

And originally it was one of the pioneer family's homes. And they lived there and they just started taking in fishermen and people that came there to hunt and feed them and letting them stay. And then it gradually evolved into... what it is today.

In 1922, Barron Collier purchased Everglades City, along with a major portion of southwest Florida. Collier made Everglades City the base for his huge land development operations. He operated the Everglades Rod and Gun Club property as a private establishment, catering to wealthy guests and friends, and utilized the Allen/Storter family home as a lodge. In 1923, Everglades City became formally incorporated and named the seat of Collier County. When the land boom ended in the late 1920s, the county seat was moved to Naples, resulting in decreased economic opportunities for the town. After Hurricane Donna devastated Everglades City in 1960, the Collier Corporation sold the Rod and Gun Club and relocated its company headquarters to Naples. Everglades City once again became a small fishing village (Paige 1986:217-218).

In 1972, the Bowen family purchased the club property. They currently operate it as a restaurant and vacation destination. The current lodge structure is built upon the foundation set by William Allen. The lodge has been enlarged over the years (Everglades Rod & Gun Club 2006; Paige 1986:217) and is the only historic structure on the property to have survived a 1969 fire (Leifermann 1988:1). The club has been host to numerous well-known guests including Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Nixon. Several actors have stayed at the property while filming in the Everglades: John Wayne, Burt Reynolds, Danny Glover, and Joe Pesci. Ernest Hemingway was a past guest as were Mick Jagger, Burl Ives, and Jack Nicklaus (Everglades Rod & Gun Club 2006).

The project ethnographer was not granted full access to this property and is therefore unable to give a detailed physical description of the lodge, except to note that the building is situated on the banks of the Barron River in the northeastern portion of town. The lodge is a large, frame building with a wraparound-screened porch and a brick foundation.

One individual out of 34 interviewees mentioned the club during their interview. Another interviewee, Don Barton, mentioned the club in casual conversation, noting that he felt that it was not significant to the Gladesmen Culture. Franklin Adams (2008) reiterated this in his oral interview, noting that at one time the club was significant to area Gladesmen but that now it is not very important to people in town:

And when we have somebody from out of town or something it's a nice place to take them and have something to eat out there on the porch, on the veranda, and to see the inside and everything.... It's nice that it's there and it's a beautiful old building, but it's not something that I think is that important to the locals.

The Everglades Rod and Gun Club does not appear to have a continuing association in maintaining Gladesmen culture. It is therefore not recommended for listing as a TCP.

MACK'S FISH CAMP - DA11448

Mack's Fish Camp is located on the Miami Canal Levee, approximately two miles northeast of U.S. Highway 29 (Krome Avenue) on the Dade/Broward county line (Figures 32 and 33). The camp is named after Mack Charles Jones, Sr., who, in 1939, bought acreage on land originally owned by the Pennsylvania Sugar Company. When Mack Jones, Sr. purchased the property in 1939, it contained a residence and a few sheds. After purchasing the land, Mr. Jones farmed the area for approximately ten years, growing collard greens, pole beans, and tomatoes. During this time, people from surrounding areas began to fish on the levee. In response to the increasing number of people coming to the property to fish, Jones built the original general store and bait shop in 1944, and soon this earned him more money than his farming operations:

And the place was originally started as a farm back in 1939, and the business started producing more money as a general store/fish camp because there were just people coming and going, they needed supplies and they needed fishing poles or bait or things of that nature (Marshall Jones 2008).

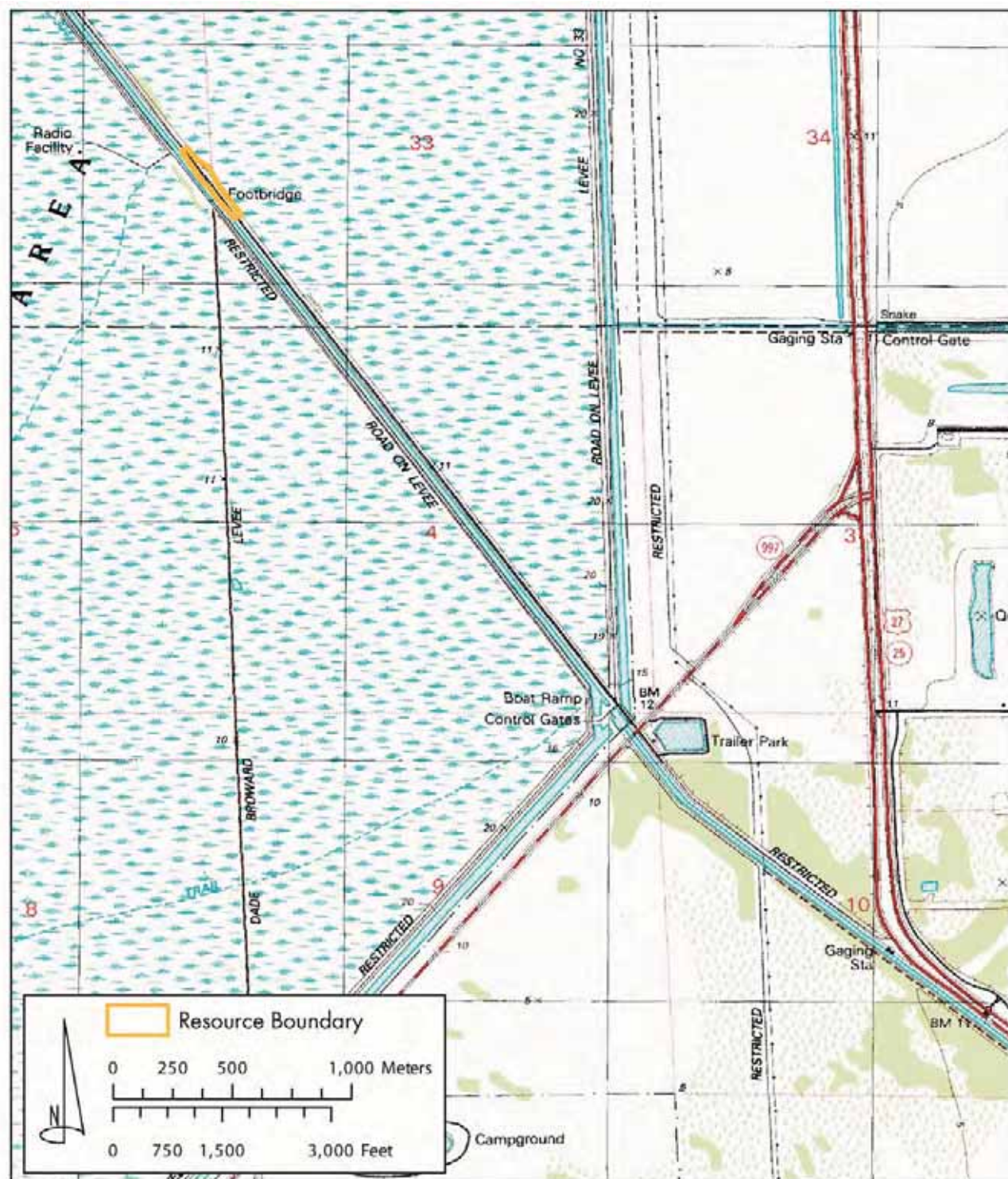
By the late 1940s or early 1950s, the construction and dredging of canals created higher water levels that made farming untenable; therefore the business shifted entirely to a family-run general store and fish camp. By the mid-forties, the Jones family began to acquire rowboats and motorboats for rental and, in 1954, the business acquired livery licenses allowing the camp to officially rent boats and sell fish. According to Marshall Jones, co-owner and grandson of Mack, Jr.:

And towards the early to mid-fifties is when the—primarily the early fifties... is when the business as a general store became better than the produce business.... And in the mid-forties, they started acquiring... rowboats and then they started acquiring motors for the boats and more boats and more motors throughout the later part of the forties and throughout the fifties as well.

During the 1960s, Mack, Sr. started a restaurant and bar across Krome Avenue called the Big Wheel and a camp called Jones Fish Camp. The property is now a mobile home park and the original structures either burned down or were destroyed in a hurricane (Marshall Jones 2008). His son, Mack Jr. and wife Nell continued to run Mack's Fish Camp (Figures 34A and 35), though during the 1950s the couple and their two children lived in Miami and commuted to the camp on weekends. In late 1962 or early 1963, Mack Jr. and Nell left Miami and moved fulltime to the camp.

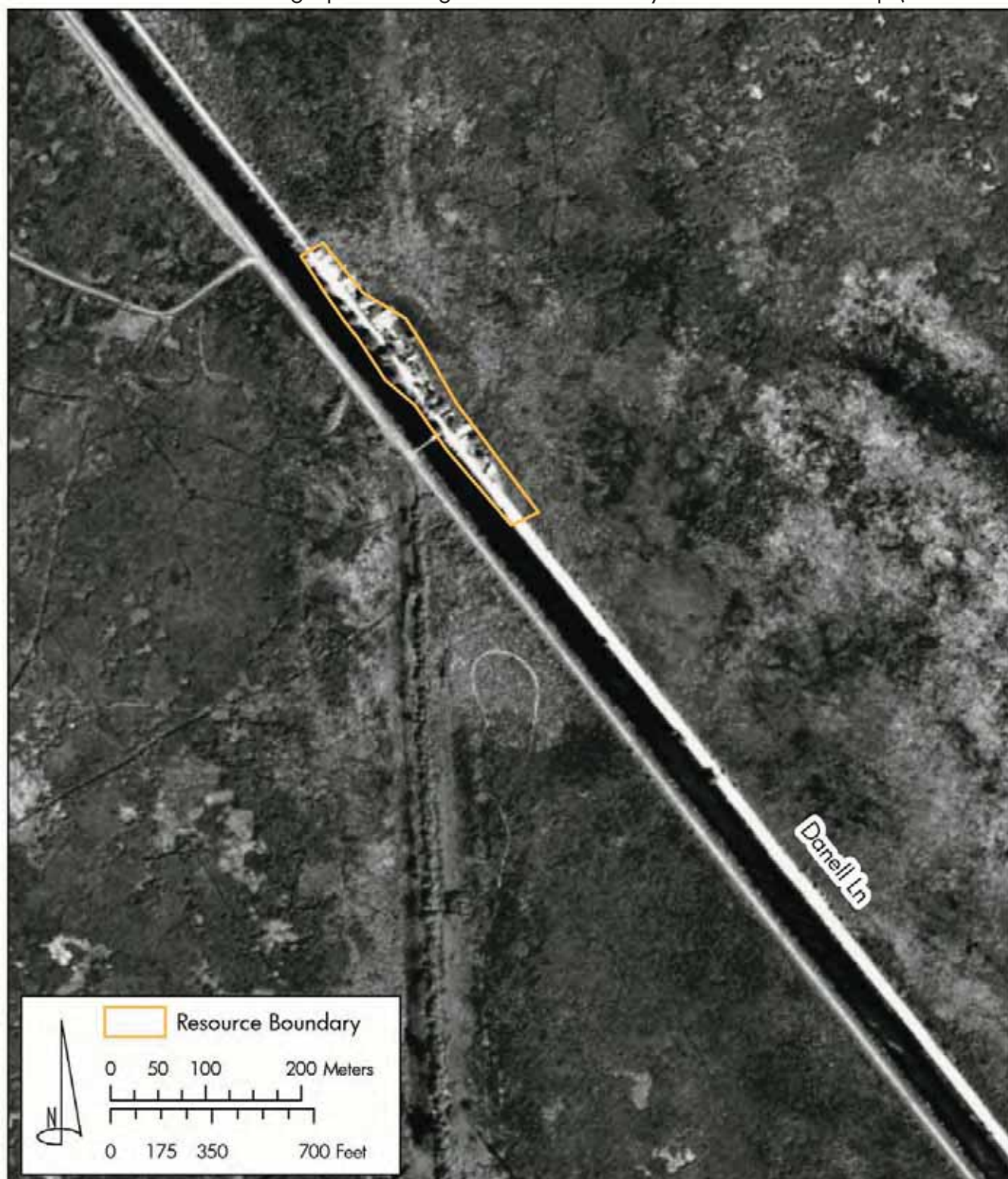
The business continued to grow through the 1970s, with customers coming from across Florida; it became a well-known and well-loved part of the Everglades region. People not only came to fish and visit the Everglades, they also came to spend time in the general store and visit with Nell, who was known as the "Queen of the Everglades" and became somewhat of a celebrity in the area; her husband Mack Jr. was known as the guardian of the Glades. After the dredging of the canal in the early 1970s changed the ecology of the area, killing large numbers of fish, business declined. But by the early 1980s, the fishing improved again. However, beginning in 1984, a long drought began that resulted in large fish kills and a decrease in wildlife. Business at the fish camp slowed considerably and has yet to pick up to the pre-1984 level. Other current factors such as poor road access to the camp and a decreased need for boat rentals have also kept business slow.

Figure 32.
Topographic Map Showing Resource Boundary of Mack's Fish Camp (DA11448)



Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Pennsco (1994)

Figure 33.
Aerial Photograph Showing Resource Boundary of Mack's Fish Camp (DA11448)



Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1999)

Figure 34.
Images of Mack's Fish Camp (DA11448)



A. Original Store and Residence



B. Picnic Site Along the Miami Canal

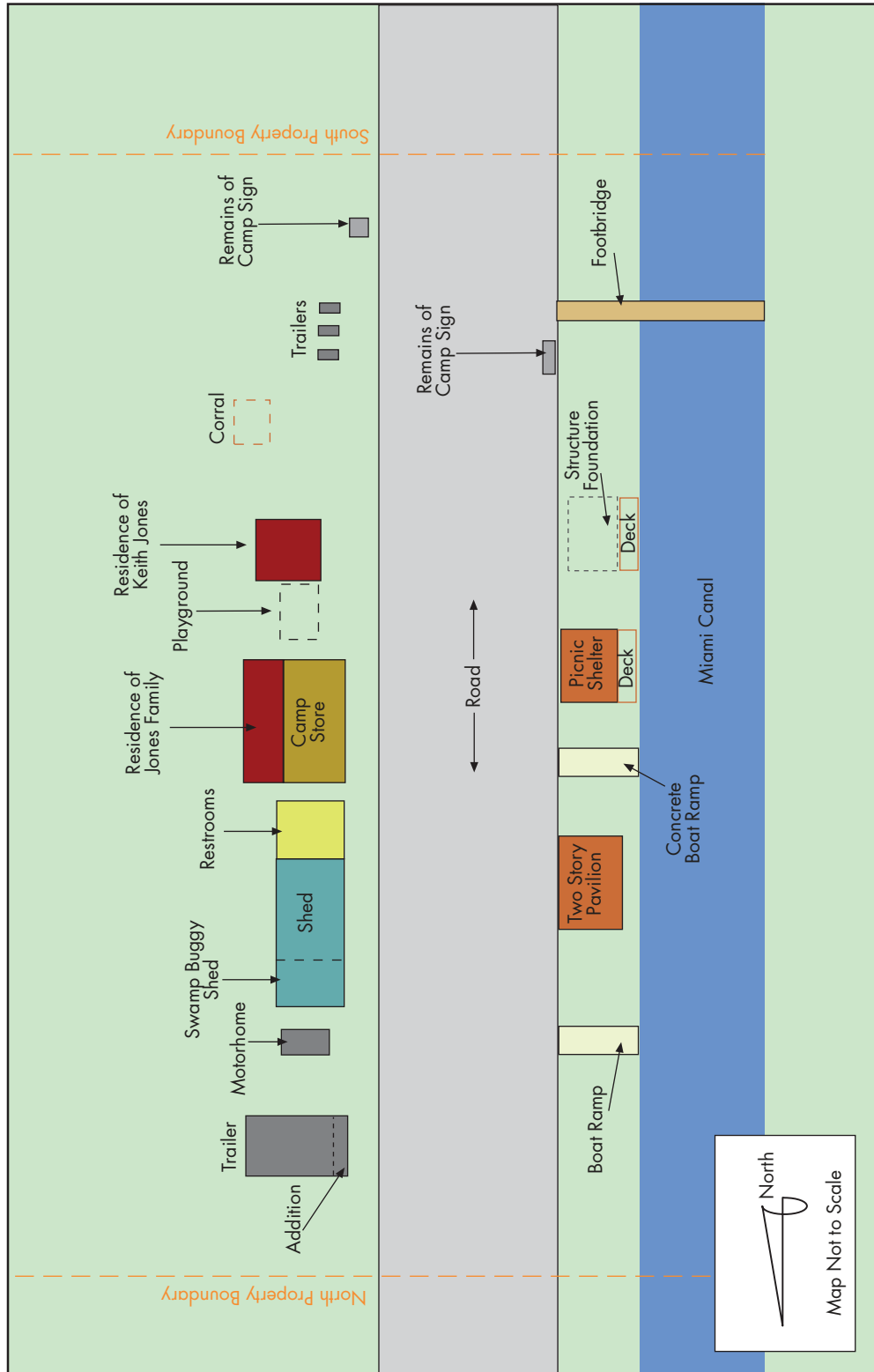


Figure 35.
Sketch Map of Mack's Fish Camp (DA 11448)

Mack Jr. died in 1986 and Nell passed away in 1999. Marshall and Keith Jones, the grandsons of Mack and Nell Jones, now own Mack's Fish Camp. Marshall and Keith were raised at the camp by their grandparents and have lived at the property ever since (Marshall Jones 2008).

Mack's Fish Camp is located in Water Conservation Area 3, on Levee No.C-30 Road (Danell Lane). The property consists of historic structures mixed with 1970s-era house trailers. According to Marshall Jones, the structures that are either original to the camp or over 50 years old include the store/residence, corral, several concrete foundation pads, the picnic shelter, open-air pavilion, restroom building, swamp buggy shed, entrance sign, and concrete boat ramp. Other associated structures that once existed on the property include sheds and fish cleaning stations (Marshall Jones 2008).

At the south entrance to the camp, on the east side of the road, is a four-foot tall concrete structure that is the last vestige of the original camp sign. Several feet to the north, on the west side of the road, are the remains of a second concrete camp sign. Moving north toward the center of camp, on the east side of the road are several older house trailers and an aged, wooden corral with a sheet metal roof. On the west side is a concrete footbridge that spans the Miami Canal. Moving further north on the same side of the road is a picnic table and concrete pad (Figure 34B).

One of the oldest structures in camp is the original camp store and the Jones family residence, located in the center of camp on the east side of the road. The front entrance to the store has bricked, Mediterranean-style arches that lead to the front door. The residence is located at the rear of the building and is accessed through the store. In 1954, this building was renovated by the Jones family and included the replacement of rotting beams and a general updating of the residence (Marshall Jones 2008).

To the north of the store are restrooms and a large wood shed with a sheet metal roof. Next to the shed is a privately owned trailer with a wooden addition on the front. The restroom once had a second story apartment above it but this is no longer present (Marshall Jones 2008).

Across the street from the store, along the bank of the Miami Canal, is an open-air picnic shelter (Figure 35). It has a concrete floor and metal roof and contains a picnic table with attached benches. To the north of the shelter is a small, concrete boat ramp that is original to the camp. Further north is a large, two-story, open-air pavilion constructed of wood with a sheet metal roof. The second floor is accessed by stairs attached to the outside of the southern end of the building. This facility is used for social gatherings; portions of it may be original to the camp.

Directly south of the camp store is a small, contemporary playground surrounded by a short, wooden fence. This is the play area for the children of Marshall Jones and his brother Keith. Directly south is a modern mobile home that is the residence of Keith Jones, the property co-owner. Beyond this home are several older house trailers. Throughout the rest camp are boats and boat trailers of various vintage and size. The original rental boats still comprise the rental fleet and are located along the canal bank.

