

**From Exploitation to Conservation:  
A History of the Marjorie Harris Carr  
Cross Florida Greenway**

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# Chapter One: Letting the Land Speak: The Greenway Corridor from Pre-Columbian Contact to Statehood

## The Pre-Columbian World: 10,000 B.C. to European Contact

### Paleoindians and Archaic Peoples

The geographic area that comprises the present-day Cross Florida Greenway has been influenced for centuries by the interaction of human beings and nature. Particularly important has been the human relationship to water. For millennia, the rivers of this region—the Withlacoochee and Ocklawaha—have persistently provided sustenance, irrigation, and transportation for successive generations of Native Americans and newcomers from both Europe and Africa.

Florida's earliest natives struggled with an environment that would hardly be recognizable today. Before 8000 B.C., Paleoindians roamed a cool arid region, hunting such large mammals as mammoth, camel, and bison. As the climate warmed, the peninsula of Florida took the shape that it exists as today. As glaciers melted and sea levels rose, the environment created new opportunities for Native Americans. With increasing supplies of water, Paleoindians could establish camps for longer periods of time and cease a previously nomadic existence. With the extinction of larger mammals, perhaps in part because of human predation, natives became more reliant on fish, shellfish, wild plants, and abundant small game. Over the course of approximately 6000 years, this stable environment allowed for the development of what anthropologists call an Archaic culture. With this stability came significant population increase and the development of sedentary village life. Archaic natives developed sophisticated spears,

throwing sticks, and such tools as shell picks, awls, and pins. By around 2000 B.C., they had learned to make fired clay pottery, tempered with Spanish moss or palmetto fibers. They had also established a complex social order in which the leader or leaders were determined by lineage or other kin-based social organization.

By about 1000 B.C., in what is known as the transitional period, Archaic peoples began to exhibit regional differences. The Deptford culture, with ties to other native peoples of western Florida as well as to groups as far north as the Mississippi Valley, settled along the Withlacoochee. To the east, the St. Johns River people lived along the Ocklawaha and later established trade routes with peoples along the Atlantic coast. The geography of the Greenway region, especially the prominence of the Central Florida Ridge, precluded extensive contact between these two groups.

### The Weeden Island and St. Johns Peoples

While indigenous peoples maintained many of the same cultural patterns of behavior, specific environmental variables shaped village life. Native Americans along the Withlacoochee developed a more sophisticated cultural organization based upon intensive agriculture and wider trading networks to the north. By approximately 500 A.D., the Deptford people created new types of villages designed around flat-topped burial and ceremonial mounds. Archeologists have designated this culture as the Weeden Island people. A prominent example of Weeden Island mounds exists today at the Crystal River State Archeological site located on the west coast of Florida just south of the Greenway. Because of their relative cultural isolation, the St. Johns peoples were less dependent on sedentary agriculture and had smaller overall populations and a relatively less elaborate lifestyle. Living off the land, and especially the water, the St. Johns people developed snares and arrows, and fish hooks and weirs to better hunt and fish. Though not as sophisticated as their Weeden Island counterparts, the St. Johns people also developed burial and temple mounds made from sand and discarded shellfish. An example of these structures exists at the Davenport Mound Site in the Ocala National

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

Forest, near the confluence of the Ocklawaha and St. Johns Rivers.

These cultures were constantly changing because of the periodic in-migration of Native Americans from the north. By approximately 1000 A.D., indigenous Weeden Island people were absorbed into the wider culture of the Mississippian nations to the north. These peoples were the ancestors of the Timucuan who confronted the Spanish in the sixteenth century. The St. Johns people similarly evolved into other branches of the Timucuan confederacy. By 1513, with the arrival of Ponce de Leon, the Timucuan population in north central Florida ranged between 50,000 to 100,000. Two hundred years later, less than 100 of these native peoples existed.



### Spanish Florida and the Earliest Dreams of a Canal

#### Early Explorations from Ponce de Leon to Hernando DeSoto

The minor conquistador and Spanish nobleman Juan Ponce de Leon reached Florida and claimed it for Spain on April 2, 1511. After skirting the coastline of the peninsula, de Leon found little but Native American hostility to his arrival. Granted a patent to settle and govern the colony that he had named “La Florida,” Juan Ponce returned only in 1521. Mortally wounded after his arrival, Juan Ponce’s venture suggested the province would play

at best a marginal role in Spain’s New World efforts. The lure of gold, however, ensured that more conquistadors would search for quick riches in the area.

In 1528, Panfilo de Narvaez became the first Spaniard to gaze upon the land that would eventually become the Greenway. Landing near Tampa Bay on April 4<sup>th</sup>, Narvaez and his expedition of approximately 400 soldiers marched north, crossing the Withlacoochee River. Along the coast, south of present-day Tallahassee, Narvaez’s expedition, seriously short of food, encountered stiff opposition from the Timucuan Indians. Starving and exhausted, Narvaez and his men built ramshackle barges in an effort to escape the natives and return to Mexico. Only four Spaniards survived the journey, reaching Mexico City in 1536. Among the survivors was Alvar Nunez Cabeza deVaca, who provided the first written account of Florida’s interior. The land was flat and sandy with abundant wildlife. Numerous lakes and stands of trees also marked the landscape. In spite of Narvaez’s failure, Spaniards still hoped La Florida would provide them quick riches.



Following Narvaez’s path was Hernando de Soto, veteran of conquests in Central and South America. In 1539, de Soto led a well-provisioned band of over 600 men on a journey that would chart much of the interior of the American southeast. Landing near Charlotte Harbor on Florida’s west coast, de Soto’s men had advanced to the Withlacoochee River in a matter of weeks, only to encounter Timucuan resistance. Having blazed a trail that would

eventually become the Fort King Road, de Soto's men decamped on the river. Popular history has de Soto marching further eastward along the Ocklawaha, where an apocryphal battle was fought, resulting in the death of his favorite attack dog, "Bruto." If this story is true, it actually took place crossing the Withlacoochee, which de Soto named "The River of Discords," because of his grief over the death of the dog. Building a wooden bridge over the river near present-day Dunnellon, de Soto and his small army marched north, leaving the Greenway area for northern Florida and the interior of the continent.

After discovering the mouth of the Mississippi, the 300 or so survivors of the expeditionary force—excluding de Soto, who died from disease in May 1542—reached Spanish territory on September 10, 1543. After failing to find any trace of treasure, the campaign's chronicler, Rodrigo Rangel, viewed peninsular Florida as particularly unsuitable for Spanish colonization.

### Menendez and the Dream of a Canal

Competition from other expansionist European powers, especially France, eventually spurred permanent Spanish settlement of Florida. In 1564, the French expedition that established Fort Caroline near present day Jacksonville forced Spanish action. Pedro Menendez de Aviles and a force of over a thousand men sailed for Florida in 1565, taking possession of the peninsula for the crown again in September. On September 20, Menendez captured Fort Caroline and four days later massacred almost 200 Frenchmen south of St. Augustine at a place to become known as "Matanzas," meaning "slaughter." As Menendez became governor of the province of Florida, he set his sights on a more lasting Spanish settlement. Part of his charge included Christianizing the Indians.

