Ethnographic Study and Evaluation of Traditional Cultural Properties of the Modern Gladesmen Culture Comprehensive Everglades Restoration Plan (CERP), Southern Florida

“You Just Can’t Live Without It”

Prepared by: New South Associates
Prepared for: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers: Jacksonville District
MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD

SUBJECT: Ethnographic Study and Evaluation of Traditional Cultural Properties of the Modern Gladesmen Culture

1. This ethnographic study was conducted to determine if there are any Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) associated with the Traditional or Modern Gladesmen Culture. The results of this study provide a baseline for project managers when planning future Comprehensive Everglades Restoration Plan Projects by identifying properties eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. It should be noted that this was not a comprehensive study. As such, the effects on additional properties of significance to the Modern Gladesmen Culture may be considered in future evaluations of Everglades restoration projects in accordance with the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA).

2. There are a few key notes that should be highlighted for clarification up front:

   a. The Modern Gladesmen are self-identified and as such represent the recollections and beliefs of those interviewed, which may differ from memories of others. Dates, locations, events, names, etc identified in personal interviews have not been researched for historical accuracy.

   b. It should be noted that there is nothing in this report that conveys any special rights.

   c. This study does NOT repeal any laws, policies, or regulations approved by federal, state, or local governments.

   d. A determination of eligibility for cultural properties does not require protection by a Federal agency. Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act only requires the agency to consider potential effects.

3. For more information or clarification of the use of this report, please contact the Corps of Engineers, Jacksonville District cultural resources department at 904-232-1693 or mail requests for information to:

   U.S. Corps of Engineers
   Jacksonville District
   ATTN: CESAJ-PD-EP
   701 San Marco Boulevard
   Jacksonville, Florida 32207-8175

   [Signature]

   ALFRED A. PANTANO, JR.
   Colonel, Corps of Engineers
   Commanding

   31 MAY 2011
“You Just Can’t Live Without It”:
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Comprehensive Everglades Restoration Plan (CERP),
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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 providing recreation-planning guidance to CERP Planning Teams. During public meetings for the Recreation component of CERP, members of the public stated that the Corps was not in compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act in considering adverse effects to Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) associated with the “Gladesman/Swamp Folk culture,” as defined by Ogden (2005). In order to address possible effects to significant cultural properties, 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 this group 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. These interviews identified the modern Gladesmen Folk culture as a regional variant of Cracker Culture in Florida, wherein some Crackers developed distinctive subsistence practices in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries based on unique cultural, behavioral, and ideological ties to the Everglades environment of southern Florida. During the 1920s-1940s, many Gladesmen made their living by hunting, fishing, and selling alligator skins. The post World War II period was a time of cultural transition, producing a distinctive new generation of Gladesmen who developed and/or incorporated modern technology including airboats and swamp buggies. Modern Gladesmen have inherited and share many characteristics of the first Gladesmen, although their practices are no longer intended to provide primary subsistence. As such they do not represent a self-sustaining, autonomous group but a subset of modern American culture in southern Florida that comprises a broad ethnic and social membership that has evolved through time.

The study provides an overview of cultural resources associated with the modern Gladesmen and evaluates 13 properties to determine if any are eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places as Traditional Cultural Properties. These properties are located throughout southern Florida and have been classified into three resource group types related to function: commercial properties, non-commercial properties, and natural landscapes/waterways/roadways. Of these 13 properties, New South recommends two as being eligible to the NRHP as TCPs: Mack’s Fish Camp (BD4566) and the Airboat Association of Florida (DA6768). As this study was of an introductory nature, it does not represent an attempt to locate all potential TCPs in southern Florida. Instead, it introduces a sample of the types of properties associated with Gladesmen Culture that can serve as a foundation for identifying and evaluating related cultural resources in the future. It is intended to serve as a planning tool to evaluate the potential for undertakings to affect historic properties. Eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places does not guarantee
protection or continued access. The reader is also advised that oral histories used in ethnographic studies represent the recollections and beliefs of the individuals interviewed; as such, these may be different from the memories of other individuals and recorded history.
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 from Dan Hughes, USACE. Additional comments on an earlier draft of this report were received from a number of individuals, agencies, and Tribal representatives that contributed significantly to this document; all are thanked for adding their perspectives.

Members of the Gladesmen Culture and their associated organizations were a tremendous help to the project ethnographer throughout the project. All the Gladesmen who assisted with this project gave generously of their time and knowledge, often on more than one occasion; without them the 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, Joel Marco, Charles Nesbitt, Don Onstad, Willbur Postell, Barbara Jean Powell, Martha Schram, Dave Shealy, Tom Shirley, Tim Spaulding, Jack Switzer, Bob Waggoner, Pearl Waggoner, Arthurine Wilson, and Bishop Wright, Jr.

Several people worked especially closely 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 a font of information. 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. Thanks also go to Russell Larker, the caretaker at the airboat 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 Villarnova, Museum
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New South visited numerous archives, museums and special collections during the research phase of the study and we are grateful for their assistance. Butch Wilson, Curator, Clewiston Museum, was extremely helpful to the project ethnographer. He gave much time and assistance arranging oral interviews and introductions, arranging the field trip to Fisheating Creek, and making museum documents available for research. We gratefully acknowledge his participation in the project. Thank you to Tim England and Martha Schramm at the Museum of the Everglades in Everglades City; Rebecca Smith, Curator, and the staff at the Historical Museum of Southern Florida; the staff of the Florida Department at the Miami-Dade County Public Library; and Althea Silvera, Department Head and Gail Clement, Everglades Project, at Special Collections, Florida International University’s Green Library for their assistance in the archival research phase of the study.

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. Thanks go 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.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

| ABSTRACT | i |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | iii |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | v |
| LIST OF FIGURES | ix |
| LIST OF TABLES | xi |

## I. INTRODUCTION

- Gladesmen .......................................................... 1
- “Culture” and Traditional Cultural Properties .................. 4
- Properties Evaluated ............................................. 5
- Document Organization .......................................... 7

## II. METHODS

- NRHP Criteria For Designating a TCP ........................ 9
- Literature Review and Consultation .......................... 10
- Ethnographic Fieldwork ........................................ 12
- Informant Interviews .......................................... 13
- Public Comments ............................................... 18

## III. EVERGLADES ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING.

- Everglades Subregions ........................................ 21
  - Kissimmee Chain of Lakes ................................ 22
  - Lake Okeechobee Region .................................. 24
  - Caloosahatchee River Region .............................. 27
  - South Florida ................................................ 27
  - The Eastern Region ........................................ 32

## IV. HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS

- The Territorial and Early Statehood Periods ............... 35
- Post-Civil War Development and the Twentieth Century ... 39

## V. THE GLADESMEN CULTURE

- Florida Cracker Culture ...................................... 43
- The Emergence of the Gladesmen Folk Culture ............. 46
- The Life of a Gladesmen ...................................... 51
- Historic Gladesmen Activities ............................... 54
  - Alligator Hunting ........................................... 54
  - Small and Big Game Hunting ............................... 56
  - Bird Plume Collecting ..................................... 56
  - Commercial Fishing ........................................ 56
  - Recreational Fishing ..................................... 59
  - Frogging (Frog Gigging) ................................ 59
  - Turling ...................................................... 59
- Accessing the Everglades .................................... 60
  - Traditional Means of Transportation ................... 60
  - Contemporary Means of Transportation .................. 62
- What is a Gladesmen? ........................................ 68
VI. GLADESMEN PERSPECTIVES ................................................................. 73
  Defining Human Culture ................................................................. 73
  Defining the Everglades as a Folk Region ........................................ 74
  Gladesmen Interview Perspectives .................................................. 77
    Personal Histories and Early Memories ......................................... 78
    Hunting and Fishing ................................................................. 81
    Alligator Hunting ........................................................................ 83
    Backcountry Camps ..................................................................... 84
    Club/Group Membership .............................................................. 87
    Mack’s Fish Camp ........................................................................ 88
    What is a Gladesmen? ................................................................... 90
    What Do the Everglades Mean to You? ......................................... 92
    Changes in Modern Gladesmen Culture ......................................... 94
    Thoughts on the Future ................................................................ 98
  Summary ......................................................................................... 100

VII. IDENTIFYING AND EVALUATING GLADESMEN HISTORIC PROPERTIES ... 103
  Commercial Sites ............................................................................ 104
    Fish Camps ................................................................................. 104
    Sportsmen’s Clubs ....................................................................... 105
    Campgrounds .............................................................................. 105
  Non-Commercial Sites .................................................................... 108
    Clubs and Conservation Organizations ......................................... 108
    Backcountry Camps ..................................................................... 108
  Waterways and Road Systems ......................................................... 113
    Waterways .................................................................................. 113
    Road Systems ............................................................................. 115
  Identifying Significant Sites and Structures .................................... 115
    The National Register of Historic Places ...................................... 115
    Site Integrity ............................................................................... 118
    Significance and the NRHP Criteria ............................................ 119
    Why NRHP Listing is Encouraged .............................................. 119
    Nomination Procedure .................................................................. 119
    Results of Listing in Florida ....................................................... 119
  Previous Evaluation of Gladesmen Camps in Everglades National Park .. 120
  Summary ......................................................................................... 124

VIII. PUBLIC COMMENTS ........................................................................ 125
  General Discussion of Comments .................................................... 125
  Specific Comments ......................................................................... 126
    Big Cypress National Preserve .................................................... 126
    Everglades National Park ............................................................. 126
    Florida Fish and Wildlife Conservation Commission .................... 127
    Miccosukee Tribe of Indians ....................................................... 127
    Palm Beach County ...................................................................... 127

IX. RESULTS ........................................................................................... 131
  Commercial Properties ................................................................. 131
    Camp Mack River Resort - PO07201 .............................................. 131
    Everglades Rod and Gun Club - CR01083 ..................................... 136
    Mack’s Fish Camp - BD4566 ........................................................ 139
    Trail Lakes Campground -- CR01082 .......................................... 147
  Non-Commercial Properties ......................................................... 151
    Airboat Association of Florida – DA6768 ....................................... 151
    Duck Camp #2 - DA11449 ............................................................. 156
    Everglades Conservation and Sportsman’s Club – CR01084 ............ 160
    Pinecrest - MO1919 ..................................................................... 164
    Monroe Station – CR00677 .......................................................... 171
Waterways and Road Systems ................................................................. 177
Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area - GL00440 ................................................................. 177
The Loop Road (County Road 94) ................................................................. 182
DA06984 (Miami-Dade County), MO01920 (Monroe County) ................................................................. 182
CR01086 (Collier County) ................................................................. 182
Turner River Road Complex - CR1085 ................................................................. 187
Tamiami Trail (US Highway 41) - DA6510 ................................................................. 191
Summary ................................................................. 195

X. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ................................................................. 197
Future Research ................................................................. 200

REFERENCES CITED ................................................................. 201

APPENDIX A: LETTER FROM FRANK DENNINGER
APPENDIX B: LIST OF GLADESMEN INTERVIEWED

VOLUME 2: APPENDIX C: FLORIDA SURVEY LOG SHEET AND FLORIDA MASTER SITE FILE FORMS
VOLUME 3: APPENDIX D: ORAL INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTIONS
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map Illustrating Ethnographic Study Area Boundary .................................................. 3
Figure 2. Field Oral History Interviews .................................................................................. 15
Figure 3. Blank Interview Form for Project ........................................................................... 16
Figure 4. Consent Form ........................................................................................................ 19
Figure 5. Subregions Visited by the Ethnographer ................................................................. 23
Figure 6. Lake Kissimme ....................................................................................................... 25
Figure 7. Lake Okeechobee .................................................................................................. 26
Figure 8. Fisheating Creek ................................................................................................. 28
Figure 9. Big Cypress National Preserve ............................................................................. 30
Figure 10. Eastern Region Images ....................................................................................... 33
Figure 11. 1839 Seat of War Map ....................................................................................... 37
Figure 12. Section of the Ives Map (1865) ........................................................................ 38
Figure 13. Historic Views of the Everglades Region ............................................................... 48
Figure 14. Early Gladesmen Life ........................................................................................ 53
Figure 15. Backcountry Camping ........................................................................................ 55
Figure 16. Game Animals ..................................................................................................... 57
Figure 17. Everglades Water Craft ..................................................................................... 61
Figure 18. Airboats ............................................................................................................... 63
Figure 19. Swamp Buggies .................................................................................................... 66
Figure 20. Swamp Buggy Culture ....................................................................................... 67
Figure 21. Commercial Fish Camps .................................................................................... 106
Figure 22. Commercial Sites ............................................................................................... 107
Figure 23. Duck Camp #2 ................................................................................................. 111
Figure 24. Examples of Everglades Region Waterways ........................................................ 114
Figure 25. Historic Roads ................................................................................................... 116
Figure 26. Topographic Map Showing Camp Mack River Resort (PO07201) .......................... 132
Figure 27. Aerial Photograph Showing Camp Mack River Resort (PO07201) ................... 133
Figure 28. Camp Mack River Resort Map (PO07201) ......................................................... 134
Figure 29. Images of Camp Mack (PO07201) .................................................................... 135
Figure 30. Topographic Map Showing Everglades Rod and Gun Club (CR01083) ............. 137
Figure 31. Aerial Photograph Showing Everglades Rod and Gun Club (CR01083) ............ 138
Figure 32. Topographic Map Showing Resource Boundary of Mack’s Fish Camp (BD4566) 140
Figure 33. Aerial Photograph Showing Resource Boundary of Mack’s Fish Camp (BD4566) 141
Figure 34. Images of Mack’s Fish Camp (BD4566) ............................................................ 143
Figure 35. Sketch Map of Mack’s Fish Camp (BD4566) ..................................................... 144
Figure 36. Topographic Map Showing Trail Lakes Campground (CR01082) ...................... 148
Figure 37. Aerial Photograph Showing Trail Lakes Campground (CR01082) .................... 149
Figure 38. Images of Trail Lakes Campground (CR01082) ............................................... 150
Figure 39. Topographic Map Showing the Airboat Association of Florida (DA6768) ....... 152
Figure 40. Aerial Map and Image of the Airboat Association of Florida (DA6768) ............ 153
Figure 41. Topographic Map Showing Duck Camp #2 (DA11449) ..................................... 157
Figure 42. Aerial Map Showing Duck Camp #2 (DA11449) ............................................... 158
Figure 43. Images of Duck Camp #2 Cabin ....................................................................... 159
Figure 44. Topographic Map Showing the Everglades Conservation and Sportsman’s Club (CR01084) .............................................................. 161
Figure 45. Aerial Map Showing the Everglades Conservation and Sportsman’s Club (CR01084) .............................................................. 162
Figure 46. Images of the Everglades Conservation and Sportsman’s Club (CR01084) ......... 163
Figure 47. Topographic Map Showing Pinecrest (MO1919) ................................................. 165
Figure 48. Aerial Photograph Showing Pinecrest (MO1919) .............................................. 166
Figure 49. Pinecrest Today .................................................................................................. 168
Figure 50. Hotel Remains .................................................................................................... 169
Figure 51. Topographic Map Showing Monroe Station (CR00677) ..................................... 172
Figure 52. Aerial Photograph Showing Monroe Station (CR00677) ................................................................. 173
Figure 53. Sketch Plans of Monroe Station (CR00677) ........................................................................... 174
Figure 54. Images of Monroe Station (CR00677) ..................................................................................... 175
Figure 55. Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area (GL00440) ....................................................... 178
Figure 56. Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area Sketch Map (GL00440) ............................. 179
Figure 57. Images of Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area (GL00440) ................................. 180
Figure 58. Topographic Map Showing the Loop Road (DA06984, MO01920, RO01086) ............. 183
Figure 59. Aerial Photograph Showing the Loop Road (DA06984, MO01920, RO01086) .......... 184
Figure 60. Images of the Loop Road (DA06984, MO01920, RO01086) ............................................. 185
Figure 61. Topographic Map Showing the Turner River Road Complex (CR1085) ......................... 188
Figure 62. Aerial Photograph Showing the Turner River Road Complex (CR1085) ..................... 189
Figure 63. Images of Turner River Road ................................................................................................. 191
Figure 64. Map Showing the Location of the Tamiami Trail (DA6510) ............................................... 193
Figure 65. Images of Tamiami Trail (DA6510) .................................................................................... 194
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Identified Properties Associated with the Gladesmen Culture by Type........................................6
Table 2. Summary of Recommendations........................................199
I. INTRODUCTION

As part of the Master Recreation Plan component of the Comprehensive Everglades Restoration Plan (CERP), the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE or Corps), Jacksonville District, in cooperation with the South Florida Water Management District (SFWMD), will be providing recreation-planning guidance to CERP Planning Teams. 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 recently by Ogden (2005). They asserted verbally and in writing (Appendix A) that the Corps was out of compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act because the Corps had not taken into account effects on significant cultural properties, specifically TCPs, associated with Gladesmen Culture. Significance in this sense refers to buildings, structures, sites, historic districts, landscapes, and individual objects that meet the criteria for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP, 36 CFR 60.4), specifically those that represent Gladesmen TCPs.

This study will allow the Corps of Engineers to evaluate potential impacts on Gladesmen TCP’s from planned projects. A determination of eligibility does not require protection by a Federal agency; Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act only requires the agency to consider potential effects, in consultation with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. The guidelines for meeting the requirements of Section 106 are found in 36 CFR Part 800. The Advisory Council has also provided additional information on participating in the Section 106 process on its web site (www.achp.gov). Study results may 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). Hereafter the term Gladesmen (plural) is used in referring to members of the culture. It should be noted that there are many people living in south Florida with similar values and history who do not identify themselves with the modern Gladesmen. The focus of this study is on the group who identified the potential presence of TCPs in the CERP project area.

The goal of this study, conducted from April through July of 2008, is to identify places within the ethnographic study area (the multiple county CERP region of southern Florida) that are of continuing cultural significance to the Gladesmen Culture, and to determine if any meet the qualifications for recording as TCPs. In so doing, the study helps to pursue two of the fundamental principles of CERP: involving stakeholders and using the best available information to support decision making (Kimball 2009:1). To consider any potential effects to TCPs of the modern Gladesmen Culture, the Jacksonville District determined that an ethnographic study incorporating informant interviews was the appropriate means for determining if such properties were present in CERP impact areas. Such an in depth study and description of the culture was needed to be able to identify properties that have significance to the culture as a whole and that qualify as TCPs.

The meaning of culture is fundamental to this study and its definition at the outset of the document is needed to establish a common vocabulary. The definition of culture used by the National Park Service in their cultural resource management guidelines is preferred. Culture is considered “a
system of behaviors, values, ideologies, and social arrangements. These features, in addition to
tools and expressive elements such as graphic arts, help humans interpret their universe as well as
deal with features of their environments, natural and social. Cultures can be autonomous (e.g., a
tribe, African Americans, the Amish, etc.) or can reflect a subset of American Culture, as with the
Gladesmen. Culture is learned, transmitted in a social context, and modifiable” (NPS-28). The
further definition of two terms, “folk culture” and “folklife,” that are used extensively in this study, is
also helpful. Either term may be used to describe aspects of a culture that are unwritten, that are
learned without formal instruction, and that deal with expressive elements such as dance, song, etc.
These definitions underpin the study, and provide a point of departure for an understanding of the
Gladesmen Culture and the places that have cultural meaning within it.

Given limitations in funding and time, this introductory study was not intended to be a complete
historical treatment of Gladesmen or an examination of every property in southern Florida
associated with their culture. Rather, the study was designed to determine if TCPs were present in
CERP project areas (Figure 1) and establish a basis for identifying and evaluating the significance
of any additional Gladesmen properties in the future. It is important to note that while there are
many properties associated with Gladesmen Culture that may warrant recording as “historic”
(buildings, structures, sites, historic districts, landscapes, or individual objects over 50 years old),
not all of them will attain the level of a TCP. While subsequent determinations of effect will relate
strictly to TCPs, this study provides a foundation for identifying the full range of Gladesmen
associated sites and potential TCPs during future, project-specific cultural resource evaluations in the
southern Florida region.

According to NRHP guidelines (Parker and King 1990), TCP’s are properties that are eligible for the
NRHP for their association with the cultural beliefs and practices of a living community that are
rooted in that community’s history and are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity
of that community. For the present study, to understand the beliefs and practices of Gladesmen, and
to identify properties of continuing cultural importance to them, it was necessary to talk with the
people who identify themselves as members of that rural folk culture.

Identifying TCPs required collecting information from members of the Gladesmen Culture who have
interests in properties associated with CERP, and involved two primary tasks: literature review and
informant interviews. Interviews were conducted with 34 individuals who were self identified
Gladesmen. After submittal of a Draft Report in May 2009, a Public Comment Period reached a
much broader group and elicited more information from additional Gladesmen representing the
larger population, representatives of the Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes, and State and Federal
agencies. The feedback received during the comment period contributed significantly to this report.
It is important to note that the opinions given by those interviewed with respect to history and the
impacts of various uses on the Everglades are personal opinions. This report includes personal
statements, recollections, and opinions as they were related to the project ethnographer during
taped, face-to-face conversations; as such, this report does not include statements as to the validity
of all the opinions given. However, clarifications and contrasting opinions provided during the
Public Comment Period have been inserted throughout the document.

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. Additional
interviews with Gladesmen within the larger CERP restoration area (the Kissimmee Chain of Lakes
Figure 1.
Map Illustrating Ethnographic Study Area Boundary
GLADESMEN

The Everglades region of southern Florida is not merely a vast wetland 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). As elaborated in subsequent chapters, the individuals studied in this report all share an identity that is tied to the unique characteristics of southern Florida. Numerous people who choose to live in that boundless wetlands environment have adapted a set of cultural lifeways passed down through generations that is shared by a cultural community known as the Gladesmen.

The Gladesmen have only recently been identified as a rural folk culture with unique cultural and socioeconomic ties to the southern Florida environment (Ogden 2005). Since that time, Gladesmen Culture has been officially recognized by local governments/municipalities. Monroe County recognized and supported Gladesmen Culture as “an integral part of South Florida’s heritage and legacy inclusive of traditional activities and vehicles” and encouraged NPS “to sustain the culture’s existence and mitigate past impacts” (Monroe County Resolution No. 301-2006) and the Town of Southwest Ranches made a motion “opposing any rules or regulations that will change the current access and traditional uses of Everglades Holiday Park” and requested “that Broward County also recognize and support the preservation of the Gladesmen Culture (Broward County Resolution No. 2007-97). No additional published data were encountered that refer to this group specifically. Gladesmen Culture does not represent a self-sustaining, autonomous group, but is a subset of modern American culture in southern Florida that comprises a broad ethnic and social membership and has evolved through time. Historically, Gladesmen were settlers in southern Florida who, like the Native Americans before them, survived by living off the land and whose lifeways had strong ties 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 have a special knowledge of and appreciation for the complex Everglades ecosystem. In past times, an older Gladesmen Culture used the Everglades largely for subsistence, while today’s Gladesmen who have maintained and adapted many traditions use the area primarily for recreation. To them, the Everglades region is a home, as well as a source of recreation, personal solace, and social interaction with others who share their frame of reference.

“CULTURE” AND TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES

There are many definitions of the word “culture.” Simply put, culture can be thought of as the learned and shared behaviors of a community of interacting people. In the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) programs the word culture 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, the people of a folk region, or the nation as a whole. The National Register 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, typically over 50 years old, reflect many kinds of significance in architecture, history, archaeology, engineering, and culture.

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 derived from the role the property plays in maintaining a community’s historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices. TCPs are defined as properties that are eligible for listing in the NRHP for their association with the cultural beliefs and practices of a living community that: "(a) are rooted in that community’s history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community" (Parker and King 1990:1).

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, are hard to recognize by an outsider (Parker and King 1990:2) and must be identified through systematic study, just as most other kinds of historic properties must be identified. The existence and significance of such locations can often be ascertained only through interviews with knowledgeable members of the culture investigated – in the present case the Gladesmen of southern Florida who stepped forward to be interviewed. The methodology for identifying and evaluating TCPs requires a combined approach to data gathering that utilizes literature review, ethnographic fieldwork, and informant interviews (King and Parker 1990).

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). While these properties and others may possess significance under different contexts, only its significance as a TCP was evaluated. 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, continuing, and relatively unchanged 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 many such 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 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 as potential TCPs 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No. &amp; Historic Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commercial Sites</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PO07201 Camp Mack River Resort</td>
<td>14900 Camp Mack Road Polk County</td>
<td>Historic Commercial Fishing Camp</td>
<td>ca. 1928; 1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR01083 Everglades Rod &amp; Gun Club</td>
<td>Everglades City Collier County</td>
<td>Historic Building</td>
<td>Foundation ca. 1864; Current lodge late 19th-early 20th century?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD4566 Mack’s Fish Camp</td>
<td>Broward and Dade Counties</td>
<td>Historic fish camp; resource group</td>
<td>1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR01082 Trail's Lake Campground</td>
<td>Tamiami Trail/Big Cypress Preserve</td>
<td>Historic Campground; under 50 years old</td>
<td>ca. 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Commercial Sites</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA6768 Airboat Association of Florida</td>
<td>40904 Tamiami Trail, Dade County</td>
<td>Private airboat club</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA11449 Duck Camp #2</td>
<td>Water Management Area 3, Dade County</td>
<td>Airboat camp over 50 years old</td>
<td>ca. 1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR01084 Everglades Conservation &amp; Sportsman’s Club</td>
<td>50940 Loop Road Collier County</td>
<td>Historic sportsmen’s club</td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MO1919 Pinecrest</td>
<td>Collier County</td>
<td>Historic community</td>
<td>ca. 1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR00677 Monroe Station</td>
<td>Junction of Tamiami Trail and Loop Road, Monroe County</td>
<td>Historic structure</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Waterways and Road Systems**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No. &amp; Historic Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GL00440 Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area</td>
<td>Glades County</td>
<td>Natural Landscape/Linear Resource</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA6984, CR1086, MO1920 Loop Road</td>
<td>Dade, Collier, and Monroe Counties</td>
<td>26-mile road served as main access point</td>
<td>ca. 1920s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR1085 Turner River Road Complex</td>
<td>Collier County, Big Cypress Preserve</td>
<td>Includes Turner River, Upper and Lower Wagon Wheel, and Birdon roads</td>
<td>pre 1950s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA6510 Tamiami Trail</td>
<td>Dade County</td>
<td>Historic trail/road</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As this is a preliminary study of historic properties associated with Gladesmen, it is recognized that additional ethnographic studies and ethnographic research could be conducted to better understand other groups that have connections to the Everglades and could be impacted by restoration activities, particularly Native American Tribes and independent Indians.