Three individuals out of 34 mentioned the camp during oral interviews. The property continues to hold importance to contemporary Gladesmen culture as evidenced by information collected from

Marshall and Nicole Jones during the site visit, and in the interview with area Gladesmen Frank Denninger.

When asked why the fish camp is so important to the people who frequent it, Marshall Jones (2008) related that it was more than just a place to fish but was a quiet place to get away from the city. It is an area of southern Florida that has remained virtually untouched by development:

There were several electric water hookups and things of that nature. A lot of people came and went but several people stayed and made this their permanent home just because of the peace and tranquility here. The place is very unique. It has a very warm appeal. Most people say that it's magnetic. And once you come here, you get the itch, you get the bug and people always want to come back and some don't ever want to leave.

New South Associates recommends Mack's Fish Camp eligible to the NRHP as a TCP under Criterion A for its association with the traditional activities of the Gladesmen Culture at the state and local levels of significance. Mack's Fish Camp is one of the few fish camps that still functions in the Miami-Dade County area. The property has been the location of traditional Gladesmen practices since 1939 and Gladesmen throughout southern Florida associate the camp with these practices, primarily fishing, recreation and culture.

Mack's Fish Camp also appears to meet many of the criteria of a rural historic landscape because, as a fish camp in a remote, rural area, it has historically been used by people, modified by human activity, and possesses a linkage of buildings, structures, waterways, and land use. Further evaluation would be necessary to access its significance in this category.

Mack's Fish Camp is a tangible property that is intricately associated with the traditional cultural practices that give the camp its significance. These traditional practices are fishing, hunting, boating, camaraderie with fellow Gladesmen, and observing and enjoying nature. The camp is typical of rural south Florida architecture, with buildings and structures that are used solely as a fish camp and for recreation and/or tourist activities.

The camp retains its integrity of relationship because the property is tied to the traditional cultural practices and beliefs of the Gladesmen Folk Culture. The property is also regarded by the Gladesmen as important in the retention and transmittal of their traditional beliefs and practices. Mack's Fish Camp provides an outlet for Gladesmen activities, i.e. fishing, hunting, and traveling the Everglades. But without the Everglades environment that surrounds the property, there would be no Mack's Fish Camp. The local Gladesmen community in the area still frequents the facility and holds it as an important part of their outdoor experience; both Marshall Jones and Frank Denninger reminisced about their times spent on the property. As Nicole Jones (2008) states: "Pretty much anyone you talk to from West Palm to the Keys knows about this place." She further explained that the camp is a South Florida landmark.

The integrity of condition is retained at the property as the relationship between the condition of the property and its traditional cultural significance has survived. Many of the original and early era buildings are intact and the camp is still used for its original purpose. The setting and location around the camp have changed little since its inception, and its function as a fish camp remains the same. The feeling and association with the surrounding environment is strongly felt on the property

as it sits in the middle of the Everglades ecosystem, with no other businesses within sight. Though the camp is near major highways, it is accessible by only a levee road and thus retains its rural nature. The integrity of design is intact as many of the structures are original to the camp and except for the addition of trailers and a children's playground, the buildings have not changed much since their construction. The workmanship of the structures is typical of rural south Florida and their condition has been maintained.

The proposed NRHP boundary for this recommended Traditional Cultural Property is a visual one: the levee road that runs parallel to the Miami Canal accesses the camp (Figure 33) and Water Conservation Area 3 borders the property to the northwest, east, and southeast.

TRAIL LAKES CAMPGROUND -- CR01082

Trail Lakes Campground is located on the south side of the Tamiami Trail (U.S. Highway 41) at 40904 Tamiami Trail East in Ochopee, a small community within the Big Cypress National Preserve in Collier County (Figures 36 and 37). The 21-acre campground sits on the site of a logging camp that harvested cypress for use in the construction of stone crab traps. In the early 1960s, Jack Shealy, Sr., purchased the land. Although Shealy did not originally build a campground on the property, over the years it evolved into one. Today, the property contains 150 campsites, a lake, store/gift shop, and zoo (Figure 38). Shealy's sons, David and Jack, Jr. now own the campground (Shealy 2008).

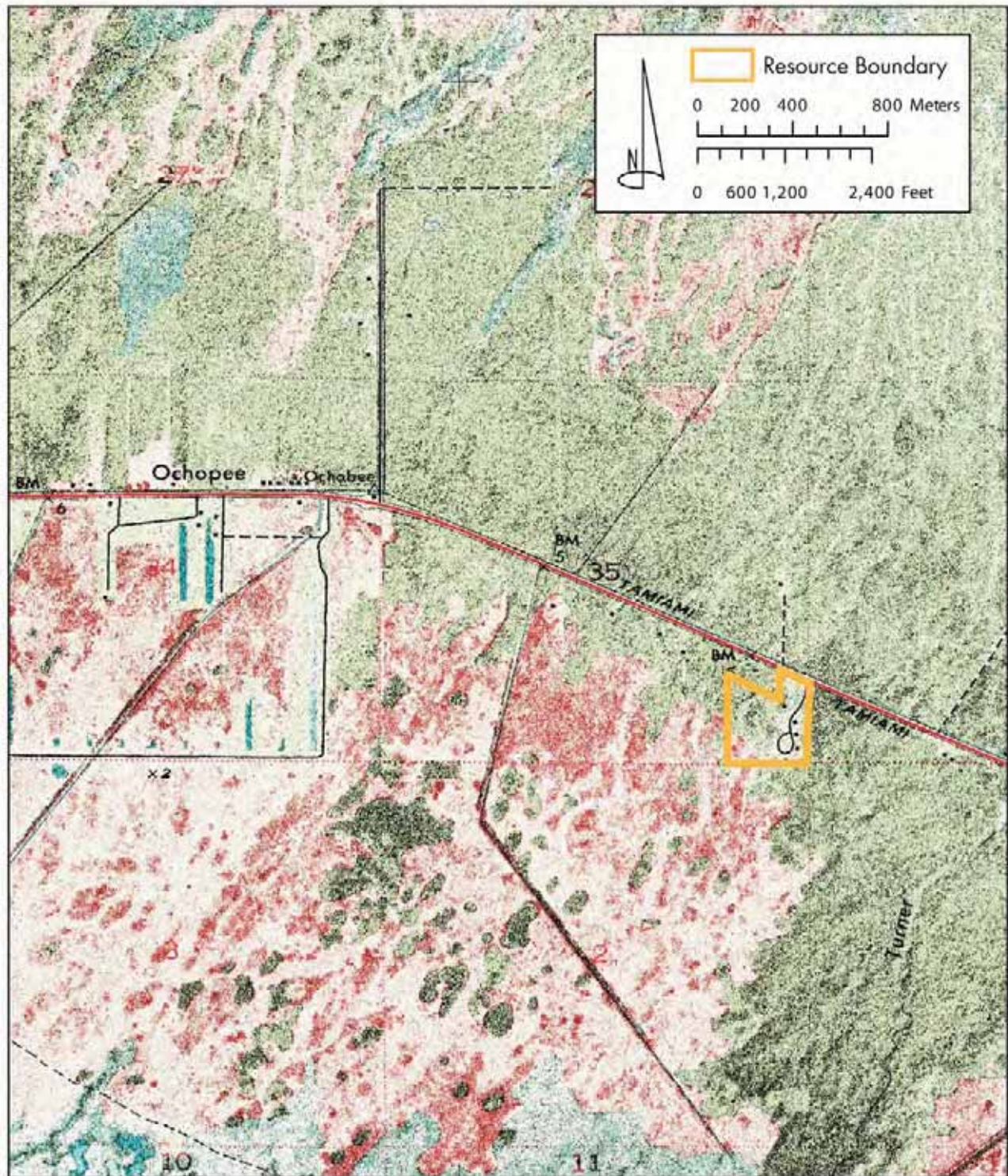
Trail Lakes Campground is historic in nature as it was once the site of a logging operation that later became a gathering spot and access point for backcountry users, i.e. members of the Gladesmen Culture (Shealy 2008). The campground evolved in part because of its location and setting within the Everglades ecosystem. From its inception, the property has served as an access point for hunters, fishermen, and other resource users, into the backcountry. Before the National Park Service built campgrounds in the Big Cypress Preserve, Trail Lakes was the only campground in the area and the only facility available to provide services to visitors. People with swamp buggies would unload their vehicles in the campground at Trails Lake and proceed into the woods. On weekends, the campground was packed with people who came to hunt, fish, and enjoy the Everglades.

Gladesmen Frank Denninger (2008a) is a long-time patron of Trail Lakes and has a small trailer permanently parked at the campground. He laments the fact that the NPS has closed the access trails from the campground into the Big Cypress Preserve:

...when I stay at that campground [Trail Lakes] I have to hook my trailer up to the truck, tow it for four or five miles somewhere, and unload and then go out and come back and load and go back [to Trail Lakes Campground].... And a lot of people avoid that by going to the National Park Service Campground. I just have a lot of sympathy for these people [the owners of Trail Lakes]. They're struggling....

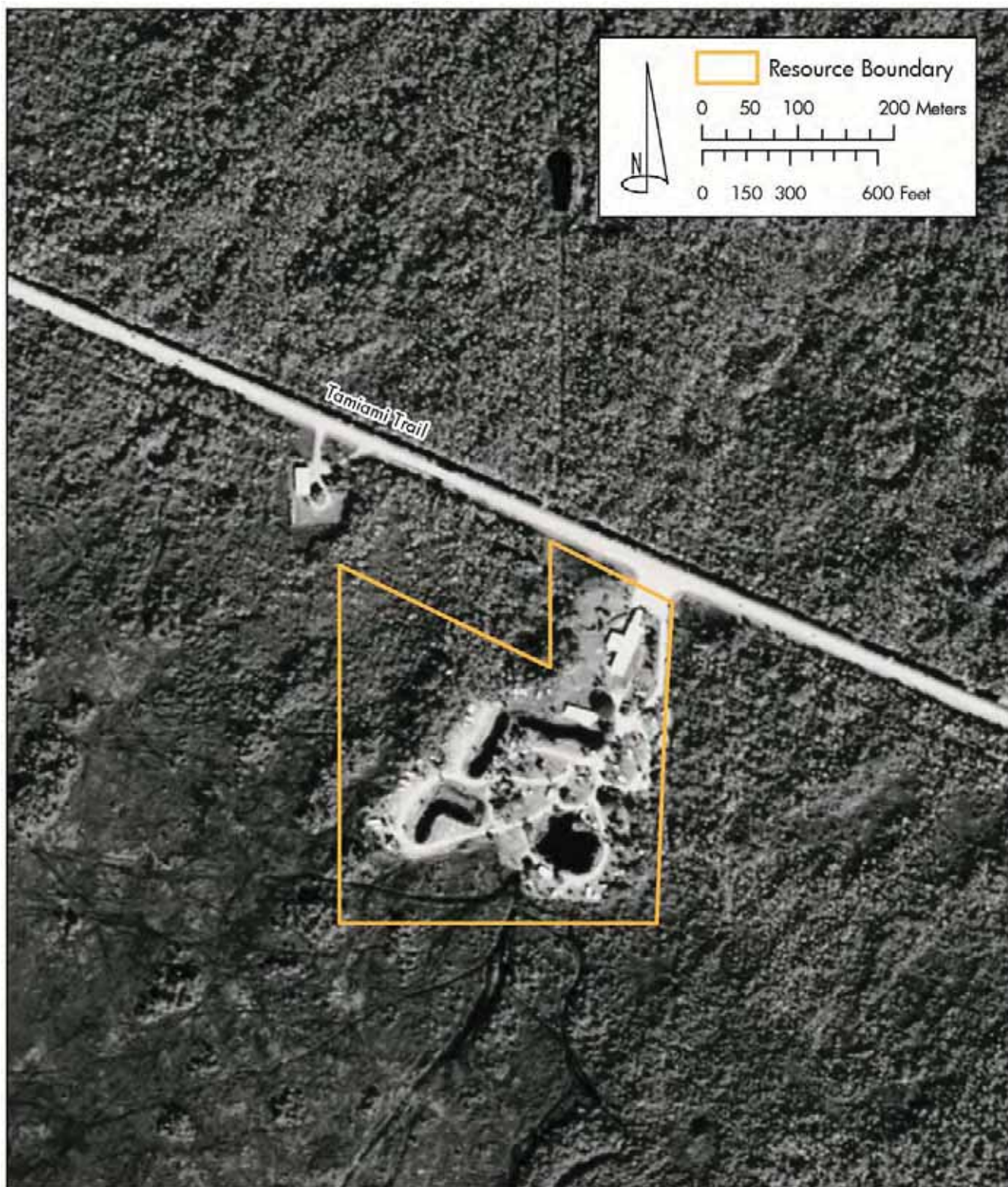
The campground property is a mixture of simple campsites and small buildings, accessed though the campground road, which begins at a gate west of the campground store. Before entering the campsites, there is a small wood frame building on the road's west side that was the campground office and is now used for storage. Some of the campsites include electrical hookups.

Figure 36.
Topographic Map Showing Trail Lakes Campground (CR01082)



Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Ochopee (1994)

Figure 37.
Aerial Photograph Showing Trail Lakes Campground (CR01082)



Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1999)

Figure 38.
Images of Trail Lakes Campground (CR01083)



A. Trail Lakes Exhibit Entrance



B. Trail Lakes Campground Sign

Toward the south end of the campground is a concrete block building with cypress beams that houses the restroom and shower facilities. On the eastern border of the property is the home of owners David and Jack Shealy, Jr. This residence is a combination of concrete block and wood frame with siding. The property also contains three ponds, a screened wood frame building for social events, and, at the southeastern corner of the campground, a building for equipment storage (Frank Denninger, personal communication, 2008d).

The campground store and office is a large steel building within the large parking lot at the entrance to the campground. The front section is the campground office and store. The back portion of the building was formerly used by Jack Shealy, Sr., as a machine shop for his crane repair business. It is now used for storage. On both sides of this structure are enclosed areas that contain the Shealy Zoo. Zoo animals include alligators and a variety of birds. To the west of the camp office building is a large expanse of grass with a life-sized replica of a lion and a larger than life statue of a panther.

Of the 34 individuals interviewed, two mentioned Trail Lakes Campground during their interviews. Though this property retains importance to members of the Gladesmen culture, the campground is under 50 years old and its history thus far does not suggest that it is a property of continuing cultural significance in maintaining Gladesmen culture. New South Associates does not recommend Trails Lake Campground eligible as a Traditional Cultural Property at this time. It is recommended, however, that the property's eligibility be reevaluated after the age of the campground reaches 50 years.

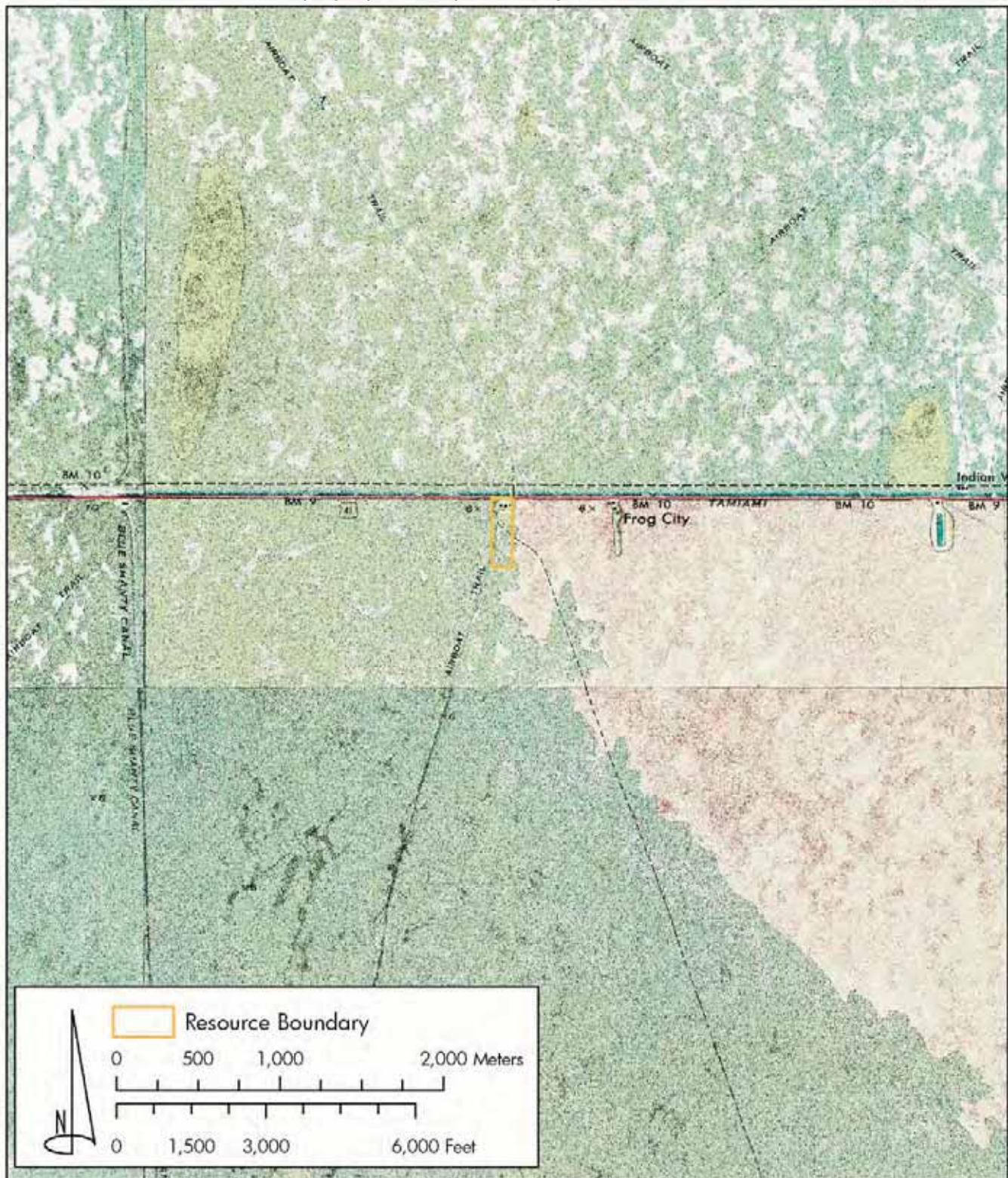
NON-COMMERCIAL PROPERTIES

AIRBOAT ASSOCIATION OF FLORIDA (AAF) - DA6768

The Airboat Association of Florida (AAF) is located on the south side of the Tamiami Trail, just west of Coopertown at 25400 Tamiami Trail in Miami-Dade County (Figures 39 and 40). According to information provided by association members such as Dave Balman (2008) and Frank Denninger (2008a), the buildings on the property were constructed circa-1951. The group shares a long history and association with the Boy Scouts of America, who are part owners of the facility (Onstad 2008).

The AAF has previously been evaluated by Janus Research (2001) and New South Associates (Azzarello et al. 2006). Janus recommended the site ineligible to the NRHP and the Florida SHPO concurred. Following that recommendation, local citizens voiced concerns about this action and stressed the property's historic value. In response, New South Associates then reevaluated the property (Azzarello et al. 2006), but due to denied access by the AAF Board of Directors, a full determination of eligibility could not be made. New South reviewed the survey forms and information submitted by Janus as well as the results of the restudy undertaken by Azzarello et al., and subsequently recommended the property potentially eligible to the NRHP under Criterion A as a historic building (Azzarello et al. 2006:63). New South also recommended at that time that the resource be treated as an eligible property until a determination of eligibility could be made.