The Spanish established a string of mission forts throughout northern Florida designed to both pacify and Christianize native Timucuan. Though major missionary efforts took place in a series of settlements from St. Augustine to St. Marks near Tallahassee, the Spanish also established missions in the Ocklawaha Valley. Among these were San Blas de Avino, San Luis de Eloquale, and the most

important Santa Lucia de Acuera. All appear to have been abandoned in the wake of the 1656 Timucuan Rebellion. Challenging the authority of Spanish Florida, this major uprising forced a contraction in missionary activity and a firmer policy toward native peoples, which further accelerated their demise.

In addition to their responsibilities to pacify the native population, Menendez and his successors were charged with protecting the Spanish treasure fleets, which sailed from Central America loaded with booty to fill Spanish royal coffers. The treacherous waters around Florida's keys and the coast of the Bahamas, filled with dangerous reefs and foreign pirates, drove these men to search for a safer passage. Maps from this period suggest the St. Johns River actually provided a route across peninsular Florida. With ambitions to establish a fort along the Gulf, Menendez called for an exploration for such a path in 1567. The search yielded nothing. Much like the quest for the mythical Northwest Passage, assumptions about a cross-Florida waterway remained strong. As late as the eighteenth century, both Spanish and English mapmakers continued to suggest a waterway in the region.

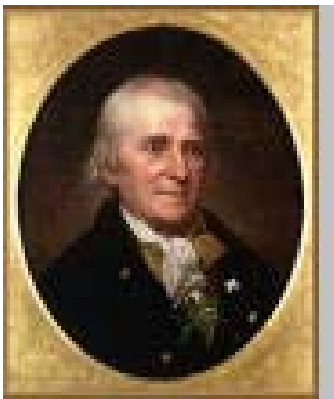
Despite all of these efforts, Florida remained a backwater of the Spanish imperial system. All Spanish governors could do is dream of a secure waterway that afforded protection for royal treasure fleets. With the defeat of Spain in the Seven Years War in 1763, La Florida passed into English hands. The change mattered little, however, as it remained an unimportant part of a European empire. Meager attempts at English colonization rarely reached the interior, let alone the Greenway area.

### The British Hiatus and William Bartram's Travels

The British too dreamed of shortening the distance between the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. In 1763, William Roberts, a British naturalist and mapmaker, published an account of the natural history of Florida in which he stated, "it would be of great utility to the British trade by making the navigation to Pensacola for some months shorter than the course which otherwise must be taken

round by the west end of Cuba.” Considering the relatively brief period of Britain’s occupation, little came of Roberts’ suggestion, but the persistence of this dream continued.

### Billy Bartram’s Natural Florida



The first major English account of the Greenway corridor came with William Bartram’s exploration of the peninsula. The son of a Philadelphia Quaker merchant and botanist, Bartram traveled to Florida in 1765-66 to discover the source of the St. Johns River. Six years later, Bartram returned on a natural history expedition sponsored by a British patron. For two years he wandered alone throughout east central Florida, providing detailed descriptions of its subtropical flora and fauna. In 1791, Bartram finally published his Travels, a detailed and glowing account of his journey through Florida and the southeast. The book soon became an important resource for the Romantic Movement on both sides of the Atlantic, fueling interest in the wild and beautiful landscapes Bartram described.

Bartram’s journey took him up the St. Johns, past Salt Springs to near Lake George, where he described an amazing encounter with a bull alligator. His poetic prose, which depicts natural Florida in a precise, yet sentimental language, presaged the later nature and travel literature of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Sidney Lanier, which in turn would influence Marjorie Carr and the environmental movement of the 1960s. Bartram saw Florida as a land of wonder and enchantment, not simply a place for exploitation.

### Bartram Encounters a New “Native” Peoples

William Bartram also proved to be a diligent and keen observer of the human inhabitants of north and central Florida. These Native Americans were not the Timucuan who met the Spanish two centuries earlier. Cultural contact and disease had destroyed their culture completely. Indeed, the “natives” he met were “Seminole,” migrants from Alabama and Georgia who were pushed further southward by European expansion.

Not a true Indian nation, the Seminoles—from the Spanish “Cimarron,” meaning “runaways”—were an amalgamation of various dislocated groups, especially Creeks. The Seminole peoples also consisted of numerous runaway slaves, who took advantage of Florida’s frontier conditions to seek sanctuary among the natives. While Native Americans accepted black runaways as allies, they often forced them to live in separate towns, thus relegating them to a somewhat subordinate status; a condition nevertheless significantly better than perpetual servitude.



By the time of Bartram’s travels, Seminoles had established nine major villages from the Suwannee River to Palatka, and south of the Withlacoochee to Brooksville. Though displaced because of the expansion of European Americans into their lands, the Seminoles maintained significant trade in hides, weapons, and agricultural goods with white settlers.

This relationship would not last long, however, as white desires for Seminole lands led to conflict.

### Another Interlude: Florida Returns to Spanish Rule

By 1783, the brief British tenure as landlords ended with the Treaty of Paris. The British defeat in the American Revolution saw Britain return the colony to Spain. Spanish rule was if anything less intrusive during the second Spanish period than the first. Though nominally a Spanish colony, Florida increasingly came under the hopeful eyes of a territorially aggressive young United States. With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, much of west Florida, always economically and strategically most important, came under the purview of the United States. With Americans pushing further towards Florida, more and more Seminoles and their Maroon (Spanish, for “runaway slaves”) allies retreated to the relative sanctuary of the Greenway. Threatened by American freebooters and embroiled in rebellions throughout its provinces in the Western Hemisphere, cash-strapped Spain ceded East Florida to the United States in February 1819. Two years later, on February 22, 1821, Florida formally became a territory of the United States.

### Surveys and Seminoles: The Greenway during Territorial Florida

#### Florida and Canal Fever

With the acquisition of territorial Florida, opportunities increased for European Americans to exploit the resources of the peninsula. This would soon lead to contact and conflict with the Seminole Indians, themselves migrants to the Greenway area. Early nineteenth-century America was a land ablaze with canal fever. The construction of the Erie Canal in the 1820s spawned demands for similar projects throughout the land. Thus it was not unusual for Floridians, anxious to improve their economic standing, to petition Congress for a water route across the territory.

These requests were not tied to a specific location, and necessitated the call for Army Corps of Engineers surveys for the most appropriate location for a canal to transect Florida. For the next 120 years, a major mission of the Army Corps of Engineers in Florida was surveying the peninsula for such a waterway. All told, the Corps would issue numerous reports and surveys that suggested as many as twenty-eight possible routes across the peninsula. The routes varied in length from less than 100 miles to the grandiose scheme of over 200 miles connecting the St. Marks River in the Big Bend of northern Florida, through the Okefenokee Swamp to the mouth of the St. Marys River at Fernandina.