DOCUMENT ORGANIZATION

The results of this study are presented in three volumes. This volume presents the results and interpretations, and contains ten chapters including this Introduction and two appendices. Chapter II discusses the Methods used in developing a description of modern Gladesmen and identifying properties that have significance to the culture as a whole and that qualify as TCPs. Chapter III provides an overview of portions of southern Florida that were shared with the project ethnographer during fieldwork to provide an overview of the geographical region that Gladesmen utilize. Chapter IV 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 V begins with an etic discussion (from the ethnographer’s viewpoint) of Gladesmen Culture, followed in Chapter VI by an emic treatment of Gladesmen Perspectives, including excerpts from oral history interviews that are grouped by themes to highlight the Gladesmen point of view on identity, group affiliation, and shared cultural lifeways. Chapter VII contains a description of the types of properties associated with Gladesmen that were identified during this study, and Chapter VIII is a summary of additional information received following a period of Public Comment. Chapter IX presents the results of the TCP evaluations, and Chapter X contains concluding comments and recommendations. References Cited are then listed, followed by the letter that motivated this study in Appendix A. Appendix B presents a list of the Gladesmen who were interviewed. Volume 2 contains Appendix C, a Survey Log Sheet as well as Resource Group and Historic Structure forms for the identified properties. Finally, Volume 3: Appendix D, contains transcriptions of the oral interviews conducted for this project.
II. METHODS

What follows is a technical discussion of the approaches used in researching, identifying, and evaluating potential Gladesmen TCPs. The criteria for identifying and evaluating TCPs are specified in National Register Bulletin 38 (Parker and King 1990, revised 1992, 1998), and much of the information directly below is drawn from that document. Following that is a discussion of the methods used to obtain data describing the Gladesmen Folk Culture toward the identification of locations with continuing cultural significance to that group. These data gathering techniques included literature review, ethnographic fieldwork, and informant interviews, which were followed by a Public Comment period that brought forth additional information from a larger population.

NRHP CRITERIA FOR DESIGNATING A TCP

When identifying TCPs within a large area, such as the CERP-related properties of southern Florida, the NRHP 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 overemphasized.

A significant property reflecting a continuing association with the Gladesmen Folk Culture of southern Florida would warrant recording as 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.

A TCP must be a tangible resource – a district, site, building, structure, landscape, view shed, or object – associated with the beliefs or practices of the group under study. The association between beliefs and the cultural resource gives the property its significance and can make it eligible for inclusion in the National Register. The NRHP guidelines also serve to distinguish a TCP as a property that not only meets existing criteria as a standard historic property (e.g., a building, site, or structure), but is also a property that represents a continuing association with the (Gladesmen) culture whose primary importance is its role 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 a sustained, 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 to determine if it meets one or more of the four basic criteria for NRHP 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; and a

d. history of yielding, or potential to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Perhaps the most critical element in whether or not a property represents a TCP is its role in long term and continuous maintenance of a given culture. As an example, a location that a Native American group has used continuously for an extensive period of time (e.g., in conducting ceremonies, collecting special plants, or engaging in traditional practices that solidify group membership) may represent a TCP to that group if they view it as an important component in maintaining their culture and self-identity. Whether or not non-members of the group can perceive the property as a TCP is irrelevant; if members of that cultural group perceive a traditionally used property as significant to them it may meet the criteria of a TCP.

Because continuity in use plays such an important role in defining TCPs, changes in a property’s use or association through time can change the eligibility status of that property. If extensive changes or discontinuity in use occur through time, a site that has integrity may still be eligible for recording as a historic property associated with a given culture, but it would not maintain the necessary level of significance for recording as a TCP. To be a TCP a property must exhibit at least 50 years of continuous use or association. In addition, the site needs to provide the same relationship or function to the culture for at least 50 years.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONSULTATION

To identify properties that may be TCPs within a study area it is necessary to consult with groups and individuals who have special knowledge about and interest in the history and culture of that area. In the case of TCPs related to the Gladesmen Culture (Simmons and Ogden 1998; Ogden 2005), this includes people who specifically see themselves and others as members of that group, and who acknowledge shared traditions, behaviors, and ideology with other members. An important first step in understanding and identifying such people is to conduct a review of existing literature to determine what is already recorded about the culture’s history, ethnography, sociology, and folk life. The results of the literature search are included throughout the remainder of this report,
especially in describing the historical precedents that contributed to the formation of the Gladesmen Folk Culture (in Chapter IV) and in summarizing the adaptations and developments that characterize the modern Gladesmen tradition (in Chapters V and VII).

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 (short for digital Journal Storage). The objective of this research was to gather available information on the origins, environment, and history of the Gladesmen and related Florida Cracker cultures, as well as to determine the extent and use of the culture area, as documented in previous research by anthropologists, folklorists, historians, and the Gladesmen themselves.

Foremost in terms of previous documentation of Gladesmen, New South consulted 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 group. Recent work by Ogden (1998, 2005) and Simmons and Ogden (1998) served to formally identify Gladesmen Culture as a distinct entity and to elaborate on the determinants of significance to them. Ogden’s work comprised some of the best first person Gladesmen accounts available and these, in combination with others obtained during the literature review, served as a good starting point for learning about the culture as she defined it and conducting interviews with the Gladesmen to identify properties they deemed significant.

As enumerated in the report Acknowledgments, a number of individuals were consulted at various agencies and research facilities that assisted New South in conducting archival research, obtaining field permits, and gathering information. Research and/or literature reviews were conducted at the Clewiston Museum, 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 by utilizing individual non-published information. 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: the 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.
ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELDWORK

After reviewing available background data, the next step in identifying cultural properties and evaluating TCPs is to make contact with individuals and/or groups that are part of the group under study to elicit information from them directly (Parker and King 1990:7). The process of obtaining first hand information from individuals representing a group/culture is known as ethnography. Ethnography is the exploration and description of the social and cultural systems of one particular group with the goal of understanding the worldview of those under study (Hunter and Whitten 1976:584). The data collected can often indicate that changes have occurred within a culture over time.

There have been many ethnographic studies conducted all over the world that have focused on diverse cultures, both old and new. Many of these were the focus of a series of case studies published from 1960 through 1984 that was edited by George and Louise Spindler. To illustrate the variety of groups that have been the subject of an ethnographic study, a sample can be cited here to point out that they all share one common goal – to learn about a culture by obtaining first hand information from its members.

The Washo Indians of western Nevada and the eastern Sierra slopes of California were the subject of an ethnographic study by Downs (1966) who put the memories of older Washo together with existing history and knowledge of the culture area. Perhaps the most well known ethnographic study is that conducted by Chagnon (1968) of the Yanamamo Indians of Venezuela. Closer in time and space to the present Gladesmen is an ethnographic study that took place in Gainesville, Florida, during the late 1960s of a “Hippie Ghetto” (Partridge 1973). At the onset of the latter study, the author found himself asking a very basic question: “What is a hippie?” Similar to Downs (1966) and Chagnon (1968), Partridge (1973) developed a better understanding of his study group by eliciting personal histories from self-proclaimed members. More recent works that utilize informant interviews include a study of Philippine Americans in San Diego in which 90 interviews were conducted from a population in 1990 of 95,945 (Espiritu 1995) and a description of life in Alachua County, Florida, that used existing oral histories (n=26) and new interviews (n=7) to explore north Florida’s unique history, culture, and geography (Cauthen 2007). The same approach – learning about a group through oral histories – is used in the present study of the Gladesmen.

Ethnography, or ethnographic fieldwork, can be most clearly described as “participant observation,” wherein the ethnographer spends time and talks with members of the group being studied. Fieldwork is conducted in order to elicit information through personal interviews about what is important in their culture and to learn about their opinions, histories, and ways of life. Ethnographers take part in the activities of the people they study because it enables a one-to-one relationship that helps in obtaining information on local behaviors, traditional practices, and collective thought. Toward this end in the present study, the project ethnographer met with subjects “in the field” and experienced traditional Gladesmen activities (by boat, canoe, swamp buggy, or airboat) in the company of people who describe themselves, and others they interact with, as Gladesmen. Most of the ethnographic interviews took place in camps and in remote areas that were the favored locations of the individuals interviewed. Participant observation allows the interviewer to share the experiences of the people being interviewed first hand, and this close association fosters an honest and open discussion.
Fieldwork for the Gladesmen study involved the ethnographer experiencing the environment of southern Florida in the company of people who love it, claim membership in the group, and were willing to share their time. Several people devoted a lot of effort and worked closely with New South; two key informants acknowledged again here include Barbara Jean Powell (Wildlife and Resource Management Liaison, Everglades Coordinating Council) and Frank Denninger. Locations visited during fieldwork that served as access points for reaching a number of camps and other off-road locations during the ethnographic study included 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, Florida.

INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Gladesmen represent a living culture with a tradition that can be traced back to the nineteenth century but does not have a long written history (Ogden 2005). Members of this group do not occur in a census as a distinct population, as they represent a subset of modern American culture in southern Florida whose membership numbers are not known. Gladesmen Culture is not a hierarchical one with a leader who can speak for the group as a whole; instead it is a member-driven group made up of individuals who share behaviors that have the vast wetlands of the region as their primary focus. Going back to the definition of culture given earlier, Gladesmen share learned behavior as part of a community of interacting and like-minded human beings. While many people may hunt and fish in southern Florida, they do not claim to be Gladesmen. In order to study the Gladesmen Culture it was necessary to speak with people who identified themselves and others as members; conversely, people knowledgeable about the region or interested in conservation who do not consider themselves part of the Gladesmen Culture are simply that – not members of the group/culture.

Interviews are the established method for eliciting the type of ethnographic information needed for a study of the Gladesmen (Hoebel 1958; Hunter and Whitten 1976; Edic 1996), as the product of this type of data gathering is an interpretive story, reconstruction, or narrative about a group of people (LeCompte and Schensul 1999:1-3). In conducting interviews, the ethnographer is an “invited guest” who asks questions designed to determine what members of a culture do and what reasons they give for doing so. As in the present study, interviewers also want to determine what, if any, changes have occurred within a culture through time. Questions are asked in a face-to-face setting, often in a location decided on by the subject, and the ethnographer never knows exactly where the dialogue is going to go. [In only one case were written responses given on paper]. If the interview gets sidetracked, it is the ethnographer’s job to get the discussion back on track. There are no right or wrong answers as each interviewee is stating his or her own personal opinions, and these may not necessarily be well-established facts. Each interview provides what is called an oral history that includes ancestry, childhood memories, personal experience, and present-day perceptions.

Use of ethnographic interviews in a similar cultural context occurred in a nearby study conducted during the 1990s of the Fisherfolk of Charlotte Harbor, Florida (Edic 1996). As with the Gladesmen, the subjects interviewed (n=10) claim a shared heritage that extends back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century pioneer fishing communities along Florida’s southwestern coast. Interviews that reveal their life experiences connect the present with the past, and provide a valuable link to the historical fishing heritage of the Charlotte Harbor area. Like the Gladesmen, the
fisherfolk of Charlotte Harbor have a social and economic tie to one specific southern Florida ecosystem. The Edic (1996) interviews involved the same practices utilized in the Gladesmen study (prepared questions, a release form, and taped interviews) and captured the thoughts of “senior fisherfolk” related to practices, traditions, and fishing strategies, as well as changes within their local culture through time. Studies of this kind make an important contribution to the memory of how things were in earlier times, and how adaptations have been made to traditions in reaching a more modern era.

For the present study, interview subjects consisted of those members who were contacted or came forward and agreed to meet with the project ethnographer. The scope of work for the ethnographic study was designed to focus on self-identifying Gladesmen, many of whom participated in public meetings for some of the CERP projects and made themselves available for interviews. Because the total number of Gladesmen is not known, it is impossible to say what percentage of the group is represented in the present sample of interviews. Bishop Wright (2008b) stated, “I can name a couple hundred of them.”

The goal of the oral history interviews was to obtain information from Gladesmen on their background, their experiences, their way of life, and the things that are important to them. The group of people interviewed thus represents a “purposeful sample,” which is normally small (Patton 2002:536). No rule of thumb exists to tell a researcher precisely how to focus such a study, but a good sample size is said to include 30 people (Bernard 2002:174), which indicates that the Gladesmen oral histories (n=34) are a valid representative sample that is more than adequate for the purpose of better understanding the activities and opinions of that unquantified group. Additionally, accounts were obtained during the period of Public Comment that represented a larger segment of the Gladesmen population and made the sample more robust.

Potential interviewees were identified through a variety of methods, including contacting individuals named in the study’s Scope of Work (SOW), provided by the USACE as Gladesmen informants 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 sought out the ethnographer and arranged introductions and interview schedules. All subjects were contacted by phone and a meeting time and place were set.

New South Associates conducted oral interviews with 33 individuals and obtained a written interview from one person (Figure 2). The information collected aided in identifying Gladesmen-related properties, establishing periods of use, and evaluating properties as potential TCPs. All of the people interviewed identified themselves as members of the Gladesmen Folk Culture who felt that they had associations with properties affected by CERP. The interviewees 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. Many Gladesmen described family traditions that extended back several generations, which enabled a look at both continuity and change within the culture.
ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY AND EVALUATION OF
TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES OF THE MODERN GLADESMEN CULTURE

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

B. William Lanier on Fisheating Creek

Figure 2.
Field Oral History Interviews
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?
What were the continuities in Gladesmen practice 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? Do you often supplement gardens to add to what you get on hunting trips?

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.
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 tape 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 and USACE, Jacksonville District.

PUBLIC COMMENTS

Following submittal of a Draft Report in May 2009, the USACE made a digital copy of the draft available for review and comment. Subsequently, additional written information was obtained from several sources: a larger group of men and women identifying themselves as Gladesmen, various agencies, and the Seminole Tribe of Florida. A meeting between the USACE and representatives of the Miccosukee Tribe was also held on September 11, 2009, from which notes were transcribed. Comments from this supplemental data gathering effort are addressed throughout this report, and the comments are summarized in Chapter VIII.
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___________________
III. 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. This will be especially helpful to readers who have never been to the Everglades and its larger wetland ecosystem. These overviews are not intended to be an exhaustive environmental 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 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. 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.

The word “glade” originated 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 Gerar 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).

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.

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 the Ethnographer

- Kissimee Chain of Lakes
- Okeechobee Region
- Fisheating Creek
- Caloosahatchee River Region
- Eastern Region
- South Florida
- Big Cypress Swamp
- Fakahatchee Strand
- Poyryne Strand
- Everglades National Park
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, Kissimme. 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 to 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. Truck farming became the important economic endeavor 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

Source: USDA Farm Service Agency
Figure 7.
Lake Okeechobee
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 a pristine waterway at the edge of Lake Okeechobee that is the only non-dammed tributary to the lake. It is an approximately 60-mile long tributary that flows from Highlands County through Glades County, draining into Lake Okeechobee at Fisheating Bay. 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, "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). Much of the river corridor is owned by the Lykes Brothers. Additional lands have been leased to the Florida Fish and Wildlife Conservation Commission (FWC), and the Board of Trustees has purchased development rights for other property from the Lykes Brothers. Management and monitoring of the conservation easement on these lands is the responsibility of the FWC. Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area (WMA) is a 40-mile stretch of the creek where picnicking, fishing, boating, hiking, hunting by permit, and wildlife viewing are popular activities.

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. For early Gladesmen, the Caloosahatchee, along with the Kissimmee River, was a primary access route into the backcountry. 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, Everglades and Francis S. Taylor Wildlife Management Area, 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. Much 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’s 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 Park. Located in Collier County, the strand is a linear swamp forest, about 20 miles long and five miles wide. It is 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.

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. It was the main logging railroad tram leading from Copeland into the Fakahatchee Strand and was referred to by locals as the Copeland Grade prior to it being named Janes Scenic Drive. Additional spurs were cut off from the main tram, allowing logging operations to reach deep into the cypress swamp.
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.

Everglades and Francis S. Taylor Wildlife Management Area -- Water Conservation Areas 2 and 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).

This large area covers portions of Dade and 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 it accessible by both boat and levee bank. The land is divided between State, SFWMD, Miccosukee Tribal Land, and private landholders, with SFWMD lands designated by State and Federal governments as Federal Trust Land for the use and benefit of the Miccosukee Tribe. The Florida Fish and Wildlife Commission manages hunting within non-Tribal lands and conducts yearly hunts for small game, waterfowl, 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 and tracked vehicles, with some of the camps built on stilts over open water while others are situated on hammocks (SFWMD n.d.b). In addition to Mack’s Fish Camp, included in the present study, Everglades Holiday Park (previously known as King’s Fish Camp) and the Sawgrass Fish Camp have long been important regional access points (Poole 2009:3).
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 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. W. 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.
Figure 10.
Eastern Region Images

A. Grassy Waters Preserve

B. J. W. Corbett Wildlife Management Area
IV. HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS

This chapter provides background on the peopling of southern Florida that began after Spanish and British colonization efforts in the region ended 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. Hunting and fishing were economic mainstays for the early settlers, with cattle raising, timbering, and tourism contributing to a developing economy. Landscape alteration and water management of the largely wetland environment can be seen to have occurred throughout southern Florida’s development, and this is reflected in early drainage efforts to create usable land and more recent management and restoration practices.

THE TERRITORIAL AND EARLY STATEHOOD PERIODS

Interactions between European and Native American peoples brought significant changes to indigenous culture in Florida, and by the mid-eighteenth century, the makeup of the native population had dramatically changed within southern Florida (Covington 1993; Mahon 1967). Diverse refugee groups from northern Florida and Georgia, as well as remaining Calusa Indians from the southwest coast of Florida, occupied the region that had suffered population loss after European contact; these people are today known as the Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes of Florida (Terry and Dayhoff n.d.). They used many of the same site locations as the prehistoric occupants had, but site distributions show more selective and specialized use, as some sites were used for residential camps, some exclusively for cultivation, and some as hunting camps. Sites with cemeteries or single graves are also known. Seminole populations are thought to have initially favored locations along the eastern rim of the Everglades, but pressure from white settlers pushed them west and concentrated settlement into a smaller number of areas, most importantly “tree islands” that lie at slightly higher elevation within the largely wetland environment (Carr 2002:198-199).

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” (Tebbeau 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 Second Seminole War, the Seminole and Miccosukee were allied with the remainder of the Calusa, Arawaks, and Caribs of the Caloosahatchee region (Fritz 1963:6; Terry and Dayhoff n.d.:21). 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 (in Martin County) 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 hostility subsided (Mahon 1967).

While the Seminoles had utilized the Everglades prior to the Second Seminole War, it was conflict that initiated more intensive occupation in small, dispersed settlements throughout the Everglades, many of which were located on tree islands formally occupied in prehistoric times. 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 conflicts subsided. The Seminoles were allowed to remain on a reserve in southwestern 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).

Due to the peace that had 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 could receive 160 acres of free land if they 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 village of Miami was platted just after the Second Seminole War in 1843 by William English and, in 1844, Miami became the county seat of Dade County.

The end of the Second Seminole War saw the development of a crude system of roads and trails from coast to coast that was used by homesteaders, cattlemen, and ranchers. In addition, military maps of the interior had been created that served useful during subsequent settlement. Figures 11 and 12 are maps depicting southern Florida in 1839 and 1865, respectively. 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.

In January 1861, following South Carolina and Mississippi, Florida seceded from the Union. The state was asked to supply 5,000 troops to the Confederacy and the loss of heads of households and male labor devastated the Florida economy. Fort Myers, abandoned after the Seminole Wars in 1858, was re-commissioned in 1864 by Union forces under the orders of General D. P. Woodbury. His intentions were to assist the Union Navy in its blockade of the Gulf Coast, conduct cattle raiding from numerous wild and domesticated herds, provide a haven for Confederate deserters and refuge for Union supporters, and attract escaped slaves from southern Florida (Solomon 1999).
Figure 11.
1839 Seat of War Map
Figure 12.
Section of the Ives Map (1865)
During the Civil War, few settlers were in the present-day Miami-Dade County area and the region was affected little by the conflict. After the war property values were reduced considerably in Florida and the removal of slave labor slashed manpower dramatically. Across the frontier, only a few families in isolated areas remained at home. The cattle industry, however, managed to survive and some cattlemen’s herds doubled and even tripled in size (Matthews 1998:59, 66).

The remaining Seminoles of southern Florida continued the occupation of cattle raising, long practiced by the Creeks, as they did from their arrival in Florida and their subsequent transformation into “Seminoles” (West 1995). The Seminoles kept both cattle and hogs in the Big Cypress area and around Lake Okeechobee, and the sale of livestock was said to represent one-third of their annual income (West 1995:30). The Creek Seminoles’ Snake Clan was settled at Guinea Ford on Fisheating Creek, where they had been raising herds since about 1868 alongside pioneer cattlemen John Whidden and Jacob Summerlin (West 1995:30).

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 region. The people who occupied these remote areas across southern Florida were a hardy, resourceful, and independent people (Simmons and Ogden 1998).

POST-CIVIL WAR DEVELOPMENT AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Significant growth began in Florida during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Notable local developments that occurred from the period between the Civil War and the 1890s were the establishment of trading posts by J. W. Ewan and William Brickell on opposite sides of the Miami River. Both dealt primarily with Seminoles living in the Everglades, and the stores became local community centers. Other attempts to found plantations and towns at this time mostly failed and the area remained largely unsettled (Parks 1991; Patricios 1994; Dade County 1982).

At 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). Some of the animals that were hunted at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century were hunted until they were in danger of extinction or until laws were passed in the twentieth century to protect them (Tebeau 1957: 241). Settlers of the Everglades not only collected and hunted to eat and make a living, but hunting became a form of tourism in southern Florida, where many people began to come to visit Florida’s natural environment and have the experience of hunting or fishing (Tebeau 1957: 242).

Meining (1998:223) characterizes Florida during this period as a subtropical colony of the North rather than an extension of the South, because Northern businessmen and entrepreneurs drove development. In Miami, progress was helped along by oil and railroad magnate Henry Flagler’s decision to extend his Florida East Coast Railroad to Miami. When the first train arrived in April 1896 the region was already starting to flourish and, by 1900, Dade County’s population increased from 861 to 4,955 (Parks 1991, Patricios 1994, Dade County 1982). The new city of
Miami incorporated areas on both sides of the Miami River, where streets were laid out in a grid, 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 south side. A segregated African-American district grew up west of the railroad tracks between NW 6th and 12th streets (Parks 1991, Patricios 1994, Dade County 1982).

Commercial fishing, both on a large and small scale, became the primary means of livelihood for many Florida pioneers in the region. 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 at this time.

Important industries that grew during this era included cattle ranching, farming, the lumber industry, and tourism. Cattle ranching in the area north of Lake Okeechobee and south of Orlando had long been an important Florida business. There were no fence laws in Florida, and cattle were free to graze on the open range of public lands. While Florida beef was not prize, there was a ready market for both meat and hides, making Florida one of the largest cattle-producing states east of the Mississippi at the beginning of the twentieth century (Proctor 1996:277). In some cases the combination of ranching and farming were common. After crops were planted for several years the owner might change it over to pasture to improve the soils (Tebeau 1957:250). Ranching in Florida started with frontier families. Indians and whites eventually came in conflict over rights to cattle ranges, and the Indians were forced out of that industry (Tebeau 1957:243).

The growth of new cities in Southern Florida focused on a strip of land between the Everglades and the Atlantic Ocean. 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).

During the 1920s, road and railroad construction greatly improved access to the region and promoted economic development. 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). The lumber
industry continued to be another successful economic pursuit in early southern Florida, as virgin cypress and pine timber were highly sought after; charcoal production also became a profitable livelihood (Tebeau 1957).

Because of the potential for land reclamation to increase the acreage available for agriculture, cattle and livestock raising, timbering, and other development, efforts to drain the Everglades began with Hamilton Disston during the mid-nineteenth-century and, over time, these would drastically alter the landscape of southern Florida. The State gained title to the Everglades in 1903 and canal construction began on the south side of Lake Okeechobee in 1906 with the dredging of the North New River Canal. By 1913, much of an extensive canal system was complete, including the Hillsboro, North New River, South New River, Miami, and Caloosahatchee canals. Control locks were built on the North New River and South New River Canals in 1912 and on the Miami Canal in 1912-13 (Everglades Engineering Board of Review 1927:28; McCally 1999). Subsequent developments included studies and reassessments of the canals and drainage systems, as well as reorganization of the entities overseeing them (McCally 1999). Some of these changes came after two major hurricanes in 1926 and 1928 caused severe flooding in the area around Lake Okeechobee, necessitating reconsideration of how best to manage and control inland waters in southern Florida that continues up to the present day.

During the Depression, Miami still managed to attract tourists, while New Deal programs built parks, public buildings, and housing projects. The Tamiami Trail opened in 1928 linking Tampa to Miami and providing important access to adjacent areas. Construction of the Tamiami Trail (U.S. Highway 41) began in 1915 and 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. At the same time, Miami underwent another boom, its population nearly doubling and growth being particularly intense in the outlying suburban municipalities (Patricios 1994).

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).

Also in the 1940s, hurricanes, drought, widespread flooding, and saltwater encroachment led the federal government to establish the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control Project as a centralized program for addressing water control issues. In 1949, the Florida Legislature replaced the Everglades Drainage District with the Central and South Florida Flood Control District, which took on the management responsibilities for the flood control projects designed and built by the Army Corps of Engineers (McIver 1983:135; McCally 1999:152-153; SFWMD 2005; CERP
2008). The U.S. Government, particularly the Army Corps of Engineers, became involved in the problem at this time. Whereas this agency had been chiefly concerned with navigation, it later took on responsibility for floodway channels, control gates, and levees (CERP 2008).