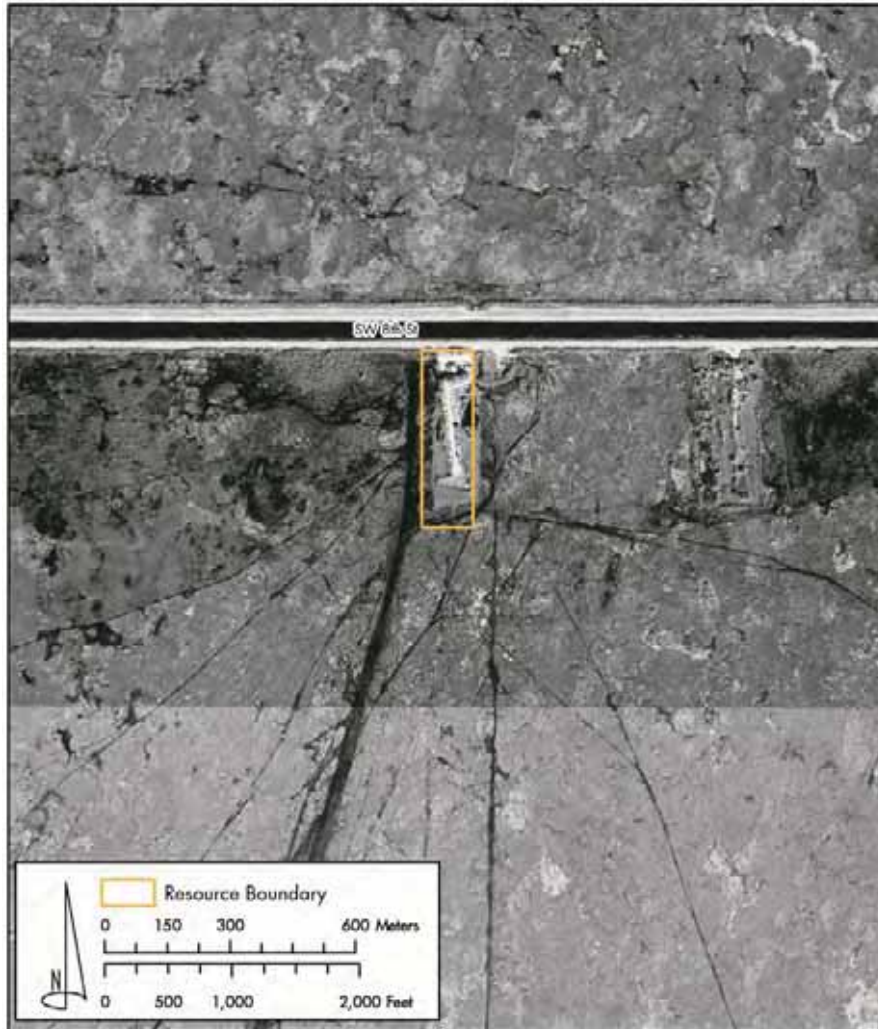
Figure 39.
Topographic Map Showing Airboat Association of Florida (DA6768).



Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Coopertown (1979)

Figure 40.
Aerial Map and Image of Airboat Association of Florida (DA6768)

A. Aerial Map Showing the Airboat Association of Florida



Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1999)



B. Image of the Airboat Association
of Florida Property

As part of the current study, the project ethnographer was allowed brief access to the property in July 2008 but was denied return access to take photographs, conduct interviews, and evaluate historic structures to complete the TCP evaluation. During the visit, the ethnographer noted that the property contains a caretaker's house, a screened concessions stand and kitchen with an attached covered eating area, and several large grills. There is also a concrete block restroom building and concrete block office. The office building is a single-story, concrete masonry, vernacular style structure with a concrete slab foundation. Along the property road is a large grassy area with camper parking on both sides. The property also contains an extensive area for airboat storage.

The AAF is host to a variety of activities including:

a fish fry, open to the public.... We give... free airboat rides. We'll do games and greased pole climbs, [a target] shoot with BB guns, bow and arrow. A guy will set up a target and get the kids lined up... good music, good barbeque. We have concessions where people can come and buy airboat hats and.... We run a raffle on an airboat this last year, and now we're running a raffle on a 16-foot McKee Craft.... And we kind of build our treasury up by doing these kinds of events to keep our airboat club running. [The club is] pretty family oriented (Onstad 2008).

Four individuals out of the 34 mentioned the AAF during their oral interviews. Donnie Onstad (2008) also provided a description of some of the structures during his interview:

And they built a clubhouse... and that's probably 30 x 40 [feet]. And then we have a cook shed where all the barbequing and everything goes on for our barbeques and our picnics. And then we have the caretaker's house. I would say the caretaker's house was built in sixties, somewhere in the early sixties.... I think maybe the clubhouse actually was the first thing that was built.

The AAF is one of the principal proponents of the sport of airboating in the region and the significance of this organization is substantial. According to Frank Denninger (2008a) clubs like the AAF are important to protect the Gladesmen interests to develop and maintain important relationships with government agencies and to do what is best for the resource user and the wildlife in accessible areas. Donnie Onstad (2008) has been an AAF member since he was 16 years old and has seen the club grow from a handful of members to over 200. The property on which the airboat club is located began as just two or three acres of land and, in the late 1950s, members of the AAF added seven more acres to bring the club to its present size of 10 acres.

The project ethnographer took an airboat trip into Water Conservation Area C with members of the AAF and had the opportunity to visit with club members on the property; she was not allowed to take pictures or record conversations. During these interactions, it became evident that AAF members hold this property to be sacred ground. It appears to be well maintained and fiercely protected. Without the property, the existence of such a large and influential airboat club community would be greatly diminished.

New South Associates recommends the Airboat Association of Florida as eligible to the NRHP as a TCP under Criterion A for its continued association with the traditional activities of the Gladesmen Culture. Despite limited access, this property clearly possesses significance at the state and local levels for its important association with Gladesmen culture.

The AAF is very significant both in the development of recreation in southern Florida and as an ongoing, long term place of importance among Gladesmen. The association has been in existence since 1951.

The Airboat Association of Florida is a tangible property that has a continuing association with the traditional cultural practices that give the association its significance. The AAF is one of the principal proponents of airboating in southern Florida and its significance is substantial in protecting Gladesmen interests, developing and maintaining relationships with government agencies, and ensuring safety and well being for both resource users and the environment itself.

The AAF retains its integrity of relationship because the property is tied to the traditional cultural practices and beliefs of the Gladesmen Folk Culture. The property is also regarded by the Gladesmen as important in the retention and transmittal of their traditional beliefs and practices. The AAF provides an outlet for Gladesmen activities (fishing, hunting, and traveling the Everglades), but without the Everglades environment that surrounds the property, there would be no Airboat Association of Florida. Gladesmen in the area often frequent the facility, which plays an important part in maintaining and promoting their traditional outdoor practices. Integrity of condition at the 10-acre property may still be retained, but that was not verified due to limited access.

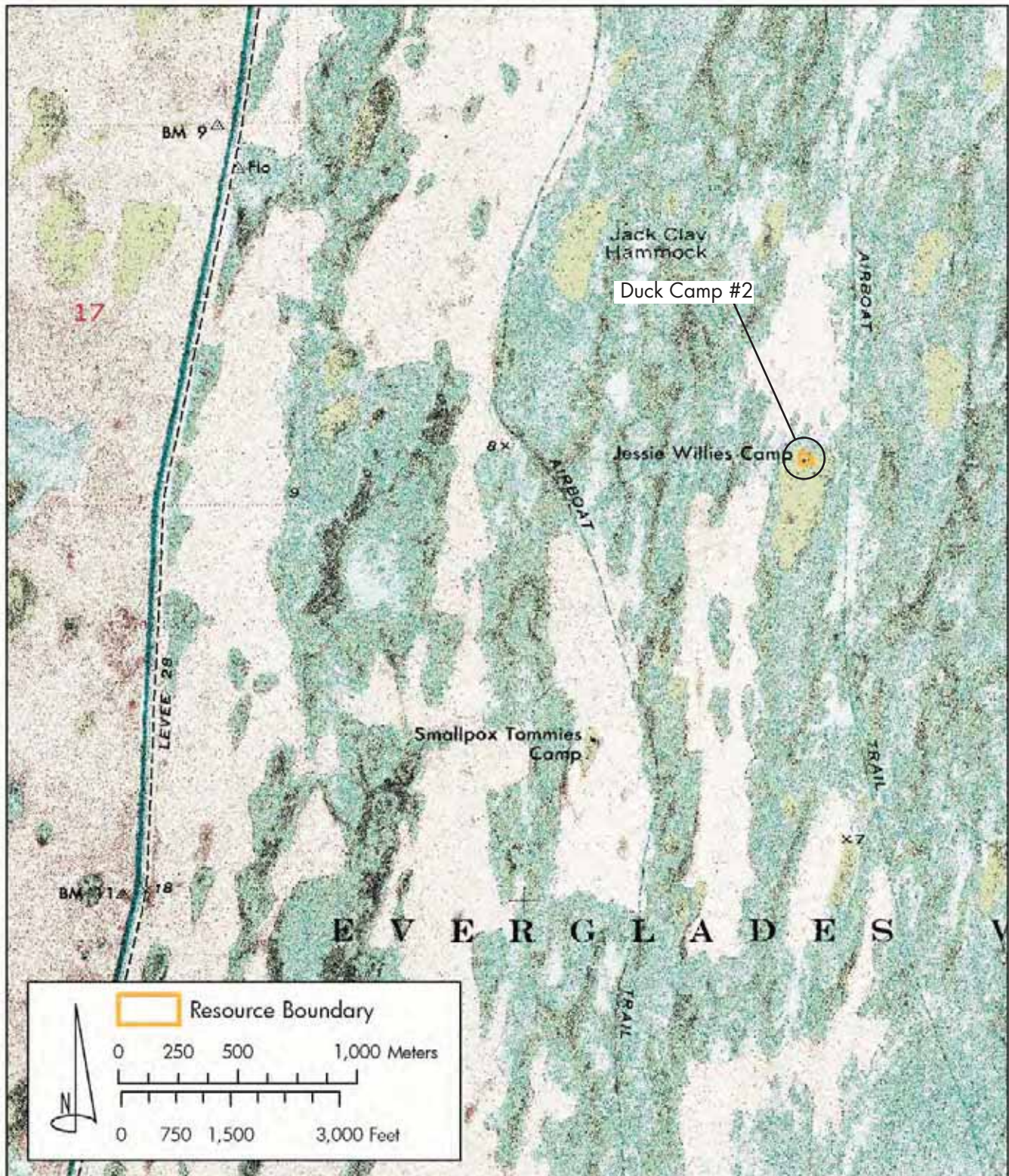
The proposed NRHP boundary for this TCP, located at 25400 Tamiami Trail, include the 10-acre limits of the property, as seen in Figures 39 and 40.

DUCK CAMP #2 - DA11449

Duck Camp #2 is located on a tree hammock in Water Conservation Area 3 (WCA3), in Dade County (Figure 41 and 42). Information on the history and origins of the camp is conflicting but the original camp may have been constructed ca. 1958, when the entrance to the camp was dynamited in order to clear a path for construction access (Onstad 2008). According to current co-owner Donnie Onstad, former Florida Governor Claude Kirk owned the camp at one time and had a helicopter pad built in back of the cabin. However, further information (Barbara Jean Powell, personal communication 11 November 2008), indicates that a former commissioner of the Florida Fish and Wildlife Commission originally owned the camp, although the dates of his ownership are not known. Figure 41 shows the location in 1979 as Jessie Willies Camp.

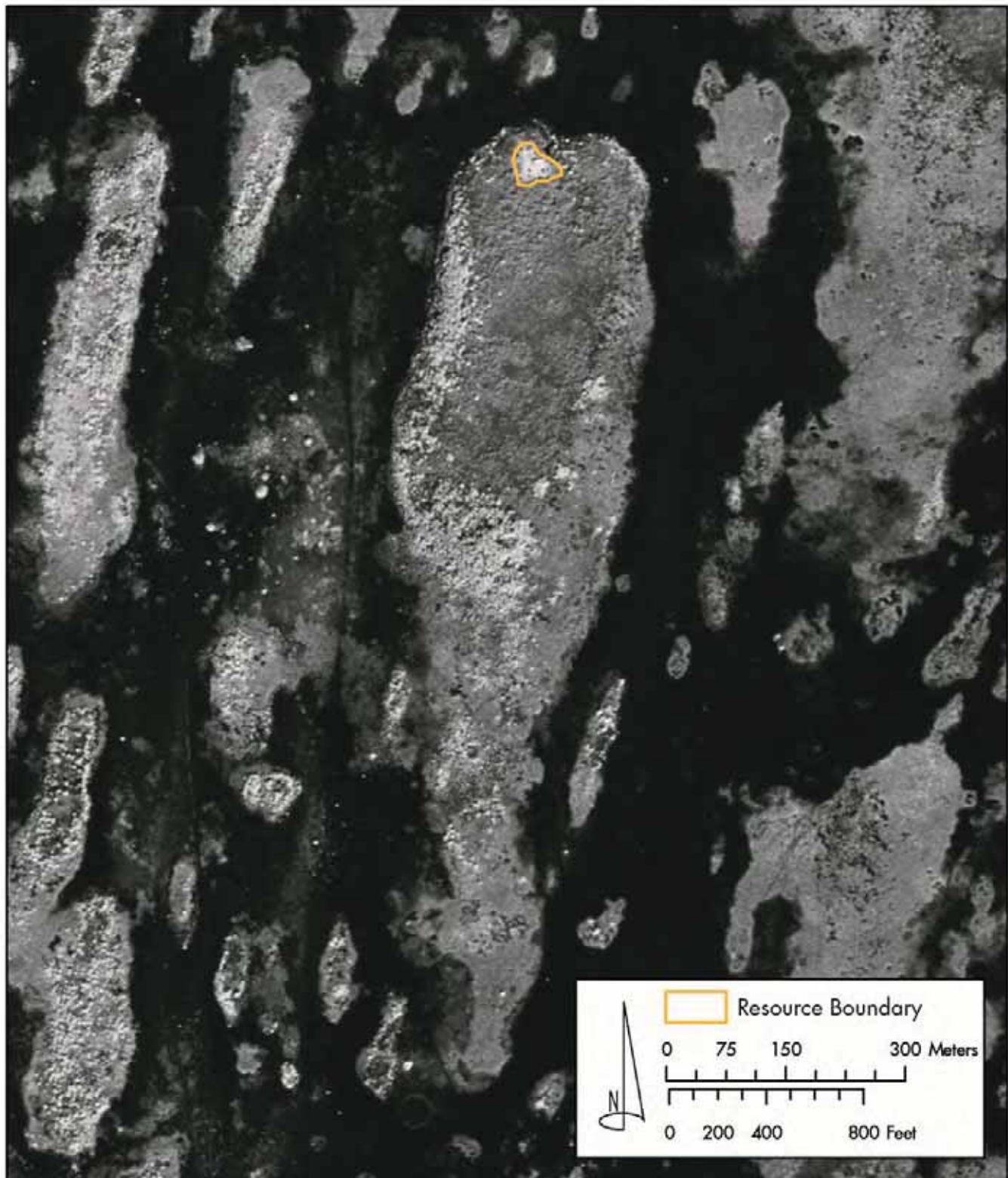
Duck Camp #2 is accessed by water only, with entrance to the hammock through a wooden-slatted dock that winds through dense vegetation and ends at a large, mowed clearing. The original cabin, circa 1958, was built of plywood on top of concrete pillars that still support the current cabin. Around 1971, the camp was burned by unknown individuals and sometime in the next few years, Richard Natell and a Dr. Harris, both from Coral Gables, became the next owners of the camp. They rebuilt the cabin on the original foundations, and according to Mr. Onstad, it is similar in appearance to that first cabin. Mr. Onstad and Ray Cramer purchased the camp from Natell and Harris in 1995.

Figure 41.
Topographic Map Showing Duck Camp #2 (DA11449)



Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Forty-mile Bend (1979)

Figure 42.
Aerial Photograph of Duck Camp #2 (DA11449)



Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1999)

Figure 43.
Images of Duck Camp #2 (DA11449)



A. Exterior



B. Interior

Oral history suggests that this campsite has been in use since the late 1950s and has a history of approximately 50 years. However, New South Associates does not recommend Duck Camp #2 eligible to the NRHP as a TCP. While it appears to be typical of a mid-twentieth century Everglades backcountry camp, the camp is used by an individual or a small number of people. Duck Camp #2 does not exhibit a continuing association with the overall Gladesmen Culture and therefore is not recommended as a TCP.

EVERGLADES CONSERVATION AND SPORTSMAN'S CLUB -- CR01084

The Everglades Conservation and Sportsman's Club is a private sportsmen's club located on State Road 94 at 50940 Loop Road, just south of the intersection of the Tamiami Trail and the Loop Road (Figures 44 and 45). In 1950, eight men interested in wildlife conservation within the Everglades and Big Cypress Swamp started the club. This may have been the time that the present property was developed. Its members are committed to conservation in the Everglades and Big Cypress Swamp, and they work with state agencies to this end. The club also supports youth camps and assists in rescue efforts in the area (Schramm 2008; Stone n.d.). The property comprises 80 acres of fenced land and contains a campground and several structures including a clubhouse, service buildings, and vehicle storage sheds (Figure 46).

Gladeswomen Martha Schramm (2008) describes the club as:

...a really wonderful place to have grown up. And it's right in the heart of the Big Cypress, which I find [in] my personal opinion is probably the most beautiful area of all of the Everglades. It has everything from cypress trees to slash pines, has all of the different animals and creatures and fauna and flora that you'll ever see. We have beautiful otters that play in the canals all the time. You see the alligators, you see panthers, bobcats, all the curlew, the different types of varieties of birds, everything.