#### A Persistent Rationale

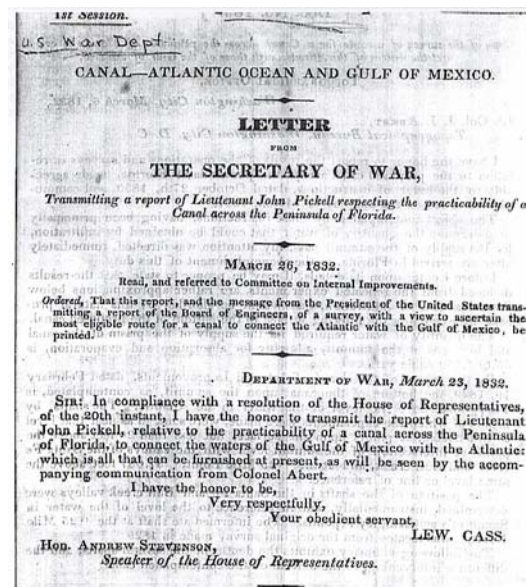
Immediately upon territorial acquisition, Floridians publicized the possibility of a canal in both private letters and newspaper articles. By 1824, Florida’s territorial government sent a petition to Congress, asking for the construction of a canal. This plea stressed three major points that would be consistently emphasized over the next century and a half of canal boosterism. With a canal, Florida’s lands would quickly be developed. The peninsula would also be critical in the transportation of goods between the Atlantic seaboard and the Mississippi Valley. Finally, the canal would enhance military troop and supply movements and provide protection for American commerce from both foreign ships and the treacherous waters off the Keys and southern Florida.

A year later, Florida elected Joseph White as its territorial representative. Remaining in office until 1837, White diligently worked to secure federal funds to survey and build a canal. Writing to Secretary of War James Barbour in December 1825, White announced that with a canal, “the distance would be shortened about a thousand [miles]. The navigation around the capes of Florida is the most dangerous on the American coast. It is not this alone that a canal would benefit the territory. It would give to her the means and facilities of defense . . . it would make her ports the depots of foreign wealth and the emporium of western products. To the Government, an immense profit would accrue from the increased value of public lands.”

Two months later, White continued these themes in a similar letter to Sen. William Hendricks, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Roads and Canals. “It is evident that the work of excavation for a canal is, in a great measure, performed by nature. The route of this canal would pass through a country abounding with lakes and natural channels . . . By the completion of this work, the commerce of the whole continent will be changed . . . the public lands are enhanced in value, the commerce of the Indies and the southern continent will pass through our borders, and the various commercial, military, and political advantages of this great nation ‘rising into destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye’ will be developed and called into practical operation.”

### Surveying for a Route—the First of Many

By 1826, Congress authorized the first survey for a peninsular canal. The results of this and later surveys presaged twentieth century arguments over the feasibility of any canal built across Florida. While the Army reported on the viability of several routes—all north of the Greenway corridor—General Simon Bernard, in discussions with President John Quincy Adams, concluded that a ship canal was impractical. The final report, submitted in 1829, revealed that, regardless of the route, the Central Florida Ridge would be problematic for any canal construction. Bernard’s report recommended an Atlantic termination of the canal at Fernandina, at the mouth of the St. Marys, because “it is susceptible of defense and derives a great importance from the circumstance of being the only good harbor from the boundaries of Georgia to Cape Florida.” Arguments for Fernandina as a termination point could have prevailed as a result of such early surveys. However, the Corps’ long-term dredging project on the St. Johns bar made the port city of Jacksonville the logical eastern terminus of any canal project.



Without any action on the first survey, a second immediately followed with its final report to Congress in 1832. No official recommendations as to the feasibility of the canal were made. However Lieutenant John Pickell’s diary of the survey route provides a wonderful snapshot of the natural environment of territorial Florida. Little had changed since Bartram’s earlier descriptions. Though charged with evaluating the area’s economic potential, Pickell instead became enamored with Florida’s wildness and natural beauty. Government bureaucrats were not impressed with Pickell’s naturalist observations.

Floridians continued to press for a canal and the required surveys necessary for construction. However, by the mid-1830s the national canal craze subsided to be replaced by an interest in railroads. Surveys for an east-west railroad across the peninsula dominated federal projects in Florida from the 1830s onward. Indeed, the building of David Levy Yulee’s Florida Railroad from 1855 to 1860 provided a link between the Gulf and the Atlantic for the first time. Despite the competition from an alternative form of transportation, canal boosters remained optimistic. Fueling this enthusiasm was the continued threat of shipwrecks while

circumnavigating the Florida peninsula. An 1858 report in DeBow's Review revealed 655 ships destroyed between 1844 to 1857 with millions of dollars in damages and ever increasing marine insurance rates.

In 1852 canal supporters convinced Congress to appropriate funds for a third survey to examine the "completion of the old line of survey or the new line as may be deemed expedient for a ship canal across the peninsula of Florida." The final report, submitted in May of 1855, suggested a variety of routes across the state with an estimated cost of construction at \$37 million and no final recommendation as to which one would be best. In addition to the two routes officially surveyed, the report recommended further examination of another passage from the Ocklawaha to the Withlacoochee. This is the first official mention of the path which would eventually become the Cross Florida Barge Canal. Legend has it that General Robert E. Lee, in his capacity as an officer in the Army Corps of Engineers, was involved in the determination of the routes. No evidence has been found of Lee's participation in the survey or the transmission of the final report. However, Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, upon receiving the report, recommended the expenditure of more money for canal surveys. The intervention of the Civil War delayed further surveys until the 1870s.

### The Greenway and the Second Seminole War

While the Army Corps of Engineers wrestled with the location of a canal, territorial Florida was undergoing the longest and costliest sustained Indian war in American history. By the early 1830s, increased white encroachment on Seminole lands, combined with a federal policy of forced Indian removal, made conflict inevitable. The Greenway corridor and its surrounding areas played an important role in what would become known as the Second Seminole War.

After the struggle of the First Seminole Wars, the Treaty of Moultrie Creek, signed in 1823, consigned the Seminoles and their black allies to a reserve south of the Withlacoochee River. The United States government representatives recommended

military posts needed to be established near the reservation to "embody such a population within proscribed limits and to conquer their erratic habits . . . [and to] further induce an early settlement of the country now open to the enterprise of emigrants." In giving up much of north Florida, the Seminoles relinquished significant amounts of fertile agricultural land. This was land coveted by the increasing numbers of white settlers and their slaves. By 1830, Florida had a population of 34,000, of which 15,000 were slaves (Indians and their black allies were not counted in the census). While white Floridians benefitted from the provisions of the treaty and moved onto Seminole lands, the natives suffered hard times and privation.