Among the new modifications was the addition of a canal system to aid urban development in southern Dade County. Local interests in the area began petitioning for such facilities beginning during the late 1950s, ultimately resulting in the authorization of a project for the region in the 1962 Federal Flood Control Act. The main goals of this project were to remove flood runoff, reduce the depth and duration of the larger floods, and to prevent excessive drainage (USACE 2007:4-5). Modifications, such as enlarging existing canals and adding culverts/earthen plugs, were made in the 1960s and later (USACE, Jacksonville District and South Florida Water Management District [SFWMD] 2002:11; USACOE 2007:5). The most recent significant development in Florida water management was the creation of the state’s five water management districts in 1972, including the present SFWMD. These authorities replaced the Central and Southern Florida Control District and reflected the state’s changing demand for, and perception of, water resources. The SFWMD has the responsibility for ensuring water quality, flood control, water supply, and environmental restoration through the operation and maintenance of canals, levees, pumping stations, and other water control structures (SFWMD 2005).

During the 1950s and 1960s, Miami’s Hispanic population grew substantially with the Cuban exodus of that period. Development included the construction of many new bridges that linked the mainland with the coastal islands. The potential for profits related to new development also resulted in many of the cattle ranchers selling their land to provide for future residential 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).

Today the city of Miami is the major metropolitan center of southern Florida, and contributing to the modern culture of the region are the descendants of the State’s Native American population. The Brighton Indian Reservation is located near the northwest shore of Lake Okeechobee just north of Fisheating Creek. The Big Cypress Seminole Indian Reservation covers a portion of southern Hendry County and extends south into Collier County and east into Brevard County. Other reservations include the Tampa Orient Road Reservation, Immokalee Farms, State Reservation (east of Big Cypress Reservation), Dania-Hollywood Reservation in Broward County, and the Miccosukee Reservation along Tamiami Trail in Dade County.
V. THE GLADESMEN CULTURE

This chapter begins with a discussion of Florida Cracker Culture and describes the subsequent development of Gladesmen Culture; both share historical roots related to cattle ranching in the state. Over time, there was a regional divergence that occurred in the wetlands environment of southern Florida wherein some Crackers developed their own distinctive (Gladesmen) subsistence practices during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During the 1920s-1940s, many Gladesmen made ends meet by living off the land and through opportunities for employment. The post World War II period was a time of cultural transition, producing a new wave of Gladesmen, searching for recreation, propelled through the Glades on high-powered airboats. Following a discussion of these developments, a summary of what characterizes the Gladesmen tradition follows, including the activities practiced by the group and the ways in which those evolved as modern Gladesmen have developed and incorporated 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 values that many of the new arrivals brought with them. 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 herdsmenship and close kinship ties. The Cracker economy was one of open-range herding; their rural values have been said to include “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). Highly individualistic and mobile, fiercely dedicated to popular democracy, generally possessing antipathy toward Indians and African Americans, and quick to anger, the crackers came to represent the majority of the population in the farming regions of the state (Denham 1994:453-462).

The word “Cracker” has its roots in sixteenth-century England, where it denoted a braggart; in the United States, the term came to mean a class of rogue settlers. While Florida Crackers are associated largely with cattle ranching in northern and central Florida, many of them did extend into southern Florida. Some Crackers in Florida use the term to describe themselves 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’” (Ste. Claire 2006:66). Whatever the origin of the term, Cracker signifies a culture, not an economic condition (Ste. Claire 2006:28-30, 66). Gladesmen Ronnie Bergeron (2008) agreed with this interpretation and stresses an association with cattle:

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…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) stated 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 is seen to have changed, however, by the turn of the century. During 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 (Ste. Claire 2006:34-35).

Some of the best descriptions of early 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, as it was these characteristics that allowed some Crackers to adapt to and survive in the diverse environment of southern Florida, which some considered uninhabitable (Ste. Claire 2006:51, 67-68).

The defining features of Cracker culture are marked by three major occupations that sustained life in Florida before the advent of tourism – ranching, farming, and fishing (Bucuvalas et al. 1994:39). By the time, Florida became a state in 1845, the Seminole Indians of the Everglades already
possessed extensive cattle herds, and white settlers soon followed their example. These new Florida Crackers were mostly an impoverished and poorly educated people who were driven out of their homelands by the adversities of war and were lured to the wilds of Florida by rumored opportunity. Continuing into the twentieth century they came with little, not knowing their destination, entering the state in carts and wagons to settle themselves in rural areas (Ste. Claire 2006:53). Marjory Stoneman Douglas (1967) wrote this description of Florida Crackers:

Keen-eyed Yankee visitors had already written about the people who made up the almost unseen background of the state, calling them “natives” or “Crackers,” lank whiskered men, tobacco stained, with the marks of malaria on them; thin bony wives, and sallow, white-headed children. They had retreated after the war into deeper wilderness, in the immemorial rugged frontier life of log cabin and clearing, hunting, and fishing. They were seen driving rickety oxcarts along pine woods roads, or coming in barefooted to boat landing stores to trade skins or deer meat for chewing tobacco, snuff, bacon, calico, powder. Sometimes they worked at logging or sawmilling. They had taken the place of the almost vanished Indian in the remote country where they kept alive the legends, the ballads, the tunes, the customs of their Georgian, Carolinian, Scotch-Irish, Irish, English, or even German ancestry. They were, as they had been, proud, secretive, unlettered, suspicious, enduring as time. They had taken the land for their own and had held it, making it American. It would be a long time before anyone noticed them more closely.

Crackers have perhaps best been described as self-sufficient, Southern “plain folk” who scratched their living from the soil or by raising livestock or fishing; the culture is said to have included a middle class, illustrating that Crackers were more than just poor whites (Denham 1994). In the early twentieth century, Cracker was considered an affectionate term by many, but by the 1950s, it again took on a pejorative tone, referring to a bigoted, country Southern white. Today, 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.

In southern Florida, Gladesmen Culture grew out of the Cracker culture and, in early times, logging, in addition to cattle raising, was one of the economic endeavors that initially drew these people to the region:

...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 (and continued) 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, which still exists today -- not as much 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).

By the time of the first survey of the Everglades and South Florida in 1921, many pioneer families had carved out a living as Florida Crackers in the sawgrass and peat. Some came to be Gladesmen hunters of plumes and pelts, while others established vast open range ranches, produce or citrus farms, or fishing businesses. South Florida Crackers tamed the tropical environment and brought their unique culture into what would become a truly multicultural region (Bucuvalas et al. 1994:37). It has been said that Crackers are not only a part of Florida history – to a great extent they are Florida history (Tonyan 2006).

Material possessions meant little to these self-reliant settlers. To Crackers everywhere in the state, personal independence and a restraint-free life were far more important than material prosperity or work – a behavior often viewed as lazy and shiftless by outsiders who did not understand the Cracker way of life. What few goods Crackers owned were usually homemade and rarely store bought, for they seldom had money to buy things. Typically, Cracker materials like cloth, tools, and cooking pots were used everyday until they wore out, which explains why little early Cracker material culture has survived for study today (Ste. Claire 2006:73-74).

While Crackers were bound by similar traits, the different environmental regions they occupied offered natural resources unique to those areas, and these environs required specialized means of settlement and forms of technology to ensure survival. Regionally, subcultures emerged throughout Florida from the northern part of the state to the Keys. Clearly, subsistence adaptation was a major determinant of regional cultural variability among the Crackers (Ste. Claire 2006:68).

THE EMERGENCE OF THE GLADESMEN FOLK CULTURE

The Gladesmen Swamp/Folk Culture (Ogden 2005) represents a regional variant and localized outgrowth of the Cracker Culture in Florida (Bucuvalas et al. 1994; Ste. Claire 2006; Ste. Claire, personal communication 2009). As Crackers settled along both coasts and in interior portions of southern Florida, some adapted their lifestyles and subsistence patterns to the diverse wetland environment of the vast Everglades ecosystem. The rich natural resources of the southern Florida marshes, sloughs, and sawgrass prairies have always provided a steady supply of fish and game, and the people whose adaptations focused on the utilization of these resources have recently been given the name Gladesmen (Ogden 2005). Early Gladesmen sold hides 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:xviii):

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…
The Gladesmen Culture has always had an interdependent relationship with the wetlands environment of southern Florida; it is this feature that best represents its regional variation from Florida Cracker Culture. The Gladesmen Culture is inextricably related to the wetland environment and is embedded in multiple shared aspects of it: language (terminology), practices, and worldview. A Gladesmen can be seen as the ultimate southern Florida naturalist in that he/she has extensive knowledge of numerous facets of the ecosystem, and in that Gladesmen practices require an awareness of and adaptation to the nuances of the seasons, weather, and human alteration of the landscape.

Glen Simmons, a Gladesmen, and Laura Ogden, an anthropologist, provided the first description of Gladesmen, a regional Cracker variant, in 1998. According to these authors, the term “Gladesmen” was not used historically 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 “crackers.” Ogden in her later work (2005:1) referred 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. In defining Gladesmen Culture, Ogden (2005:1) stressed the existence of a very strong relationship between the local culture and the environment of the Everglades (Figure 13).

While many settlers to southern Florida were attracted by open land and opportunities for livestock herding, by the 1920s, the land boom also beckoned people to the region. 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 led to the construction of roads and subdivisions staked out through the pinewoods of southern Florida (Simmons and Ogden 1998:20-21). Clearing trees, timbering, and producing lumber were associated occupations during this era of new development that provided additional wage labor opportunities during those years. Many people took advantage of new employment in harvesting timber or working at sawmills while, if they chose to, still extracting the resources of the wetlands environment. In addition to those with the ancestral history mentioned earlier, much of the workforce involved in logging and building roads during the early twentieth century was provided by Miccosukee and black labor (Fred Dayhoff, personal communication with Grady Caulk 2009).

If settlers were not involved in timbering or livestock herding, they could harvest shellfish and bird plumes, hunt alligators, and fish coastal areas and nearby rivers – such people were the Gladesmen. The earliest Gladesmen 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 it for later consumption. People also tended small gardens and citrus groves to round out their diets (Ogden 2005:2). These Gladesmen shared the Cracker cultural traits of self-sufficiency, independence, and an 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
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
southern Florida. The early Gladesmen lived a rural life where survival depended on the resources of the Everglades to feed themselves and their families. Adoption of this lifestyle was a transition from timbering activities in the region and can be seen in an increased emphasis on Gladesmen subsistence practices in providing for oneself and family. Through time, the importance of resource extraction would shift more toward recreation.

During the 1920s-1940s, steady employment as part of an expanding workforce allowed Gladesmen to work at wage-paying jobs or engage in truck farming and still live off the land by hunting, fishing, and trapping in the afternoon or on weekends. This represented a period of change from the lifestyle of the earliest Gladesmen, as there were increased opportunities to earn money in support of families while still engaging in traditional pursuits in the outdoors.

James Wile was one of the early twentieth-century 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 Chevalier 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 Big Cypress National 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.” This description suggests that 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 during the 1920s and 1930s. They were looking for a better life and Florida offered this in the form of 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.

Early Gladesmen of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made their living entirely from the resources of the Everglades region, subsisting on game, fish, and plants. They provided for themselves and their families by hunting and trapping animals and selling the plumage of exotic
birds (Owens 2002:86). For later 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).

In response to access regulations in the 1940s, many people modified their resource use to accommodate the Everglades National Park 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. Gladesmen have recounted how they or their ancestors covered a vast territory, and at one time could travel by canoe from Lake Okeechobee all the way to Miami. It is a culture that has always been at home throughout the extensive southern Florida wetlands, although cultural, subsistence, and recreational practices may vary according to geographic subregion.

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. Byron 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 pocket of air where the engine was located (Maharrey 2008a).

Arthurine Wilson, born in 1927 in Okeechobee, is a sixth 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 on the lake in Canal Point, where Arthurine’s father took a job as a night watchman at the Old Sherman, a sawmill on Lake Okeechobee. Her father also participated in a common regional activity, making and selling moonshine. Like most people living near the lake, Arthurine’s father fished and hunted alligators, while her grandfather hunted and trapped raccoons near Moore Haven (A. Wilson 2008).

The land boom and the abundance of employment opportunities lured many families to Florida in the 1930s and 1940s. A few of the histories from that period are summarized here. 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, relocated 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, over the years, he developed a strong connection to it and began to devote all his free time to 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). Tom 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:

…[i]t 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).

After World War II and the establishment of Everglades National Park, there was a decrease in the degree to which Gladesmen activities were intended for primary subsistence. Instead, Gladesmen practices today are more of a recreational nature, and include the use of modern conveyances including airboats and off road vehicles. As stated in later interview excerpts, many modern Gladesmen yearn for the earlier times. According to Franklin Adams (2008), “back then, there was almost no regulation – we had a wonderful freedom. You could just go anywhere you wanted, day or night.” Today’s Gladesmen continue to derive much satisfaction from practices that were once rooted in day-to-day survival.

THE LIFE OF A GLADESMEN

Glen Simmons was born in 1916, grew up on Long Glade, between Homestead and Florida City (Simmons and Ogden 1998:1), and passed away on July 21, 2009. He was 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 never left the Everglades, and for many years, continued the Gladesmen lifestyle of alligator hunting, camping, and fishing, as well as serving as a guide and expert skiff builder. In his later years, he never lost his wonderment for the Everglades but lamented the loss of so much of the Everglades environment and culture (Simmons and Odgen 1998).

One did not have to live in an isolated rural community to be exposed to the Everglades way of life (Figure 14). Many people who grew up in the Miami-Dade County area and surrounding environs during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s still had the pinewoods and swamps of the Everglades as their backyard. Since the urban explosion of the past several decades, these areas have been 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 described 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 outerlying 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 understand the need for its 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 crackes but we were raised to obey the law and if there was no law out there, you disciplined yourself. You were ethical…”
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
Most of the Gladesmen interviewed have roamed the Everglades since childhood. A great many were introduced to this lifestyle by their parents, who introduced them to the backcountry and the traditional ways for drawing from and enjoying it. Others were “recruited” by friends or siblings, or they discovered the Everglades on their own and roamed at will with others or even 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 duck 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 modern Gladesmen Culture. Families travel to the Everglades to camp, hike, observe wildlife, and enjoy fellowship with fellow Gladesmen.

HISTORIC GLADESMEN ACTIVITIES

Historically, early Gladesmen activities and methods reflect the fact that many, if not most, of their resource procurement practices were shared with the native 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. Early Native American access to hunting and fishing areas in the Everglades was by foot or canoe, transportation modes adopted by early Gladesmen. Activities that define the earliest Gladesmen of southern Florida, and the types of game they pursued, are discussed below.

ALLIGATOR HUNTING

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the alligator hide trade has traditionally been a lucrative cash crop for hunters in southern Florida. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Florida alligator hide trade was well established, and the state represented the chief supplier of hides to tanneries throughout the East Coast (Simmons and Ogden 1998:81). 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 alligators in their 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 along 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. Hides rose in price from 60 cents per skin (in 1896), to 90 cents to $2.00 (in 1902), and reached $2.50 to $3.00 for seven foot hides during the 1930s (Simmons and Ogden 1988:83).
A. Frank Espenlaub’s Jungle Hammock

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

Figure 15.
Backcountry Camping

Source: Christine Espenlaub Howell
Gladesmen hide dealers had their own means of preparing hides. One method was to build a house about 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 (Simmons and Ogden 1998:103-104). 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 Denninger, by that time prices varied from $35.00 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. 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).

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). In addition to fish, frogs, and turtles, the list of available terrestrial game is long but the animals that Gladesmen hunted most often included deer, otter, turkey, various birds and ducks, rabbits, wild pigs, and raccoons. Hunting is still central to contemporary Gladesmen Culture with many of the same traditional practices employed, particularly the use of a hunting camp as a base of operations. But instead of walking or skiffing to a hunting area, the modern-day Gladesmen have adapted the earlier hunting techniques to employ swamp buggies, all terrain vehicles (ATVs), and airboats to access remote camps and hunting areas.

BIRD PLUME COLLECTING

During the nineteenth century, many hunters in southern Florida earned high profits from selling exotic bird plumes; this represents a short-term use of Everglades resources to make money. During this time period, plumes had become the fashion in the millinery industry and the hunting of these birds nearly led to their extinction. After 1901, the practice decreased when the Florida Legislature passed a law forbidding the killing of wild birds at nesting time for their plumage (Paige 1986:98-99). 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.

COMMERCIAL FISHING

The waters of the Everglades have been the focus of resource extraction for centuries. As previously discussed, many early Gladesmen participated in commercial fishing, either fulltime or part-time as a means of supplementing income from a fulltime job. 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).
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
Two fish processing plants opened in Chokoloskee in the 1890s that were operated by the West Coast Fishing Company out of 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 during the 1920s in Everglades City after the Barron River was dredged, which allowed 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 (Simmons and Ogden 1998:128-130). 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 and operated 18 boats (Will 1977). 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 the preferences of the fisherman. Throughout southern Florida, people fish from airboats, canoes, off bridges, and from the shores of lakes and canal banks. Southern Florida is known for its backwater fishing (associated with 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, both intentionally and unintentionally, during the past several decades that include the oskar, 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 one end of 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 largely at night 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 gigged. 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).

TURTLING

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 turtle industry, as the practice still 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. The fisherman pulls the line 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 region using a canoe or airboat.

ACCESSING THE EVERGLADES

Access to and within the Everglades environment of southern Florida has always been a very important concern of Gladesmen. It has strongly influenced their hunting methods through time and, during the last several decades has been shaped by changing technologies. Contemporary Gladesmen access the Everglades to hunt, fish, and enjoy nature in a much different manner than their ancestors. Frank Denninger (2006) stated:

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, swamp buggies, and manufactured off highway vehicles, these inventions have origins dating back to the 1930s and indicate continuity over several decades in traditional practice. The evolution from canoes and pole-driven skiffs to powerful airboats driven by aircraft engines reflects the technological changes, environmental adaptations, and improvements in equipment that have taken place in this culture over 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 were 16-18 feet in length and just over two feet wide. The bow was held together with copper wire and the gunwale and transom were made of cypress or redwood planks. He finished the boat with a layer of fiberglass resin (Simmons and Ogden 1998:27; Simmons 1985:7). Before motorized boats, these skiffs transported early 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 (Figures 9b, 14b, and 17).
Figure 17. 
Everglades Water Craft

A. Jon Boat on Fisheating Creek; Butch Wilson and William “Nubbin” Lanier

B. Canoe on Fisheating Creek
CONTEMPORARY MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION

In order to support traditional activities, contemporary Gladesmen use a variety of off-road vehicles (ORV's) in southern Florida 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 it should not be assumed that the use of ORVs throughout the Everglades ecosystem is not of particular environmental concern (Ramos 2009:3). 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.

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. Gladesmen indicate that membership in these clubs strengthens ties to the physical environment of the Everglades ecosystem and further reinforces the continuation of the 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 interests provides cohesion and structure to the Gladesmen Culture.

Airboating

Airboats are one of the defining characteristics of modern Gladesmen Culture. These 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 both. The flat bottom of the boat and the lack of a propeller under the water allow airboats to operate through very shallow areas and even on dry ground. As development and drainage of the Everglades increased, the need to travel deeper into the difficult terrain of the backcountry also increased; use of the airboat has allowed access to a much larger area than is possible using other methods.

The first airboat, called the Ugly Duckling, was built in 1905 in Nova Scotia, Canada, by a team led by Dr. Alexander Graham Bell. This prototype was used to test various engines and prop configurations. An associate of Dr. Bell, Glenn Curtiss, also a Florida developer and aircraft builder, is reported to have registered the first airboat in Florida, in 1920. It was called the Curtis Scooter and consisted of an airplane propeller and engine bolted to a small fishing boat with a closed cockpit design. By the 1930s, homemade airboats began appearing in the swamps and marshes of Florida and Louisiana (McIver 1994:chapter 28). Denninger (2008a) has said that the first ones he knew of used Model A or T engines and were not very powerful; improvements made them much more effective after World War II.

Ogden (2005:4-5) documented how the “backyard mechanic” hunters, fishermen, and froggers in southern Florida adapted the airboat for use in the shallow conditions of the swamps, ponds, and sloughs. Constructed using marine plywood, the first airboats were gradually replaced by aluminum bodies (Azzarello et al. 2006:45). After World War II, airboat use increased dramatically, incorporating aircraft-styled propellers, airplane (or automobile) engines, and riveted
ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY AND EVALUATION OF
TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES OF THE MODERN GLADESMEN CULTURE

Figure 18.
Airboats

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

B. Two Seater Airboat

C. Commercially Produced Airboat
sections of aircraft aluminum. 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.

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, Frog City, and Gator Park (Azzarello et al. 2006:43). Other commercial uses of airboats include surveying, pipeline inspection and maintenance, and law enforcement.

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 Airboat Association of Florida, and his partner, Ray Dickinson, 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 have participated in rescue operations, often working long hours under dangerous conditions.

Half-Tracks and Full-Tracks

A half-track is a civilian or military vehicle with regular wheels on the front for steering, and caterpillar tracks on the back to propel the vehicle and carry most of the load. The purpose of this combination is to produce a vehicle with the cross-country capabilities of a tank and the handling of a wheeled vehicle. It is not difficult for someone who can drive a car to drive a half-track, which is a great advantage over full track vehicles. 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 raised platform above the tracks (Denninger 2008c). Loggers reportedly used half-tracks in southern Florida during the 1930s and 1940s. Tracked vehicles occur in photographs from WWII, and their adaptation and use in the Florida swamps appears to have coincided with other post-war technology (as noted for the airboat) and may have involved the use of government surplus.
The main advantage of half-tracks over wheeled vehicles is that the tracks reduce the vehicle’s overall ground pressure and give it greater mobility over soft terrain, while they do not require the complex steering mechanisms of fully tracked vehicles, relying instead on their front wheels to direct the vehicle, augmented in some cases by track braking controlled by the steering wheel. 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. Freddy Fisikelli (2009:6-7) gave an account of using his half-track many years ago in taking a medical team out to an airplane crash site in the middle of the night. He also related that he and others formed a club in the 1960s that was called the Halftrack Club of Dade County; today it is known as the Full Track Club (Fisikelli 2009:8).

Many track vehicle users built their own systems using junk parts. Frank Denninger (2008a) recalled that he, along with Stan Jensen and Buck Madison, 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 stated 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. Freddy Fisikilli (2009:4) recounted that in the late 1950s he cut up old Model As and built his first swamp buggy; this had three tires on each side of the rear end and single tires on the front. A later version was built that used 12 airplane tires (Fisikilli 2009:5). 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. Howell (2008) said, “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.”

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).
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 19.
Swamp Buggies
ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY AND EVALUATION OF TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES OF THE MODERN GLADESMEN CULTURE

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
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 able 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 began with a discussion of how the culture evolved from historical beginnings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Throughout the twentieth century, while Gladesmen traditions have been adapted and modernized up to the present day, these traditions have nonetheless continued. Whether passed on through generations of families or introduced to newcomers by friends, a modern Gladesmen Culture is still active today.

History indicates the Gladesmen Culture developed in the region of southern Florida out of the Florida Cracker Culture. During the early twentieth century, Gladesmen like Glen Simmons symbolized this early development, which appears to have had two forms: the fully immersed “swamp rat” and others who made their livings as farmers, loggers, and ranchers, yet also used the ecosystem regularly to extract resources. After World War II, there was a transition that occurred within the culture. This coincided with an increase in the availability of steady employment, expanded development, the establishment of the Everglades National Park, and increased use of mechanized equipment, and can be seen in a marked shift from traditional behaviors related to subsistence to similar practices that are largely associated with recreation.

Here, we discuss what has been learned about the traditions and social institutions that define a Gladesmen, as drawn from literature searches, 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 do people come to consider themselves Gladesmen, and recognize others as part of the same group?

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.

Today’s Gladesmen have inherited and share many characteristics of the first Gladesmen, although their practices are not intended to provide primary subsistence. Most importantly, as stated by Ogden above, the landscape of southern Florida is not a backdrop to their culture – it is its primary focus. Gladesmen do not merely fish out of the trunk of their car on occasion, they consciously and purposively invest a large part of their lives, their free time, and themselves in the practice of being modern-day Gladesmen.

Over subsequent decades, the traditions and knowledge of the earliest Gladesmen have been maintained, passed on to, and adapted by their successors. Based on interviews and other written accounts, many people say that their families have been Gladesmen for several generations and can recount numerous experiences and stories passed down over the years. Others recall being exposed to the Gladesmen way of life by their fathers or grandfathers, and cited that those early influences have stayed with them all their lives. They, in turn, continue to experience the backcountry with their own offspring. Still others, many now grown, were “recruited” into the Gladesmen way of life through friends either during childhood or later in their lifetime. Whatever the form of initiation may have been, many people identify themselves, and others, as Gladesmen today. They do not appear in a census, as they represent a subset of American society, but they know who they are.

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. The latter would include the use of hunting camps as a base of operation for storing gear and supplies, processing the daily catch, and housing watercraft. Modern Gladesmen, who are the focus of this study, use a variety of vehicles (e.g., airboats, half tracks and full tracks, swamp buggies) that have increased access to remote regions and, in many cases, promoted their membership. 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 a common desire to maintain their traditions, practices, and the Everglades ecosystem itself. For Gladesmen, the environment of southern Florida 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.”
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. [In response to a written comment, it should be noted here that not all these professions were represented in interviews.]

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, wherein the same access limitations that Gladesmen are subject to would not be in force. [In response to a written comment, it should be noted here that no Native Americans came forward at CERP recreation planning meetings who identified themselves as Gladesmen with property access concerns or volunteered to be interviewed.]

This excerpt from Bergeron (2008) provides his recollections of seeing Indians in the backcountry during earlier times:

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 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….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 [part of] 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.

One interviewee likened today’s tribal and independent Indians who share a love of the region to members of a subgroup, or “tribe” of Gladesmen, citing a parallel in the past when Gladesmen with different interests and access concerns (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 seeking 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 (Schrumm 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. These include hunting, fishing, recreation, contemplation, family time, camaraderie, search and rescue, and serenity, in addition to supplementing their diet, as desired. 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 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 access to southern Florida for cultural and spiritual nourishment. Many Gladesmen say that they see themselves as conservationists who want to preserve nature, not “environmentalists” who, as it has been stated, 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 to certain areas. Many feel they have been “run out” by the loss of access to large acreages they have a history with; while interest in pursuing traditional activities is high, today’s Gladesmen see increased limitations on their 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.