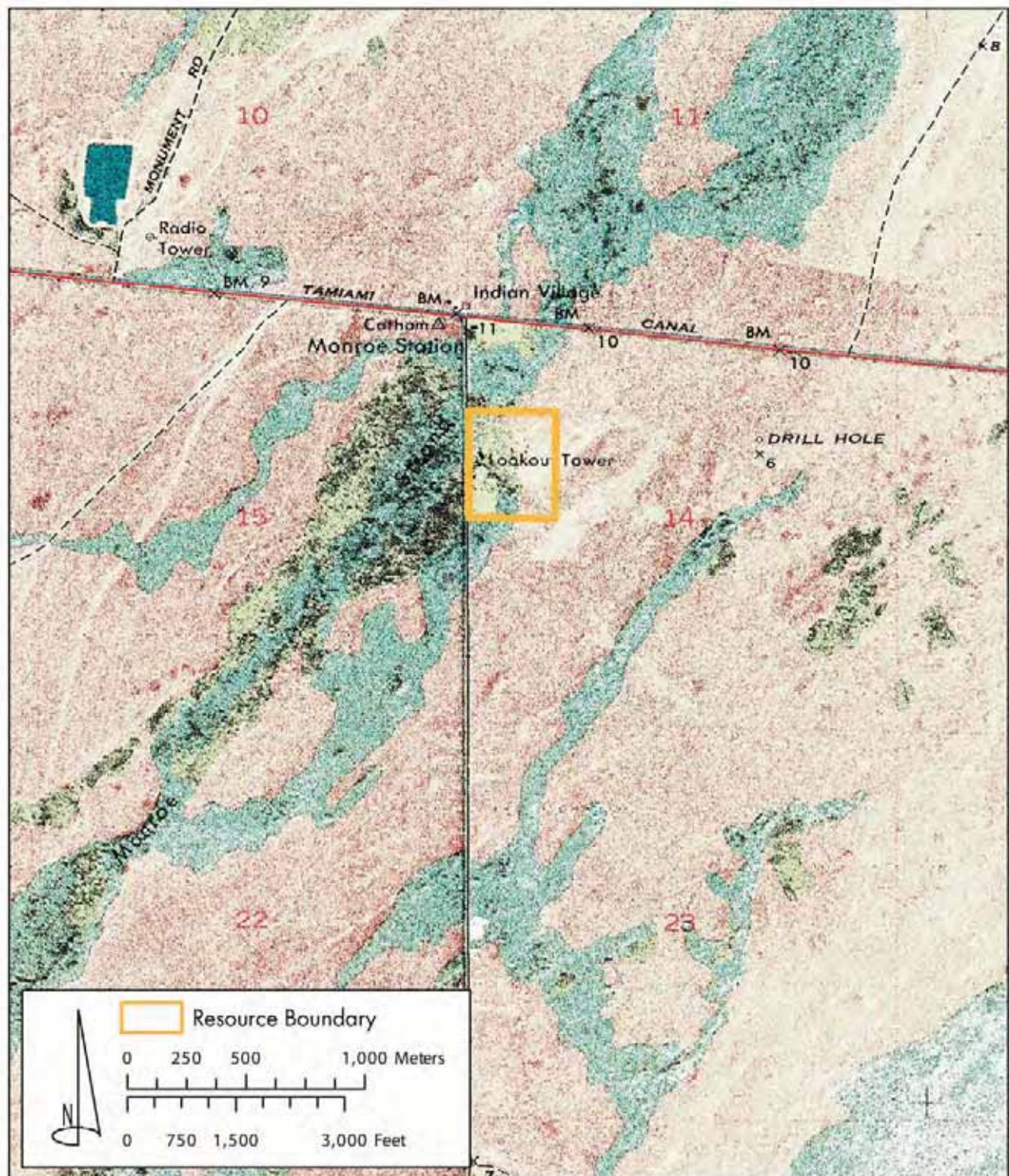
Ms. Schramm further explained that the club does a lot of conservation projects on its own and in conjunction with the NPS. In addition to these activities, many club members spend the weekend at the property hunting and socializing.

Gladesmen Jack Switzer (2008) stated that a game warden named Sig Walker and his brother Ed started the club in 1950:

Sig and his brother talked to the guy that owned the land into selling it and they created a club. And all it was an old house, an old diesel generator.... They bought 20 acres and they built a clubhouse and bathrooms and kitchen and everything else out there. And when I was president, I talked them into buying the acreage behind it on each side of it. We had 80 acres. Then when the park took over, they didn't want any club or anybody in that land. So we gave them half the land to let us keep that 20 acres for the club.

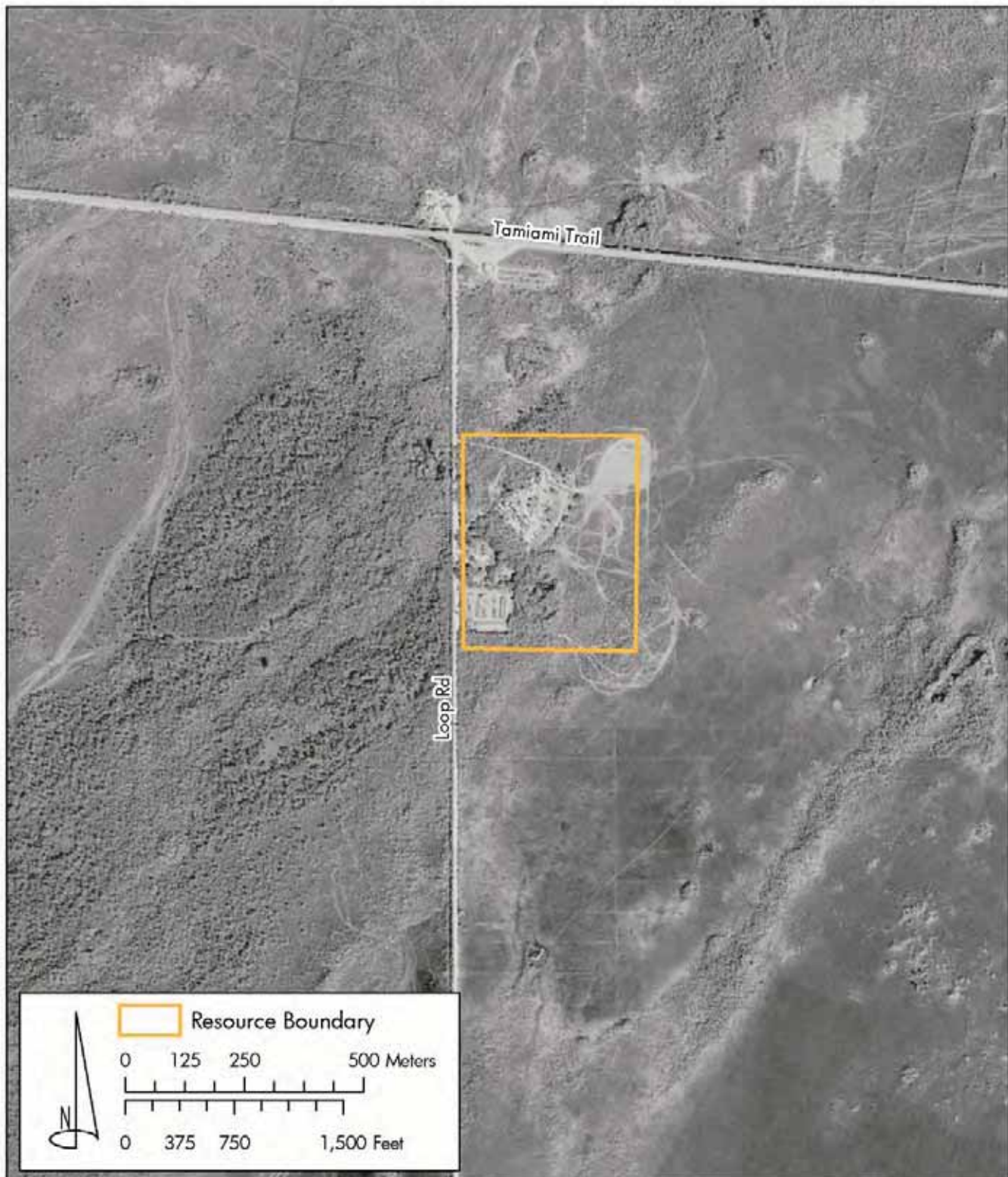
The property is oriented north to south and sits on the eastern side of the Loop Road, approximately one mile south of Monroe Station. Viewing the property from outside the chain-link fence, the ethnographer noted that the club consisted of several small, one-story concrete block buildings situated on a well-maintained lawn. She was not able to view the rear (east) portion of the grounds but suspects this area contains additional cabins and recreation areas. On the south side of the property is an extensive storage area for swamp buggies. Parts of this parking area contained sheds for buggy storage, while other vehicles were stored in the open.

Figure 44.
Topographic Map Showing the Everglades Conservation and Sportsman's Club (CR01084)



Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Monroe Station (1979)

Figure 45.
Aerial Map Showing the Everglades Conservation and Sportsman's Club (CR01084)



Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1999)

Figure 46.
Images of the Everglades Conservation and Sportsman's Club (CR01084)



A. Club Sign



B. Club Entrance

While New South Associates was not granted access to the 80-acre Everglades Conservation and Sportsman's Club property, three Gladesmen talked about the club during oral interviews. The club does exhibit significance as a property with a continuing association with Gladesmen culture for over 50 years. While access was limited, New South was able to obtain sufficient information about the property and the organization to evaluate the club's eligibility to the NRHP as a TCP.

New South Associates recommends the Everglades Conservation and Sportsman's Club eligible to the NRHP as a TCP under Criterion A for its association with the traditional activities of the Gladesmen Culture at the state and local level of significance. The property has been a location for maintaining traditional Gladesmen practices for over 50 years, and its members pursue conservation projects as a group, both on their own and in conjunction with the NPS. The club also supports youth camps and assists in local rescue efforts. In addition to these activities, many club members spend the weekend at the property hunting and socializing.

The Everglades Conservation and Sportsman's Club is a tangible property associated with the traditional cultural practices that give the club its significance. These traditional practices are fishing, hunting, boating, the use of swamp buggies, camaraderie with fellow Gladesmen, and observing and enjoying nature. The camp is typical of rural south Florida architecture, with buildings and structures that are used for recreation, group meetings, and conservation projects.

The 80-acre Everglades Conservation and Sportsman's Club also appears to meet many of the criteria of a rural historic landscape because, as a meeting place in the heart of Big Cypress, it has historically been used by people, modified by human activity, and possesses a linkage of buildings, structures, and land use. Because of limited access, further evaluation would be necessary to access its significance in this category.

The club retains its integrity of relationship because the property is tied to the traditional cultural practices and beliefs of the Gladesmen Folk Culture. The property is also regarded by the Gladesmen as important in conserving the Big Cypress and in the retention and transmittal of their traditional beliefs and practices. Without the Big Cypress environment that surrounds the property, there would be no Everglades Conservation and Sportsman's Club.

Integrity of condition is retained at the property as the relationship between the condition of the property and its traditional cultural significance has survived. The setting and location around the club have changed little since its inception, and its function as a club has remained the same for over 50 years. The feeling and association with the surrounding environment is strongly felt on the property as it is situated within the Big Cypress. The integrity of design appears intact, although only some of the property was viewed. The workmanship of the structures is typical of rural south Florida and their condition appears to have been maintained.

The proposed NRHP boundary for this recommended TCP is 80 acres as seen in Figure 45; the Loop Road provides access to the club from the west.

PINECREST - MO1919

The community of Pinecrest lies along the Loop Road in Monroe County (Figures 47 and 48) within the Big Cypress National Preserve. According to Dave Balman Jr. (2008), Pinecrest was a thriving community from the 1930s until the 1960s. The town originated circa 1918 or 1919 as a sawmill village and logging community that provided living facilities for the mill's workers. Former Pinecrest resident Dave Balman (2008) recalls that his father worked at the logging operation:

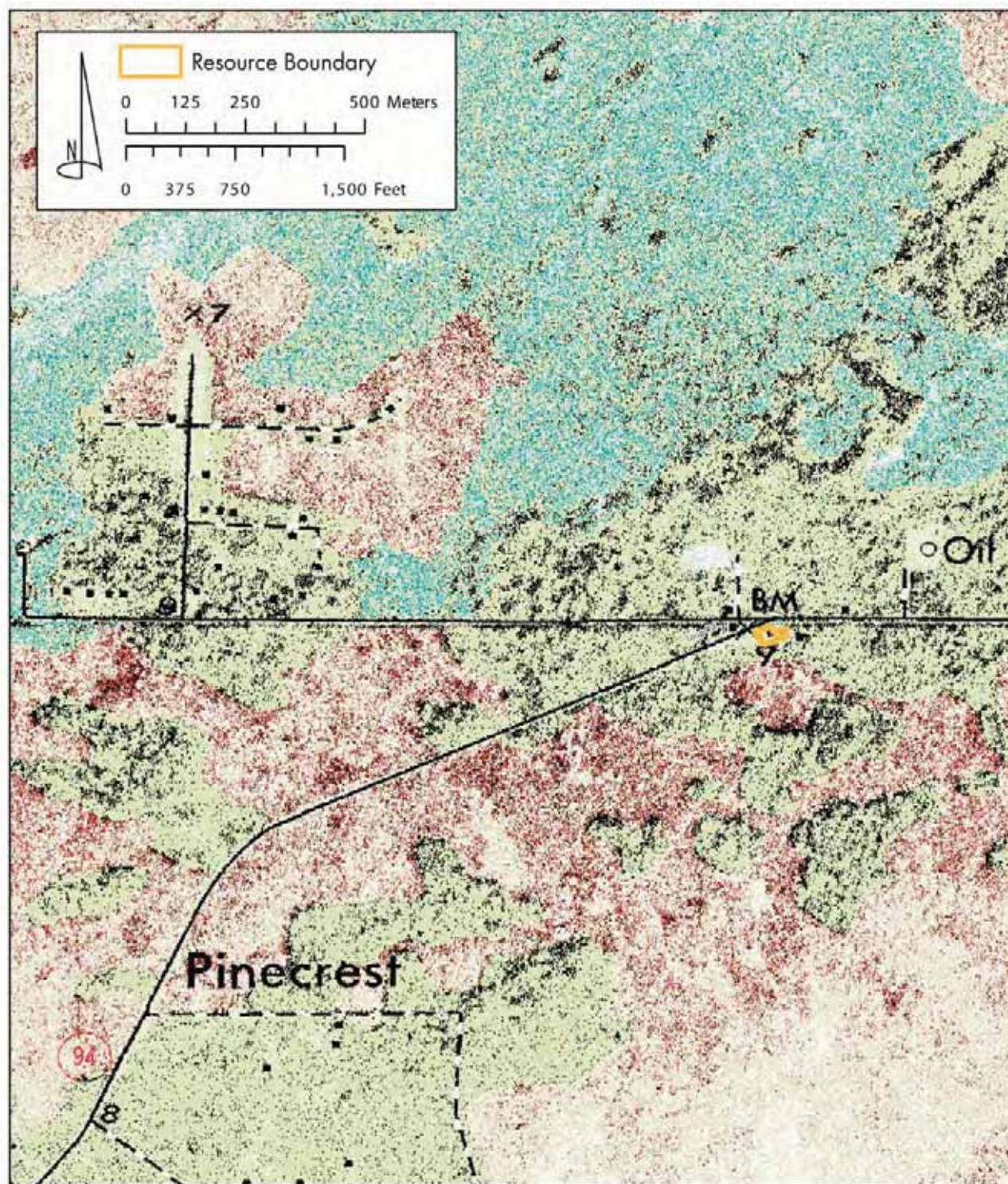
They had four oxen that they'd pull the logs out of the swamp with, cypress trees this big around with a team of oxen. Some of them are still in these canals where they made a bridge to get across.... And during World War II cypress was used on your minesweepers a lot of your PT boats and the decks for aircraft carriers, and a lot—because it's very light wood and very strong.

The town started small, with just a bar and restaurant, but people from the Miami area would come up on weekends to dance and have fun (Balman 2008; Goble 1992). According to Mabel Kirkland (n.d.), by 1928, Pinecrest consisted of eight homes, a hotel, schoolhouse, nursery, sawmill, commissary and kitchen, storage building, worker bunkhouse, and an "Indian Village." A New Yorker by the name of C. J. Martin built a motel in Pinecrest that apparently was used as a hunting lodge. It also served as a gathering place for Pinecrest families, who held dances in the building (Kirkland n.d.). According to Franklin Adams (1992), by the 1940s, Pinecrest was less family oriented, being described as frequented by a rather rowdy bunch including "...people that just didn't like city living and a few malcontents and [for] a few people [it was] just a cheap place to squat. It's a place where you could have too much to drink and not get in trouble."

Various businesses and establishments popped up and disappeared during the existence of Pinecrest. Sometime during the 1950s or 1960s, the Gator Hook Lounge was in operation. Jack Knight ran the establishment and he had a sign posted outside prohibiting guns and knives; this sign was often ignored (Klinkenberg 2006). Another popular business operation was making moonshine whiskey. The remnants of many of stills are present in the woods around Pinecrest and along the Loop Road. In the early 1970s, according to Balman (2008), the NPS bought most of the privately held lands and people moved off the Loop Road. The population of Pinecrest decreased and many of the buildings in the community were torn down. Located within the Pinecrest town site today are the remains of an old hotel that locals claim to have been built and operated by Al Capone, who reportedly used the business as a gambling house and restaurant. Many older locals remember coming to the establishment on weekends for the wonderful dances.

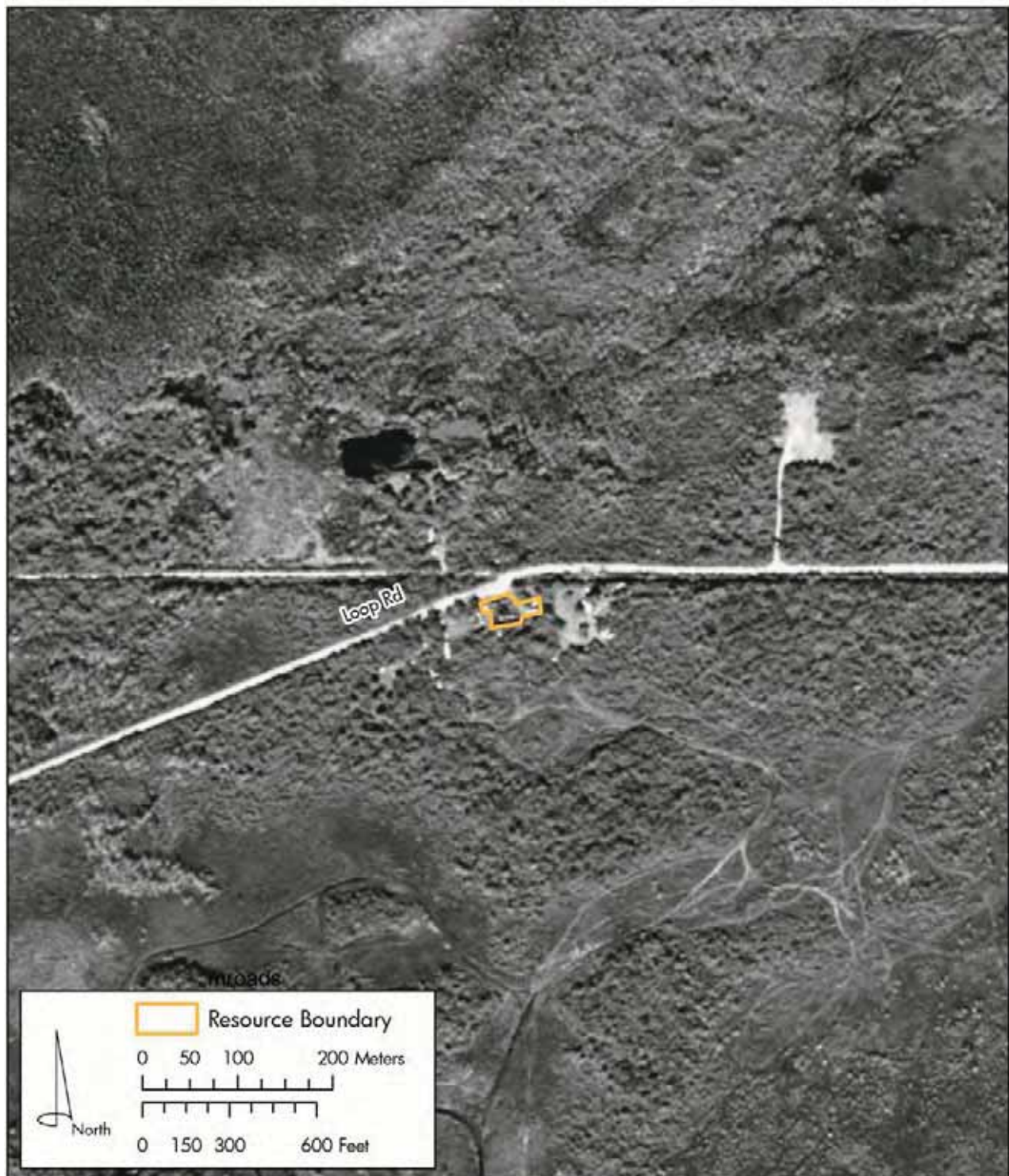
Pinecrest is located on the south side of the Loop Road. One of the oldest remaining structures is the gas station (inactive), which consists of a small, white, concrete building with a blue entrance door and a blue bay door. A tall, metal shed containing a trailer is attached to the east side of the building. Northeast of the shed are two older trailers, while in front of the station are two rusted gas pumps. Behind the gas station is a hollow, circular stone structure that is the remains of the hotel fountain; to the southeast of the fountain are two sets of stone stairs, also part of the former hotel. West of the gas station is the trailer residence of Carol Balman. Associated structures include a screened kitchen facility that sits in front of her trailer, a picnic table, and a gazebo. To the west of the kitchen are two school buses. The remainder of the property contains a few abandoned trailers.