A second treaty was marked on May 9, 1832 at Payne's Landing on the Ocklawaha River, one of the most important historical sites within the Greenway Corridor. The treaty stipulated that the Seminoles would have to leave Florida within three years for lands in Indian Territory in Oklahoma. Few Seminole leaders signed the agreement, and those that did would later claim coercion and bribery forced them to cooperate with federal officials. Osceola, the rising young war chief of the Seminole people, was not present for the occasion, therefore the claim of his dramatic stabbing of the treaty lacks credibility.

Seminole-white relationships soured quickly after the treaty. With periodic hostilities taking place throughout the mid-1830s, the situation came to a head on December 28, 1835. The simultaneous attack on Major Francis Dade's troops near present-day Brooksville and Osceola's murder of Indian agent Wiley Thompson at Fort King, located today near downtown Ocala, led to seven years of bloody conflict and the eventual removal of Seminoles from Greenway lands. The sites of the Dade Massacre and Fort King are located in close proximity to the Greenway corridor and remain important historical landmarks.

Other areas within the Greenway corridor itself were the sites of many campaigns throughout the Second Seminole War. The valleys of the Withlacoochee and the Ocklawaha saw significant hostilities between the Seminoles and U.S. Army troops. Particularly important was the Battle of Camp Izard, fought from late February to early March 1836, in which five soldiers and thirty-three Seminoles were killed. Camp Izard, located on the Withlacoochee River, is also a protected site of the Halpata Tasthanaki Preserve, managed by the Southwest Florida Water Management District. Ongoing archeological investigations at this site, sponsored by the Seminole Wars Historic

Foundation, have given us a better understanding of the daily experience of soldiers and Seminoles. Unfortunately, many other sites from the conflict have been lost to twentieth-century development, including Fort Brooks, now located under the waters of Rodman Reservoir.

While the war drained U.S. coffers and caused considerable civilian and military casualties, the immense numerical advantage of the Americans eventually wore down the Seminoles. By the end of 1837, most of the Indian leaders—including Wild Cat, Micanopy, and Osceola—had been captured. At that point, major conflict shifted away from the Greenway corridor to the untracked lands surrounding Lake Okeechobee. By 1838, Osceola had died in a U.S. prison and almost two hundred Seminoles were shipped west forcibly to Indian Territory. The war, however, lasted until 1842, when only roughly 300 Indians remained. The thorny issues of races and slavery made the conflict even more problematic. Runaway slaves fought side by side with their Seminole brothers, making this struggle as much a slave rebellion as an Indian conflict. With the end of hostilities, the Greenway corridor was now open for white settlement. On March 3, 1845, Florida entered the Union as the twenty-seventh state.

# Chapter Two: Tourism, Industry, and the Exploitation of the Greenway Corridor

## The Greenway before the Civil War

### Patterns of Settlement within the Greenway Corridor

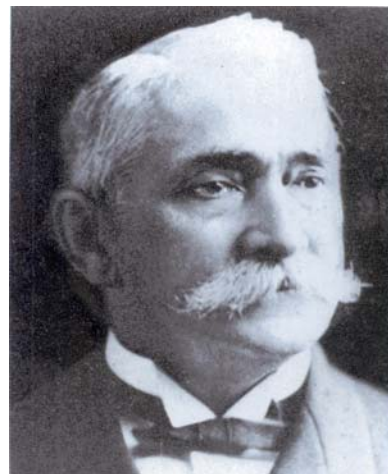
With the end of the Seminole threat, the Greenway region was opened to white settlement. As in much of the South, two patterns of development emerged in the years before the Civil War—subsistence farming and cash-crop plantation agriculture. The majority of farmers in the area depended upon subsistence agriculture for survival. They hunted the woods for plentiful game while protecting their vulnerable crops from the predations of these creatures. Life for the small farmer was arduous and toilsome. Over time they established small communities around churches and ferries, both considered necessary for survival in frontier Florida. By 1850, ferries were plying both the Ocklawaha and the Withlacoochee, providing the only means to cross these natural barriers and thus open more areas for settlement. Though more ferries undoubtedly existed, records clearly show ferries plying the Withlacoochee at Camp Izard and Blue Springs and the Ocklawaha at Sharpe's Ferry and Starke's Ferry.

While small farms depended on the labor of every family member, plantation agriculture was based upon slave labor. Slavery became a much more viable form of production now that Indian removal eradicated a sanctuary for runaway slaves. Demonstrating slavery's increasing importance, the Florida census of 1845 showed that more than one third of Marion County's population was African-American slaves. By 1860, the county ranked second in the state in the value of its agricultural lands, showing the importance of forced labor to the Marion County economy. These slaves worked the sugar cane and cotton fields of large plantations. In patterns typical of Florida migration, many of these

plantation owners came from South Carolina, including J. Foster Marshall of Abbeville. Marshall and his brothers owned a series of plantations, the largest of which borders the Greenway along the Ocklawaha River, near present-day Sharpe's Ferry and the Marshall Swamp. Marshall's slaves grew sugar cane, easily facilitated by the area's warm moist climate. Other planters along the river grew cotton, much of which was ginned at the Ocklawaha River town of Orange Springs, and moved to market by river boats which traversed the Ocklawaha and St. Johns.

### Transportation networks within the Greenway

With the expansion of plantation agriculture, the Ocklawaha had become a major transportation highway by the 1850s. While the river provided the main form of transportation, alternative forms of travel were developing. In 1855, Hubbard L. Hart established a stagecoach line traversing the Greenway corridor from Palatka to Tampa. A transplanted Vermonter, Hart would play an integral role in the Greenway story in the years following the Civil War. A more ambitious transportation network was completed 1861 with Senator David Levy Yulee's Florida Railroad, which ran from Fernandina to Cedar Key. Not connecting with railroads from the North, this line was explicitly designed to open the interior of the state and provide a means for goods from the hinterland to be transported to ocean-going vessels. By connecting the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico, this railroad served the purpose of a cross-Florida canal.



By 1861, Hubbard Hart had expanded upon his stage line by establishing steamboat travel between Palatka and the emerging tourist attraction of Silver Springs. His boat ran up the St. Johns to Welaka and then up the Ocklawaha to the Silver River, culminating at the spring head itself. Hart's business improved to the point that he soon purchased another boat to accommodate his increasing trade. Hart was far from simply a transporter of tourists. As an ambitious young entrepreneur, Hart recognized the economic potential of the Ocklawaha Valley and its relationship to Florida and the rest of the nation. By 1861, he had developed a series of orange groves along the St. Johns, established a lumber trade on the Ocklawaha, and contracted with state and federal authorities to clear that river of snags and other navigational hazards. With business booming, he was in the process of adding a third steamship to his fleet when the Civil War intervened.