What is a modern Gladesmen? Based on the information and interviews collected for this study, members of the Gladesmen Culture have strong personal connections with and a highly developed knowledge of southern Florida as a natural resource, a cultural resource, and a place they feel at home. When they are away from the backcountry, they yearn to return there; it is a priority in their lives. They acknowledge direct ancestry and/or the inheritance of traditions from earlier Gladesmen and feel it is important to maintain those links by passing the culture on to future generations. They want their traditional practices to continue because for them, the Gladesmen Culture is a way of life. Gladesmen want to share their knowledge and time with others who are like-minded; they establish groups such as the Airboat Association of Florida, and other clubs and associations, that promote solidarity, education, and outreach programs in an attempt to reach a larger community. Gladesmen want to have the ability to hunt, fish, and recreate in areas they have visited for decades and are passionate about maintaining their culture through these traditional practices. A Gladesmen’s sense of place and a large part of their collective identity derive from the Everglades region of southern Florida.
VI. GLADESMEN PERSPECTIVES

In order to study the Gladesmen Culture and determine if TCPs were present that could be affected by CERP, it was necessary to interview people who identified themselves and others as members of that group. This chapter begins with a discussion of what “Culture” is and then provides a sense of historical and contemporary Gladesmen Culture as seen through the personal histories of its members. These accounts also aided in identifying Gladesmen-related properties, establishing periods of use, and evaluating properties as potential TCPs. All of the people interviewed identified themselves as members of the Gladesmen Folk Culture who felt that they had associations with properties that could be affected by CERP.

The interview excerpts that comprise the majority of this chapter are drawn from the 34 interviews conducted with self-defined Gladesmen as part of this study. An interview involves questioning an individual to obtain an oral history and allows members of a group to discuss their ancestry, childhood memories, personal experiences, and present-day perceptions as a member of a given culture. In conducting interviews, the ethnographer asks questions designed to determine what members of the culture do and what reasons they give for doing so. Interviews also seek to determine what, if any, changes have occurred within a culture through time. Interviews are the established method for eliciting the type of information needed for an ethnographic study of the Gladesmen, as the data gathered provide a unique historical narrative about a group of people, as taken from group members themselves (LeCompte and Schensul 1999:1-3).

Quotes included herein were drawn from much longer interview transcripts; excerpts have been edited slightly to eliminate wordiness and repetition without changing or influencing meaning. Oral interviews were reviewed to draw out statements touching on common topical themes that were evident among those interviewed, and excerpts were drawn (from approximately 550 pages of transcriptions) to provide a representative cross section of the verbal responses. The complete interview transcriptions are included in a separate volume on file with the Division of Historical Resources and USACE, Jacksonville District. Additional written accounts were obtained during a period of public comment that represented a larger segment of the Gladesmen population (Chapter VIII).

DEFINING HUMAN CULTURE

There are many anthropological definitions of human “culture” and its meaning is fundamental to this study. The definition of culture used by the National Park Service in their cultural resource management guidelines is preferred. Culture is considered:

a system of behaviors, values, ideologies, and social arrangements. These features, in addition to tools and expressive elements such as graphic arts, help humans interpret their universe as well as deal with features of their environments, natural and social. Culture is learned, transmitted in a social context, and modifiable (NPS 2000:28).
Further, the Gladesmen Folk Culture can be defined as representing 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, to 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 (1968:233), offered 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.”

That definition, which focuses on people and the environment, has a lot of interpretive power in understanding the Gladesmen Culture, its beginnings, and change over time. As the previous chapter has established, the earliest Gladesmen developed a common identity based upon subsistence and commercial strategies involving hunting, fishing, etc., but also that drew upon its host environment for cultural and spiritual nourishment. This chapter establishes 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 alive and still uniquely tied to the environment that gave rise to it.

Traditional cultural properties are symbolic of cultural continuity, providing cultural information about the physical context where the Everglades and Gladesmen connect either through hunting, fishing, experiencing nature, or other pursuits. Adaptation has occurred over time, particularly in how both men and women of 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 a cultural continuity remains.

While “culture as a 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. As discussed below, these three factors can also be seen in the Gladesmen Culture.

DEFINING THE EVERGLADES AS A FOLK REGION

The definition of two terms related to culture, “folk culture” and “folklife,” is also helpful in understanding the Gladesmen relationship with their environment. Each of these terms can be defined as describing aspects of a culture that are unwritten, that are learned without formal
instruction, and that deal with expressive elements such as dance, song, traditional practice, etc. Folk life, folk culture, and folk region are useful terms for understanding the Gladesmen Culture of southern Florida and the places that have cultural meaning within it.

Richard M. Dorson (1961) defined a folk region as a place where the people are wedded to the land, and the land holds memories. The people of such a region share identity, ancestry, and close family ties through continuous occupation of the same soil. A folk region is one that lies in the mind and spirit as much as in physical boundaries; the Gladesmen interview excerpts that follow illustrate these characteristics.

For purposes of this study, the Gladesmen folk region of southern Florida is defined as the tropical portion of the Florida peninsula that extends from the Kissimmee Chain of Lakes area and Lake Okeechobee south to the Florida Keys. Most travel guides, memoirs, and other Floridiana give a portrait of southern Florida that all but ignores the complex social and cultural features that define this unique place on the American landscape (Bucuvalas 1994:xiii). The Gladesmen folk region represents a dynamic system that is defined and driven by the interaction of people within the southern Florida environment.

Geographically, the Gladesmen Culture and the lands of southern Florida are intertwined. This interaction is why the Gladesmen Culture came into being and is the reason for its continuance today: modern Gladesmen desire to co-exist with and utilize the vast resources of the southern Florida environment. The geographic feature that defines their culture area, or folk region, is the Everglades ecosystem. Southern Florida is large and diverse, and Gladesmen respond to this diversity, as seen in regional variations in use relative to the transportation employed. Whether it is a pole-driven glade skiff, a canoe, an airboat, or a swamp buggy, Gladesmen know how to use, and/or make and adapt, the best tool for the situation at hand.

Social organization refers to how people of a group interact, and how they divide up various tasks to get things accomplished. Though sportsmen and conservation groups are relatively new organizations in the history of the Gladesmen, they are one of the main threads that unite the group today. Not only do these organizations provide a voice of advocacy to Gladesmen causes, they also serve as a social network linking other club members and other organizations. Early Cracker culture consisted of a close kinship system; today that can also be seen in similar kinship with other members of Gladesmen club organizations. 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. 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 cultural stewardship and act to keep the Gladesmen Culture alive.

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 modern Gladesmen do not depend on the wilderness for survival like the early Gladesmen did. Ogden (2005:7) stated:
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(s) this relationship to the swamp environments. Local dependence upon these environments grants cultural significance to local practices, while at the same time local people construct the swamps as places of cultural meaning.

During an interview, Bergeron (2008) also stated:

“...these people [the early Gladesmen] 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."

Ogden and Simmons (1998:xxii) stated that traditional Glades culture ended with the establishment of Everglades National Park in 1947. But the Everglades ecosystem of southern Florida, as well as Gladesmen Culture itself, is much larger than the national park boundaries and what the ecosystem provides has more cultural meaning than just its natural bounty. Reflecting this, Ogden (2005) later formally identified Gladesmen Culture as a regional folk culture. Gladesmen men, women, and children of today may no longer depend on the natural resources of the southern Florida ecosystem for subsistence, but, as the following oral history excerpts show, they still depend on it in fulfilling a variety of human needs through practices that include hunting, fishing, recreation, contemplation, family time, camaraderie, search and rescue, philanthropy, and personal serenity. There is strong evidence of continuity in Gladesmen Culture.

During the informant 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 represent a way of life that they have tried to pass on to their children. But the most common answer given was that the Everglades ecosystem of southern Florida meant “everything” to them.

The Gladesmen Culture has always had an interdependent relationship with the wetlands environment of southern Florida. It is inextricably related to the wetland environment and is embedded in multiple shared aspects of it: language (terminology), practices, and worldview. A Gladesmen has extensive knowledge of numerous facets of the ecosystem, and their practices require an awareness of and adaptation to the nuances of the seasons, weather, and human alteration of the landscape. While the weather-related adaptations are common to all Gladesmen, technological adaptations and those responding to landscape alteration and backcountry access serve to distinguish modern Gladesmen.

The Gladesmen Culture has never existed in a vacuum; it is composed of pockets of Gladesmen whose activities may vary somewhat according to geographic region but who share the same desire to engage in traditional cultural activities in traditional use areas. The contemporary Gladesmen has evolved from the first Cracker settlers and the early Gladesmen who survived by
hunting, fishing, and largely living off the land. The modern Gladesmen Culture reflects a wide range of ethnic heritage and background. Through changing economies, land alteration, and technological advances, many of their traditional practices have changed or become more productive/efficient, but the attitudes and purpose of the Gladesmen Culture has remained constant: to continue 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 a culture from Crackers, to early Gladesmen, to modern Gladesmen. This remainder of this chapter explores the living culture, providing excerpts from the oral history interviews that speak of modern Gladesmen lifeways and identify the places and activities that are important in maintaining their cultural identity. Various cultural themes are repeated in these biographies, as interviewees share their personal stories and describe the mindset and practices of the Gladesmen Culture. The Gladesmen of yesterday and today are self-sufficient, independent individuals who have a highly developed knowledge of their culture area. Members of the contemporary Gladesmen Culture speak candidly about Gladesmen history and resource use areas within southern Florida and how their usage of certain areas has changed and been adapted in response to technological advances, backcountry access, and land management.

The interview data do not represent an absolute history of the Gladesmen; rather, the oral histories contain personal opinions that reflect the perspectives and memories of the individuals interviewed. Some of the interview excerpts below have been edited only slightly to improve readability. The reader is reminded that the interviews contain memories and recollections that may be in conflict with other recollections or with recorded history. Oral histories and traditions are based on such recollections, which are shared by the community or culture within a folk region.

GLADESMEN INTERVIEW PERSPECTIVES

The 34 self-described Gladesmen that provided information during interviews represent variations in age, place of origin, and occupation, but their responses to the ethnographer’s questions reflect more similarities than differences. Following a brief description of the interviewees’ collective backgrounds, the grouped quotes below highlight dominant themes common among the respondents, as drawn from careful reading of the interviews taken as a whole. These themes include personal history and early Gladesmen memories, as well as experiences with hunting and fishing, backcountry camps, and club/group membership. Unique perspectives are presented in two cases, one regarding alligator hunting, and another related to one of the TCPs identified as part of this study, Mack’s Fish Camp (Chapters IX and X). Responses to two questions – What is a Gladesmen? and What do the Everglades mean to you? – are captured. The final themes include observations on changes to Modern Gladesmen Culture and a collection of thoughts that relate to the future of Gladesmen Culture.

The age of respondents ranged from 22 to 83 years; of these, 20 (or 60%) were 60 years old or older. Of those, four were in their eighties, six were between 70 and 80 years old, and 10 were between 60 and 70. Five interviewees were between 50 and 60 years, four were between 40 and 50, two were between 30 and 40, and two were in their twenties. Twenty-seven of the Gladesmen
interviewed were men (79.5%) and seven were women (20.5%). In terms of place of origin, 29 respondents were born in Florida (85%), four came here as children, and one is a native of Greece. An alphabetical list of occupations named by those interviewed is as follows:

- Agricultural Business/Cattle/Real Estate
- Campground Owner
- Commercial Fisherman
- Electrical Contractor (n=2)
- Engineer (n=2)
- Fire Department (n=2)
- Fish Camp Owner (n=2)
- Florida Fish and Wildlife Commissioner
- Game Warden
- Housepainter
- Housewife
- Hunting and Fishing Business/Property Investor/CPA
- Insurance Agent
- Land Clearing
- Land Surveyor
- Law School Student Working On Masters Degree
- Meat Cutter
- Mechanic (n=2)
- Plasterer
- Post Office Employee
- Property Appraiser
- President of a Petroleum Company
- Swamp Buggy Guide

PERSONAL HISTORIES AND EARLY MEMORIES

This theme touches on family histories and makes clear that many of today’s Gladesmen developed from a multi-generational cultural tradition passed on to them by family elders. Aspects of early Gladesmen activity are recalled and a direct relationship to Florida Cracker Culture is mentioned with pride. Interactions with the Seminole and Miccosukee Indians of Florida are discussed, as is the cultural continuity that has characterized the southern Florida way of life for centuries. Most common are memories of learning to enjoy and respect the wetlands of the region through exposure at an early age.

“I was born in Miami, Florida, Dade County. The family didn’t start out in Florida, but came here after the Civil War. So we’ve had a long love of Florida. Most [of my family] were farmers and fishermen 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 playing with the Indians there at Moose Isle and swimming in the river. And jumping on manatees and trying to ride them. And when the Seminole Queen [boat] 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. I would go with my father on surveying trips. [Prior to 1946] he actually surveyed in what was [to
Ethnographic Study and Evaluation of Traditional Cultural Properties of the Modern Gladesmen Culture

become] Everglades National Park and in Big Cypress and some of the coastal islands, and so I had that opportunity to get out at 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” (Adams 2008).

“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. And 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 into the—through the little towns, they all had whips and—that cracked so they developed the name of cracker. That’s how it started. And as time went on, of course there was a lot of timber cut in Florida, which was another economy. And that’s how 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, where all of these families, some of them made a living off of the commercial hunting and furs and alligator hides and frog hunting. And that’s what developed the Gladesmen Culture. 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 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, more today in recreation than commercial. There is some commercial still on the fishing side” (Bergeron 2008).

“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 my parents had a sawmill in the Everglades all them years, even through World War II, and my daddy grew up out here” (Balman 2008).

“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. And my grandfather was born in Florida in 1901. They lived on the rim of the lake [Okeechobee] prior to any levees or any restriction of any natural [water] 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 actually lived off the land, traditional cracker culture, very few people lived here back in those days. I spent a lot of time with my grandfather. He used to run the little railroad that went to Okeechobee to Palm Beach for a short period. And then he became 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 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 be spending half my time today to try to save the Everglades and the environment” (Bergeron 2008).

“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…and there was always fishing” (Switzer 2008).

“Before my grandmother died, we had five generations [of Floridians]. 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” (Brantley 2008).

“I was born here [Florida]. My grandfather was an early settler back in about 1901; he came down [from] Georgia. 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 [the grandfather] came down with Flagler’s Railroad…He traded with the early settlers, the Indians. 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 seeing the water and the woods is just magical” (Powell 2008).

“I was born in Okeechobee County in 1927. About six or seven generations [of her family have lived in Florida]. My grandparents and my mother and her brothers and sisters came down from up near Pensacola on the covered wagon. 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” (A. Wilson 2008).

“Lots of memories of old friends 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, 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 or 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” (Adams
2008).

“Whenver I used to go, I’d take him [son Chuck] and his younger brother – and his
younger brother was still sucking the bottle. And I told his mother, I said well I can’t
take a boy down there [to the backcountry] sucking his bottle. He turned around and
gave the bottle back to his mama, and he said, Let’s go papa” (H. Hampton 2008).

HUNTING AND FISHING

For the early Gladesmen, hunting and fishing were an indispensable part of making a living;
today, these activities represent a continuation of that tradition for purposes that are largely
recreational. While modern Gladesmen speak of the use of different methods and technology,
many have continued to find enjoyment by hunting and fishing using simple means, in the old
fashioned way, or by going out to the backcountry to merely sit and marvel at their surroundings.
The perspectives given with regard to resource collection reflect a similar reverent appreciation and
conservation of local wildlife. Many Gladesmen return continually to favored spots, while others
cover a wide geographical range, utilizing the vast system of interconnected waterways. A strong
desire to experience being out in the wilderness remains constant, whether any meat or fish is
actually bagged or not.

“When we hunted] whitetailed deer and wild turkey and hogs, yeah. The favorite fish
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. But mostly it was mangrove snapper and trout specks, and that was my
dad’s favorite fish so that’s what we went after” (Adams 2008).

“You only took what you ate. If you wasn’t going to eat it, you wouldn’t take it.
And a sportsman has to be like a farmer. First, you have to take care of the land.
And you only take what’s abundant” (Switzer 2008).

“I don’t hunt that much. And it’s a little rough country. 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”
(Denninger 2008).

“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 [did] kill a deer, we’d have to be able to haul him
out” (Switzer 2008).

“I’ll tell you now straight up, do not mistake, and this you can quote me on – I don’t
know any hunter that isn’t a bird watcher. I don’t know any hunter that isn’t a
snake watcher, an otter watcher, a fish watcher—for we all want to conserve for
consumption and for beauty all these things, to manage the habitat so it’s
sustainable for man and animal” (Marco 2008).
“My grandfather taught me how to hunt, 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 [trait] 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” (Bergeron 2008).

“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 we 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” (Adams 2008).

“I grew up here and in town and hunting and fishing and frogging and airboating and swamp buggyng. It's part of my culture, my son's culture. It's 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” (Balman 2008).

“I spend a lot of time on my boat. And I use the entire Everglades system from as far south as you can see water almost down to Florida City. I go all the way up north to Orlando...Not only do I use the entire river—the Everglades system, everything, at times I'll even go up on the Saint Johns River and go from the Saint Johns all the way up into the Daytona, so I use both [the] east and west coasts of Florida on my boat. And quite honestly, I don't think there's any other vehicle ever designed that does less destruction to the property and allows you to have so much enjoyment and see the property the way an airboat can allow...Airboats can take you to the area that you want to go to. You can stop on the airboat and if you wanted to hike you could hike. Fishing - there's no other boat ever designed like an airboat that would help out for fishing. You can fish either the flats. You can go into the canals, float down the canals. You can put a trolling motor on your airboat. You can do just about anything you want to do” (Dombrosky 2008).

“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” (Denninger 2008).

“We had deer come around. Every time they got hungry they’d come up and get corn. We had one of them named Brownie. She was a doe [that] for years would come up around the camp and we watched her and watched her with her young. And when the deer started coming the bear would start coming. And we had video of the black bear [who] would come up and actually lay down right beside the pile of corn and lay there and just take his paw and rake the corn into his mouth. It was something you wouldn’t think. You’d think a bear would be standing on all fours and bend down and eat. But he was in such a pile of corn; he would just sit there and rake it right into his mouth” (Jenkins 2008).

ALLIGATOR HUNTING

Alligator hunting has characterized Gladesmen economic endeavors since the early days, as described in detail by Glen Simmons, perhaps the best remembered of the southern Florida wetland pioneers (Simmons and Ogden 1998). Following bans on such hunting, modern Gladesmen have had the opportunity to resume that activity, and a number of interviewees mentioned that alligator hunting was one of their activities. The following quotes, all from Frank Denninger (2008) provide the most complete description of how these large and formidable reptiles have been sought out, dispatched, and sold in recent times.

“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 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.

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. But we had a little deal with the fish house and we would just take our alligators 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. 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 you hook him up and then 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 sometimes you’ve got to do it more than once.”

BACKCOUNTRY CAMPS

Gladesmen backcountry camps, both historical and modern, are discussed in an analytical way in Chapter VII. Here, interviewees comment on their personal and practical history with camps. Many Gladesmen have maintained a long-standing continuity with one location; others note a hesitancy to establish or make financial investments to improve a camp because of uncertainty about being able to retain their access to it. Basic camp layout, construction techniques, and modern adaptations are discussed, as are the necessary means for getting to and from the camps and associated backcountry areas. Provisioning oneself is an important consideration, and many Gladesmen speak of extensive wilderness forays with no established camp at all, choosing instead to use random locations as a temporary base for primitive camping and hunting on foot. Finally, the unique opportunities that an established camp provides for personal reflection on nature and close up appreciation of wildlife are made clear.

“It’s basically one building, but it started out as—as just a little area, cook shack and then they just kept adding on to it—added like a basic commons area for eating and dining and then added the bedrooms on and then the bathroom” (Hauser 2008).
“Yes, he [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 sixty years. 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” (Bergeron 2008).

“Oh yeah, there was a lot of them [camps] back then. There was a lot of backcountry hunting camps. Everybody had one. I've had several. If you went buggy riding, you’d end up in somebody's front yard, somebody's camp. And people back then, nobody locked anything. If it started raining or something and you ended up at a cabin, you just spent the night there. And if you ate some food, you'd leave them five dollars or something” (Spaulding 2008).

“[My camp] in the Big Cypress [is accessed] by swamp buggies, the ORV—You can drive to my property on a rock road to the campsites, 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 – 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” (Bergeron 2008).

“The hunting camp at Gulf Hammock you either came in by boat or 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” (Brantley 2008).

“Well most of the time they were like 20 x 20 wood structures sitting on concrete blocks. They were very primitive, and they had old furniture in them for beds and couches and chairs. They 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).

“Some camps are very elaborate with generators and stuff like that. And ours, we have pitcher pumps. And 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” (Powell 2008).

“…most everything we do [when we go to the woods] is fly by night. You load up what you need…food, 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 are so many available resources]. 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” (Brantley 2008).
“[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” (Denninger 2008).

“[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 problem. We have a problem also with the park [Everglades National Park] isn’t willing to commit to the camp staying…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?” (Marco 2008)

“We never had a permanent camp. Well we found a camp south of the [Alligator] 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” (Denninger 2008).

“[At my camp I] reflect on nature I reckon the most, just to be there and reflect. I’ve got piliated woodpeckers; I’m surprised they’re this far south. 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. I go out, get twenty-five frog legs; that's all you need to eat. On my island I have two different kinds of turtles. The box turtles come in there occasionally. But [also] those big soft shells that lay their eggs…They'll let you crawl right up and watch them drop their eggs right in the holes they just dug, cover it all back up. Then you’re looking at about sixty days or so – not much more than that – and all of a sudden thirty-five little turtles pop up out of the ground. [My wife] always goes over and helps them get in the water so the birds don’t get them. So its pretty much just being one with nature, just cook your hamburgers and sit out there and watch the sun go down” (Onstad 2008).
CLUB/GROUP MEMBERSHIP

Membership in Gladesmen groups and clubs is important in maintaining cultural transmission, promoting solidarity, and contributing to environmental preservation, volunteer programs, and public education. An important example that illustrates those functions is the Airboat Association of Florida, one of the two TCPs identified as a result of this study (Chapters IX and X). Additionally, interviewees claimed membership in the Broward County Airboat Association, Collier Sportsmen and Conservation Club, Everglades Coalition, Everglades Conservation and Sportsmen’s Club, Everglades Protection Society, Florida Sportsmen’s Conservation Association, Halftrack Club, Jetport Conservation and Recreation Club, National Audubon Society, National Isaac Walton League, and the National Wildlife Federation. The quotes included here document the history of Gladesmen clubs, their areas of interest, and a prevailing willingness to provide assistance to those who may be in need or stranded in remote, hard to reach locations. The statements reflect diversity in membership but a shared interest in maintaining, enjoying, and protecting the environment of southern Florida, in addition to increasing public awareness through education.

“They’ve had organizations way, way back into the sixties, probably the fifties. Airboat associations, halftrack associations, different things from Palm Beach that I know of on down to Hialeah. The Airboat Association is out on the Tamiami Trail [in Miami]. They’ve been around since 1950 or somewhere around there...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” (Denninger 2008).

“And I would do it [help people] and not because they helped me but I’ve gone and done it to help others like them at any hour 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]” (Wright 2008).

“Oh the clubs, they look to protect people’s interest, and at the same time work with the government to stay engaged with the government as much as you can to get everybody to do the right thing for our benefit, for their benefit, for the animal's benefit. 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 thirty or forty people go back in the Everglades in that area to cut down [invasive] 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 [have] discussions about the Everglades and things like that” (Denninger 2008).
“There’s a lot of plants you can eat. I learned what plants you can eat, what plants you can’t eat, what plants are poisonous. The best thing to do is join a conservation club, and they’ve accumulated all this information. [It’s an] easy way to learn it, what plants you stay away from and what plants you can eat and what animals you stay away from and what animals you can eat. And you learn all the game laws so you don’t break the laws, and you enjoy it” (Switzer 2008).

“We [the Florida Sportsmen’s Conservation Association] are a diverse group of users. And one of the things that we do—Our mission statement says that we’re going to work with all of the different state and federal agencies to try and get property secure for public recreation. And in that group of people we have fishermen, both offshore and inshore. We have hunters. We have all the different types of hunting, from archery enthusiasts to muzzle-loading, regular gun. We have all of that from deer hunting to hog and all the different game birds. We also have the duck hunters in our group. We have horseback people. There are hikers in our group that spend a lot of time hiking. So, we’re a very diverse group that does a lot of different things” (Dombrosky 2008).

MACK’S FISH CAMP

Below is a personal account of the origins, development, and cultural continuity of an historic property that has served to transmit and maintain Gladesmen Culture for many decades. As such, it is one of the two TCPs identified as a result of this study (Chapters IX and X). Mack’s Fish Camp has been in the same family since its inception, and is a South Florida landmark that represents one of the few original fish camps that still function in the Miami-Dade County area. While the best description of Mack’s is included below from the family, other interviewees mentioned Mack’s Fish Camp in their responses. The property has long been significant to Gladesmen in facilitating and maintaining their traditional beliefs and practices and in recruiting new members. For many, Mack’s Fish Camp provided a first introduction and entry point to the Gladesmen environment of southern Florida. The quotes below all come from current co-owner/operator Marshall Jones (2008), whose ancestors first settled on the property and established the camp.

“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. 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 [grandfather] 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... 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., went to the army. 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.

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 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 that 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 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, the ones we still rent to this day. They're 40 to 45 years old and still in great shape — it's a testament to the way they used to build things.

And in the 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.

[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 that 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…”

WHAT IS A GLADESMEN?

Each interviewee was asked to give their definition of a Gladesmen, and the responses were very
similar. The most common of these self-descriptive replies were related to having a love for the
Everglades region of southern Florida, wanting to see it preserved, and teaching others to respect,
enjoy, and utilize it to the fullest. Others went on to say that to be a Gladesmen was to be part of a
regional culture characterized by a shared mindset and heritage. A few of the most eloquent
responses are quoted here.

“Well the definition of a Gladesmen is a person—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 Gladesmen 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 younger, I wouldn't have seen the turn. 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” (Bergeron 2008).
“Anybody that loves to be out in the woods in these areas down here. You don’t have to be born here to be a Gladesman. People move here and they fall in love with the Everglades and like to go out and explore and camp and just enjoy the nature of this area and really enjoy getting out and seeing things that you won’t see anywhere else” (Barton 2008).