Figure 47.
Topographic Map Showing Pinecrest (MO1919)



Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Fifty-mile Bend (1984)

Figure 48.
Aerial Photograph Showing Pinecrest (MO1919)



Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1999)

The community previously contained more buildings and trailers that have since been abandoned or torn down. Across the street from the gas station was a large still for making moonshine, which was common at Pinecrest. According to Balman (2008), even NPS rangers participated in this moneymaking activity. A few structures are still standing such as the Pinecrest Gas Station but the town site is now privately owned by Ann Coven. Approximately seven or eight people presently reside in Pinecrest (Figures 49 and 50), some of whom live there part-time and work in the Miami area (Balman 2008).

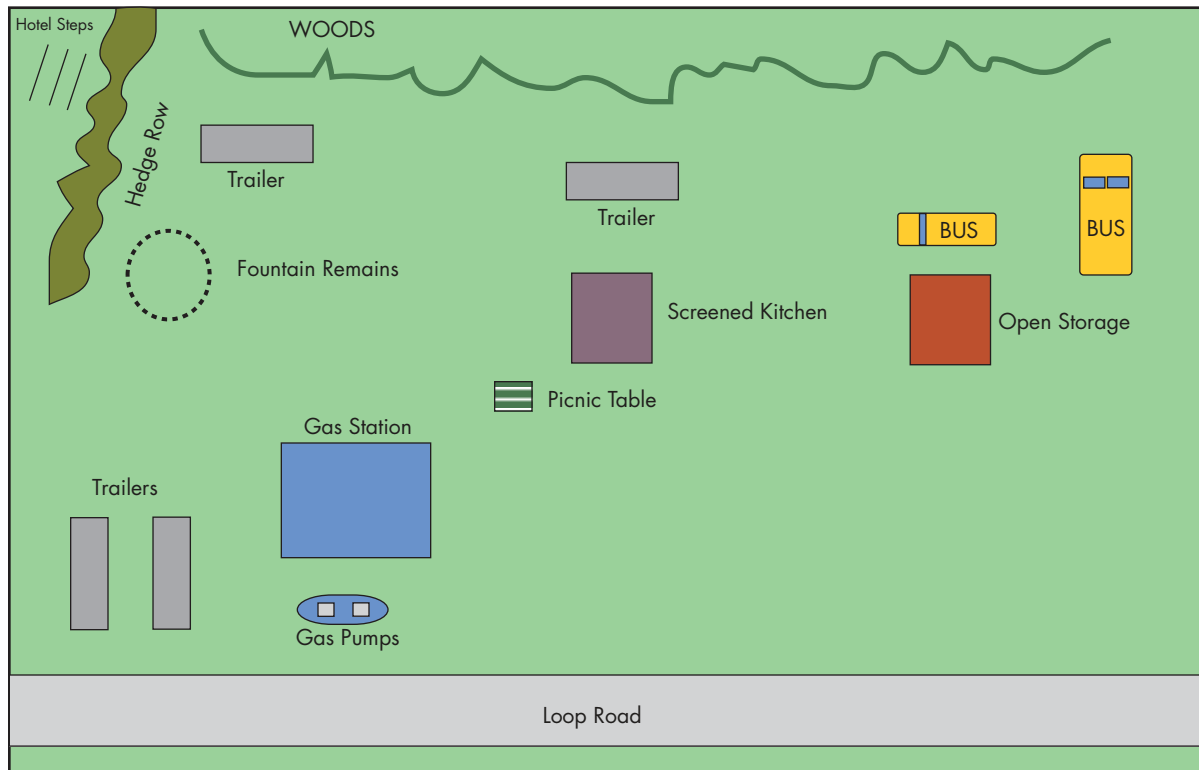
The information gathered on Pinecrest suggests that the twentieth-century community situated in the Big Cypress Swamp had a colorful past. Located between two airboat access points: Mitchell's Landing to the west and the Boundary Line Launch to the northeast, it is an important place name historically within the Gladesmen geography, particularly as these two launches lie within an airboat trail network in the Zone 4 Stairsteps Unit of the Big Cypress National Preserve. However, its significance lies more in its role as a historic site than as a TCP. The buildings, structures, and archaeological remains speak to twentieth-century community life in the Everglades as well as other contexts such as tourism, etc. The Gladesmen that spoke about this site expressed interest in it due to their historical ties to the Pinecrest community rather than as a place of connection with the environment. Dave Balman (2008) stated:

...I grew up out here [Pinecrest]... and hunting and fishing and frogging and airboating and swamp buggies. It's part of my culture, my son's culture. It's just a lot of people's culture that have moved out, but they still come down here and ride their airboats when they can and visit people.

The community of Pinecrest holds an important place in childhood memories of interviewees Balman, Kimmel, and Denninger. According to interviewees Dave Balman (2008), Eric Kimmel (2008), and Frank Denninger (2008d), resource users and recreationalists who continue to hunt, fish, and drive the area, still stop in at Pinecrest to "shoot the breeze" with the people who live there. The community holds an important place in the memories of a lot of southern Floridians and is often mentioned in Gladesmen conversations.

The resources present today at Pinecrest include a variety of buildings and structures laid out in an informal manner in the middle of the Everglades ecosystem, with no other businesses within sight. It was and is an example of a backcountry community within southern Florida. Physical remains of the hotel also suggest the presence of an underground archaeological component. While the community site was not surveyed, it appears that its setting and location, along the Loop Road, has changed little since its inception in the early twentieth century. However, the community's physical integrity has been compromised somewhat as the majority of the original structures no longer exist. The degree of integrity loss would have to be established by a survey. The town site remains remote and rural in nature and while many of the original structures are gone, it is easy to imagine its isolated atmosphere during the early days of the community.

Figure 49.
Pinecrest Today (MO1919)



A. Sketch Map of Pinecrest (Not to Scale)



B. Pinecrest Service Station (Inactive)

Figure 50.
Hotel Remains within Pinecrest (MO1919)



A. Steps



B. Entry Way



C. Fountain

MONROE STATION -- CR00677

Monroe Station is located at the junction of Tamiami Trail (US Highway 41) and the Loop Road (County Road 94), in Collier County (Figures 51, 52, and 53). The property likely acquired its name because of its proximity to the Monroe County line. Built in 1928 (Leynes 1998:6), it is one of the 10 original way stations operated during construction of the Tamiami Trail. These way stations, constructed before the establishment of the Florida Highway Patrol, served as residences for Southwest Florida Mounted Police deputies, who traveled the Trail assisting stranded motorists. The stations, placed 10 miles apart, also contained a store and gas station for travelers and tourists. By April 1934, all the stations were closed and the Mounted Police disbanded (Leynes 1998:6; Perez 2007:13-14).

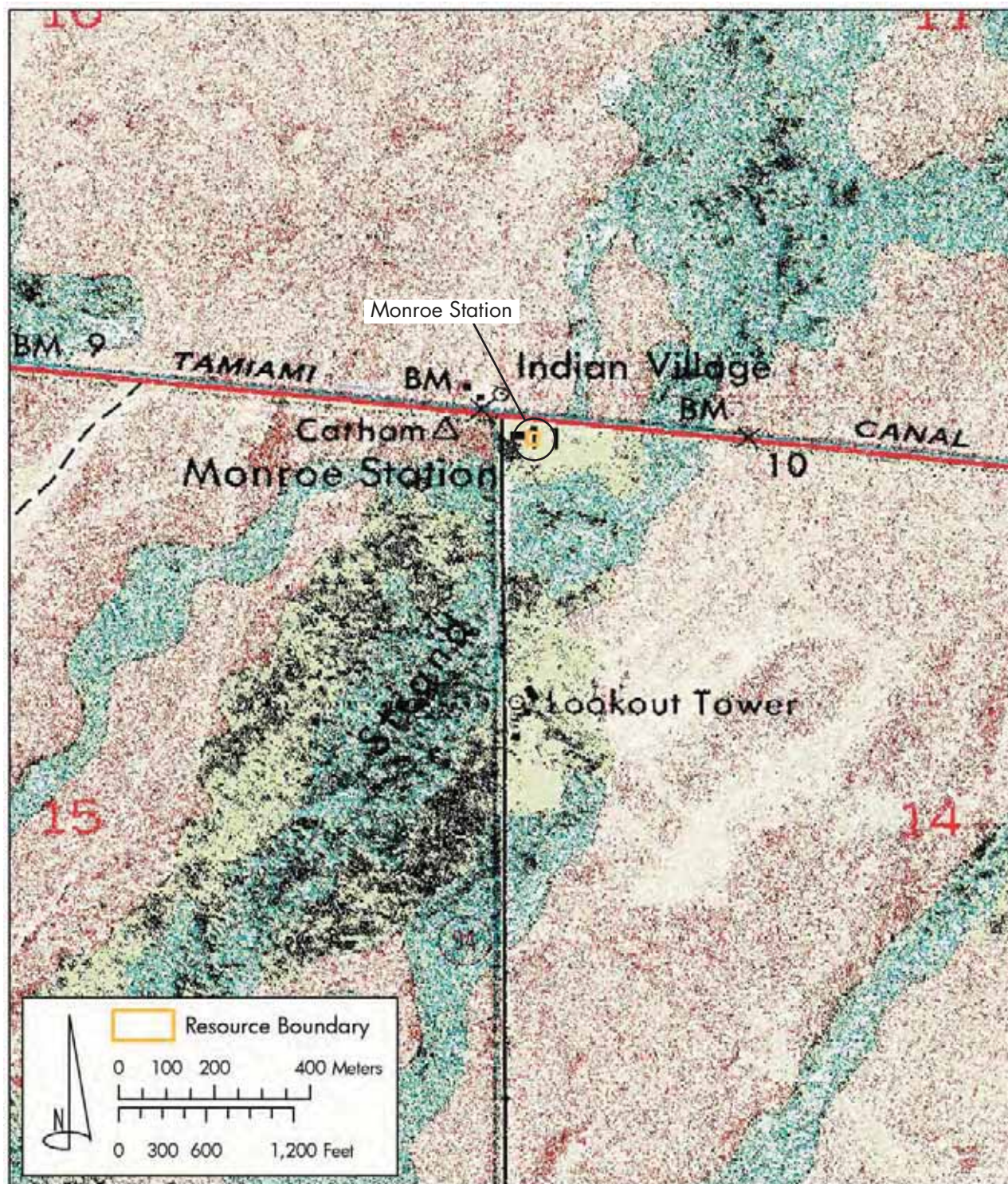
The closing of Monroe Station as an aid center was not the end of its existence. Several businesses occupied the building for the next 50 plus years and Monroe Station along with Trail Center (another original Loop Road way station), were considered by locals to be the two main access points into the backcountry. A husband and wife first managed the station but after way station services were discontinued, the building became the location for businesses ranging from gas stations to restaurants. One of the most well-known business owners was Dixie Webb. She operated a small restaurant where people could get coffee and a burger. Another proprietor of Monroe Station was Big Joe Lord, who was assisted by his wife, Sweet Sue. Big Joe is described as a man who was angry about a variety of things: the federal government's intent to buy the Big Cypress, Vietnam War protesters, men with long hair, and pot smokers (Adams 1992:14; Klinkenberg 2006).

When the building still provided services, many people would park their swamp buggies at Monroe Station. It was also a popular "hang out" area for folks from the Miami and Dade County areas who would come out on weekends and "get the local flavor" (Adams 1992). The station was especially packed during hunting season, with Franklin Adams remembering as many as 100 people there during the peak of the season including "People coming in and parking; people looking for lost deerhounds... and people buying gas and food and sitting around and swapping lies and it was an interesting mix of people" (Adams 1992).

During its years of operation the original building was expanded to include a restaurant, bar, swamp buggy storage facility, and a gathering place for the Gladesmen community. Gladeswoman Barbara Jean Powell stated that the station operated as a business until approximately 16 years ago, which would correspond to the date that the NPS purchased the property, in 1992 (Powell 2008b). The station is now in a state of disrepair, though the NPS plans to renovate the structure as a way station, its initial historic function (Figure 54).

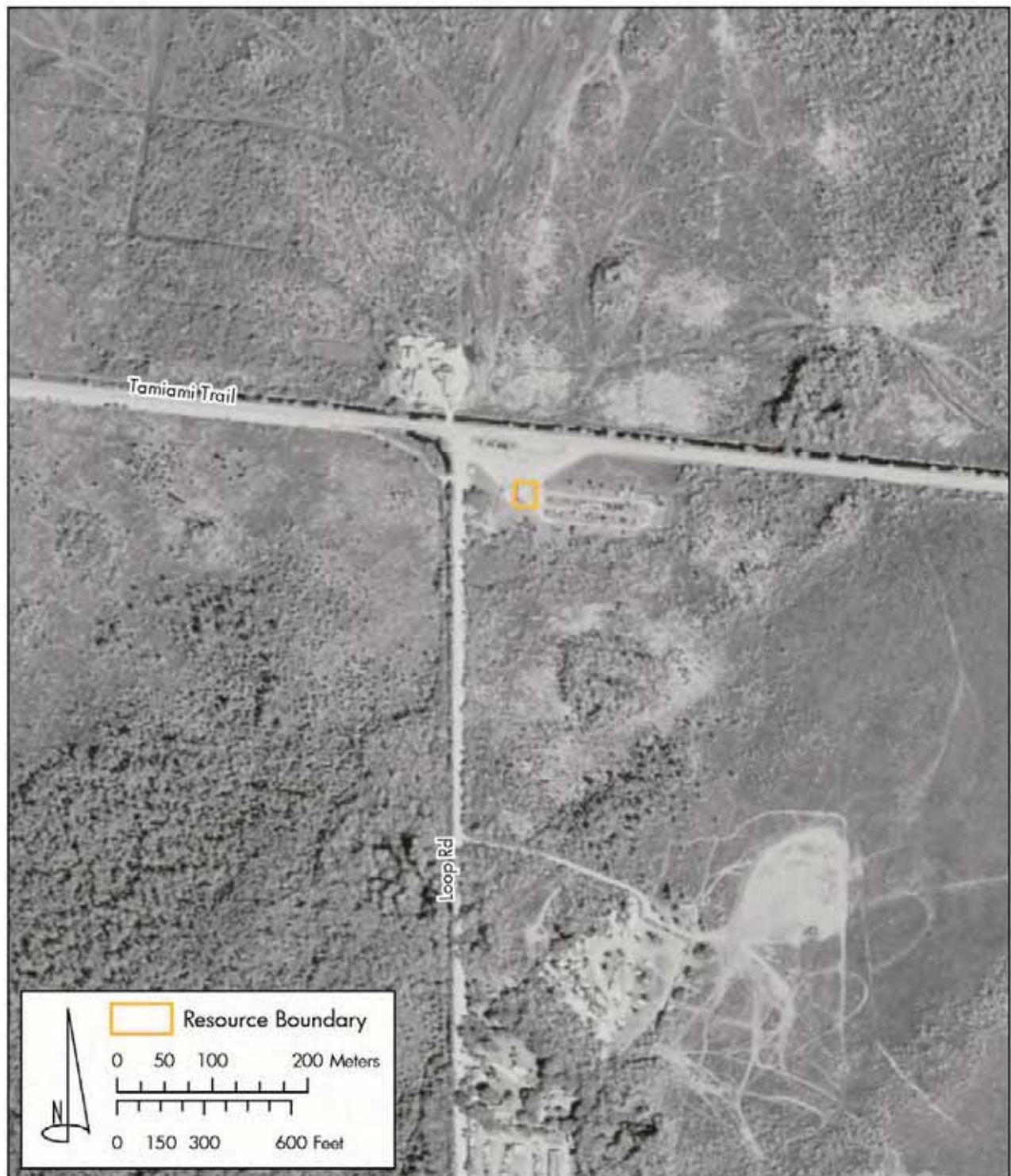
Monroe Station is presently enclosed by a chain-link fence and is not accessible to the public. The building sits on the south side of the Tamiami Trail and on the south end of a large, gravel parking lot. The building is a large, square, two-story wooden frame structure with a concrete foundation, asphalt roof, and several additions. The largest addition is a gabled, two-storied structure at the rear of the building. The yard in the rear of the building was used to store off-road vehicles (Leynes 1998). There may be other outbuildings on the property but due to the fence, further exploration was not possible.

Figure 51.
Topographic Map Showing Resource Boundary for Monroe Station (CR00677)



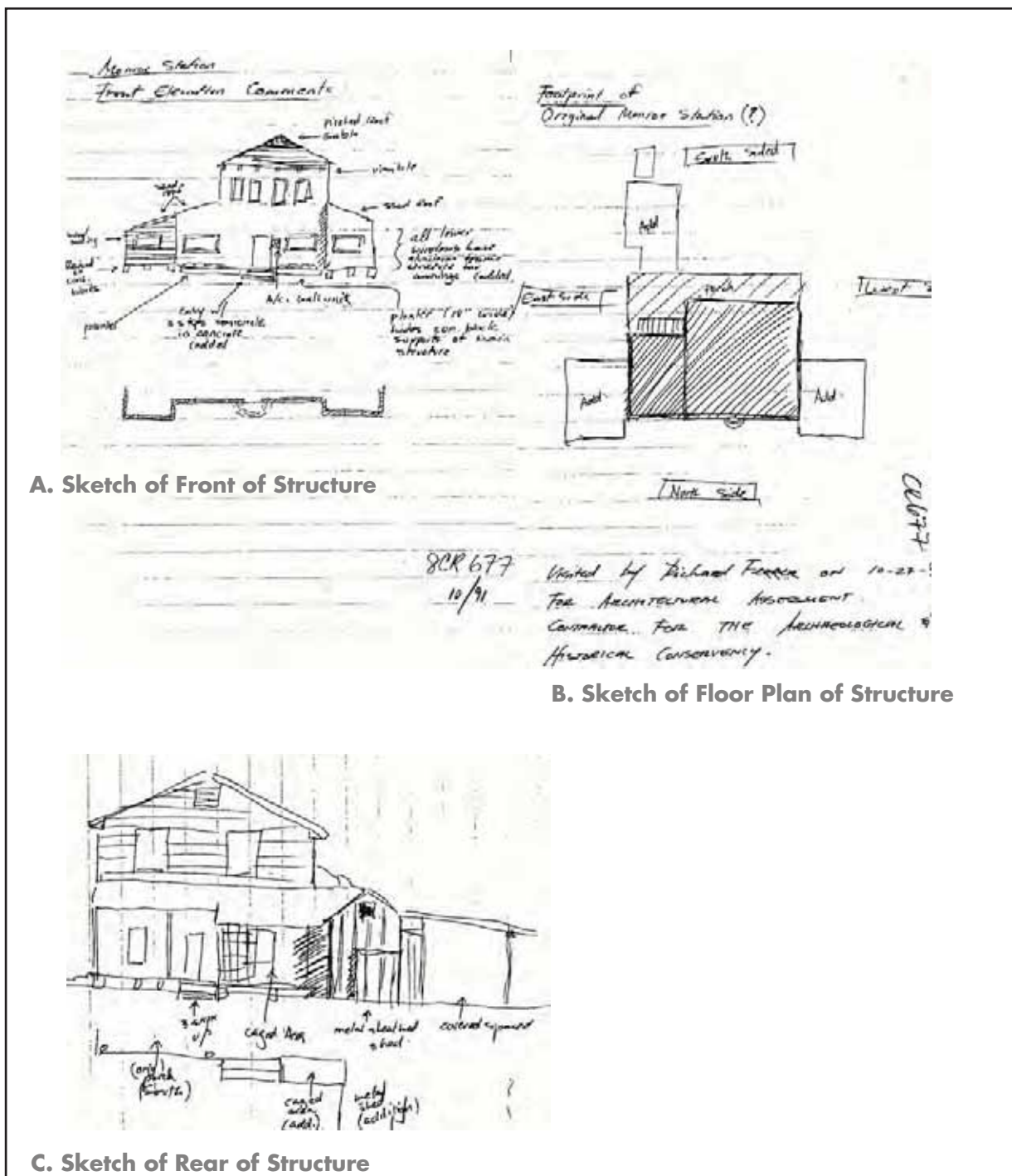
Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Monroe Station (1973)

Figure 52.
Aerial Photograph Showing Resource Boundary for Monroe Station (CR00677)



Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1999)

Figure 53.
Sketch Plans of Monroe Station (CR00677)



Source: Leynes (1998)

Florida Master Site File Website: www.flheritage.com/preservation/sitefile

Figure 54.
Images of Monroe Station (CR00677)



A. Current Condition



B. Members of Everglades Protection Society in Front of Monroe Station, 2005
Photographic Source: Barbra Jean Powell

The property may be significant under Criterion D as an archaeological site, particularly due to its association with the surface and subsurface remains of the hotel. This site is likely to yield information that is important to the history of Pinecrest, early twentieth-century southern Florida commerce, and possibly the history of Al Capone's activities in Florida. Pinecrest may also meet the criteria of a historic district, as it possesses a group of buildings and structures that have a shared history. Further survey and evaluation would be necessary to assess significance in this category and if what remains of Pinecrest can convey that significance. However, under this context and evaluation, Pinecrest is not recommended as a TCP within the Gladesmen culture.