### The Civil War and the Greenway

The coming of the Civil War interrupted Florida's economic progress and brought significant social change to the area. White males flocked to join the Confederate cause and suffered significant casualties on the battlefields of Virginia and Kentucky. Many of those who remained supported the Confederacy in other ways. Greenway residents helped feed Confederate soldiers with shipments of grain and cattle. Orange Spring's cotton gin was turned into a foundry to produce cannon for the war effort. Others transported cotton past the Union blockade along a circuitous route on the Ocklawaha and St. Johns to eventually end in New Smyrna to outrun the Union blockade. Hubbard Hart participated in this blockade running, and entrepreneur that he was, managed to also net \$11,000 from the Confederacy. In February 1865, with the war winding down, Hart also received a contract for \$4500 from the Confederate government to remove "the obstructions cut into the Ocklawaha River from Fort Brook to the St. Johns River."

### Union Blockades and the Ocklawaha River

While Florida was not the center of armed conflict during the Civil War, the state and the Greenway

area did not escape unscathed. Union ships traversed the St. Johns River searching for blockade runners, destroying Confederate fortifications, and burning southern farms and plantations. More than twenty major vessels and countless small craft on both sides were sunk, captured, or destroyed in the St. Johns. A major Confederate victory in this campaign occurred south of Palatka in February 1864 when Captain J. J. Dickison, a native of Marion County, and his Second Florida Cavalry attacked and destroyed the Navy steam tug Columbine. Though this campaign was intense, few lives were lost.

The Ocklawaha avoided much of this warfare since its shallow waters and twisting narrow course prevented Union vessels from navigating the river. Ironically, the river itself witnessed dramatic activity only after the official end of the conflict. In the spring of 1865, fugitive Confederate leaders, utilizing blockade runner routes across the Greenway corridor, attempted to escape federal capture. Both Confederate Secretary of War John C. Breckinridge and Secretary of State Judah Benjamin traversed Greenway lands in their successful efforts to make their way to Cuba and the Bahamas respectively.

### The Raid on Marshall Plantation

By March 1865, federal troops controlled the St. Johns valley as far south as Lake George. Federal troops marched westward approximately twenty miles overland from Fort Gates to reach the banks of the Ocklawaha River. Crossing the river at Sharpe's Ferry, the troops burned the Marshall Plantation, destroying cane fields and refining equipment. Ironically for the Marshall family, this raid marked another example of war's brutality as plantation master J. Foster Marshall had been killed in battle two years beforehand. To add insult to injury, the Union soldiers were members of the United States Colored Troops, comprised of recently freed slaves. After burning the plantation and the bridge at Sharpe's Ferry behind them, the Union soldiers returned victoriously to Fort Gates.

### The Post-War Era: Tourism and Timber Along the Ocklawaha

At the war's end, Greenway residents moved quickly to restore their lives and livelihood. Hubbard Hart, after being cleared of wartime smuggling (of which he was obviously guilty), quickly shifted allegiances back to the federal side and continued to find ways to prosper from the river. By 1867 he was again clearing river obstructions on the Ocklawaha, this time using newly freed slaves as his labor force. Hart was authorized by the Florida state government to "remove the obstructions to the navigation of the Ocklawaha River in return for donations of state owned lands to enable him to do so." Hart also endeavored to continue timbering operations he had started before the war. He applied to the state for "permission to cut cypress upon the Ocklawaha River and swamp for ten cents for each tree." The state denied Hart's request, but he would continue to work the region's forests as he also returned to the tourist trade. Perhaps to honor his Civil War service, Hart took to calling himself "Colonel Hart," and the name stuck. The Colonel was now ready to inaugurate the golden age of steamboats along the Ocklawaha, a time when boosterism turned the river itself into "the sweetest water-lane in the world."

#### Hart's "Aquatic Curiosity"



Hart's dream of using the river to transport tourists to Silver Springs was dependent upon reliable water transportation. Keeping the river clear of

obstructions helped make that possible, but Hart also had to develop a new type of steamboat, one designed specifically to navigate the Ocklawaha's "very narrow and wonderfully crooked waters." By the early 1870s, Hart had placed into service the first of these Ocklawaha boats, each an "aquatic curiosity." Built with a unique recessed stern paddle wheel, these steamboats were smaller than the boats that plied most American rivers, even the St. Johns. Their unique appearance, which resembled, "nothing in the world so much as a Pensacola gopher with a preposterously exaggerated back," did not necessarily provide tourists with a feeling of safety and security, much less the luxury Gilded Age tourists were accustomed too. In 1873, the famous author and Mandarin resident Harriet Beecher Stowe refused to travel down the river she called the Okalawaha. "The aspect of this same boat on a hot night was not inspiring," she wrote. "We looked at this thing as it lay like a gigantic coffin in the twilight."



In spite of the famous Mrs. Stowe's rather stinging appraisal of the Hart Line's travel arrangements, the trade to Silver Springs prospered in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Hart's number of boats increased and periodic competition from various entrepreneurs ensured that he would not grow complacent. By 1881 Hart had four vessels plying the river while his competitor Dr. S. J. Bouknight's line provided two more. The steamboats were docked in Palatka, a burgeoning St. Johns River port, where they were tied to a wider coastal trade from Jacksonville to Savannah, Charleston, and other points north. "Four or five steamers from different quarters are often stopping at its wharf at a time," wrote Stowe, "... all these make Pilatka [sic] a busy, lively, and important place."

## ON THE OCKLAWAHA.

The following are the points on this stream, giving the distances from Pilatka:

|                                  | MILES |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| Mouth of Ocklawaha, . . . . .    | 26    |
| Davenport Landing, . . . . .     | 34    |
| Blue Spring, . . . . .           | 54    |
| Cedar Landing, . . . . .         | 55    |
| Fort Brook, . . . . .            | 61    |
| Orange Spring Landing, . . . . . | 63    |
| Mablehet Shoals, . . . . .       | 73    |
| Orange Lake Landing, . . . . .   | 75    |
| Iola, . . . . .                  | 76    |
| Forty-Foot Bluff, . . . . .      | 80    |
| Log Landing, . . . . .           | 85    |
| Gillis Creek, . . . . .          | 90    |
| Eureka, . . . . .                | 94    |
| Sunday Bluff, . . . . .          | 96    |
| Pine Island, . . . . .           | 97    |
| Palmetto Landing, . . . . .      | 102   |
| Gore's Landing, . . . . .        | 108   |
| Durisco's, . . . . .             | 114   |
| Grahamsville Landing, . . . . .  | 118   |

## Tourism and the “Discovery” of a Natural Ocklawaha

Stowe's comments on the inadequacies of Ocklawaha travel were lost in a sea of positive promotional literature that permeated American popular writings from the 1870s onward. These testimonials to a “journey up the Ocklawaha [sic] [which was] as fashionable as a promenade on the Rhine and really more interesting and amusing” brought more and more tourists to the region. The interplay between this literature and Hart's merchandising of the Ocklawaha experience as a glimpse of the natural world in a time of industrialization was crucial to the development of the river and its environs.