“I think it’s someone who appreciates the land, not necessarily goes to hunt it or just visit, someone who has a true appreciation for the land and understands why it’s important” (S. Hampton 2008).

“I was so fortunate to be raised by a real woodsman, a real Gladesman. I mean, he [grandfather] 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 is 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 Gladesmen [culture] is all about. Actually, the Gladesmen 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 and my grandfather was a true Gladesmen and a true Florida cracker [who] introduced me to the Gladesmen Culture in the Everglades” (Bergeron 2008).

“As long as I’m outdoors in the woods, in central Florida, south, from the Kissimmee Chain, which is the headwaters 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 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 to 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…There’s very few of us. We’re a dying breed, we really are” (Brantley 2008).

“[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 – where we’re from and what we care about” (Brantley 2008).
“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” (Wright 2008).

“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...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” (Maharry 2008).

WHAT DO THE EVERGLADES MEAN TO YOU?

Another open-ended question asked during interviews was what do the Everglades mean to you? The responses to that reflect very personal feelings that overlap somewhat with what it means to be a Gladesmen. Many stated that the Everglades is part of what defines them as a person, that they spend most of their time there, and that the Everglades is their heritage and the foundation for identifying themselves as part of the Gladesmen Culture. Some respondents stated that being in the Everglades made them feel “closer to God,” and others noted that despite decades of exploring, they were still discovering, still learning, and still excited by their surroundings.

“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 – I’m a master naturalist – and I’m still learning at my age” (Adams 2008).

“Well it’s still my pride and joy. I love to go there more than anyplace else. In fact, that’s about the only place I did go. My vacations are in the Everglades” (P. Waggoner 2008).

“[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 [than ever] is going to be spent trying to restore this sea of grass back to a sea of grass” (Brantley 2008).

“The Everglades mean home to me” (Jones 2008).

“It’s part of who I am. It defines who my family is, especially my husband, and it’s just who we are...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” (Powell 2008).
“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 do—plan an outing, that's where we plan it, in the woods, in the Glades, in—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” (Brantley 2008).

“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...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 off all of them...That's one thing that you experience out here” (Balman 2008).

“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. That's my church out there, Cypress Cathedral. That's where I feel closest to the creator and who I am is out there. Well its 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” (Adams 2008).

“It's important to me for a lot of reasons. It's my past, it's my present, it's my future. It's not just my future; it's the future of mankind. If we don't help maintain it at a level where we can utilize the land and not just block it off so that nobody can touch it, we're not going to have it for our future generations and it is a delicate ecosystem just like the rainforest in South America where it has to be saved for the planet. And, unfortunately, there are those that are very zealous on trying to save it in a particular way, which is not necessarily, in my opinion, the best way to save the Everglades. I think you really need to tramp in the swamp and utilize the land to understand how it can truly be saved” (Schramm 2008).

“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. It's hard to explain” (Denninger 2008).
“I would say we pretty much always been taught when we were kids to treat it with kind of an attitude of stewardship. So, I’ve always kind of looked at it as something that has to be there. It’s kind of our life blood; without it we don’t have the water that we need, but to me it's—as a person, it's just something that's always been a part of my life. That's all we ever did as a family when I was a kid was go down there. If we weren't on the water in the CERP region, we were in the woods somewhere in the CERP region. Yeah, you think Everglades National Park and saw grass and salt marshes and mud and alligators, but it's a lot more. It's just about every conceivable ecosystem, short of tundra and desert, all wrapped up into one relatively small area” (Hauser 2008).

“[The Everglades mean] everything. I mean aside from my wife and my home and my responsibilities, that's me, in my mind” (Denninger 2008).

“Oh my gosh… I don't even know how to say this. It's probably my whole life… I'm probably there three days out of every week. Miami disappears. I don't hear anything. It's solitude; it's charisma at its best” (Onstad 2008).

CHANGES IN MODERN GLADESMEN CULTURE

Most all of the respondents spoke of the changes that modern Gladesmen Culture has experienced since parks and water management districts were established during and since the 1940s. Unfettered access to the wetlands of southern Florida is a thing of the past – a time when the early Gladesmen came and went, whenever and wherever they chose. Access to the backcountry has always been an issue for Gladesmen, and those of today speak of increasing regulatory constraints on their ability to enter areas that they have traditionally visited for decades. Changes with regard to business opportunities are cited, as are the conflicting means by which conservationists/environmentalists and Gladesmen envision Everglades preservation being achieved. For example, Gladesmen don’t endorse human exclusion and they view newly constructed rock roads as more disruptive than natural trails. One respondent spoke of how membership in the culture has broadened over the years to include a wide range of users, personalities, and backgrounds. Another pointed out what he sees as very successful changes resulting from a restoration project at the Kissimmee River, where both people and wildlife have reportedly benefited.

“Access is the major issue so far as I’m concerned. People were on this property before all these government agencies got a hold of it. People can still exist on this property with cooperation, but we have to have cooperation from the government to allow us to be able to use it. And it really hurts to know the places I used to get to go to, I can’t go to anymore… Same thing in the Big Cypress where they're going to the designated trails, which means you're going to have one little road you can go on. If you have to stay on the same little road all the time, you're not going to be able to observe the variation of things -- you won't be able to explore” (Jenkins 2008).
“There’s a lot of nice areas out there like Gum Slough and different areas were a
favorite for a lot of people. But they’ve ruined it as far as I’m concerned. It’s not
like it was when I was a kid growing up. You could go out there, go anywhere
you wanted” (Switzer 2008).

“There are people that are trying to take it away from us for numerous reasons,
either because they think we’ve polluted or we harmed the ecology in some way or
another. Airboats, which are the most common mode of travel down there, really
leave no footprint to speak of. Now when it’s dry, you’ll be able to see airboat
trails because they stay in them and they wash out a little bit. But that makes
puddles for wildlife, for frog eggs to hatch that wouldn’t hatch otherwise because
it’s dry, places for the wildlife to drink. And when the water comes up and you
don’t stay in the same trail for a while, it goes away. You go six feet over this
way or six feet over that way, tends to wash it back in. And when I say these
trails, these trails are like inches deep, just inches different than the other part next to
them” (Maharrey 2008).

“Well years ago they used to claim the swamp buggy trails hurt the wildlife. But
every year you go over the swamp buggy trails, it’s grown up with grass. It gave
food for the animals. Now with these rock roads, there’s no food for the animals
[there] and they stop the flow of water. The rock roads are damaging the
Evelglades more than the swamp buggy trails did. Swamp buggies turned up the
mud and cultivated the soil – new plant life will grow, and that’s food for animals.
And with the rock roads, there’s no plant life. The swamp buggy trails used to act
as firebreaks when an area caught on fire from lightning or whatever. Swamp
buggy trails were firebreaks. Now the rock roads are firebreaks, but it also stops
the flow of water” (Switzer 2008).

“Those [access] trails are no bigger than they were fifty years ago, because they
go through the cypress. You can’t penetrate none of that. You couldn’t walk in
there only. Our trails are almost all the same [as before]. So, as far as destroying
any of that [with an airboat], you’re not. You’re getting to be able to see, observe,
feel, and just reflect on nature” (Onstad 2008).

“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 wherever they can
come 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”
(Denninger 2008).

“There’s just different restrictions, I would say is probably a big thing that I have
noticed change in my lifetime. When I was a little kid, you didn’t have to register
your buggies or your three-wheelers or four-wheelers or any of your vehicles and
then they started making you get a free sticker and then it was a ten-dollar sticker
and now it’s up to a fifty-dollar sticker. It’s several regulations that they impose”
(Hauser 2008).
“And man, we’re frustrated as can be about the district throwing up No Trespassing zones. When we’ve talked to them about it, a lot of them are saying it’s to protect some of the species of plants, but nobody will tell us exactly what. Because there’s such abundance. There’s something more to the madness than just that” (Marco 2008).

“The airboat businesses came under fire from the environmentalists and the Park Service, and overnight all of us that were doing business got registered letters that said cease and desist. So that was, I’ll say, 1991-92 and that was the end of my airboat business. And I just continued living here; put a real strain on my relationship with my wife because we previously had been doing real well (financially) and then now it was all cut back. And it was – I don’t know, I guess you could say like a culture shock or something to me” (Spaulding 2008).

“A lot of what people want to go out there for is to see things [and places] that have grown to mean a lot to them in the past when you could use the vehicles to get in and see those or hunt or [go] back to places that mean something to you. You just can’t get back anymore and that’s what kind of breaks your tie to the land. A lot of the impetus for people to leave this area was that bond that they had developed over the years was broken. And it has [had] a lot of effect on people. It’s hard to understand the effect, but it really is serious” (Denninger 2008).

“We’ve lived under that constant fear of – What’s next? The rules and regulations that they apply all seem to point to getting you out – making it more difficult – just on and on and on. It makes it harder on the sportsman to utilize [traditional] areas, but yet they’ve gone out of their way to build amenities, boardwalks, and pull-offs [from] the highway for the tourists” (C. Hampton 2008).

“We all want to get the waters right. We all want the game, the environment to thrive and survive. Not at the expense of excluding man in his method—historical method of getting in here” (Marco 2008).

“Well, we went through – I call it panther hype back in the 1970s and 80s. It seemed like everything was geared to saving the panther, which I have no problem with saving the panther, but I think they really went overboard. And the biggest thing is there was no allowance for man to coexist with the panther. Seemed like we want to take man out of the picture, and we’re still fighting that problem today, even new areas that the state’s acquiring, they’re just restricting it to where they don’t want any off-road vehicles that have been in this area traditionally. And we use more or less the same roads once you get into the interior of these places” (Jenkins 2008).

“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’ve done this all my life” (Lanier 2008).
“But [Gladesmen membership has] changed a little bit because now I think a lot of other people appreciate being out here and we see so many different types of users and personalities. You...have as many, I guess, of the auto mechanics, but now you do have a lot of doctors and dentists. A good friend of mine that I spend a lot of time with on an airboat is a dentist. We spend a lot of time together on the boats and his family gets along with my family and we do a lot together. So, I don't know if there is that kind of stereotypical Gladesmen anymore” (Dombroski 2008).

“...my daughter mentioned the fact how we used to go every weekend. Well when the Park Service took over and they went to the designated trail systems and everything, they stopped us from going the way we had traditionally always went. Instead of going six miles, six-and-a-half miles from the road to camp, we now have to travel about thirteen-and-a-half. So it increased the travel time. What used to be, we could leave [home] and drive down there and be sitting in camp in about three hours, three-and-a-half maybe. It's over five hours now. Camp hasn't changed. It's still by the crow flies only about eighty-five miles to where our camp is. But the way you have to go to get to it has been changed” (C. Hampton 2008).

“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? It's taken a lot of spontaneity and enjoyment away from the old timers and the crackers. The area belongs to everybody, taxpayers that bought it” (Adams 2008).

“I think that any park unit has to have tourism to have the economy to make it work, on the one hand. But on the other hand, I feel like most of us that fall under the new term Gladesmen probably suffer a little bit because of it, because any time something comes up that's considered a user conflict, we're usually the first ones to be mitigated out of that conflict” (Hauser 2008).

“Access is extremely important that the public—the people that really own the environment—should have access. Their traditional culture should be respected, and that is extremely important. That's a wonderful resource. It's a resource that should be enjoyed. And that is one of the problems. You have the environmentalists that want to preserve. And that's great. We all want to preserve. And then you have the sportsmen and the conservationists and the Gladesmen that want to preserve. So they both agree on that. But then you have the Gladesmen and the conservationist and the sportsmen want to preserve with access and enjoyment, properly respected and properly managed. A lot of the environmental organizations do not have the traditional culture. It's not a part of their life, it's not a part of their recreation, it's not a part of their culture. And it's wonderful that they want to preserve it because both sides agree on that. But a lot of times, the environmental side fights for limited access if not any access. And then that affects the Gladesmen's culture, the conservationist, the dad that wants to take his kids bass fishing or duck hunting or bird watching, or just into the Everglades” (Bergeron 2008).
“Extremely frustrated. I've actually been hospitalized a couple of times from hypertension from the stress of working on access issues. And some of my friends in the environmental community are wanting to make it a wilderness—all wilderness, and eliminate our uses. And myself and others have been really the victims of character assassination. You know, I've worked just about all my adult life to protect the resource and work on, you know, proper regulation and everything just to have myself and these fine people—we've been called Nazis by the federal government. And I don't know, people just don't understand that you're part of the Glades” (Powell 2008).

“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” (Balman 2008).

“Florida's changed a lot. But the exciting thing about this here—And this is what really excites me the most about this, is there's very few places in Florida that are such a success story as this area right here. This area [the Kissimmee River], in my opinion, is one of the greatest successes of any restoration project ever designed, only because they've taken everything into consideration...This is the only area that I'm aware of in this state where we've taken a piece of property that would have been urbanized and turned it back into the way it was fifty, a hundred years ago. [Prior to restoration] you once came up here and you couldn't find a wading bird if you spent a week looking for one. As you come up here today, you may see a thousand wading birds on this property. The animals that were basically nonexistent on this property are now back in manageable [numbers]. So, everything has benefited, including people” (Dombroski 2008).

THOUGHTS ON THE FUTURE

For Gladesmen, the future holds the promise of transmitting their traditional ways to younger generations, continuing public education in order to promote preservation/conservation of the Everglades, and maintaining their cultural heritage through continued access to backcountry areas. Acknowledgment of positive strides in working with Everglades National Park is given, and it is noted that successful preservation and restoration of the Everglades depends on the involvement of people who are highly knowledgeable about that unique resource. As is evident throughout the themes in this chapter, Gladesmen have a strong bond with the wetlands environment of southern Florida and want backcountry access to continue for themselves and for future generations.

“I love the Everglades. This is something that we need to retain for the future. But it has to be done by people that know what they’re talking about. You can't bring somebody in from Montana, let's say, and have them be in charge of something...if they've never lived the land, they've never utilized the land, they're not from the land. If you want a good opinion on how to save the land, talk to the Indians. Talk to the people that are five, six, seven generations from Florida. They will tell you the true way to help save the Everglades” (Schramm 2008).

“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 and said, “Let’s go Papa Bear.” And you know, no matter what I’m doing, we go. And that’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. I just can’t wait ‘til I get [all my children and grandchildren] here and expose them to what we have down here, while we still have it” (Brantley 2008).

“The only way you can ever protect the environment for generations to come is let all generations fall in love with it. Like my children. My children were all introduced—just like my grandfather introduced me—to the environment, to protect it, respect it and learn to love it and [the] traditional cultures. And Florida has developed on the coastlines, but fortunately our forefathers in 1949 drew a line. And they said, Inside these levees will be preserved forever. And that is the Florida Everglades. And then in 1974 the Big Cypress Preserve contiguous to the River of Grass part of the Everglades was preserved. And outside these levees will be drained for agriculture, development and safety and welfare to the general public…The Gladesmen Culture becomes [in] jeopardy when you limit reasonable access, designated trails, access to hunt and fish, bird watch, walk into a cypress head and look for a ghost orchid, and teach your children the importance of what you were taught by your parents and your grandparents. And I’m a firm believer that the Gladesmen Culture and all of the future generations have to have reasonable access to be able to enjoy the environment. And if they don’t learn that by having proper access, they’ll never fall in love with it and [for] the future generations, it’ll be a lost culture number one, and number two, you won’t have them fighting for the protection of it” (Bergeron 2008).

“And Everglades National Park is becoming knowledgeable with what we do. They haven’t restricted us. They pretty much know from aerial overviews that 90 percent of all of the airboat trails have grown up, and there’s just a few major trails that people go on. We don’t run through the sawgrass hardly ever, some people do occasionally — getting off one trail, going to another one. But it’s all coming down to designated trails, I feel, and they’re going to not let me go to places I’ve been. And that’s what I feel is kind of going to happen over on the north side, although the Miccosukees are some of our biggest fighters for keeping that all open. They [the Park] got to deal with the Miccosukees, and that’s a big outfit” (Onstad 2008).

“You know, preservation is great but preservation with recreation and access and education is more important than preservation with no entry, no attachment. And the ORV access that’s being proposed by the Gladesmen is [on] the same timber tails that have been there for 180 years. They’re not talking about building new trails or bulldozing new trails. It’s the same trails that were built when they timbered the Big Cypress, same identical trails” (Bergeron 2008).
“We never know what development’s going to do. You never know what water management’s going to do or FWC [Fish and wildlife Commission] 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” (Brantley 2008).

“If I couldn’t have gone in there with my grandfather, I would have never developed the culture of the Gladesmen and I wouldn’t be spending half my time trying to save it. You’re going to find out of all these Gladesmen, they’re all fighting. They’re not just fighting for access, they’re fighting to preserve the Big Cypress and fighting to preserve the Everglades, forever, with traditional culture… I had a little boy come in here the other day. His dad brought him in. And he wanted to meet a Florida Fish and Wildlife commissioner. So, he come in here. And his dream is to be a game warden, law enforcement officer, biologist, or anything as long as he can spend time in the Everglades. And the reason why that young man developed that love and decided what he wanted to do with his career is because his dad had an airboat and brought him out into the Everglades” (Bergeron 2008).

“…access is becoming limited more and more everyday…The problem of the general public [in thinking] the Everglades is the park [Everglades National Park] is because in some situations that’s the only thing that they know [about] how to get into the Everglades. They don’t know of any other access to get in, so they go where they can take their vehicle down a nice, hard road and get into the area, and they want to have pavilions and convenient areas to get to and take their families…So most people will never venture out into the real Everglades. Users of the area—actual Gladesmen—the people that have grown and are born and raised in this area see the value of [seeing the backcountry] and we’re constantly taking people out there. We take children—different youth groups—out into these areas, show them—the Boy Scout groups—show them these types of areas and what’s available. We have different projects out here, fun projects, family projects, to bring people out. And like I said, a lot of people don’t even realize what exists outside their back door an hour from their house” (Dombroski 2008).

“To me I look at the Everglades as a whole thing, we all interconnect. And it’s important that we get written into any plans in the restoration, that we [Gladesmen] are included in it” (Kimmel 2008).

SUMMARY

The oral accounts of Gladesmen life, representing a range of ages, reflect a living cultural group that shares a common history and assigns great importance to maintaining a strong connection with the natural environment. For some, the Gladesmen way of life was entered into and adopted by choice after being recruited by friends, but for many the culture represents a multi-generational tradition that was inherited. In both cases, modern Gladesmen are eager to pass on their southern Florida traditions, as well as their sense of the past and of community, to subsequent generations.
Many of the interviewees trace family history back to include cattle ranching and logging occupations that were part of the evolution of the culture from Cracker Culture to early Gladesmen to modern Gladesmen. As related by self-identified Gladesmen themselves, some of the common themes that are voiced in the transcriptions have been summarized here.

The interviews convey memories of activities – camping, hunting, fishing, being in nature, and picnicking – that were experienced with family and friends. There are many references to spending time with others, but also accounts of rewarding time spent alone. From older Gladesmen, the interviews give a sense of how the culture has evolved and changed, but also how traditions have remained constant.

Gaining access to remote locations has always been fundamental to the pursuit of Gladesmen activities. For the early Gladesmen, access depended on small craft that could get into almost any location. More recent drainage projects, however, have lowered water levels and limited access in navigating many of the creeks, rivers, and swamps of the region, and Gladesmen feel the success of many of their activities is dependent upon transportation that is more modern. In some cases, the ability to gain access to certain long-used areas has reportedly been denied, and in many locations the use of mechanized vehicles has been limited or is no longer permitted.

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 experience of the natural setting that is unique to southern Florida. Members speak proudly of having a common purpose and a sense of connection with others within a larger community. Membership in these clubs strengthens ties to the environment and reinforces the identity of a shared Gladesmen Culture.

Hunting has always been a very important activity to Gladesmen. It remains central to contemporary Gladesmen Culture and incorporates much of the same knowledge gained during earlier times. Adaptations include the use of established camps as a base of operations for storing gear and supplies, processing game, and housing airboats, swamp buggies, and water craft. Recreational fishing is another popular activity among contemporary Gladesmen, and long fishing trips are also facilitated by the use of backcountry camps.

The interviews indicate that “activity” is not the primary fulfillment gained from being a Gladesmen. Many speak of going to the backcountry alone or with others to simply immerse themselves in the region with little or no planning or provisioning. To the Gladesmen, being in the southern Florida ecosystem is central to their lives – it is part of who they are, the focus of what they do with most of their spare time, and it establishes a strong relationship with the world around them. Some of the character traits that Gladesmen share include self identification and recognition by others as part of the culture; extensive knowledge of the glades environment; use of multiple means (especially airboats) of accessing the region; organization into specific Gladesmen clubs and organizations; and the identification of personal, social, and emotional ties to the southern Florida environment.

During interviews, Gladesmen identified locations in the culture area where traditions are maintained and information exchanges occur, e.g., access points, commercial and private fish camps, associations and clubs, family camps, etc. These places that are linked to Gladesmen heritage are central to the purpose of this study. The next chapter describes the types of locations within the study area that represent cultural continuity among the Gladesmen.
VII. IDENTIFYING AND EVALUATING GLADESMEN HISTORIC PROPERTIES

Within the Gladesmen Culture are properties that reflect the history, behaviors, and purpose of the group. In keeping with NRHP Bulletin 38, 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.

In keeping with that definition in this introductory study, the historic properties identified as part of the Gladesmen Culture that can be evaluated as potential TCPs fall under the functional categories of: commercial sites, non-commercial sites, and 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 identify each property type are discussed below, and specific examples are evaluated for their TCP eligibility in Chapter IX. It should be noted that not all properties (fishing camps, campgrounds, airboat/conservation/sportsmen’s clubs, historic structures, roads, and camps) that could be included under these type categories are listed or discussed here; those mentioned are meant to introduce the range of Gladesmen property types that were identified through interviews and fieldwork.

It is important to restate here that many properties associated with Gladesmen Culture may warrant recording as “historic properties” (buildings, structures, sites, and linear resources including waterways and roads, landscapes), but not all of these will meet the criteria for recording them as TCPs. The NRHP guidelines distinguish a TCP as a property that not only meets existing criteria as a historic property that may be NRHP eligible at the state or local level, but is also one that represents a continuing association with the (Gladesmen) culture whose primary importance is its role in maintaining cultural identity and practice. Many locations will not meet TCP criteria if the continuity of their use has significantly changed over time, if they do not retain sufficient integrity, and, most importantly, if they do not contribute to maintaining Gladesmen Culture as a whole (a backcountry camp, for example).

While subsequent NRHP eligibility recommendations in this study will relate strictly to TCPs, this report also provides a foundation for evaluating a wider range of Gladesmen historic properties during future project specific studies. To assist in future planning, this chapter includes information from the NRHP and the Florida Division of Historical Resources that provides guidance on how to evaluate site significance using NRHP criteria. The chapter concludes with an example of site evaluation by NPS that focused on a cluster of backcountry camps that occupies the same location as an earlier archaeological site.
COMMERCIAL SITES

A commercial site, with respect to this project, is a privately owned enterprise located in or adjacent to the study area that has historically been frequented and utilized by members of the culture in 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. Some of these locations have been in existence for decades, and it is this continuity that is important in establishing a TCP.

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 continue to hold significance. 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 commercial property 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 also 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 during 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 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 fishermen. The operation grew after 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, such as Mack’s Fish Camp (in Broward County) and Camp Mack (in Polk County) have grown into larger commercial operations (Figure 21). Of these, 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 has been well known in the KCOL region since the early 1950s and today one can usually find locals gathered there. 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 a marina, docks, 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.

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.
Figure 21.
Commercial Fish Camps

A. Camp Mack River Resort, (PO07)
Photograph Taken From Kissimmee

B. Mack’s Fish Camp
(BD4566)

C. Open-Air Pavilion
Mack’s Fish Camp
(BD4566)
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
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, interviews indicate the campground provided easy access into the Swamp until swamp buggy restrictions closed the buggy access trail located within the campground. 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

This category of property includes clubs, organizations, and backcountry camps. The first two represent individuals and groups of Gladesmen coming together based on special interests including airboats and other vehicles used to access southern Florida, conservation, and preservation. Camps have been used by the earliest Gladesmen up to the present, and examples illustrating both the old and the new are discussed.

CLUBS AND CONSERVATION ORGANIZATIONS

Clubs and organizations such as sportsmen’s clubs, rod and gun clubs, and conservation organizations are an integral part of contemporary Gladesmen Culture. The importance and history of some of these clubs date back to the early 1950s. In southern Florida there are clubs 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 facilities 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 its headquarters located on Tamiami Trail in Miami-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 AAF property is central to the organization and 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). This describes
a time prior to the post World War II era, when commercial airboats and swamp buggies were not providing access into wet and dry areas, respectively. Instead, access to the backcountry depended on skiffs or canoes launched as far into the wilderness as was possible to reach at that time. Camps are by far the most common Gladesmen site type, and these are scattered throughout southern Florida wherever Gladesmen have needed to spend the night. To adequately describe the evolution of these very common sites, both early and modern Gladesmen camps are discussed below.

Early Gladesmen Camps

Many of the early Crackers and Gladesmen were land squatters, establishing themselves, their camps, and their homesteads throughout the Everglades region. In some instances the camp locations and homesteads evolved into small communities, some of which still exist; others live on only in memory. The environment has reclaimed most of those abandoned camps, although remnants are scattered on the surface throughout the region and subsurface deposits no doubt remain as archaeological sites over 50 years old. This is especially true of at least one location, discussed later in the chapter, that was the site of a Seminole camp (Jessie Willie’s) established on top of a prehistoric tree island site. Both occupations predate its use as a twentieth-century camp. After 1947 and the establishment of Everglade National Park, the NPS burned some of the backcountry camps that existed [illegally] on federally-acquired ENP land, and other camps throughout the region caught fire due to droughts and lightning strikes.

Early camps usually did not have permanent structures:

Before the park (ENP), men had camps all over this country. They 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 they often depended on them for shelter:

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. There were no locks on the doors and the enclosures allowed people protection from the summer lightening storms that are common during the summer in southern Florida.