Monroe Station was listed on the NRHP in 1998 for its local significance in transportation and exploration and settlement with a period of significance of 1928 through 1934. The property's nomination was based upon its association with the early history of the Tamiami Trail and Collier County. This study suggests that the eligibility of Monroe Station could also be considered under a second context in which its use as a twentieth-century commercial property fulfilled an important cultural function in its remote environment. Oral history indicates that the Monroe Station played a strong role in Gladesmen cultural geography and that the property was very important to area Gladesmen prior to 1992. The interviews cite Monroe Station as a point of departure and entry for individuals and groups entering or leaving the Glades. In a sense it was a transition point between community and the environment. The historic property continues to hold importance to contemporary Gladesmen culture as evidenced by information obtained in informant interviews and in non-recorded conversations with members of the Gladesmen community. During oral interviews, nine of 34 individuals mentioned Monroe Station. Monroe Station appears to have been intricately associated with the Gladesmen traditional cultural practices prior to its acquisition by the NPS, primarily as a gathering place to enjoy camaraderie with fellow members of the culture. Historically, Monroe Station was a main access point to the backcountry; people met there prior to hunting and fishing trips, they stored their swamp buggies at the station, and they bought supplies and socialized at the store and restaurant.

Area locals have many memories of the location when it was operational, and Monroe Station remains a well-known landmark. Jack Switzer (2008) mentioned Monroe Station when describing the location of the Loop Road and Frank Denninger used it as a landmark to describe where hunting is allowed in the Big Cypress National Preserve (Denninger in Switzer 2008). Further instances where it was used as a geographic marker abound as interviewees appear to use Monroe Station to orient themselves.

When you find Monroe Station, which is the center point between... Naples and Miami (Schramm 2008).

That's the Loop Road [that] comes out there at Monroe Station on this side. And that's where we leave from to go to the woods (Adams 2008).

To drive it [to the family camp], it's 21 miles north northeast from Monroe Station. (Hauser 2008).

Monroe Station was listed on the National Register in 1998 for significance in transportation, exploration, and settlement during the years 1928-1934. Today, it does retain relevance to area Gladesmen as a local landmark and geographic reference point. Its use for social interaction and as a point of transition between "civilization" and the environment ended in 1992. It remains part of Gladesmen culture as an important historical landmark but its active cultural significance to the Gladesmen diminished after 1992, when the social and cultural practices once enjoyed there came to an end. For these reasons, New South Associates does not recommend Monroe Station as meeting the criteria for listing as a TCP. It is recommended that the NRHP listing for Monroe Station be expanded to include the property's significance to members of the Gladesmen Folk Culture.

WATERWAYS AND ROAD SYSTEMS

FISHEATING CREEK WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT AREA -- GL00440

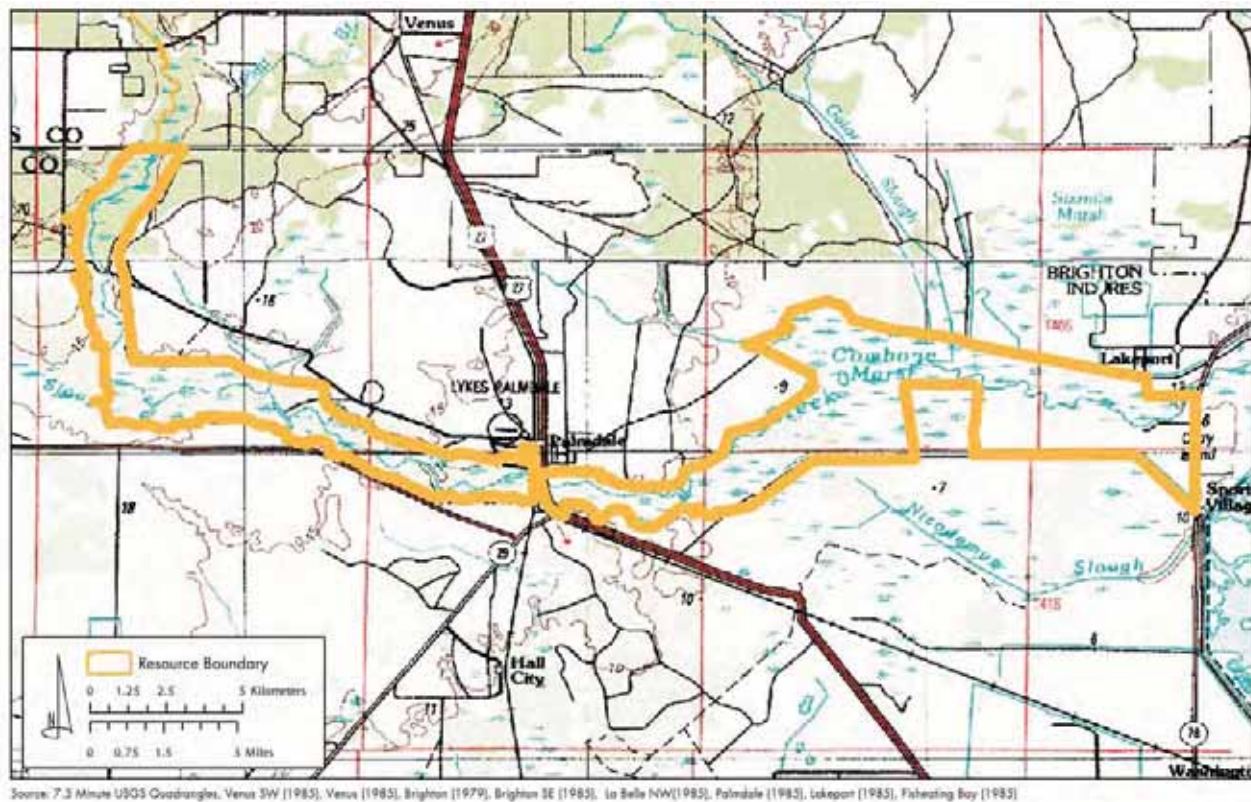
Fisheating Creek is an approximately 60-mile long waterway that flows from Highlands County through Glades County, and ultimately drains into Lake Okeechobee; it is the only free-flowing tributary to the lake (Figure 55). Since prehistoric times, the creek has been not only a source of food and water, but also a water highway to Lake Okeechobee. Early prehistoric inhabitants, known as the Belle Glade people, built mounds and earthworks, as evidenced by the Fort Center Mounds in the Lake Okeechobee Basin. These mounds are listed on the NRHP.

One of the earliest non-native explorers on the creek was George Henry Preble of the U.S. Navy. He described the stream as being "tortuous... and sometimes swells into a river, and then dwindles into a brook." During an 1881 federal government reconnaissance of the region, Clay MacCauley found 37 extended families dispersed in five areas; one of those areas was Fisheating Creek (Florida Department of Environmental Protection 2008:164; Florida Fish & Wildlife Commission 2008b:1-2).

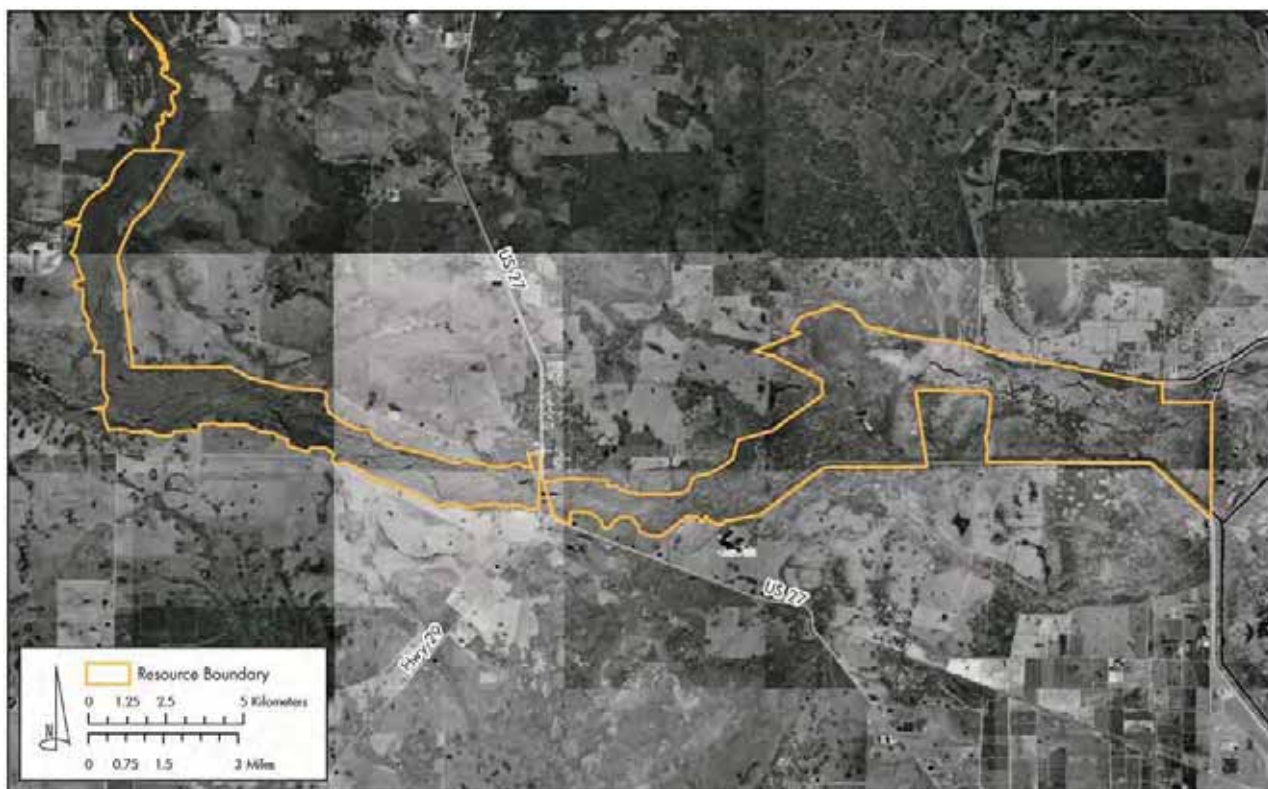
In the 1880s, Dr. Howell Tyson Lykes began exporting cattle to Cuba and the Lykes empire began to take shape. The Lykes began acquiring land surrounding the creek, eventually owning the entire length of the creek. The Lykes Brothers prohibited development along the creek although they ran a campground and canoe concession at Palmdale. The Lykes Brothers closed the creek to the public in 1989, claiming ownership of not only the land along the creek, but the creek and creek bed as well. A 10-year court battle ensued to reopen the area to the public for recreational use. A 1998 ruling found that the creek belonged to the people of Florida, although Lykes Brothers appealed the decision. The case was finally settled in 1999 when the State of Florida purchased a corridor containing 18,272 acres (40 miles) along the creek that became Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area (Figures 56 and 57) (Florida Fish & Wildlife Commission 2008b:2-3).

The creek and its watershed are unique in Florida as they are close to being in the same pristine condition as when Florida gained statehood in 1845. The creek is considered to be an icon to generations of South Floridians who have camped and played along its banks. It is truly a wild and scenic river (Essenwine 2002). Fisheating Creek is also a very special place to Gladesmen who live in the Clewiston region.

Figure 55.
Resource Boundary for Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area (GL00440)

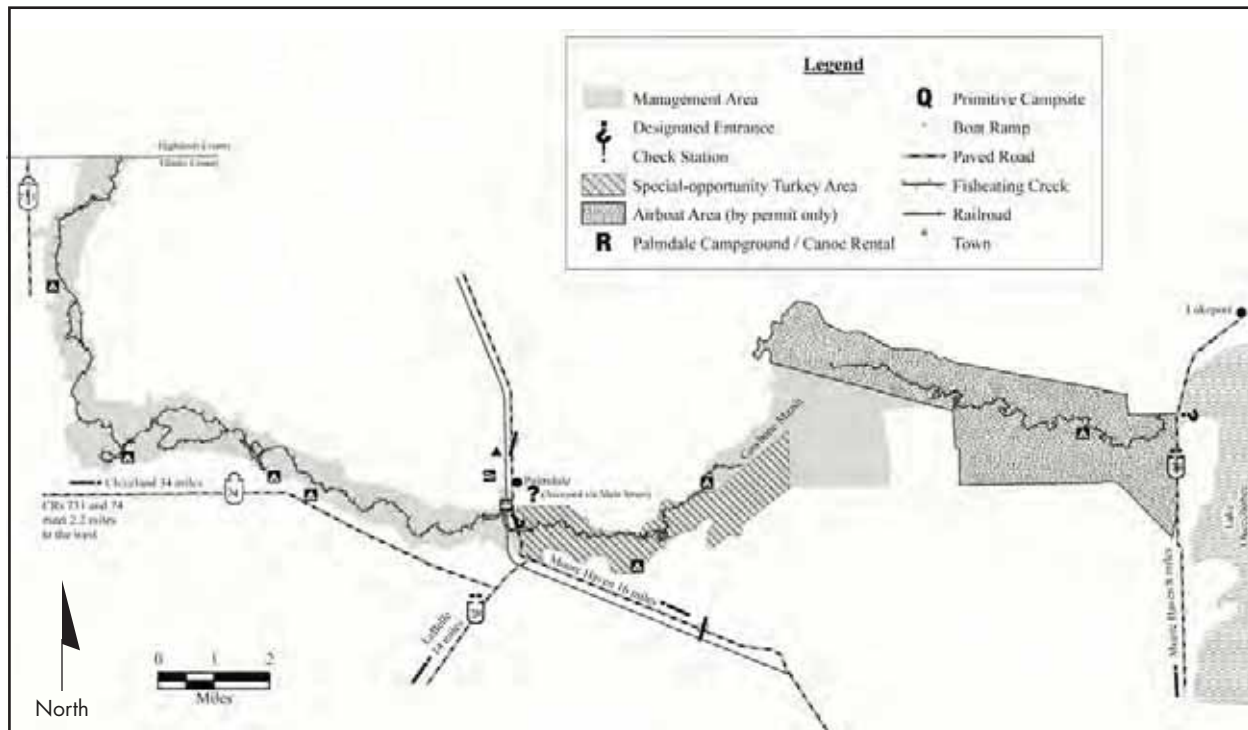


A. Topographic Map Showing Resource Boundary



B. Aerial Photograph Showing Resource Boundary

Figure 56.
Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area Sketch Map (GL00440)



Source: Florida Fish and Wildlife Commission Website: www.floridaconservation.org

Figure 57.
Images of Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area (GL00440)



A. Heading Out for a Day on the Creek



B. Burnt Lake on Fisheating Creek

New South interviewed six individuals living in the Clewiston area and five brought up Fisheating Creek as their favorite place to visit:

I love to go to Fisheating Creek.... And the swamp—when the water's up, it's the most beautiful place in the world, most serene. the cypress trees reach right on up to heaven. And you can see nesting egrets, you can see nesting blue herons, and where can you see that and where will you be able to see the swallow-tailed kite, maybe a hundred or a thousand in a few trees at certain times? It is spectacular and it's undiscovered and I love it. It's God's gift to Glades County, and anybody that's in Clewiston or Hendry County (Lucky 2008).

Fisheating Creek WMA flows through bald cypress swamps and hardwood hammocks. There are no houses along the banks, though there are remains of early regional roadbeds and wooden bridge pilings. These pilings are only visible during low water. The scenery through the WMA varies and ranges from dense, narrow swamps to wide, open lakes and marshes.

New South Associates recommends Fisheating Creek WMA eligible for listing on the NRHP as a TCP under Criterion A at the state and local levels of significance due to its long association with historically important practices of the Gladesmen Culture. The property continues to hold importance to contemporary Gladesmen.

Fisheating Creek WMA retains its integrity of relationship, as the WMA has significant ties to the traditional cultural practices and beliefs of the Gladesmen. It is here that practices such as fishing, hunting, boating, camping, observing and enjoying nature, and maintaining camaraderie with fellow Gladesmen and their families occur.

Fisheating Creek WMA is also regarded by the Gladesmen Culture as important in the retention and transmittal of their traditional beliefs and practices. The WMA and the entire creek is a place where families go for vacations and weekend outings, and where fathers teach their children to hunt, fish, and boat. It is a tangible property that is intricately associated with Gladesmen lifeways:

Over the years the creek has been the focal point in the lives of the local people. They courted, married, honeymooned, and baptized their children there. Along the banks they colored and hid Easter eggs and celebrated Thanksgiving. They depended on the creek for subsistence and recreation, hunting, fishing, and camping along its banks (Florida Fish & Wildlife Commission 2008b:2).

Christina Howell grew up in Clewiston and remembers going to parties there in high school. Her father used the creek extensively for recreational activities. According to Mrs. Howell (2008), the creek "just seemed like a place everybody around here went to."

Fisheating Creek WMA's integrity of condition remains intact as the relationship between the condition of the property and its traditional cultural significance has survived. The setting along the creek has changed little in the decades since it has been utilized and enjoyed by the Gladesmen Culture. Historically used by Gladesmen for subsistence and transportation, the WMA is now used for traditional recreational activities; thus the function of the creek remains the same for contemporary Gladesmen:

There's just a freedom up here [Fisheating Creek]. When you get in here, there's nobody telling you where to camp, where to stop, where to fish, what to do. Once you come and get in the water, you're on your own and you have a place that it's—there's big fish or small fish.... It's just a magic to it.... I've been here all my life and I've just loved it. If I had any place they'd say where could you go today, I'd still want to go on the creek. I'd still just get in my boat, go up the creek, spend the day, cooking sausage, sit around on the bank, watch the water flow. You see turkeys, deer, hogs, gators. There's bear in the creek now (Lanier 2008).