While northern tourists extolled the virtues of the Ocklawaha in popular monthlies such as *Harper's Weekly* and *Scribner's*, a native southerner provided the first major link between overt promotion and the river's wonders. Sidney Lanier, Georgia poet and Confederate Civil War veteran, came to Florida in 1875 on the payroll of the Atlantic Coast Line

Railway. Lanier was hired to write a guidebook to the Sunshine State, a book to encourage Florida tourists who not incidentally would be brought to the state by trains of the Atlantic Coast Line. Lanier's book was published in Philadelphia in 1876 as *Florida: Its Scenery, Climate, and History . . . Being a Complete Hand-book and Guide*.

Lanier understood this work was a means to turn a quick profit, yet his metaphorical writing style shone through in even this work, especially in his chapter on the Ocklawaha. “The stream,” he wrote, “which in its broader stretches reflected the sky so perfectly that it seemed a riband [sic] of heaven bound in lovely doublings along the breast of the land now began to narrow.” Ninety years later the Florida Defenders of the Environment utilized Lanier's overly poetic prose in its legal briefs and public statements opposing the construction of the Cross Florida Barge Canal. In her 1965 article, “The Ocklawaha River Wilderness,” environmental activist Marjorie Carr opens with Lanier's words describing the river as a “lane which runs for more than a hundred miles of pure delight . . . a lane which is as if a typical woodstroll had taken shape and as if God had turned into water and trees the recollection of some meditative ramble through the lonely seclusion of His own soul.”

Though Lanier was no doubt sincere in his description of the river and springs, his motivation was much different from that of the environmentalists of a century later. Lanier saw the river and its beauty as a commodity, and saw little problem reconciling signs of progress and commerce on the river with its vision of wildness and beauty.

Lanier opened his discussion of the Ocklawaha with a description of a group of lumbermen bringing their load of logs down the river. “This long raft of pine logs which has been brought in separate sections down the Ocklawaha,” was typical of nineteenth-century lumbering on the river. Lanier saw no inconsistency between these various entrepreneurial ventures. Hart's steamers were as much freight boats as tourist carriers. Lanier's portrayal of the traders along the river showed them as picturesque characters rather than participants in an emerging market system. The traders observed

by Lanier were dealing in vanilla, gathered from “the low grounds of the Ocklawaha.” This was used to “adulterate cheap chewing-tobacco, and the natives along the Ocklawaha drive a considerable trade in gathering it.” Lanier considered the trade “primitive,” as the “captain of the boat takes the bags to Pilatka, barter[s] the vanilla for the articles specified, and distributes these on the next trip to their respective owners.”



Even upon reaching the ultimate natural phenomenon of Silver Springs, Lanier drew nothing negative from business intruding upon the sylvan scene. At the spring head itself, Lanier’s boat “came to wharf. Here there were warehouses, a turpentine distillery, men running about with boxes of freight and crates of Florida cucumbers for the Northern market . . . and a little further up the shore, a tavern.” Lanier then proceeded to describe the spring itself, with little concern for the commercial activity taking place on its shores. Certainly late nineteenth-century tourism could coexist with commerce, at least for Lanier, and most especially Hubbard Hart.

The importance of northern tourists to Hart’s business success ensured that he would favor a policy of national reconciliation with regard to the legacy of the Civil War. Lanier too would play a role in that process as a former Confederate soldier in the employ of a northern railway company, writing to entice northern visitors to a southern spot of natural beauty. None of these visitors was more

important than ex-president Ulysses S. Grant, who came to the Ocklawaha in January of 1880. The article on Grant’s trip in Harper’s Weekly emphasized the primitive beauty of the river’s environment. “The steamboat carried the delighted tourists along a waterlane bordered by cypress and palmetto trees . . . thousands of water-fowl of brilliant plumage sped away from the approaching boat, and that monster of the Floridian lowlands, the alligator, was frequently seen.”

While the river and springs enchanted visitors with their beauty and wildness, tourists certainly did not abide by current notions of appropriate environmental conduct. Photos of river steamers often show armed men sitting on the decks, ready to take in birds, alligators, or occasionally large shore mammals such as deer, or even bear and panther. In 1874, Martha Holmes recorded her impressions of a trip down the Ocklawaha. The gunners, she wrote, “are a loathsome set of fellows . . . crackwhacking [sic] at the animals not often to their damage, but making the alligators scoot before we can see them.”

### Harvesting Timber along the Ocklawaha

While Hart continued his various entrepreneurial operations on the river and along its banks, cypress logging took on increasing economic importance in the Ocklawaha region. Cypress trees were felled in great quantities in the 1880s, but logging operations also included the recovery of cypress logs embedded in the muddy bottom of the river. “Here and there we encounter great rafts of cypress logs which almost block the channel,” reported a guidebook to the river in 1904. “The timber is owned in tracks of thousands of acres and is cut for northern markets. The trees are girdled some weeks before they are felled, for the wood is very heavy and when full of sap sinks in water like lead.”

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By 1891, the Wilson Brothers, Michigan lumbermen visiting the Ocklawaha as tourists, had bought out Palatka's Cypress mill and began operating as the Wilson Cypress Company. The venture would log the river until 1944. The river was the focal point of timber operations as the swampy terrain made entry by rail impossible. Logging crews bunked in houseboats on the river (white and black workers on different boats) and giant rafts of cypress logs, 25 feet and 32 feet long, became a common sight on the Ocklawaha in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Often canals were cut back into swamps to gain access to large stands of swamp cypress. By 1920, Wilson employed over three hundred workers on its Ocklawaha operations and produced over 400 million board feet of lumber. With its mill located in Palatka, the Wilson Cypress Lumber Company was the largest employer in that city, with close to six hundred mill workers.

### Rodman: A Company Town

While the bottom lands of the Ocklawaha provided cypress, the uplands surrounding the river valley yielded harvests of pine. Well into the twentieth century the region provided substantial yields in timber and turpentine production. In 1900, Henry Cummings, another South Carolina emigre, established a lumber town 20 miles southwest of Palatka, and named it Rodman, after the John Rodman territorial land grant from which the town was settled. The Rodman Lumber Company cut and milled pine trees for use as tool handles for industry throughout the United States. Centered

around the mammoth sawmill, the company town grew to approximately four thousand residents within a decade.

Originally Cummings hauled his finished boards to Horse Landing on the St. Johns River for shipment north. By 1912, however, the Ocala Northern Railroad connected Rodman to both Ocala and Palatka. In 1914 the railroad went into receivership and was reorganized under Cummings' management. Renamed the Ocklawaha Valley Railroad, it followed Hubbard Hart's tradition of combining tourism and commerce as passenger trains also ran from Palatka to Silver Springs, ironically undercutting the Ocklawaha's river tourist trade. By 1917 the line was in receivership again, and finally ordered sold after a lengthy court case in 1921. No buyer emerged and in 1923 the Florida Railroad Commission reported, "having been torn up by the owners, in spite of the laws or the courts of the land, we have no recourse but to declare the Ocklawaha Valley Railroad abandoned."