Simmons (Simmons and Ogden 1998:37) recounts that when traveling through the Everglades by skiff 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 were 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 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 modern Gladesmen continue to 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, 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.

Modern Gladesmen Camps

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 Miami-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 apparently exist under a permit system, with the owner still owning the acreage. But restrictions have been placed on the land around these privately owned parcels and several interviewees have said they can no longer take the swamp buggies out from their parcels without using designated routes.

Deserted camps were often taken over by hunters actively using an 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 2008).
Figure 23.
Duck Camp #2

A. Cabin Exterior

B. Kitchen Area
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 in the northeastern portion of the Expansion 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 reportedly restricted by the NPS to airboat or on foot (Marco 2008). 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).

Generally speaking, 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.

Several older Gladesmen interviewed by New South stated they don’t even hunt anymore at backcountry camps. 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 southern Florida, 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 Gladesmen as a means of subsistence, transportation, recreation, and commerce. The sheer number of natural and man-made waterways in southern Florida makes it impossible to examine them comprehensively; an introduction and discussion of some of the changes in the region is given here.

Waterways are linear resources and natural landscapes that are the lifeblood of any region and serve to nourish the environment and its inhabitants. Inasmuch as the Everglades ecosystem is a virtually 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 as a huge sheet of water that filtered south toward Florida Bay.

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 specific surroundings. 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, but the canals also closed altered access to more favorable natural waterways that Gladesmen had traditionally used. These canals also altered and/or degraded the lands and their associated natural resources, often resulting in less available food supplies in some areas. Many areas that had been open for use became restricted or closed entirely. Population growth and the drainage of swamplands further decreased traditional use areas. Many of the waterways of present-day southern Florida are smaller and vastly different in character than they were during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Gladesmen still hold these waterways as culturally significant but lament the landscape changes and the loss of what can be thought of as “old Florida.” 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, but natural and man-made boundaries influence where activities occur on the river, its tributaries, and lakes of the region. Before channelization, development, and the increase in private land ownership, many people roamed at will. The artificial changes made to the river and the increase in agricultural endeavors has, over time, degraded the hydrologic and natural resources of the water system and changed usage. Artificial boundaries such as canals and water control structures, coupled with land development, further decreased open areas. However, as part of CERP, the ongoing Kissimmee River Restoration Project (KRRP) is in the process of revitalizing the river system by restoring the original channel on part of the river (Corps 2008).
Figure 24.
Examples of Everglades Region Waterways

A. Lake Kissimmee

B. Air Boat Path, Francis S. Taylor Wildlife Management Area

C. Grassy Water Preserve, Palm Beach County
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 providing access to 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 Gladesmen Culture area 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.

Historic roads in the southern Florida have a long history of association with the Gladesmen and many retain importance to the culture as former or continuing access points. Many of them retain their historical significance, rural feeling, and setting. They have been the sites of events significant to Gladesmen, although the continuity of their use has not always remained maintained (Figure 25).

Road construction in swampy areas is a challenge that has been met by elevating roadbeds above the water level. Early 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, may have started out as cow paths. When more recent desire for access to an area increased, heavy machinery probably ground out a rudimentary road that has since been developed into a maintained gravel road.

IDENTIFYING SIGNIFICANT SITES AND STRUCTURES

The discussion above describes how to recognize Gladesmen historic properties, and those identified thus far include fishing camps, campgrounds, airboat/conservation/sportsmen’s clubs, historic structures, roads, and camps. To assist in future planning, below we include information from the Florida Division of Historical Resources (2003) that provides guidance on how to evaluate the level of significance of Gladesmen historic properties using the NRHP criteria. Also included are brief statements of why NRHP listing is encouraged, what the nomination procedure entails, and what NRHP listing will and will not do relative to property ownership. Following this, an example is used to demonstrate how the NRHP criteria can be applied to a backcountry camp that includes both standing structures and an archaeological component.

THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) is an official listing of historically significant sites and properties throughout the country that is maintained by the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. It includes districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that have been identified and documented as being significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, or culture. These sites and properties reflect the prehistoric occupation and historical
Figure 25. Historic Roads

A. Turner River Road, Collier County (CR1085)

B. Loop Road, Monroe County (MO01920)
development of our nation, state, and local communities. The following criteria are used by the State Historic Preservation Officer and the Keeper of the National Register in evaluating properties for eligibility for listing in the National Register.

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; and

D) history of yielding, or potential to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Archaeological Sites

Usually, archaeological sites are evaluated as eligible or potentially eligible for NRHP listing under Criterion D; that is, the sites are considered to have the ability to yield information important in prehistory or history (DHR 2003:100). Criteria A and B may also apply for individual sites. For example, the archaeological remains of a historic battlefield may be considered significant under both criteria A and D if associated with a significant event (e.g., the Second Seminole War) and if it retains research potential. Criterion C may be considered when an archaeological site (or association of sites) embodies the distinct characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, and is especially applicable if similar examples of the type are rare or poorly preserved.

In general, two types of information are critical for an evaluation of eligibility: contextual data and descriptive data. Contextual data includes information that places the site within a framework wherein assumptions about age, cultural affiliation, and function are substantiated with supporting data. Descriptive data required for site evaluation include, but are not limited to, site location, boundaries, and size; internal composition (subareas, features, strata, artifacts, attributes); the surrounding natural environment; and disturbances/intrusions (i.e. proposed development, agricultural practices, erosion, vandalism, urbanization).

Historic Resources

The significance of historic structures is usually evaluated under Criterion A (association with historic events); Criterion B (association with important persons); or Criterion C (distinctive design or distinguishing characteristics as a whole). Often, more than one criterion applies to historic structures (DHR 2003:103). For example, a historic residence may be distinguished for both its original occupant (i.e., pioneer in the women's suffrage movement), as well as its architectural style (i.e., a surviving example of the Queen Anne style). In any evaluation of eligibility, it is critical that
the following items are addressed and justified: 1) boundaries, 2) significance and the applicable NRHP criteria, and 3) contributing and noncontributing resources when the historic property contains more than one historic feature, or when there is a historic district.

SITE INTEGRITY

In order to be listed in the NRHP, a cultural resource must meet Criterion A, B, C, or D and must possess integrity (DHR 2003:97-98). According to the "Guidelines for Applying the NRHP Criteria for Evaluation" contained in NRHP Bulletin 15, integrity is "the authenticity of a property's historic identity, evidenced by the survival of physical characteristics that existed during the property's historic or prehistoric period." The NRHP criteria specify that integrity is a quality that applies to historic and prehistoric resources in seven ways: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. These aspects, or qualities, of integrity, are defined below.

- Location: The place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.

- Design: The combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.

- Setting: The physical environment of a historic property.

- Materials: The physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.

- Workmanship: The physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.

- Feeling: A property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.

- Association: The direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

Analysis of integrity should be based on careful research in terms of both documentation of the property's history, and physical inspection of the property. For properties important for their information potential, such as most archaeological sites, integrity depends on the presence of those parts of the property that contain the important data and survive in a condition capable of yielding important information.

A historic structure important for its expression of a particular architectural style must have retained most of the physical features that compose that style to be eligible. For example, while it may have lost some detailing or a limited amount of historic materials, the property must retain the majority of the features that are essential to illustrate the style in terms such as massing, spatial relationships, proportion, pattern of windows and doors, texture of materials, and ornamentation.
SIGNIFICANCE AND THE NRHP CRITERIA

The evaluation of significance is important because the qualities defined will be used in the assessment of project effect (DHR 2003:103-104). Significance should relate to the cultural context described for the project area or the broad themes identified. The formal statement of significance must refer to the specific NRHP criteria and provide facts on how the historic structure meets the criteria. It must also address integrity. When properly applied, lack of integrity will disqualify a structure from eligibility, regardless of other considerations.

NRHP Bulletin 16A lists 30 categories as areas of significance, ranging from Agriculture to Transportation to "Other." What historical associations does the resource have, and to what degree? Are there other similar resources in the area that are more significant? For resources that are significant under Criterion C, they need to have retained a high degree of physical integrity so as to illustrate what makes them significant. There is more leeway in physical integrity for resources significant under the other criteria.

WHY NRHP LISTING IS ENCOURAGED

Listing in the National Register does not, in itself, impose any obligation on the property owner, or restrict the owner’s basic right to use and dispose of the property as he or she sees fit. It does, however, encourage the preservation of significant historic resources in three ways:

1. by providing official recognition of the historic significance of the property and encouraging consideration of its historic value in future development planning,

2. by imposing limited protection from activities involving funding, licensing, or assistance by Federal agencies that could result in damage or loss of its historic values, and

3. by making the property eligible for Federal financial incentives for historic preservation.

NOMINATION PROCEDURE

The nomination of historic resources in Florida for listing in the National Register is a function of the State Historic Preservation Officer, Florida Division of Historical Resources. Anyone interested in having a particular property listed may submit a nomination proposal to the State Historic Preservation Office. The nomination proposal must meet National Register standards. It is the responsibility of the person submitting the proposal to provide the necessary information and materials. The staff of the Division is available for consultation on preparation of proposals.

RESULTS OF LISTING IN FLORIDA

The NRHP is used primarily as a planning tool in making decisions concerning the development of our communities to ensure, as much as possible, the preservation of buildings, sites, structures, and objects that are significant aspects of our cultural and historic heritage. Sometimes there are misunderstandings as to what listing in the National Register will mean for a property owner. The following is an outline of what it will do and what it will not do.
What NRHP Listing Will Do

* The National Register provides recognition that the property is deemed by the federal and state governments to be significant in our history at the national, state, and/or local levels. Most properties are significant because of their local significance.

* The National Register identifies the properties that local, state, and federal planners should carefully consider when developing projects.

* Listing may make a property eligible for a Federal Income Tax Credit.

* In 1992, the Florida Legislature passed legislation that allows counties or cities to grant ad valorem tax relief for owners of properties that are listed or eligible for listing in the National Register or in a local district.

* Listing may make a property exempt from certain Federal Emergency Management Act (FEMA) requirements and eligible for some American Disabilities Act (ADA) and building safety code adjustments.

* Listing or being determined eligible for listing is not required for receiving state preservation grants. The competition for the grants is intense, however, and this official recognition adds weight to the argument that a property is significant and should be awarded a grant.

What NRHP Listing Will Not Do

* Listing in the National Register or being determined eligible for listing does not automatically preserve a building, and does not keep a property from being modified or even destroyed.

* Unless an undertaking is state or federally funded, or regulated by local ordinance, private property owners may deal with their property in any way they see fit. Architects in the State Historic Preservation Office are available to provide advice concerning the best ways to approach rehabilitation needs while maintaining the historic character of a property.

* Private owners are not required to open their listed property to the public for visitation.

* The federal and state governments will not attach restrictive covenants to a property or seek to acquire it because of its listing in the National Register.

PREVIOUS EVALUATION OF GLADESMEN CAMPS IN EVERGLADES NATIONAL PARK

An evaluation of nine historic Gladesmen camps in the northeastern portion of ENP (Miami-Dade County) was conducted by NPS historian Brian Coffey (n.d.), 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. Using the NPS study as an example will help to illustrate the application of NRHP criteria to
both historic and archaeological components in evaluating these camps. Of the nine camps, one contained a structural complex that was judged NRHP eligible and recommended for preservation, and all nine camps were on top of prehistoric occupations that warrant future research to evaluate their NRHP status as archaeological sites.

The purpose of the NPS investigation was to visit and inspect a number of camps located on hammocks in the northeastern portion of the park. Coffey states (n.d.:1):

Historically used by hunters, “froggers,” and various air boat tour companies, these camps came into the ownership of the NPS in 2002, 13 years after Congress passed legislation that expanded the eastern boundary of the national park to include an additional 109,000 acres. Up to this time, owners of this acreage were distributed among hundreds of absentee owners, many of whom never knew the aquatic nature of their property. More important, regulation of the use of this portion of the Everglades was minimal at most, leading many area air boaters to establish camps and build bunkhouses and other structures on the many hammocks that dot the otherwise watery landscape. Now that the NPS owns this area the camps are, essentially, that agency’s responsibility; it should be noted that the air boaters never had legal title to the properties in question. Aside from the expected tensions between the previous users and the new owners, the park is confronted with management issues related to the Historic Preservation Act, concessionaire use and permitting, and visitor safety. In most cases the structures are isolated, unsecured, and in poor condition, presenting to the park a variety of structural and environmental hazards.

Generally speaking, the camps were found to be 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 n.d.:2). It was judged likely that existing structures were built to replace earlier, more rudimentary shelters, at least in some locations.

The NPS report (Coffey n.d.:2-3) gives detailed descriptions on each camp examined, and the description of the Duck Camp Complex 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 Miami-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 n.d.).
In discussing the integrity and significance of the historic camps in Everglades National Park, Coffey (n.d.:3-4) observed:

Of the nine camps visited, several exhibited structures that were clearly abandoned and in severe disrepair. It is doubtful that any of these camp structures would be worth the effort to rehabilitate or adaptively reuse. Furthermore, the debris, structural deterioration, and various unknown environmental hazards of the camps present a very real danger to anyone who might gain access to the hammocks on which they are located. In many cases, septic “systems” are nothing more than a pipe leading directly into the marsh, presenting a potential negative impact to the local biota if the camps remain accessible. A plan should be made to mitigate these camps and the park should prohibit access to them. If made clear and safe, these unique land resources and their potential uses should be addressed in the General Management Plan.

(One) camp was obviously being improved by persons either unaware or unconcerned with the fact that the property is owned by the NPS. Considering the already sensitive relationship between our agency and the longtime users of the camps, the park should consider determining the identity of the people who are investing their resources into a structure they do not own and come to an understanding regarding its use and/or disposal. This approach should also be used for the abandoned camps.

(Some) camps have structures that are in relatively stable condition, and as such have potential for adaptive reuse by the park and/or the airboat concessionaires. Consideration should be given to such a scenario … but only if safety and environmental concerns have been addressed. As noted above, the identification and consultation with the previous (perhaps current) users could prevent future controversy. If not demolished and removed, these camp structures should be professionally "mothballed."

Structures at the Duck Camp Complex

The largest of the Gladesmen camps visited by Coffey, the Duck Club Complex, is the most thoroughly investigated site of its kind and provides a useful baseline for understanding these resources and their potential significance. Structures at Duck Club are on top of a prehistoric site, as well as a later Seminole Indian camp that is still marked on modern USGS topographic maps as Jessie Willie’s Camp. As such, it represents the potential of some of these locations for containing evidence for a long period of site occupation. Only through a combination of archaeological (prehistoric), ethnographic (Seminole), and structural evaluation (Gladesmen) can the entire history of a site of this type be fully understood, as discussed more fully below.

During his architectural evaluation, Coffey (n.d.:4) documented the use of the Duck Club Complex by members of the Rod and Gun Club, who usually posted a guide and cook on site to serve members hunting ducks in the vicinity. Over time 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 structures at the Duck Club Complex have National Register potential under Criterion A as either an exhibit space or an exhibit in its own right:

Because it may be older than 50 years, and because of its association with an early Miami recreational organization, it may be eligible to the National Register at the local level under the Recreation and Culture category. More research is necessary before proceeding with any nomination (Coffey n.d.:4).

Archaeological Components Duck Camp Complex

The Duck Club Complex is situated on an everglades tree island (Carr 2002) that contains a prehistoric site that was investigated and recorded by NPS archaeologist Margo Schwadron (n.d.) as 8DA2181 (Sour Orange Hammock). It was also the location of a later Seminole Indian camp that is still marked on modern USGS topographic maps as Jessie Willie’s Camp. Background research and an ethnographic study of living descendants who have knowledge of the location would be necessary to better understand the Seminole history of the camp.

In 2004, Schwadron (n.d.) conducted systematic archaeological testing at the site to determine boundaries and patterns of artifact density. The methodology also included the use of a concrete saw to cut through a compacted layer (called calcrite) that has often been encountered at sites in the region and seen to separate older (Late Archaic Period) from more recent (Glades Period) prehistoric layers (Schwadron 2006; Smith 2008). Results at 8DA2181 indicated evidence of multiple occupations, including artifacts from the Late Archaic, pre Glades, Glades, Seminole, and Historic periods (ca. 3000 B.C. to the present). As such, the site represents the potential for NRHP eligibility under Criterion D — the potential to yield information important in prehistory and history.

As part of the architectural investigation of the camps, the NPS determined that prehistoric artifacts had previously been noted at all nine camp locations visited. In describing the archaeological components beneath the Gladesmen camps, including the one investigated by Schwadron at 8DA2181, Coffey (n.d.:3-4) provided the following statement addressing the potential NRHP eligibility of the camps under Criterion D:

It can confidently be assumed that the hammocks have long been used as areas of rest and refuge during the historic period. It is known that indigenous peoples used the hammocks. Artifacts related to the latter have been found on each of the hammocks our group visited. Aside from Duck Camp, I believe the significance of the camp hammocks is found in their long history of human use and occupation over time (both by Native Americans and the later air boaters) rather than in any unique expression of vernacular architecture. The hammocks, then, are potentially eligible to the National Register as "sites" that possess historic, cultural, and archeological value. The writing of a National Register District nomination that brings together both the prehistoric and historic contexts associated with these unique "islands in a sea of grass" would be a valuable project for the park. Here,
too, is an excellent opportunity to build a more positive relationship with the air boaters. Regardless of the legal issues surrounding the historic and contemporary use of these camps by air boaters, their history and culture is unique to the region and deserves more study.

SUMMARY

Historic properties identified as part of this study that can be evaluated as potential Gladesmen TCPs include fishing camps, campgrounds, airboat/conservation/sportsmen’s clubs, historic structures, roads, and camps. NRHP guidelines distinguish a TCP as a property that not only meets existing criteria as a historic property that may be NRHP eligible at the state or local level, but is also one that represents a continuing association whose primary importance is its role in maintaining cultural identity and practice. Properties will not meet TCP criteria if the continuity of their use has significantly changed over time, if they do not retain sufficient integrity, and, most importantly, if they do not contribute to maintaining Gladesmen Culture as a whole.

To assist in future planning, this chapter summarized guidelines from the NRHP and the Florida Division of Historical Resources on how to evaluate historic property significance against NRHP criteria. The most important aspect of significance can be seen in seven aspects of site integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The example of site evaluation by NPS at the Duck Club Complex (8DA2181) provides a useful example of the application of NRHP criteria under both historic and prehistoric contexts.
VIII. PUBLIC COMMENTS

As a preface to this chapter, it should be stated that an earlier version of this report was made available as a Draft Report. Following dissemination of that draft a Public Comment Period was held to obtain additional data from all interested parties that could be taken into account and incorporated into this Final Report. The USACE recognized that there are others who have ties to the historic Gladesmen community that were not interviewed as part of this study, and the comment period allowed an opportunity for other Gladesmen to come forward. Thanks are extended to all those who contributed supplemental information toward the completion of this study.

A press release was issued by the USACE, Jacksonville District, on July 1, 2009, seeking public comment on the report draft. A link was provided for accessing the document online, and comments were accepted by USACE through August 28, 2009. Public comments included phone conversations with Grady Caulk, USACE, and a meeting with the Dade County Full Track Club held on July 23 that was attended by 25-30 people. A coordination meeting was also held between USACE and three representatives of the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians on September 11, 2009, from which notes were taken and made available. All comments received were processed and reviewed by USACE and provided to New South Associates on October 8, 2009. This supplemental information served to validate results within the draft, identified the need for textual clarifications or corrections, and provided suggestions for future research. Feedback also contributed to a better understanding of continuity and change in the use of properties through time, which has allowed for a refinement of the TCP evaluations. Again, while all of the locations evaluated as part of this study have been recorded as sites, not all qualify as TCPs.

This chapter summarizes the content of public comment; submissions will be appended to the volume containing the informant interviews on file with the Division of Historical Resources and USACE, Jacksonville District. Written comments (n=28) were received from 22 self-identified Gladesmen as well as representatives of Big Cypress National Preserve, Everglades National Park, Florida Department of State, Florida Fish and Wildlife Conservation Commission, Palm Beach County, and the Seminole Tribe of Florida. Specific editorial comments submitted by both Gladesmen and representatives of State and Federal agencies have been addressed and and/or cited throughout this report, and are not summarized here. Some of the specific agency comments are addressed in the concluding chapter.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF COMMENTS

Most of the comment letters came from additional self-identified Gladesmen who talked about personal, lifelong associations with Gladesmen Culture. In these, several of the same locations were mentioned as warranting inclusion as either historic properties or TCPs. Specific places mentioned included segments of Tamiami Trail, the Francis Taylor Wildlife Management Area, Upper Wagonwheel Road, and Janes Scenic Drive. One letter suggested that all Water Conservation Areas could be considered TCPs, as well as Big Cypress National Preserve, Fakahatchee Strand,
and Picayune Strand State Forest. Most of the letters also called for recognition of old but currently used Gladesmen hunt camps throughout the entire CERP region “so those planning CERP know there are many cherished sites there.”

Mack’s Fish Camp was also mentioned in two letters as significant. Two letters were brief reminiscences of lives spent in the backcountry, and one was a detailed, eight-page account of the life of an 80-year old Gladesmen. One letter was a cautionary missive regarding the problems that can be experienced as a result of environmental alteration, as well as the difficulties that can arise from well-intentioned environmental restoration.

SPECIFIC COMMENTS

Many of the specific comments on the draft were editorial; those corrections have been made throughout the report. Some statements in the draft were found to be contradictory or incorrect, and additional information provided to address those concerns has also been incorporated. There were also topics suggested for a much broader study, and it is the intention of USACE that research outside the scope of the present study be addressed as part of project specific studies in the future.

Some of the specific comments received on the draft that provide perspectives warranting special mention, or that are not treated above or within this final report, are presented below.

BIG CYPRRESS NATIONAL PRESERVE

Superintendent Pedro Ramos (2009:5) wrote: “There is no attempt by the author to verify the statements of the interviewees,” and “[the report] continues to repeat an attempt to validate trespassing.” [Note: the information obtained from interviews represents personal opinions that were recorded on tape and transcribed. No attempt is made to validate or encourage trespassing.]

Ramos (2009:4) provided this clarification to claimants of “access rights:” “[an interviewee] makes a common error expressed by many who assert their preference on how public lands are managed by describing loss of access “rights” to areas they have a history with. It is a disservice to those who call themselves “Gladesmen” and any future reader of the document to assert “rights” where only “privileges” exist or existed. This page also contains discussion on the unique values attributed only to “Gladesmen,” without acknowledging that those same values are held by many conservation-minded organizations and individuals.” [Note: the purpose of this study is to identify Gladesmen TCPs, not to promote access. Conservation-minded individuals do share values with Gladesmen, but they may not consider themselves to be part of the Gladesmen Culture.]

EVERGLADES NATIONAL PARK

Superintendent Dan B. Kimball (2009:2) wrote: “As discussed in the report, it is confusing whether the recommendation of “unrestricted access” is what New South recommends to preserve Gladesmen Culture, or whether it is what the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers recommends to manage the properties in the CERP area. It may be more appropriate to state that the Gladesmen feel that unrestricted access is necessary to continue their cultural traditions and that the Corps
supports the goal of accessing TCPs that does not conflict with ecosystem restoration goals and is in compliance with all existing legal descriptions. This issue was clearly articulated in public scoping for the Recreation Plan.

Kimball [2009:2] also wrote: “It is important to recognize that listing sites as TCPs does not afford Gladesmen with the same rights of access as Federally Recognized Indian Tribes. Further, it is important to recognize that listing as TCPs does not guarantee access or preservation in perpetuity to these properties, just that they be considered as significant resources in Federal undertakings.”

Kimball [2009:2] also wrote: “The report should clearly indicate that the opinions of those interviewed…are personal opinions; further the report should not include statements as to the validity of such opinions.”

Finally, Kimball [2009:2] wrote: “It should also be articulated in the report that in addition to public land managers, private landowners of TCPs have an obligation to maintain the character-defining features of the properties and their historic use for the continued eligibility for listing on the National Register. Further, listing on the National Register requires their consent and involvement in the process, and listing may have implications under local historic preservation ordinances.”

FLORIDA FISH AND WILDLIFE CONSERVATION COMMISSION

Commenting Program Administrator Mary Ann Poole wrote: “Due to the importance of Everglades Holiday Park (previously known as King’s fish camp) and the Sawgrass fish camp to the Gladesmen’s culture, reconsideration of these sites as TCPs is crucial. Everglades Holiday Park alone has been the most important access point for our Gladesmen to the largest area of the state-owned Everglades for over 60 years. We recommend New South Associates strongly consider these properties eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places as TCPs.” [Note: Monroe County Resolution No. 301-2006 echoes this comment; Everglades Holiday Park and other locations can be evaluated for eligibility as TCPs if future impacts are proposed.]

MICCOSUKEE TRIBE OF INDIANS

Comments from a meeting between representatives of the Miccosukee Tribe and USACE provided specific comments that allowed for clarification and the inclusion of additional information. Comments indicate that the Tribe is considering identifying its own TCPs. Also, the Tribe is concerned with the future management of cultural resources; they do not want the management of historic and/or Tribal properties to change.

PALM BEACH COUNTY

County Archaeologist Christian Davenport provided several very good suggestions for future work related to the Gladesmen that is outside the scope of this preliminary study. Selections from his emailed comments to USACE are included below, with slight editorial changes.

...there are more people that should have been interviewed including George Boyer Sr., George "Boots" Boyer Jr., Roswell Harrington, Dale Erickson, Dot Tucker, the Thomas Sisters (Mutt Thomas daughters), Flora Todd and Fritz Stein to
name just a few. All of these people have helped me understand the history of the southeastern portion of Lake Okeechobee and all of these people have oral traditions that exemplify the goal of this undertaking.

Other traditional cultural properties (landscapes) like Holy Land, Birds Nest, Monkey Box, Big Bare Beach, Boy Scout Cut, Dynamite Holes I & II, and Grassy Island to name just a few should also have been identified within the report. These are the areas that Gladesmen would visit (do visit) over and over again. They were hunting grounds, meeting places and ending destinations. These places are no different than traditional cultural properties claimed by various Native American groups across the nation. With the plan to restore the Everglades such historically and culturally important areas could be overlooked since they do not appear in the Florida Master Site File. I am sure specifically named places exist throughout the Everglades and some effort needs to be made to catalog these areas before they are developed, destroyed or forgotten.