Fisheating Creek possesses integrity of location as it is located within the Everglades ecosystem and is remote and rural in atmosphere. It is this remoteness that is part of the appeal of the creek to its users as it offers a getaway in which to relax and recreate with friends and family. The integrity of feeling and association is strongly felt in the WMA. Because of its isolation, it is easy to imagine the isolation that early travelers felt on the creek.

The WMA is strongly associated with traditional Gladesmen activities and is a very important component of the local Gladesmen culture. New South Associates interviewed several members of the Clewiston area community and the majority of these interviewees expressed deep feelings for Fisheating Creek. It holds a place in their childhood memories and continues to be an area that they use for recreation and contemplation. Clewiston resident Frank Harben (2008) remembers the creek as the main area for hunting when he was growing up. He also did a lot of fishing on the creek as well as camping. Many stated that the creek is the most beautiful place in the state:

That to me is the most beautiful spot in the whole state of Florida [Fisheating Creek]. It's the absolute best habitat of wildlife in the whole state of Florida, for any kind of wildlife. There's panthers, bear, of course bobcats and all that kind of stuff, and the turkey and deer, what have you. Absolute natural preserve for the wildlife (Harbin 2008).

Fisheating Creek is a linear resource that has definable limits. Originating in western Highlands County, the creek flows south from the community of Venus, then east, draining into the western side of Lake Okeechobee at Fisheating Bay. The Wildlife Management Area is approximately 40 miles in length beginning at the Highland/Glades county line on the northwest, flowing southeast towards Palmdale and terminating at Fisheating Bay on Lake Okeechobee. The TCP boundary for Fisheating Creek would include the length of the creek and its banks, as depicted in Figures 55 and 56.

THE LOOP ROAD (COUNTY ROAD 94)

DA06984 (MIAMI-DADE COUNTY SECTION), MO01920 (MONROE COUNTY SECTION),
CR01086 (COLLIER COUNTY SECTION)

The Loop Road is a linear resource that is a 26-mile drive through the Big Cypress Preserve and a small portion of Everglades National Park, in Miami-Dade, Monroe, and Collier counties (Figures 58, 59, and 60). The road was constructed in the 1920s by the Chevelier Corporation in an attempt to divert the building of the Tamiami Trail from intersecting with Chevelier holdings (Balman 2008). The company built seven miles of road between Forty-mile Bend and Pinecrest, although the effort was in vain as the Florida legislature decided on a more northerly route.

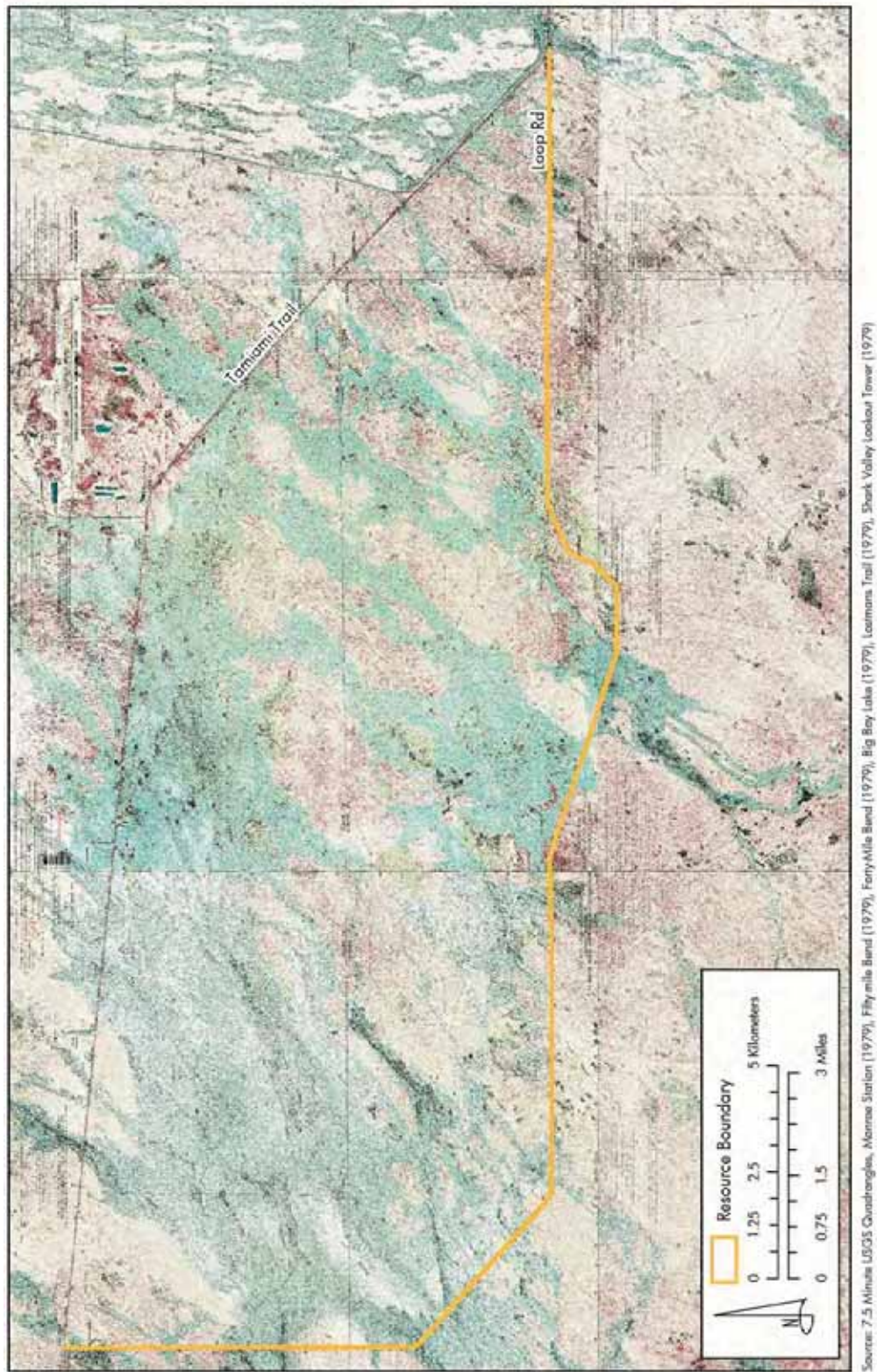
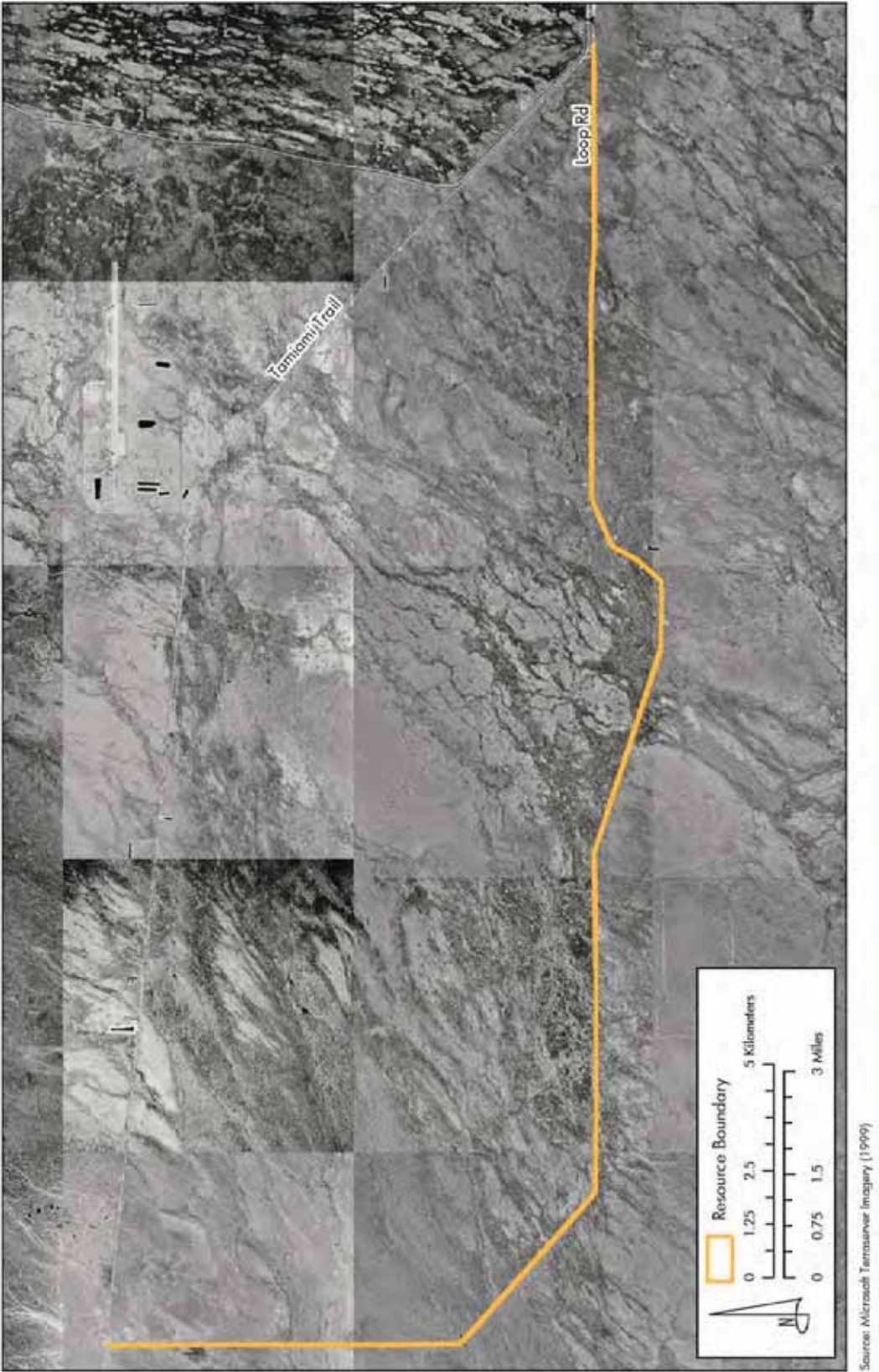


Figure 58.
Topographic Map Showing the Resource Boundary for the Loop Road
(DA06984, MO01920, RO01086)



Source: Microsatellite TerraSAR imagery (1999)

Figure 59.
Aerial Photograph Showing the Resource Boundary for the Loop Road (DA06984, MO01920, RO01086)

Figure 60.
Images of the Loop Road (DA06984, MO01920, RO01086)



A. The Loop Road Looking West



B. Airboat Access on the Loop Road (06984)

The Chevelier road was deeded to the state and the loop was later completed with the extension of the road to Monroe Station (Perez 2007:12). During its existence, the Loop Road has served as a major access point into the Big Cypress Swamp. Many interviewees stated that the road provided their first exposure to the Everglades. Before the area became the Big Cypress National Preserve, the road would be packed with cars on the weekends as people picnicked and fished the canals from the road bank.

It was also used as a place to park vehicles while traveling the backcountry. Retired Florida Game and Fish Commission employee Tom Shirley (1986:2-3) vividly remembers his first trip to the Loop Road during World War II:

During our drive around the Loop Road we must have seen 100-125 people at least.... Many had lean-tos, tents, makeshift shelters. The people were truly out-of-door recreational users.... Many of them were hunting, fishing, or just having a good time relaxing in the outskirts of town.

Franklin Adams (2008) states:

...there were a lot of people then in hunting season, which started in November usually when the water's still up. And so people would be camped all on the road, I mean just lines of people camped, you know, and then waiting to go in and hunt opening morning in airboats and buggies, and it was a big part of the culture, the Loop Road....

Use of the road declined after it was acquired by the National Park Service and backcountry restrictions were implemented by the government. Most of the properties were purchased by the NPS and use of the backcountry camps was no longer feasible due to these access restrictions. There are still some residences along the road but not in the numbers of previous decades. Many people quit using the road for backcountry access because the terrain is very difficult to access without a boat, swamp buggy, or tracked vehicle (Waggoner 2008).

There is a lot of history and lore associated with the Loop Road. It has always been a wild, seemingly untouched place. Most early residences did not have electricity or running water and many locals grew their own vegetables and hunted for meat. These characteristics made it attractive not only to nature lovers, outdoorsmen, and hermits but also in times past to renegades, poachers, outlaws, and moonshiners. When asked what activities occurred on the Loop Road, Dave Balman (2008) responded, "You name it, it went on."

Except for a small portion of paved road on its eastern end, the Loop Road is a narrow, gravel roadway that traverses the southeastern portion of the Big Cypress Swamp. It passes through a variety of habitats including cypress swamps and wetlands. In addition to the community of Pinecrest, houses are scattered throughout the route of Loop Road; some of these are single structures while others contain outbuildings. Despite the presence of random structures along the road, the prevailing atmosphere along the Loop Road is of a remote nature.

New South Associates recommends that the Loop Road (County Road 94) be nominated to the NRHP as a TCP, under Criterion A due to its association with historically important practices of the Gladesmen culture. The road has a long standing, continuing and important association with the maintenance of Gladesmen culture, as evidenced by information obtained in informant interviews. The Loop Road was mentioned by 11 of 34 people during oral interviews as an important place.

The Loop Road also appears to meet many of the criteria of a rural historic landscape because, as a road located in a remote, rural area, it has historically been used by people, modified by human activity, and linked with buildings, structures, waterways, and land use by Gladesmen. Further evaluation would be necessary to fully assess its significance in this category.

The Loop Road is a tangible property that is intricately associated with traditional cultural practices that give the road significance to the Gladesmen Culture. The Loop Road retains its integrity of relationship because the property is intimately tied to the traditional cultural practices and beliefs of the Gladesmen Culture. Historically, the Loop Road has been a place Gladesmen frequented and used in the pursuit of traditional cultural practices. Gladesmen have long viewed this area as a major access point into the backcountry. Before access became restricted to designated airboat and swamp buggy trails, the Loop Road was packed with people on weekends:

And so people would be camped all on the [Loop] road, I mean just lines of people camped, you know, and then waiting to go in and hunt opening morning in airboats and buggies, and it was a big part of the culture, the Loop Road out there, and had a lot of heavy use back then compared to now (Adams 2008).

Tom Shirley (2008) recalls that before the creation of the Big Cypress National Preserve, the Loop Road was used by an enormous amount of people to hunt, fish, picnic, and camp. Things have changed dramatically in the past 30 years and Shirley states "now with all the park and all the rangers, you can go all the way around the Loop and not see a single person. You might run into five or six law enforcement personnel without seeing a single fisherman."

The Loop Road retains its integrity of condition. The setting along the road has changed little since its construction in the 1920s. Historically used as an access point into the backcountry, the road serves the same function today. The location of the road is very remote and rural in nature. The integrity of feeling and association remain intact. Standing on the road, day or night, it is easy to feel the isolation and wildness of the surrounding environment. New South Associates drove the length of the Loop Road and interviewed several people who use the area and/or live along the road. Despite the restrictions placed on the area, the road and associated backcountry continue to hold integrity of place, feeling, and association to the Gladesmen Culture. The Loop Road served as a meeting place for many Gladesmen and was also the central location of their cultural activities. Franklin Adams (2008) calls the Loop Road area his church, his "Cypress Cathedral." When he was growing up in south Florida, "the woods," as he calls the Everglades and Big Cypress, was his family's favorite recreation and escape from the hustle of everyday life. Mr. Adams would take a swamp buggy or airboat into the backcountry and he remembers that there were a lot of squatter camps off the Loop Road.

Gladesmen Eric Kimmel (2008) has been coming out to the Loop Road since he was a small child. He remembers how he would join other kids in his neighborhood and take their bicycles or minibikes and run away to the Loop Road. Their parents always knew where to look for them. Kimmel and his friends would also come out to the road and camp, settling on a high spot in the swamp.

The Loop Road is also the only access into the off-road areas except for U.S. Highway 41. People continue to use the area for sightseeing, fishing, frogging, and hunting south of the loop (Kimmel 2008). When asked what the Loop Road area meant to him, one interviewee stated that it represents his identity and his second home, while others said that it is part of their heritage, upbringing, and culture (Balman 2008; Kimmel 2008). Franklin Adams (2008) sums up the significance of the Loop Road and the Big Cypress Swamp eloquently:

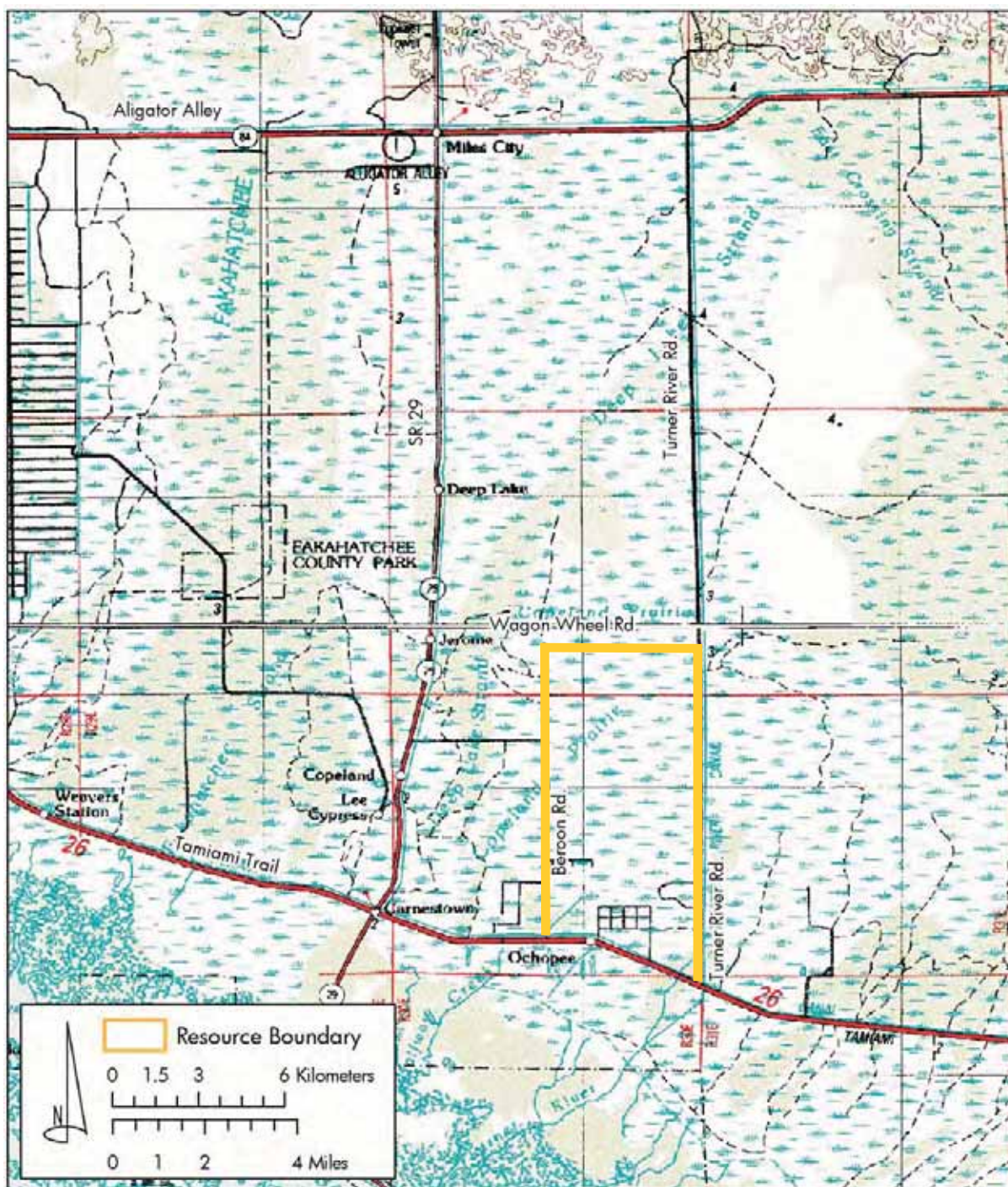
...growing up out there going with your daddy and your granddaddy and your family and getting on a buggy or an airboat and going to the woods. I think probably a majority of people, while hunting's part of our life, we like that tradition.... Just being out there ...that's my cultural foundation... my experiences out there growing up it taught me self-reliance.... The Big Cypress is not just a place that we go once or go occasionally and that's the end of it. It's really the foundation of our culture.... That's where I feel closest to the creator and who I am is out there.... Well it's kind of why we live here... if I didn't get out there, I probably wouldn't be the person I am today if I hadn't had those experiences, and want to continue to share those with younger people.