Cummings' death in April of 1922 also marked the end of Rodman's heyday as a boomtown. Almost immediately, the entire community was dismantled board-by-board and sold along with the machinery and equipment. All that remained was Cummings' house. With the resurrection of canal construction in 1964, the Army Corps of Engineers established a right-of-way within 75 feet of the Cummings' residence, located near the old town center of Rodman.

### Boomtown Dunnellon: Phosphate on the Withlacoochee

The western stretch of the Greenway remained less developed in the years immediately following the Civil War. The town of Dunnellon was developed in the 1880s by John Dunn, a prominent Ocala lawyer and banker. The area grew rapidly after the discovery of high grade, hard rock phosphate by local landowner Albertus Vogt in 1889. Phosphate was a crucial component in many forms of fertilizer, and therefore a valuable commodity. Recognizing its economic potential, Vogt, in conjunction with Dunn, incorporated the Dunnellon Phosphate Company in October 1889. Within a year the company controlled 90,000 acres of phosphate-rich land surrounding the town. Another investor in the company was John Inglis, who developed Port Inglis at the mouth of the Withlacoochee as a shipping facility for phosphate. By 1907, Port Inglis led the world in phosphate shipment.

The phosphate boom saw Dunnellon grow exponentially. Within five years its population grew to nearly two thousand, rivaling Ocala as Marion County's largest city. Dunnellon exhibited all the attributes of a boom town: numerous saloons and boarding houses, would-be entrepreneurs determined to make a fortune, and a large transient population of rough-and-tumble men laboring in the shadows of company stores. The boom was short-lived, however. The discover of easier to mine pebble phosphate in Polk County marked the death knell of large-scale phosphate mining along the Withlacoochee.



By 1910 Dunnellon had returned to the slumber of its pre-boom days. Another extractive industry

would emerge, however, though never to the extent of phosphate production. As in the case of the western portion of the Greenway, people took advantage of rich timber stands in the area. W. A. Goethe was the prime lumber magnate in the Dunnellon area, eventually owning over 40,000 acres of prime timberland. Emphasizing the family ties of Florida entrepreneurs, Goethe's brother-in-law was none other than Henry Cummings, developer of the Rodman Lumber Company. Upon his death, Goethe's lands were sold to the state and now make up the Goethe State Forest, a multi-use recreational area contiguous to the Greenway.

### Dreams of Grandeur: Ocala in the Late Nineteenth Century

Though not blessed with a great location, Ocala boosters were determined to make their city a major Florida metropolis. John Dunn was a leader in attempting to connect the town with larger markets across the state and beyond. His Silver Springs, Ocala and Gulf Railroad connected the city to the west coast of Florida. By 1902 it had been consolidated into the larger Atlantic Coast Line Railway Company. Ocala was also connected to Palatka by the Ocklawaha Valley Railway. These connections allowed Ocala to become the fifth largest city in Florida by 1895.

Ocalans also dreamed of connections to Silver Springs. Located only six miles east of the city, the springs were always more closely associated with Palatka as a result of Hart's Ocklawaha steamships. In an effort to undercut their local rivals, city planners contemplated a streetcar line from the town center to Silver Springs, which would become the "handsomest drive in the world." Though this dream died with the economic depression of 1893, later rail connections between Silver Springs and Ocala marked the beginning of the end of the Ocklawaha River tourist trade. By the turn of the century, Silver Springs had become more associated with Ocala than Palatka.



Near the turn of the century, Ocala boosters were brimming with confidence. Having survived a disastrous fire in December 1883, Ocala rebuilt itself as a modern “Brick City.” By the early 1890s Ocala had held an international exhibition extolling its virtues as a commercial center, organized a drive to have the state capital moved to its location, and held the national political convention of the Farmers’ Alliance, generally known as the Populist Party. While Ocala grew in size and importance, city fathers dreamed of an even brighter future. Important to this dream was improved transportation links that enhanced its central location within the state. Crucial to this, were continued demands for a cross-Florida canal.

### Visions of a Canal Continue

The post-Civil War saw continued clamor for a cross-peninsula waterway. Rationales remained similar to those of the antebellum period. Though Ocalans hoped for a canal near their city, most prospective routes during this time continued to center on the connection between the St. Marks and St. Marys Rivers. In 1874 Florida representative Josiah T. Walls, an African American from Gainesville, spoke before the Senate Transportation Committee, advocating the need for a ship canal. Using many of the same arguments of his predecessors, Walls concluded that the canal would provide a “savings in time, distance, and expense, the avoidance of dangerous navigation, economy and extra insurance to the extent of millions, and the saving of fortunes annually lost in vessels plying through the straits of Florida.” He grandly went on to assert that the canal, when combined with other

internal improvements, “will open the highway to the Pacific ocean and all eastern Asia, and establish commerce with Japan and China, and the East Indies, as well as open to the world the granaries of the ‘Great West.’” Perhaps because Walls represented central Florida, he recommended a more southerly route—from the mouth of the Withlacoochee to the St. Johns—than the St. Marks-St. Marys crossing.

A year later Congress authorized another survey for a cross-Florida canal led by Army Lieutenant Colonel Q. A. Gilmore. His subsequent report was sent to Congress in 1880 and recommended a barge canal across the peninsula from St. Marks and St. Marys. No action was taken from either Walls’ or Gilmore’s recommendations. Continued reports showed little consensus on location, economic feasibility, or type of construction. Upon receiving Gilmore’s report, Congress responded in a typically bureaucratic fashion—it authorized another survey. More research yielded more data, but little clarity. In the end, these surveys—by the end of the nineteenth century, there would be five—provided ample ammunition for both pro-canal and anti-canal advocates for the next eighty years.

While boosters hoped the federal government would provide the funding necessary for building the canal, a series of private enterprises also attempted to tackle the challenge. Incorporating three such firms in the late 1870s and 1880s, the State of Florida pursued the goal much like contemporary railroad development that had swept the nation at the same time. The Gulf Coast and Peninsula Canal Company was organized as early as 1875. The state charter provided for liberal land grants and tax breaks for the corporation. Even with these advantages, this corporation could make little headway and its charter was voided as the corporation could not live up to its promise to construct a canal within a ten-year time frame. A second venture, the Florida Atlantic and Gulf Ship Canal Company, included influential Floridians, among them former Lt. Gov William H. Gleason, on its board of directors. In spite of its political connections and a capitalization of \$40 million, the company’s plans came to nought. The final private effort was the Florida Ocean and Gulf Canal Company, incorporated in 1888. Proposing a canal

from St. Augustine to the Cedar Keys, the project was capitalized at \$60 million. Like its predecessors, this corporation failed to meet its goals. Such hard lessons suggested that it would take government money and government planning to build the project. Even though Floridians would continue to profess a love of small government, they continued to press the federal government to realize their dreams of a canal.