I would recommend that some consideration…be given to the Islands within Lake Okeechobee (Ritta, Kreamer, Torry, and Observation). (Except for) Observation Island, all of these islands had Gladesmen communities at one time. The history present on the islands is of critical importance to history of Palm Beach County and likely the State as well. For example: archaeological remains of the commercial fishing industry exist on the northern end of Ritta Island. In fact I would classify these as some of the most complete resources that exist of this once multi-million dollar industry. The Boyer Steam Wreck is likely Hamilton Disston’s missing dredge. This resource was located during the drought of 06-07 and represents the very beginning efforts to drain the Everglades. On Kreamer Island is the remains of a Glades Skiff and a modern day Airboat clubhouse that is built within a large ficus tree.

There should also be some mention of the historic towns of the area that are now gone since all of the early pioneers would have fit the definition of a Gladesmen. Towns like Gardena, Okeelanta, Gladescrest, and Bean City. Even present day towns like Lake Harbor (originally called Ritta), Canal Point (Long Beach), Pahokee (East Beach), and Belle Glade (Hillsboro) all have strong ties to the Gladesmen tradition.

The importance of bootlegging is also somewhat under represented. After the 1928 Hurricane, Dr. William Buck had survivors wash off in moonshine to kill the bacteria on the skin. People who collected the dead were also given moonshine to “fortify” themselves for the task at hand. With just these two tasks there had to be massive amounts of moonshine available for such an undertaking. Some authors have even stated moonshine was Palm Beach County’s biggest cash crop during and immediately following prohibition.

Lastly, I am not sure if the Loxahatchee River is within your project area but it is on par with Fisheating Creek. It contains much in the way of Gladesmen Culture including the remains of homesteads, hunting cabins, and water control structures. If this is within your project area, then I really think some mention needs to made of this resource.
In summary, the public comment period was the final data gathering aspect of this preliminary study of contemporary Gladesmen Culture. Building on background research and informant interviews, the information and perspectives obtained have strengthened this report, as well as the results of the historic property recording and TCP evaluation treated in the following chapter. Additionally, the responses provided useful information to be considered in future work related to sites associated with the Gladesmen Folk Culture.
IX. RESULTS

As part of this ethnographic study, 13 properties associated with the Gladesmen Culture were identified and evaluated to determine their eligibility for listing as TCPs. 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.

This chapter summarizes New South Associates' findings and evaluates the eligibility of each identified historic 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, as defined previously in Chapter VII.

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.).

During a brief, unofficial visit to the camp, New South Associates' ethnographer took photographs and spoke informally 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 discussion. The location appears to function most prominently as a gathering place for airboat activities in the northern portion of the study area.

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 early twentieth century and continue to the present-day, as the popularity of recreational fishing in Florida has grown at a steady pace.
Topographic Map Showing Camp Mack River Resort (PO07201)

Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Hesperides (1975), Lake Weohyakapla NE (1975)
Figure 27.
Aerial Photograph Showing Camp Mack River Resort (PO07201)

Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1999)
Figure 28.
Camp Mack River Resort Map (PO07201)

Source: Camp Mack River Resort Website: www.campmack.com
135

ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY AND EVALUATION OF TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES OF THE MODERN GLADESMEN CULTURE

Figure 29.
Images of Camp Mack (PO07201)

A. Boat Bays from the Kissimmee River

B. Cabins from the Kissimmee River
Camp Mack’s owner did not respond to the ethnographer’s requests for a second visit to the property to conduct oral interviews and a survey. Therefore, the physical description of the property is cursory and requires additional research to document structures and collect more information. Camp Mack is accessed via the Kissimmee River to the northeast of the property or by Camp Mack Road to the southwest.

The structures at the Camp Mack property are 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 include 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. Presently, 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 of historic age. 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 portion of the resort, which consists of RV sites, rental cabins, a laundry, clubhouse, showers, restrooms, swimming pool, and storage units.

While Camp Mack provides information on the continued existence of fish camps in the study area, results do not indicate time depth in its maintenance of traditional Gladesmen lifeways. While Camp Mack does retain some buildings over 50 years old, and may have an association with Gladesmen Culture, it was mentioned by only two of the interview subjects and limited information was gained about its history, operation, and chain of ownership. Based on available information, Camp Mack does not appear to have continuing importance in maintaining Gladesmen Culture as a whole and is therefore not recommended as a TCP at this time. If the property is to be affected by CERP related activities in the future it is recommended that additional research be conducted to further evaluate this historic property 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 in the vicinity 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. George Storter 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) recounted some of the property’s early history:

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

Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Everglades City (1970)
Figure 31.
Aerial Photograph Showing Everglades Rod and Gun Club (CR01083)

Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1999)
In 1922, Barron Collier purchased Everglades City, along with a major portion of southwestern 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/Storer family home as a lodge. In 1923, Everglades City became formally incorporated and named the seat of Collier County. When the land boom ended during 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 (Leitfermann 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 physical description of the lodge, except to note that the building is a large, frame building with a wraparound-screened porch and a brick foundation. The building is situated on the banks of the Barron River in the northeastern portion of Everglades City.

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 has historic roots related to William Allen and Barron Collier, who were significant in the development of the area. While the Everglades Rod and Gun Club clearly exhibits characteristics that make it an historic property, it 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 - BD4566

Mack’s Fish Camp is a fourth generation family enterprise located on the Miami Canal Levee, approximately two miles northeast of U.S. Highway 29 (Krome Avenue) on the Miami-Dade/Broward county line (Figures 32 and 33). The camp is named after Mack Charles Jones, Sr., who bought acreage on land originally owned by the Pennsylvania Sugar Company. When
Figure 32.
Topographic Map Showing Resource Boundary of Mack’s Fish Camp (8BD4566)

Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Pennsuclo (1994)
Figure 33.
Aerial Photograph Showing Resource Boundary of Mack’s Fish Camp (8BD4566)

Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1999)
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 and 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 established a second 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. 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.

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).
Figure 34.
Images of Mack’s Fish Camp (8BD4566)

A. Original Store and Residence

B. Picnic Site Along the Miami Canal
Figure 35.
Sketch Map of Mack’s Fish Camp (BD4566)
Mack’s Fish Camp is located in the Everglades and Francis S. Taylor Wildlife Management Area on the Levee 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 included 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 at Mack’s Fish Camp comprises 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. North of the shelter is a small, concrete boat ramp that is original to the camp. Farther 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 of the camp are boats and boat trailers of various vintage and size. The original rental boats are still part of the rental fleet, which is located along the canal bank.

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; it has always been a quiet place to go and 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 and continuity in maintaining the traditional activities of the Gladesmen Culture at the state and local levels of significance. Mack’s Fish Camp has been in the same family since its inception, and is one of the few original fish camps that still functions in the Miami-Dade County area. The property has been the location of traditional practices since 1939 and Gladesmen throughout southern Florida associate the camp with these practices, primarily fishing, recreation, and sharing of the Gladesmen 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, as well as in recruiting new members. 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 Gladesmen community continues to frequent 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 been maintained. Many of the original early 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, with well-established ingress and egress, and the property’s function as a fish camp has remained the same since it was first opened. The feeling and association with the surrounding environment is strongly felt on the property as it is situated in the middle of the Everglades ecosystem, with no other businesses within sight. Though the camp is near major highways, it is accessible only by 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.

Three individuals out of 34 mentioned Mack’s Fish Camp during oral interviews and three others recommended its documentation as a TCP during the comment period. The property continues to hold importance to contemporary Gladesmen Culture as evidenced by information collected from Marshall and Nicole Jones during the site visit, in interviews with Gladesmen Frank Denninger, and in the written comments of other self-identified Gladesmen.
Mack’s Fish Camp is a well-established property that has a long association with Gladesmen Culture. It has served as a meeting place and Gladesmen recruitment location for several decades. The camp has continuity of ownership, as it has been operated by multiple generations of the Jones family, and the facility serves to maintain the continuity of Gladesmen cultural practices.

The proposed NRHP boundary for this recommended TCP is a visual one: the levee road that runs parallel to the Miami Canal accesses the camp (Figure 33) and the Everglades and Francis S. Taylor Wildlife Management Area borders the property to the northwest, east, and southeast.

**TRAIL LAKES CAMPGROUND -- CR01082**

Trail Lakes Campground is located on the south side of 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 former 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 is built on the site of a logging operation representing an earlier phase in the evolution of Gladesmen Culture. As a later campground, it developed an association with contemporary Gladesmen as a gathering spot and access point for backcountry users (Shealy 2008). From its inception, the property has served as a point of access for hunters, fishermen, and other resource users. According to interviewees, before the NPS 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 mentioned changes in access privileges and lamented 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 that are accessed via 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; it houses 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 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, which includes 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 statute of a panther.

Of the 34 individuals interviewed, two mentioned Trail Lakes Campground during their interviews. Although 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. If the property is to be affected by CERP related activities, it is recommended that the property’s eligibility be reevaluated after the age of the campground reaches 50 years.

NON-COMMERCIAL PROPERTIES

AIRBOAT ASSOCIATION OF FLORIDA -- DA6768

The Airboat Association of Florida (AAF) is located on the south side of Tamiami Trail at 25400 Tamiami Trail in Miami-Dade County (Figures 39 and 40). The AAF a private non-profit organization that is significant for its association with the history of airboat recreation, natural resource conservation, and South Florida’s Gladesmen Culture. The group also shares a long history and association with the Boy Scouts of America, who are part owners of the facility (Onstad 2008). The AAF was formed at the dawn of the modern airboating age in 1951 by a group of sportsmen and conservationists to, as stated in their charter, “preserve and conserve the wildlife of the State of Florida so that residents of Florida and visitors therein may view and enjoy the fauna of the territory” (Airboat Association of Florida 1951). Implicit in the association’s charter language is the association’s desire to promote conservation as well as public airboat access and enjoyment of the Everglades. Since its founding, the AAF has worked with government agencies like the NPS to preserve public access and hunting opportunities in the Everglades while at the same time sponsoring environmental conservation work in the area, among other activities. The AAF headquarters is one of a handful of private properties remaining in the area and is considered of primary importance by its Gladesmen membership. According to association members, the AAF is the only airboat group in the state to own its own property or have buildings directly associated with its mission to promote airboating and Everglades recreation.

One of the founding members and first Vice President of the AAF was John Cooper of nearby Coopertown. Past President and arguably the most influential member of the AAF was Francis S. Taylor (1924-1982), the namesake of the wildlife refuge on the north side of Tamiami Trail. Taylor
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

B. Image of the Airboat Association of Florida Property

Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1999)
made a living constructing airboats and opened the first airboat manufacturing company in Florida. Taylor is most remembered for his wildlife survival islands that buffer Everglades National Park and Big Cypress National Preserve from extensive agricultural fields to the north and residential development to the east. He received the Wildlife Conservation Award in 1972 from the Florida Wildlife Federation and 724,560 acres of preserve in the Everglades were named after him in 1985 (Washington 1985; Colon 1983; Buchsbaum 1986).

The AAF, under the direction of Francis S. Taylor, engaged directly in the state legislative process as early as 1953. At this time, the AAF recognized that the state government was going to pass legislation regulating airboat safety and use standards. The association worked directly with their representatives in the state legislature to craft the Airboat Safety Act of 1953. The association increased its visibility and influence through networking with other conservation groups in the state. Through this work, the AAF has been “instrumental in establishing some of the laws and regulations devised to protect the Florida ecosystem.” The association is involved in the present Everglades Restoration process as members of the Florida Wildlife Federation, the National Wildlife Federation, and the Everglades Coordinating Council (Airboat Association of Florida 1951, 2005).

The AAF engages in several specific activities aside from political advocacy to promote its mission. Its direct conservation efforts take form in the protection and propagation of native trees so that Everglades wildlife retains the proper habitat. The association has partnered with ENP staff to help eradicate invasive plant species and to plant native trees. Its charter also includes a search and rescue component “so that if any person or persons are in danger or distress within the vastness of the Everglades, the members may give prompt aid and render assistance.” The charter also states that the AAF will assist authorities in the prevention and control of wildfires. Sensitive to the negative perception about airboats among some segments of the public, the AAF charter states that the association strives to “promote and control the use of and operation of ‘Air Boats’ so that their use will in no way be in derogation of the principal objects of this association to cooperate with the Federal, State, and County officials whose duties are to protect and enforce the laws of the State of Florida with relation to wildlife” (Airboat Association of Florida 1951).

The AAF has previously been evaluated by Janus Research (2001) and New South Associates (Azzarello et al. 2006). Janus initially 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 significance. In response, New South Associates reevaluated the property (Azzarello et al. 2006), but due to denied access by the AAF Board of Directors, a full determination of eligibility (including structural evaluation) could not be made. New South reviewed the survey forms and information submitted by Janus as well as the results of the restudy and subsequently recommended the property potentially eligible to the NRHP under Criterion A (Azzarello et al. 2006:63).

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 that 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).

Donnie Onstad (2008) provided a description of some of the structures during his interview:

And they built a clubhouse…and that’s probably 30x40 [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 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 very important; it appears to be well maintained and protected. Were it not for their private ownership of 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 eligible to the NRHP as a TCP under Criterion A in the areas of Conservation and Entertainment/Recreation 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 continuing importance in maintaining Gladesmen Culture. The group’s association with Past President Francis S. Taylor, who was so instrumental in Everglades conservation, is another notable aspect of its history.
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. 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.

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, as well as in the recruitment of new members. Integrity of condition of the original structures at the 10-acre property may still be retained, but that was not verified during this study.

Four individuals out of the 34 mentioned the AAF during their oral interviews. The facility was also mentioned in some of the written comments as a TCP. As a TCP, the AAF has a strong tie to modern Gladesmen Culture, as seen in the development and sustained use of airboats by members of the association since the early 1950s, and by the larger culture since the airboat first came into use in the region. The proposed NRHP boundary for this TCP, located at 25400 Tamiami Trail, includes the original 1950s structures and the entry road into the 10-acre property, as seen in Figures 39 and 40.

**DUCK CAMP #2 - DA11449**

Duck Camp #2 is located on a tree hammock in the Everglades and Francis S. Taylor Wildlife Management Area in Miami-Dade County (Figure 41 and 42). Fred Dayhoff (personal communication with Grady Caulk 2009) pointed out that the USGS map identifies the camp as “Jessie Willies Camp.” Dayhoff identified Jessie Willie as a Miccosukee/Seminole and indicated that the USGS labeled camps are all Miccosukee/Seminole.

The modern Gladesmen history and origin of the camp is unclear but the present camp may have been constructed ca. 1958, when the entrance to the location was dynamited to clear a path for construction access (Onstad 2008). An interview with current co-owner Donnie Onstad suggests that use of the camp changed from having a Gladesmen association when former Florida Governor Claude Kirk (in office from 1967-1971) owned the camp and had a helicopter pad built in back of the cabin. However, further information (personal communication with Barbara Jean Powell 2008), indicates that a former commissioner of the Florida Fish and Wildlife Commission originally owned the camp, although the dates of that ownership are not known.

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 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 the first cabin that was burned (Figure 43). 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)
Oral history suggests that this campsite has been in use by modern Gladesmen since the late 1950s, as well as during earlier times. However, use of the camp by regional Gladesmen changed with its ownership by Governor Kirk, and the current camp cabin was not built until the 1970s. While the location has a known Gladesmen association that qualifies it as an historic property, New South Associates does not recommend Duck Camp #2 eligible to the NRHP as a TCP. The camp appears to be typical of a mid-twentieth century Everglades backcountry camp that is used by an individual or a small number of people. Duck Camp #2 does not exhibit a continuing association with modern Gladesmen Culture as a whole 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 Tamiami Trail and the Loop Road (Figures 44 and 45). New South was not granted entry to the property, but oral accounts indicate that eight men interested in wildlife conservation within the Everglades and Big Cypress Swamp started the club in 1950. A fence encloses the property owned by the club, and the ethnographer’s view through this enclosure identified a campground and several structures including a clubhouse, service buildings, and vehicle storage sheds; a sign on the fence says “EST. 1950” (Figure 46).

A published account by a founding member of the club states that the property once comprised 80 acres that included a clubhouse, service buildings, and a campground (Stone 1984). Club 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 1984).

Gladesmen Martha Schramm (2008) describes the Everglades Conservation and Sportsman’s 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
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
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. [Note: there is a discrepancy here regarding acreage.]

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.

The Everglades Conservation and Sportsman’s Club property has been in existence 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 reportedly spend the weekend at the property hunting and socializing. The club may 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. Integrity of condition, design, and relationship at the club may be maintained. However, because of denied access, further evaluation would be necessary to assess significance in other categories.

Gladesmen have said the Everglades Conservation and Sportsman’s Club is important in conserving the Big Cypress and in the retention and transmittal of their traditional beliefs and practices. Three Gladesmen talked about the club during oral interviews, but it is unknown how the club relates to Gladesmen Culture as a whole. New South Associates was not granted access to the Everglades Conservation and Sportsman’s Club property, and has been unable to obtain sufficient information about the property and the organization to evaluate the club’s eligibility to the NRHP as a TCP. It does warrant recording herein as an historic resource over 50 years old. At present, the Everglades Conservation and Sportsman’s Club is not within an area of proposed effects from CERP. If that status changes it is recommended that the property be revisited and further evaluated to determine its status as a potential TCP.

PINECREST - MO1919

Pinecrest is a remnant community that lies along the Loop Road in Monroe County (Figures 47 and 48) within Big Cypress National Preserve. According to Dave Balman Jr. (2008), Pinecrest originated circa 1918 or 1919 as a sawmill village and logging community during an earlier phase of Gladesmen cultural evolution; the settlement provided living facilities for the mill’s workers and thrived from the 1930s until the 1960s.

Fred Dayhoff (personal communication with Grady Caulk 2009) has said the location identified herein as Pinecrest is in the wrong place, which is consistent with the labeling of Pinecrest seen in Figure 47. The ethnographer was brought to one location within what was formerly a larger community and obtained the information given below. Because this is not meant to be an exhaustive treatment of Pinecrest, additional study of a more extensive area is warranted.
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)
Dave Balman (2008) recalls that his father worked at the early 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). Fred Dayhoff (personal communication with Grady Caulk 2009) states that Jim Dill built the casino, originally the Monte Carlo, in 1924, and in 1926, the school was built, from which the flagpole and water pump are still there.

According to Mabel Kirkland (2001), 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.). Many older locals remember coming to Pinecrest on weekends for dances. 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 reportedly ignored (Klinkenberg 2006).

Another popular business operation in Pinecrest was making moonshine whiskey, and the remnants of many stills are said to be present in the woods around Pinecrest and along the Loop Road. In the early 1970s, according to Balman (2008), the NPS bought much of the privately held land and many people moved off the Loop Road.

Through time, the population of Pinecrest decreased and many of the buildings in the community were torn down. Located within the Pinecrest location introduced to the ethnographer are the remains of an old hotel that some locals claim was built and operated by Al Capone as a gambling house and restaurant. Fred Dayhoff (personal communication with Grady Caulk 2009) has said that the location had no affiliation with Capone.

One of the oldest remaining structures in the location visited is the gas station (now inactive), which consists of a small, white, concrete building with a blue entrance door and a blue bay door (Figure 49). 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 said to be the remains of the hotel fountain; to the southeast of the fountain are two sets of stone stairs, also attributed to the former hotel (Figure 50). West of the gas station is the trailer residence of Carol Balman. Associated structures include
A. Sketch Map of Pinecrest (Not to Scale)

B. Pinecrest Service Station (Inactive)
Figure 50.
Hotel Remains

A. Steps

B. Entry Way

C. Fountain
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 that portion of the property contains a few abandoned trailers.

The community previously contained more buildings and trailers that have since been abandoned or torn down. Across the street from the gas station there was reportedly 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 [or a portion thereof] is said to be privately owned by Ann Coven. According to a current resident, seven or eight people presently reside in Pinecrest, 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 unforgotten historic place name within the Gladesmen geography. However, its significance lies more in its role as a historic site than as a TCP. The buildings, structures, and surface remains reflect early to mid twentieth-century community life in the area; archaeological remains older than 50 years can be expected, possibly dating back to the early logging era.

The Gladesmen who 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]…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 Dave Balman (2008), Eric Kimmel (2008), and Frank Denninger (2008a), resource users and recreationists 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 a 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. It was and is an example of a backcountry community within southern Florida. Physical remains of the hotel also suggest the presence of a subsurface archaeological component. While the entire community site was not surveyed, it appears that its setting and location along the Loop Road has changed little since its inception. However, the community’s physical integrity has been compromised, as many original structures reportedly no longer exist. The degree of integrity loss would have to be established by a survey of the larger community. The town site remains remote and rural, and while many of the original structures are gone, the location still conveys the sense of a relatively isolated settlement from the early part of the twentieth century.
The Pinecrest area may be significant under Criterion D as an archaeological site, particularly near the old hotel, where surface remains were noted and subsurface remains may be present. This site is likely to yield information reflecting the history of Pinecrest and early twentieth-century southern Florida occupation and commerce. Further archaeological survey and documentary research would be necessary to assess the possibility of additional structures and to determine if what remains of Pinecrest can be investigated to better interpret its past. However, based on the results of this investigation, Pinecrest is not recommended as a TCP within the Gladesmen Culture.

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 former way station), have both been reported by locals as once important access points into the backcountry. A husband and wife first managed Monroe 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 Miami-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 members of the Gladesmen community. Gladesmen Barbara Jean Powell (2008b) 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. The station is now in a state of disrepair, though the NPS reportedly plans to renovate the structure as a way station, its initial historic function (Figure 54).
Figure 51. Topographic Map Showing Monroe Station (CR00677)

Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Monroe Station (1973)
Figure 52.
Aerial Photograph Showing Monroe Station (CR00677)
Figure 53.
Sketch Plans of Monroe Station (CR00677)

A. Sketch of Front of Structure

B. Sketch of Floor Plan of Structure

C. Sketch of Rear of Structure

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
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 Tamiami Trail and on the south end of a 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 behind the building was used to store off-road vehicles (Leynes 1998). There may be other outbuildings on the property but because of the fence further exploration was not possible.

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 Tamiami Trail and Collier County. The present study suggests that the NRHP 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 Gladesmen cultural function in its remote environment. Oral history indicates that Monroe Station played a strong role in Gladesmen cultural geography and that the property was very important to area Gladesmen up until 1992. The interviews cite Monroe Station as a point of departure and entry for individuals and groups entering or leaving the Glades; it was a transition point that linked the community and the environment.

This 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. During its operation, Monroe Station was strongly associated with Gladesmen traditional cultural practices prior to its acquisition by the NPS, primarily as a gathering place to enjoy camaraderie and organize 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 often refer to Monroe Station in orienting 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 would 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 is already listed on the National Register for significance in transportation, exploration, and settlement during the years 1928-1934. Today, it continues to 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. Like Mack’s Fish Camp, Monroe Station served as the location where urban youths first encountered real Gladesmen and began to emulate them. 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 not only been a source of food and water, but also a water highway to Lake Okeechobee. Early prehistoric inhabitants built mounds and earthworks in the region, as evidenced by the Fort Center Mound complex in the Lake Okeechobee Basin. These mounds are listed on the NRHP.

One of the earliest known 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 commercial enterprise 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 reportedly 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 a pristine natural landscape. It is truly a wild and scenic place, and its remoteness is a large part of its appeal. 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.
Figure 55.
Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area (GL00440)

A. Topographic Map


B. Aerial Photograph

Source: Microsoft Terraserver Imagery (1998)
Figure 56.
Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area Sketch Map (GL00440)
A. Heading Out for a Day on the Creek

B. Burnt Lake on Fisheating Creek
Fisheating Creek holds great significance for generations of South Floridians who have camped and spent time along its banks. It is here that practices such as fishing, hunting, boating, camping, observing and enjoying nature, and spending time with fellow Gladesmen and their families occur. 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 strongly associated with Gladesmen lifeways:

Over the years, the creek has been a 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).

Fisheating Creek is a very special place to Gladesmen who live in the Clewiston region. Christina Howell grew up in Clewiston and remembers going to parties at the creek 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.” 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 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).

Historically used by Gladesmen for subsistence and transportation, Fisheating Creek WMA is now used for traditional recreational activities:

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 WMA is a very important component of the local Gladesmen Culture. It holds a place in people's 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. Some interviewees 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, bears, 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 pristine natural landscape recorded here as a linear resource that is significant to area Gladesmen Culture. The creek is an environmental treasure that has contributed greatly to Gladesmen life experiences in affording recreational opportunities for many decades. While it is an important natural resource for local Gladesmen, it does not have a focal point that has particular cultural meaning for the Gladesmen, i.e., that serves to maintain the continuity of Gladesmen Culture as a whole. For that reason, New South Associates does not recommend Fisheating Creek as meeting the criteria for listing as a TCP.

THE LOOP ROAD (COUNTY ROAD 94)
DA06984 (MIAMI-DADE COUNTY), MO01920 (MONROE COUNTY), CR01086 (COLLIER COUNTY)

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). Fred Dayhoff (personal communication with Grady Caulk, 2009) says that it was originally called Chevalier Road, and was built in 1924 to reroute Tamiami Trail through Chevalier Corporation land at a cost of $200,000. Dayhoff also stated that Barron Collier paid for the road to go through his land and that Loop Road was used as the Tamiami Trail for 4 or 5 years. The Chevalier Road was later deeded to the state and the loop was completed with the extension of the road to Monroe Station (Perez 2007:12).

The majority of Loop Road is within Big Cypress National Preserve; approximately two miles of the road, from its juncture with Tamiami Trail to the Miami-Dade/Collier county line, is in ENP. Those two miles traverse a portion of the Miccosukee Indian Reservation; the road then enters the Big Cypress National Preserve. While the first 10 miles of the eastern end of Loop Road is paved, it becomes a single lane gravel road for the remainder of its length. Loop Road passes through a variety of habitats including cypress swamps and wetlands. Including the former community of Pinecrest, houses are scattered along 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 Loop Road is of a remote nature.