The proposed boundary for this TCP is shown in Figures 58 and 59. The majority of the Loop Road is within the Big Cypress National Preserve; approximately two miles of the road, beginning at its juncture with the Tamiami Trail until the Dade/Collier counties line, is located in Everglades National Park. The western access to the road is U.S. 41 at Monroe Station, while the eastern access is at "Forty Mile Bend," approximately four miles west of Shark Valley in Everglades National Park. The first two miles are on a residential section of the Miccosukee Indian Reservation; the road then enters the Big Cypress National Preserve. While the first 10 miles of the eastern end is paved, it then becomes a single lane gravel road for the remainder of its length.

TURNER RIVER ROAD COMPLEX - CR1085

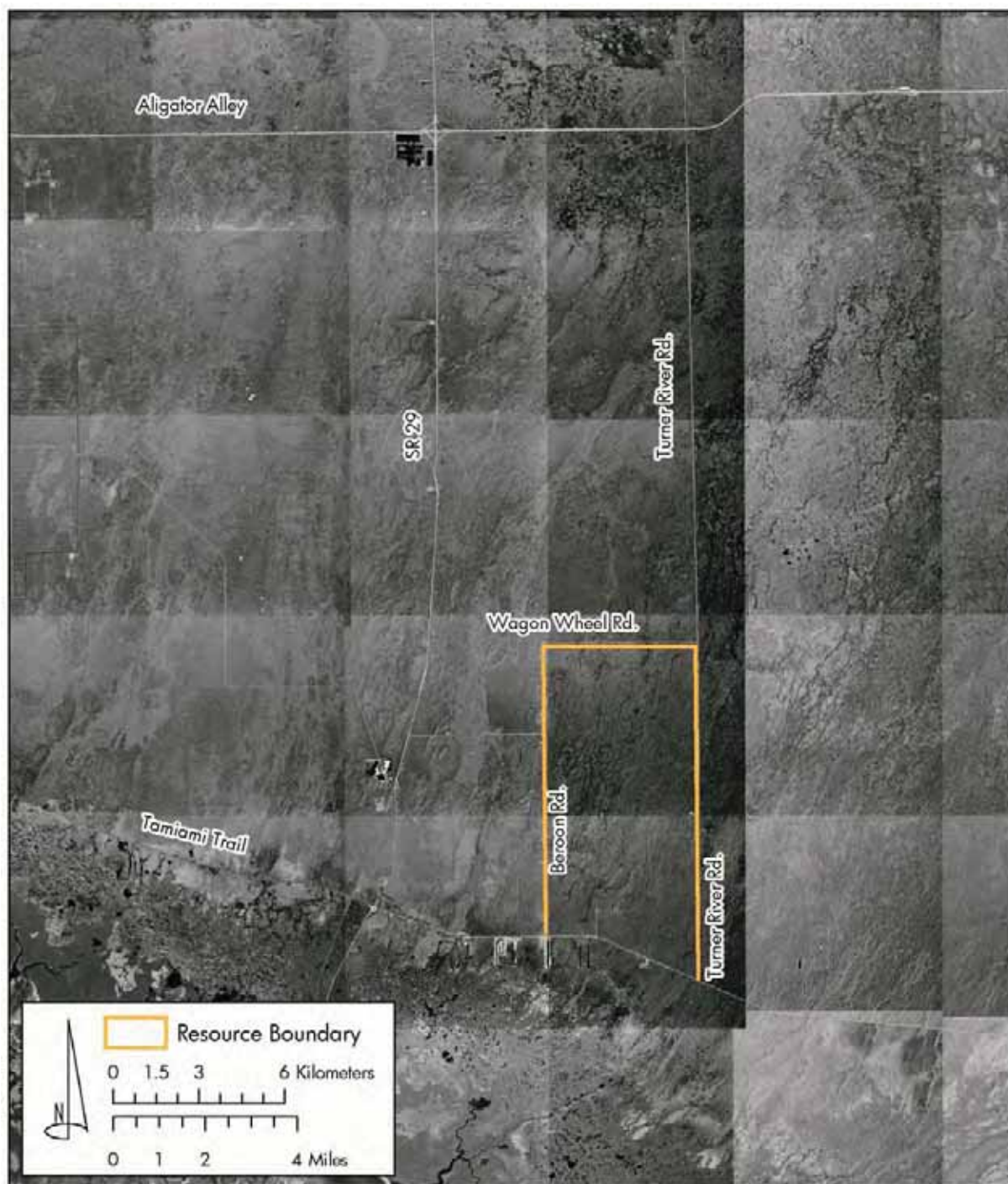
The Turner River Road Complex is a group of linear resources that include the Turner River Road, Birdon Road, and Wagonwheel Road, all located in the Big Cypress National Preserve, Collier County, near Ochopee (Figures 61 and 62). The Turner River Road Complex has definable limits, and its boundaries are as follows. The southern terminus of Turner River Road joins with U.S. Highway 41, west of Ochopee. The northern end of the road is located just north of Interstate 75, in Alligator Alley. Wagonwheel Road is located between Turner River Road and Birdon Road, with the eastern end terminating into Turner River Road and the western end terminating at Birdon Road. Birdon Road runs into Wagonwheel Road on its north end and terminates at Tamiami Trail (U.S. 41) to the south. The three roads thus make an open ended rectangle onto the Tamiami Trail.

Figure 61.
Topographic Map Showing the Turner River Road Complex (CR1085)



Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Ochoppee (1979)

Figure 62.
Aerial Photograph Showing the Turner River Road Complex (CR1085)



Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1999)

The Ochopee area was the site of large-scale tomato farming, beginning in around 1930 when the Gaunt family started operations out of Ochopee. After the completion of the Tamiami Trail, Jimmy Gaunt, one of the original tomato farmers in Miami, moved to Ochopee, circa 1928. In Ochopee, the Gaunt Company built a packinghouse, employee housing, garage, and store. Almost all the buildings in the community belonged to the company (Brown 1994). By the 1950s, other businesses had opened in Ochopee including the Ochopee Café, the Ochopee Trading Post, the Poinsettia Grill, and a juke joint called the Blue Flame.

During this time period Ochopee was a busy farming community with as many as 40 farm workers and their families living there year round, in addition to other permanent residents (Wooten 1994). The area also had cattle ranches and much of the prairies were fenced for livestock grazing. These fences have long since been removed. Historically, Turner River Road, Wagonwheel Road, and Birdon Road served as transportation routes for area residents and for farming operations. Along these roads were large packinghouses for produce, as the entire area around Ochopee was vegetable farmed. Most of these roads were rudimentary and consisted of a "two-rut" road (Spaulding 2008). For the Gladesmen community and other resource users, these roads continue to provide access to hunting and fishing areas in the backcountry. Since the creation of the Big Cypress National Preserve, access is restricted to designated swamp buggy trails.

As discussed below, the three contributors to the Turner River Road Complex all lie in the Big Cypress Preserve and consist of two-track dirt roads. Houses and camps are scattered randomly along the route and the scenery varies from large, open prairies to dense woods and swamps.

Turner River Road (State Road 839)

Turner River was named after Captain Richard Turner, who successfully guided a U.S. Army expedition up the river in 1857 in search of Indian camps. Captain Turner later returned to the area, becoming one of its earliest white inhabitants after settling along the river's banks in 1874 (Perez 2007: 20).

Turner River Road, built in the 1950s, actually serves as a dam through the surrounding swamp; it originally cut the river off from its water source (Figure 63), though there are now culverts and earthen plugs in the canal that force some water flow into the river (NPS 2008a:1). In order to build a road in this location, land must be built up to rise above the water, thus creating a series of canals that mirror the roadway. Before the road was constructed, it was a rough trail best described as a buggy trail. After the road was constructed, it went as far north as Wagonwheel Road and then it was fenced off as cattle pasture (Powell 2008a). According to Gladesmen Chuck Hampton (et al. 2008), when the road was being built, it was completed in segments. Construction could only be accomplished in the spring during the dry season; when the rainy season commenced, road building would come to a halt until the following spring.

Wagonwheel Road (County Road 837)

According to Perez (2007:20), Wagonwheel Road was once a path used for oxen and wagons to transport supplies through the Big Cypress during the dry season. Many of these types of wagon paths originated from one of the large plantations in the area, at Deep Lake Strand. It is possible that one of these wagon paths evolved into present-day Wagonwheel Road.

Figure 63.
Images of Turner River Road (CR1085)



A. Image of Turner River Road Looking North



B. Backcountry Access Point Off Turner River Road

Birdon Road (County Road 841)

Birdon Road is a contraction of the last names of two area entrepreneurs, H.W. Bird and J. F. Haudon. The men built a tomato packing plant of the same name along Birdon Road in the 1930s and the resulting farming and packing operations grew into the sizable settlement of Birdon. The community disappeared by the 1940s, though the name of the road did not change (Perez 2007:5).

Seven out of 34 individuals interviewed mentioned Turner River Road in conversation, and oral interviews with Tim Spaulding, Frank Denninger, and Chuck Hampton indicate that this complex of roads appears to be significant to some members of the Gladesmen Culture. However, unlike Loop Road, there is insufficient evidence at this time regarding each road to recommend the property to the NRHP as a TCP that is significant in maintaining Gladesmen Culture.

TAMIAMI TRAIL (US HIGHWAY 41) - DA6510 (FORMERLY SITE DA6765)

The Tamiami Trail is a 245-mile long, two-lane asphalt road that is southern Florida's major east-west transportation route between Tampa and Miami (Figures 64 and 65). The construction of the road, considered to be a major engineering feat, was completed in 1928. Janus Research evaluated this trail in 2001 and recorded it as a historic archaeological site. Janus recommended that the Miami-Dade County portion of the trail be considered potentially eligible to the NRHP under Criterion A. New South Associates completed a cultural resources survey in 2006 of the portion of the trail in western Dade County between S-334 Pump Station on the Tamiami Canal and S-333 Pump Station, also on the Canal. New South recommended the Tamiami Trail potentially eligible to the NRHP under Criteria A and C.

There is no doubt that the Tamiami Trail is a historic linear resource. Fourteen individuals out of 34 mentioned the Tamiami Trail during oral interviews, although the road was most commonly mentioned as a directional reference. This study, however, did not find evidence that the road is considered a TCP by the interviewed Gladesmen. One interviewee, in fact, explained that the Tamiami Trail has been detrimental to the culture by virtue of its impact on the environment, which in turn, has affected some traditional Gladesmen activities. He explained that the road acts as a giant levee and when water is released into the water catchment area, the water levels become so high that tree hammocks become inundated, which has resulted in the destruction of some of these islands. These effects are seen as a chain reaction that is harmful to wildlife, plants, and the environment in general (Byron Maharrey, personal communication to Susan Perlman, 22 October 2008).

Because it does not represent a property with continuing association with the maintenance of Gladesmen culture, the Tamiami Trail is considered not eligible to the NRHP as a TCP.

Figure 64.
Map Showing the Location of the Tamiami Trail (DA6510)



Source: Terraserver 1999

Figure 65.
Images of Tamiami Trail (DA6510)



A. Tamiami Trail



B. Tamiami Trail and Canal, Looking West

Source: Azzarello et al. (2006)

SUMMARY

Thirteen resources identified through oral history interviews were described and evaluated as potential TCPs within the Gladesmen Culture. Five are considered to meet the criteria for eligibility as TCPs – Mack’s Fish Camp, the Airboat Association of America, the Everglades Conservation and Sportsman’s Club, Fisheating Creek, and the Loop Road. Monroe Station, an NRHP-listed property, was evaluated as a TCP and oral accounts suggest that this property holds strong significance for the Gladesmen, but it has not been used by the Gladesmen since 1992 and hence remains as a landmark and geographical reference point rather than a TCP that supports the culture's identity and existence. While Monroe Station is not recommended as a TCP, it is recommended that its NRHP nomination be expanded to include a Gladesmen context and to expand its period of significance. The remaining properties evaluated did not meet NRHP eligibility criteria due to their age or lack of cultural significance as TCPs.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This preliminary study has laid the groundwork for an understanding of properties that hold significance to Gladesmen in maintaining their culture. It builds upon previous scholarship and adds to the body of knowledge about Gladesmen and the places that have special meaning with respect to their cultural identity, beliefs, and traditional practices. Recognition of these significant cultural places was the primary goal of this study so that future CERP planning can consider the effects of proposed projects on Gladesmen access to significant resources, including TCPs and historic sites. Not all potential TCPs were identified but the interviewees provided a strong sense of their cultural geography that can be used when sufficient information on the location and extent of future CERP projects is known, at which time specific impacts to potential TCPs from CERP activities can be considered and addressed. The results of this study can also be used to evaluate the potential social impacts of CERP for a National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) study.

Table 2 provides a summary of the identified resources and the results of the TCP evaluation. Results suggest that five locations that are over 50 years old meet the definition of a TCP as defined in National Register Bulletin 38 (Parker and King 1990):

...one that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices, beliefs of a living community that are rooted in that community's history, and are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community.

Resources identified herein that hold particular cultural significance to members of the Gladesmen Folk Culture include one commercial property – Mack's Fish Camp (DA11448); two sportsmen's clubs – the Airboat Association of Florida (DA6768) and the Everglades Conservation and Sportsmen's Club (CR01084), one linear resource/waterway – Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area (GL00440), and one linear resource/road system – Loop Road (DA06984/CR01086/MO01920).

Table 2. Summary of Recommendations

Site No. & Historic Name	Location	Type and Date	TCP Recommendation
PO07201 Camp Mack River Resort	14900 Camp Mack Road Lake Wales, FL Polk County	Historic Commercial Fishing Camp Ca. 1928; 1940	NR significance not demonstrated.
CR01083 Everglades Rod & Gun Club	Everglades City, Collier County	Building Foundation ca. 1864; Current lodge-late 19 th -early 20 th century	NR significance not demonstrated.
DA 11448 Mack's Fish Camp	Broward and Dade Counties on the bank of the Miami Canal	Historic fish camp; resource group dating to the 1940s	Eligible
CR01082	Tamiami Trail/Big	Historic Campground; resource	Reevaluate when it

Table 2. Summary of Recommendations

Site No. & Historic Name	Location	Type and Date	TCP Recommendation
Trail's Lake Campground	Cypress Preserve	group under 50 years old ca. 1961	reaches 50 years of age
DA6768 Airboat Association of Florida	40904 Tamiami Trail Dade County	Private airboat club 1951	Eligible
DA11449 Duck Camp #2	Water Management Area 3, Dade County	Airboat camp over 50 years old	NR significance not demonstrated.
CR01084 Everglades Conservation & Sportsman's Club	50940 Loop Road Ochopee, FL Collier County	Historic Sportsman's club 1950	Eligible
Site MO1919 Pinecrest	Collier County	Former Community 1918	NR significance not demonstrated.
Site CR00677NR Monroe Station	Junction of Tamiami Trail and Loop Road Monroe County	Former Way Station 1928	Recommend adding Gladesmen significance to NRHP nomination and extending period of significance
Site GL00440 Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area	Highlands and Glades Counties	Historic (Natural) Linear Resource	Eligible
Site DA06984 Site CR01086 Site MO01920 Loop Road (County Road 94)	Collier, Dade and Monroe Counties	26-mile road served as main access point for airboats and swamp buggies; contains remains of historic way stations, a town, and camp Ca. 1920s	Eligible
Site CR1085 Turner River Road Complex	Collier County, Big Cypress Preserve	Includes Turner River, Upper and Lower Wagon Wheel Roads and Birdon Road Ca. 1950s	NR significance not demonstrated.
Site DA6510 (formerly Site DA6765) Tamiami Trail (US Highway 41)	Dade County	Historic trail/road 1928	NR significance not demonstrated.

Additionally, it is recommended that the Corps consider preparing or contributing to a NRHP multiple properties submission for Gladesmen-associated resources, as well as TCPs. These sites can include historic roads, commercial establishments, private sportsmen's clubs, private camps, and linear resources that are best understood as parts of a whole – the Gladesmen Culture. As such, the multiple property submission approach would be an appropriate way to capture the variety of these resources, some of which may be NRHP eligible. The ongoing NPS study of the Duck Club Camp Complex may elicit a context statement for specifying the criteria for such a submission.

It is appropriate here to discuss aspects of resource use and the potential impacts that CERP may have on the Gladesmen Culture. Unrestricted access to backcountry areas is of primary importance to Gladesmen, who are especially concerned about maintaining the interconnectivity of the different subareas of southern Florida. They are also concerned with preserving the natural setting. Many interviewees (e.g., Powell 2008) take exception to the perceived Federal Government position that "traditional uses (airboating, swamp buggies, hunting) are inconsistent with the purpose of the Restoration project." Instead, Gladesmen point to the construction of rock roads that stop water flow as much more harmful to restoration efforts than maintaining the rustic byways that have existed and been utilized for decades.

Further restrictions and compartmentalization can lead to the loss of access to camps and to traditional areas of utilization, as has occurred over recent decades (at Fakahatchee Strand, as one example). As has been documented in this report, access restrictions have led to a decline in the use of some long frequented locations (Trail Lakes Campground, for example), a condition that has not been helped by the creation of federal and state operated facilities. Restricted access to southern Florida can only add to the cumulative impacts that threaten the Gladesmen Culture itself. In order to maintain traditional usage, access points that have been important for decades (trails, swamp buggy bridges, roads, etc.) should be maintained. Gladesmen, as can be said for most individuals and groups in society, do not wish to experience any changes that limit and inhibit their existing freedoms.

Members of the Gladesmen Culture are very interested in partnering with federal and state agencies early in the development of the CERP Master Recreation Plan. Cooperative involvement will ensure that Gladesmen concerns are given ample consideration, and that sensitivity to those concerns will be a part of the regulatory process. Developing a recreation plan that will maintain cultural traditions and enhance future land use is an important parallel to the larger efforts of the Comprehensive Everglades Restoration Plan to restore the natural hydrology of southern Florida.

The Gladesmen Culture is evidenced in the knowledge, capabilities, and practices of those who identify strongly with the unique environment of southern Florida. These Gladesmen maintain strong ties of identity with the region, both at the individual and group level. While the Gladesmen men, women, and children of today may not depend on the natural resources of the Everglades ecosystem for providing the majority of their subsistence, as was true in the past, they do depend on it in fulfilling a variety of social needs. For Gladesmen, the most important concern is that they are able to maintain their traditional ways and pass them on to future generations.

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APPENDIX A: FLORIDA SURVEY LOG SHEET AND FLORIDA MASTER SITE FILE FORMS

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