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. Interview subjects say that in earlier times the road was packed with cars on the weekends as people picnicked and fished the canals from the road bank. Loop Road 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) remembered his first trip to the Loop Road during World War II:
Figure 58. Topographic Map Showing the Loop Road (DA06984, MO01920, RO01086)
Figure 59.
Aerial Photograph Showing 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)
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.

The Loop Road has served as a meeting place for many Gladesmen and was also the central location for many 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, were 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. Adams (2008) stated:

...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...

There is a lot of history and lore associated with the Loop Road, which some say 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.”

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 bikes 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.

Historically, the Loop Road has been a place Gladesmen frequented and used in the pursuit of traditional cultural practices:

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).

Interviewees observed that use of Loop Road declined after portions of it were acquired by NPS and the use of some of their backcountry camps was no longer feasible due to access restrictions. Additionally, it was said that some Gladesmen quit using the road for backcountry access because portions of the off road terrain are difficult to traverse without a boat, swamp buggy, or tracked vehicle (Waggoner 2008). Speaking of the decline in use, Tom Shirley (2008) recalls that earlier, the Loop Road was used by an enormous amount of people to hunt, fish, picnic, and camp. 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.”
Some people do continue to use the area for sightseeing, fishing, frogging, and hunting south of the loop, although Gladesmen say not in the same numbers as before. Whatever the reasons may be, interviews indicate that use of the Loop Road by Gladesmen has changed; it has declined.

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 to him in this way:

…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.

In earlier times, Loop Road was a much frequented location within the Gladesmen Culture, as evidenced by information obtained in informant interviews; it was mentioned by 11 of 34 people during oral interviews as an important place. The Loop Road appears to meet many of the criteria of a rural historic landscape, although further evaluation would be necessary to assess its significance in that category. The ethnographer drove the length of the Loop Road and interviewed several people who use the area and/or live along the road. The setting along the road has changed little since its construction, and it continues to have integrity of place, feeling, and an association with the Gladesmen Culture. The historic use of Loop Road was for camping, fishing, and hunting in the immediate vicinity. Today, its primary use is as an access point to the greater Everglades. Early on it was the primary destination; now it is a waypoint.

Loop Road was once a very active location for area Gladesmen but its use and importance within the culture has changed. As an entry point into the backcountry, Loop Road has served to provide numerous access points throughout its history, but has no specific focal point or central place. The road is recorded here as a linear resource that holds significance within area Gladesmen Culture. It retains integrity and is thought of fondly by many Gladesmen but does not serve to maintain the continuity of Gladesmen Culture as a whole. For that reason, New South Associates does not recommend Loop Road as meeting the criteria for listing as a TCP.

**TURNER RIVER ROAD COMPLEX - CR1085**

The Turner River Road Complex comprises a linear resource group that includes Turner River Road, Birdon Road, and Wagonwheel Road, all located in the Big Cypress National Preserve, Collier County, near Ochopee. The roads form three sides of a rectangle, with Tamiami Trail completing the rectangle to the south (Figures 61 and 62).
Figure 61.
Topographic Map Showing the Turner River Road Complex (CR1085)

Source: 7.5 Minute USGS Quadrangle, Ochopee (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 there. After the completion of Tamiami Trail, Jimmy Gaunt, one of the original tomato farmers in Miami, moved to Ochopee, circa 1928. There, 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, Wagonwheel, and Birdon roads 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). Gladesmen state that these roads provide access to hunting and fishing areas in the backcountry along designated 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 (County 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. Jaudon. 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 members of the Gladesmen Culture. Written comments from a dozen or more Gladesmen also recommended the inclusion of the northern extension of Turner River Road in this discussion as being the only access to the Bear Island Unit of Big Cypress [see the NPS’ 2000 ORV Management Plan for specifics on backcountry access to this area.]

There is insufficient evidence at this time regarding each road to recommend the complex to the NRHP as a TCP. The Turner River Road Complex is recorded here as a linear resource group that holds significance for Gladesmen in gaining access to the backcountry. Information available to date does not demonstrate a long time depth in its use, and the road complex does not serve to maintain Gladesmen Culture as a whole. For those reasons, New South Associates does not recommend the Turner River Road Complex as meeting the criteria for listing as a TCP.

TAMIAI MI TRAIL (US HIGHWAY 41) - DA6510

The Tamiami Trail is southern Florida’s major east-west transportation route between Tampa and Miami (Figures 64 and 65). Initial steps toward constructing Tamiami Trail were taken in 1915. The route decided upon began in Fort Myers to Naples to Marco, then Marco to the Dade County Line, and then from the Dade County line to Miami. Each section or district was able to fund or contribute toward the construction of the road and, in 1915-1916, many districts began to build their own sections of the Trail. In addition to World War I, Florida experienced a “boom and bust” which, at times, delayed the construction of the Tamiami Trail (Tebeau 1957:222-223).

The Tamiami Trail was a road project that would change the future of the Everglades and contribute significantly to the development of the region. However, the results would not come without a high cost and extreme efforts by everyone involved. One man in particular, Barron Collier had invested his fortune in this area and was intent on seeing the Tamiami Trail finished. Collier County was created in part on his contributions toward completion of the road. It was not until 1926 that Tamiami Trail was completed; when it was officially opened in 1928, ceremonies were held in Fort Meyers. Tamiami Trail has played an important role in the development of South Florida, specifically the interior, and contributed towards the development of other roads to Marco Island, Chokoloskee Island, and Naples (Tebeau 1957:228-232)

The Tamiami Trail (8DA6510) resource group was recorded in 2001 by Janus Research; the Miami-Dade County portion of the trail is considered by the Florida State Historic Preservation Office as potentially eligible to the NRHP under Criterion A. New South Associates completed a cultural resources survey of the portion of the trail in western Miami-Dade County and recommended
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)
that portion potentially eligible to the NRHP under Criteria A and C (Azzarello et al. 2006). One interviewee, Byron Maharrey, opined that the Tamiami Trail has been detrimental to Gladesmen Culture through impacts to the environment that he feels have affected some traditional Gladesmen activities. Maharrey explained that the road acts as a giant levee and when water is released into a water catchment area, the water levels become so high that tree hammocks become inundated, which has resulted in the erosion of some of these islands. He sees these effects 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).

Tamiami Trail is a historic linear resource, and portions have been determined NRHP eligible by the SHPO. In terms of Gladesmen Culture, however, use of this road has been dispersed, it has changed over the decades, and there is no clear focal point that serves to maintain the culture as a whole. For these reasons, Tamiami Trail is considered not eligible to the NRHP as a TCP.

SUMMARY

Thirteen properties identified through oral history interviews were described and evaluated as potential TCPs within the Gladesmen Culture. Two are considered to meet the criteria for eligibility as TCPs – Mack’s Fish Camp (DA11448) and the Airboat Association of Florida (DA6768). Oral accounts suggest that Monroe Station, an NRHP-listed property (CR00677NR), 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 to 1992.

Further study and TCP evaluation are recommended for three properties if they will be affected by CERP related activities in the future: Camp Mack (PO007201), Trails Lake Campground (CR01082) and the Everglades Conservation and Sportsmen’s Club (CR01084). The remaining evaluated properties do not meet NRHP eligibility criteria as TCPs that serve to maintain Gladesmen Culture as a whole.
X. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

During public meetings for the Recreation component of CERP, members of the public identified the potential for adverse effects to TCPs associated with the Gladesmen/Swamp Folk Culture. In response to this concern the USACE requested this study to comply with the National Historic Preservation Act and take into account any actions that could affect significant cultural properties associated with modern Gladesmen Culture, which has evolved from historical beginnings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Results indicate that TCPs of the Gladesmen Culture do exist.

The process used in this study sought to identify places within the multi-county region of southern Florida that are said to have continuing cultural significance within the Gladesmen Culture, and to determine if any met NRHP criteria for recording as TCPs. To consider potential effects to TCPs of the modern Gladesmen Culture, the Jacksonville District requested an ethnographic study incorporating opinions given by self-identified members of the culture in informant interviews as the appropriate means for determining if such properties were present in the region. A public comment period allowed for supplemental opinions to be offered by additional Gladesmen, members of the public, the Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes of Indians, and State and Federal agencies.

This introductory study was not intended to be a complete historical treatment of Gladesmen or an examination of every property in southern Florida associated with their culture. Rather, the study sought to identify a range of properties that Gladesmen felt were potential TCPs and to evaluate them against NRHP criteria. These were found to include fishing camps, campgrounds, airboat/conservation/sportsmen’s clubs, historic structures, roads, and backcountry camps. While there are many properties associated with Gladesmen Culture that warrant recording as properties (buildings, structures, sites, historic districts, landscapes, or individual objects over 50 years old), not all of them will meet the criteria that define a TCP. The sample of properties evaluated during this study provides a foundation for identifying a wider range of Gladesmen sites and potential TCPs during project specific cultural resource evaluations that may occur in the future.

This 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 a better understanding of 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-related planning can consider the effects of proposed projects on significant Gladesmen resources, including TCPs and historic sites. The Gladesmen TCPs are associated with recognized historic sites that are easily identifiable and have an association with the Gladesmen Culture. Not all potential TCPs were identified as part of this study 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 that time, specific impacts to potential TCPs 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.
This study confirmed the presence of Traditional Cultural Properties associated with the modern Gladesmen folk culture. It identified that the modern Gladesmen Folk culture is a regional variant of Cracker Culture in Florida, wherein some Crackers developed distinctive subsistence practices in the late 19th and early 20th centuries based on unique cultural, behavioral, and ideological ties to the Everglades environment of southern Florida. During the 1920s-1940s, many Gladesmen made their living by hunting, fishing, and selling alligator skins. The post World War II period was a time of cultural transition, producing a distinctive new generation of Gladesmen who developed and incorporated modern technology including airboats and swamp buggies. These modern Gladesmen have inherited and share many characteristics of the first Gladesmen, however their practices are no longer intended to provide primary subsistence. The modern Gladesmen do not represent a self-sustaining, autonomous group but are a subset of modern American culture in southern Florida that comprises a broad ethnic and social membership that has evolved through time.

Table 2 provides a summary of the 13 properties recorded and the results of the TCP evaluation. Results suggest that two locations 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 (BD4566) and one sportsmen’s club – the Airboat Association of Florida (DA6768). The Airboat Association of Florida is associated exclusively with the post World War II development and incorporation of airboats as a primary mode of transportation in south Florida. Mack’s Fish Camp represents a continuing association with both the historic Gladesmen and the modern Gladesmen as a meeting place and as one of the locations where individuals started their association with the Gladesmen folk culture. The Corps previously recommended the Airboat Association of Florida NRHP eligible for its association with the development of the airboat. Mack’s Fish Camp appears to also independently meet the NRHP criteria for eligibility as a representative of south Florida fish camps and the development of recreational use in south Florida.

While the NRHP encourages preservation, it must be remembered that under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act the Federal Agency must consider the potential effects of an undertaking on NRHP eligible properties and provide the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation the opportunity to comment. It does not guarantee access or preservation in perpetuity to eligible properties.

The TCPs associated with the modern Gladesmen are historic properties that would typically be identified as such during a standard cultural resource survey. This study provides specifics on how identifiable historic properties relate to the modern Gladesmen folk culture.

The initial comment that the Corps of Engineers had not considered the potential effects of CERP projects on Gladesmen Traditional Cultural Properties is addressed by this study. Two Gladesmen TCPs were identified within the CERP area and none were identified that would be affected by
existing CERP projects. This document will be used in project specific evaluations of effect for sites identified in the future and as a guide to evaluate other historic sites of a similar nature for their potential association with the Gladesmen Culture and for their potential as TCPs.

Table 2. Summary of Recommendations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site Name and #</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Type and Date</th>
<th>TCP Recommendation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Camp Mack River Resort - PO07201</td>
<td>Polk County</td>
<td>Commercial Fishing Camp ca. 1928; 1940</td>
<td>TCP significance not demonstrated. Reevaluate if effects are proposed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everglades Rod &amp; Gun Club CR01083</td>
<td>Collier County</td>
<td>Building foundation ca. 1864; Current lodge-late 19th-early 20th century</td>
<td>TCP significance not demonstrated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mack’s Fish Camp BD4566</td>
<td>Broward County</td>
<td>Fish camp; resource group dating to the 1940s</td>
<td>NRHP Eligible as a TCP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trail’s Lake Campground CR01082</td>
<td>Collier County</td>
<td>Campground; resource group under 50 years old ca. 1961</td>
<td>TCP significance not demonstrated. Reevaluate if effects are proposed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airboat Association of Florida - DA6768</td>
<td>Dade County</td>
<td>Private airboat club 1951</td>
<td>NRHP Eligible as a TCP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duck Camp #2 DA11449</td>
<td>Dade County</td>
<td>Airboat camp over 50 years old; prehistoric and Seminole site.</td>
<td>TCP significance not demonstrated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everglades Conservation &amp; Sportsman’s Club CR01084</td>
<td>Collier County</td>
<td>Sportsman’s club 1950</td>
<td>Insufficient information for TCP evaluation. Reevaluate if effects are proposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinecrest MO1919</td>
<td>Collier County</td>
<td>Former Community 1918</td>
<td>TCP significance not demonstrated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monroe Station CR00677NR</td>
<td>Monroe County</td>
<td>Former Way Station and business 1928-1992</td>
<td>TCP significance not demonstrated. Add Gladesmen significance to NRHP nomination and extend period of significance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisheating Creek Wildlife Management Area GL00440</td>
<td>Glades County</td>
<td>Linear Resource and Natural Landscape</td>
<td>TCP significance not demonstrated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loop Road DA06984 CR01086 MO01920</td>
<td>Collier, Dade, and Monroe counties</td>
<td>26-mile linear resource served as main access point for Gladesmen activities ca. 1920s</td>
<td>TCP significance not demonstrated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turner River Road Complex CR1085</td>
<td>Collier County</td>
<td>Turner River, Wagon Wheel, and Birdon roads ca. 1950s</td>
<td>TCP significance not demonstrated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamiami Trail DA6510</td>
<td>Dade County</td>
<td>Trail/road ca. 1928</td>
<td>TCP significance not demonstrated.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FUTURE RESEARCH

The modern 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 modern Gladesmen, the most important concern is that they are able to maintain their traditional ways and pass them on to future generations.

Several opportunities for further study of the Gladesmen exist that were outside the scope of the present study. Other ethnographic studies could be undertaken to identify Gladesmen subgroups that exhibit variation based on geography, economic or subsistence niche, or modes of accessing the backcountry, in order to determine what connections or discontinuities exist within the larger population. This would lead to a better understanding of other human groups that have connections to the Everglades and could be impacted by restoration activities, especially Native Americans. Additional archival research would also add depth to future ethnographies, and would also provide more comprehensive information of specific property history and ownership.

As the CERP initiative develops further, it will be interesting to learn what impacts the restoration project will have on some of the Gladesmen historic properties, i.e., will there be an effect or adverse effect in terms of the federal historic preservation laws? How will the restoration work change water levels, access, etc., for individual locations and for the region as a whole? As Wheeler (2009:1) has suggested, one holistic study that looked at the significance of the Everglades and its places by combining a consideration of environment, archaeology/ancient American Indian cultures, contemporary American Indian cultures, Gladesmen Culture, agribusiness, tourism, the development of the National Parks, and others, would contribute to a better understanding of what appear as rival, competing, or complementary interests and uses. Such studies are large scale research projects that are outside of the scope of Federal Section 106 compliance and are best undertaken by academic researchers.
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APPENDIX A: LETTER FROM FRANK DENNINGER
From: no-reply@evergladesplan.org  
Sent: Tuesday, October 17, 2006 11:11 PM  
To: cerpmrp  
Subject: EvergladesPlan.org - MRP Comment  

County: Not Selected  
Project: Not Selected  
Email: dbryan38@earthlink.net  

Comment: To: Mr. Stuart Appelbaum, Chief  
c/o Shauna Allen  
Planning Division  
Attn: Paul Stevenson  
CESAJ-PD-PN  
Dept. of the Army  
Jacksonville District Corps of Engineers  
Box 4970  
Jacksonville, Fl 32232-0019  

From: Frank Denninger  
461 E. 40 St.  
Hialeah, Fl 33013  
Ph/Fax: 305-836-9281  

Date: 10-16-06  

Re: Comments regarding Master Recreational Plan for CERP and its 9 Regions  

PREAMBLE:  

Having lived in South Florida on the same street for 58 years and exploring most of the 9 CERP regions in excess of 40 years I consider it my responsibility to assist with this planning process. Feel free to call me regarding any penmanship challenges. These comments will focus on document title deficiency, cultural issues, traditional vehicular access and activities plus historic sites.  

I. Title Deficiency:  

This documents title should be revised to read “Master Traditional Activity and Recreation Plan”. This is due to the defective State comprehensive Outdoor Recreation Plan (SCORP) data not including any mention of vehicles used to support culturally traditional activities within the 9 CERP regions (e.g.,
swamp buggies, airboats, track vehicles, ATV's). This fact was acknowledged* at 3 out of 3 input MRP meetings I attended 10-2, 3, 4, 2006. Modification of the plan title would promote plan acceptance and remove current perception of governmental bias against these cultural community members or the vehicles that sustain their culture.

II. Cultural Issues.

The Gladesman Folk Culture (GFC) is or could be imperiled by this plan if full intent of the National Historic Preservation Act as amended through 2000 and Florida Statutes Chapter 266 & 267 are not enthusiastically and fully complied with.

What is the FC you ask? 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 9 CERP regions. Today’s modern cultural community members have evolved from predecessors like Marshall Jones—owner of Mack’s Fishing Camp—located on the bank of the Miami River and his familial forefathers who arrived at this cultural property (top) by ox-cart prior to any highways about a century ago. Studies such as “Swamp Culture” in 2005 by Laura Ogden for Florida Division of Historical Resources, US Army Corps contract #W912EP004-D-0030 Surveyed Cultural Community for Modified Waters/Tamiami Trail project in Miami—Dade County recommended that “a research design focused on documenting the cultural heritage of all of the groups who use this area ... as well as to assess the Everglades as a whole as a potential traditional Cultural Property (TCP)” Monroe County has passed a formal resolution #301-2006 in recognition and support of our Gladesman Folk Culture on August 16, 2006. Everglades City in Collier County, Florida produced a resolution admonishing NPS at Big Cypress National Preserve to comply with NHRA as amended through 2000 to protect their component of the GFC. GFC is very similar to indigenous culture. Native Americans have tribes—GFC has different vehicles that formerly caused separate groups/tribes to compete with one another for access to lands. Regulatory pressure over the last 30 years have brought these groups together in organizations (e.g. Everglades Coordinating Council) that unite all tribes/groups for mutual support at local, state, and national levels. Colonel Custer caused Indian tribes to unite at Little Big Horn—unjustified regulatory restrictions have united our cultural community members to resist the subversion of our US constitution and destruction of our Gladesman Folk Culture through sublety installing totalitarian control upon Americans by using the tools produced by the International Environmental agenda currently penetrating every facet of life in America (e.g. Rio Summit, Agenda 21 CERP/Farm Bill Framework Agent).

Examples of cumulative impacts damaging the GFC are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980's</td>
<td>Fakahatchee Strand</td>
<td>75,000</td>
<td>Closed to our hunters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980's</td>
<td>Fl. Panther Nat'l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wildlife Refuge</td>
<td>25,000+</td>
<td>Closed to public &amp; GFC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Big Cypress National</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preserve 582,000 ORV trails cut 99.995%
Addition Lands/ 128,000 ORV/hunting banned
Big Cypress
10/3/96 *CERP/Picayune Restoration 75,000 ORVs/ATVs banned human
Access severely curtailed to
Provide **Habitat Units so as to
“B.S.” Congress that the Picayune Restoration will pay the county back
$$ being squandered there.

Since the Picayune debacle of CERP extorting 279+ miles of roads from Collier County inside and
outside the Restoration site, subsequent expulsion of traditional ORV supported hunters, failure of state
CERP partners to keep contractual promises to Collier County to mitigate taking of their roads for CERP
etc. etc. etc. our culture is endangered considering Picayune is the first major CERP project.

So far from our first hand, real time experience, CERP can only heap more bad impact upon the GFC.
In fact the “Framework Agreement” of October 3, 1996” that gave land management authority over
Florida lands for CERP to USFWS and USACOE in return for $300,000,000 has already been used to
obliterate the GFC. I believe this was accomplished through full “Framework Agreement” (FA) partner
cooperation as they lay the groundwork to “B.S.” Congress and reek havoc upon S. Florida’s long lived
Gladesman Folk Culture.

Hopefully this synopsis of our culture will assist the planning team to conduct an ethnographic cultural
survey of all 9 CERP regions designed to formally understand the GFC and CERPS eventual impact to
it. According to the NHPA, Title I, Section 110(2)g associated costs could be funded by USACOE or
billed to Federal licensees or permittees.

III. Traditional Vehicles and Activities.

All CERP regions have been, are currently and are intended by the Gladesman Folk Culture (GFC) to
remain open to the public and utilizable by our specialized vehicles. Those vehicles would include
airboats, swamp buggies, go-devils, ATV’s (passive at minimum) track vehicles. So Florida’s diverse
terrain and fluctuating water levels dictate what vehicles is used when and where. Our knowledgeable
GFC members should be solicited for input when site specific info will benefit planning. Agencies do
not have staff qualified to determine the issues due to diverse use and terrain capabilities of our
equipment. Even factory built ATV’s undergo customization to operate in specific situations and
substrates (e.g., special or dual mufflers, site specific tires and special gearing). Many activities
conducted by GFC are totally dependent upon traditional vehicles that have evolved forming the bond of
our culture.

Cultural activities include hunting (large and small game and ducks, alligators, and frogs). Hunting deer
in particular requires unfettered access from all directions due to variable wind direction carries sound and scent. Alligator and duck hunting require access to all of the 9 CERP regions wetlands since both and frogs inhabit the same areas.

Fishing is very traditional whether by motorboat or bank fishing. The canals lakes and wetlands are critical to sustaining the GFC for future human generations. This plan should see to it that any CERP caused opportunity loss is mitigated at a rate of 1.5:1 or 2:1 to make up for emotional response GFC community members will be subjected to. CERP impoundments must integrate fishery development into all design and conceptual stages.

Other traditional activities symbiotically related to aforementioned ones are bird watching, wildlife observation, camping, hiking, canoeing, bicycling and botanical study.

All types of the GFC specialized transport vehicles also engage unbreakable symbiotic relationship. This relationship is critical to GFC sustainability.

Although some of our activities are seasonal, consumptive, and regulated, be aware that non-consumptive activities including family day and week-end trips or longer continue year round so as to enjoy the treasures we’ve known about for the last century such as wildlife observation, exploring, new areas, camping and in large part the comradery of the fantastic folks we meet throughout the 9 CERP regions many of whom we’ve known for decades.

Newly emerging recreational uses of CERP regions shouldn’t conflict to the point of deeming them incompatible with one another. This plan must promote a permanent forum or orientation system for newcomers to these areas of CERP. Newcomers as well as old timers should be brought together routinely by some means to get to know and understand each others needs, desires etc. and to dispel old stereotypes and myths that are not true.

Realistically people other than our GFC community members don’t usually flock to the more remote areas of CERP’s 9 regions. Many newcomers aren’t eager to expose themselves to lethal threats from alligators and disease transmitting mosquitoes or poisonous snakes. Public lands should be open to all of the people without any discrimination against any group (e.g. GFC) as has happened at Picayune Strand Restoration to GFC. Not a good one for CERP’s future especially since the Picayune crimes have formed a basis for CERP being defined by many as meaning— Cancel
Everybodies
Recreation
Plan.

To conclude I will wish the planning team good luck in spite of the Framework Agreement of October 3, 1996, that is a dark, ominous, CERP support vaporizing product of a greed ridden state government and a totalitarian power hungry Federal Department of Interior.
# APPENDIX B: LIST OF GLADESMEN INTERVIEWED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEWEE</th>
<th>DATE(S)</th>
<th>INTERVIEW LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adams, Franklin</td>
<td>June 12, 2008</td>
<td>Naples, FL (Collier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balman, Dave</td>
<td>July 22, 2008</td>
<td>Pinecrest, FL (Monroe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barton, Don R.</td>
<td>June 20, 2008</td>
<td>Everglades City, FL (Collier)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bergeron, Ronnie</td>
<td>June 21, 2008</td>
<td>Weston, FL (Broward)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brantley, James D.</td>
<td>June 18, 2008</td>
<td>Lake Kissimmee, FL (Osceola)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavas, Costas</td>
<td>June 19, 2008</td>
<td>Arcadia, FL (DeSoto)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denninger, Frank</td>
<td>May 8 &amp; July 25, 2008</td>
<td>Hialeah, FL; Turner River Rd., FL (Dade &amp; Collier)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dombroski, Mark</td>
<td>June 16, 2008</td>
<td>West Palm Beach, FL (Palm Beach)</td>
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<td>Hampton, Charles W.</td>
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<td>Arcadia, FL (DeSoto)</td>
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<td>Arcadia, FL (DeSoto)</td>
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<td>June 19, 2008</td>
<td>Arcadia, FL (DeSoto)</td>
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<td>Harben, Frank</td>
<td>June 26, 2008</td>
<td>Clewiston, FL (Hendry)</td>
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<td>Hauser, Sean</td>
<td>June 19, 2008</td>
<td>Fort Myers, FL (Lee)</td>
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<td>Jenkins, Wayne</td>
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<td>Jones, Marshall</td>
<td>July 24, 2008</td>
<td>Broward County, FL</td>
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<td>Lanier, William</td>
<td>July 26, 2008</td>
<td>Fisheating Creek, FL (Glades)</td>
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<td>Maharrey, Byron</td>
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<td>Lake Kissimmee, FL (Osceola)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marco, Joel</td>
<td>May 9 &amp; May 12, 2008</td>
<td>Dade County, FL</td>
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<td>Nesbitt, Charles</td>
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<td>Clewiston, FL (Hendry)</td>
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<td>Onstad, Donald E.</td>
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<td>Scharmm, Martha H.</td>
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<td>Wilson, Arthurine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilson, Butch</td>
<td>July 26, 2008</td>
<td>Fisheating Creek, FL (Glades)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wright, Bishop Jr.</td>
<td>June 17, 2008</td>
<td>West Palm Beach, FL (Palm Beach)</td>
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*Written Interview*