# Chapter Three: A Dream “Fulfilled:” The Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal of the 1930s

## On the Brink of Success: Determining the Route along the Ocklawaha

With a new century came increased interest in a cross-state canal. The desire for such a venture was tied to a national program of improving rivers and waterways. Groups of water transportation boosters lobbied the federal government heavily for new projects as an cheaper alternative to an increasingly dominant railroad industry. Between 1909 and 1913, more government surveys reported on the pros and cons of a canal across Florida. However, in 1913 the Army Corps of Engineers recommended that a canal such as it is proposed would have no great value as a through-route between Gulf and Atlantic ports . . . [and] the project is not one worthy of prosecution by the United States at present.”

Florida’s Senator Duncan Fletcher, a persistent advocate for the canal and president of the Mississippi to Atlantic Inland Waterways Association, vehemently opposed the final report and continued the drumbeat for more surveys and reports that would eventually lead to construction. He had many stalwart allies in Florida’s congressional delegation, among them Frank Clark and Lex Green, who pushed the issue for further studies following World War I. The state legislature followed, as well, in creating a state commission to secure construction of a canal. Secure support for the venture was one thing, but two questions remained: location and whether it should be a ship or barge canal. No definitive answers were forthcoming on either question in spite of the massive amounts of paper and statistical evidence marshaled by supporters.

## Location, Location, Location: Establishing Route 13-B

The Rivers and Harbors Act of 1927 initiated the movement that finally resulted in beginning construction of the canal. This legislation galvanized private interests in support of a canal and also established another survey; one that would finally determine the location for the route. By the early 1930s, this penultimate government report considered 28 possible canal routes; from one across southern Georgia to one traversing the Florida peninsula at Lake Okeechobee and all points in between. After determining that seven were basically economically feasible, the report concluded that among the choices “Route 13-B” was the most desirable, practical, and economical. That route would follow the St. Johns from its mouth to Palatka, and then along the Ocklawaha River to a point near Silver Springs, and continue westward across land below Ocala to Dunnellon and finally along the course of the Withlacoochee River until it entered the Gulf of Mexico near Inglis and Yankeetown.

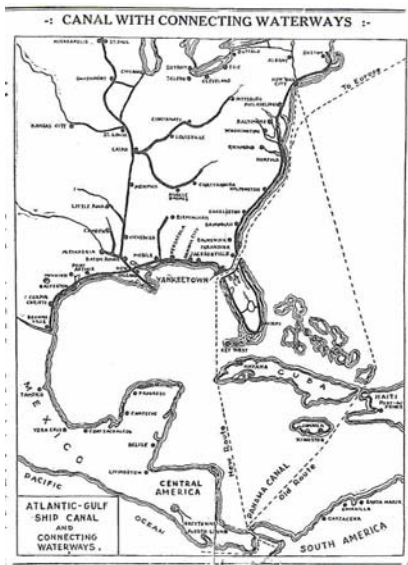
The report’s engineers went on to recommend that a lock canal be constructed along the route so as not to “seriously disturb the natural ground-water table.” Although a consensus could be reached regarding the canal’s location, Army engineers were not entirely convinced of the project’s practicality. In fact, they concluded, “the construction of neither a barge nor ship canal is economically justified at this time.” Boosters remained in a quandary—they now had the route but lacked the wherewithal to pursue their dream.

## National and State Lobbying Bears Fruit

With a route now clearly established, new lobbying efforts centered on securing funds for the canal’s construction. In 1932, proponents organized the National Gulf-Atlantic Ship Canal Association, a regional effort to press their case in Washington. Well organized and funded, this organization proved to be crucial in convincing the government to build the canal. Heading the lobbying effort was the group’s president, General Charles P. Summerall, recently retired Army Chief-of-Staff. Led by a nationally known figure, the association wielded

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significant regional and national clout. While Summerall provided name recognition, much of the hard work of the organization was provided by its secretary, Jacksonville engineer Henry H. Buckman, who would dedicate his career to the construction of the canal. This organization succeeded where others had failed because it represented a strong, unified regional push to complete the canal. Having support from such other shipping concerns as the Mississippi Valley Association, the Alabama State Docks Commission, and the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association negated claims that the canal was simply a local boondoggle.



As the federal government moved toward recommending a canal, the state of Florida established agencies to secure the land for the project and operate and maintain the canal once it was completed. In 1931 the legislature established the Florida State Canal Commission, which was given the power to acquire lands for a canal. Two years later the commission was superseded by a Ship Canal Authority, authorized by the legislature to “acquire, own, construct, operate, and maintain a ship canal across Florida.” Governor David Sholtz appointed General Summerall as chairman of the state’s Ship Canal Authority, cementing what would become a long relationship between government and private enterprise.



With the establishment of route 13-B, boosters could now concentrate on galvanizing local support to build the canal. Across the swath of the Greenway, from Yankeetown to Jacksonville, local officials and supporters accelerated the drumbeat for construction. On the west coast, longtime mayor A. F. Knotts of Yankeetown tirelessly crusaded for the venture, giving speeches and writing large numbers of newspaper articles and letters promoting the canal. In Ocala, *Star-Banner* editor R. N. “Bert” Dosh produced more pro-canal articles and editorials than any other newspaper in the state. Dosh’s support for the enterprise was so unwavering that canal enthusiasts authorized the naming of the Ocala lock on the later Cross Florida Barge Canal after him. Jacksonville’s lobbyists included retired Corps of Engineer officer Gilbert A. Youngberg, who wrote numerous technical reports on the structural and economic viability of the project. Youngberg also traversed the state addressing local chambers of commerce and service clubs on the importance of the canal to Florida’s future. In spite of the best efforts of these advocates and their allies, little progress was made on the establishment of the canal. In the end, national economic considerations proved the crucial determinant for the development of the project.

### The Canal and the Great Depression

Economic hardship ironically became the impetus for canal construction. With the stock market crash

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of 1929, the United States entered the longest and most severe period of economic dislocation in its history. Hundreds of thousands of Americans were unemployed and despair and fear gripped the land. By 1932, calls for government assistance reached a fever pitch. President Herbert Hoover responded to these pleas by establishing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), a federal agency designed to combat unemployment. In August 1932, General Summerall approached the RFC with a request for \$160 million in loans to build the canal and provide jobs for Florida's unemployed. The tight-fisted Hoover administration rejected the loan application. Canal advocates now put their hopes in a new president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, whose commitment to the nation's downtrodden offered hope. Two months after Roosevelt's inauguration, Florida's legislature sent a message to Roosevelt, "requesting the assistance and cooperation of every available federal agency in order to make possible, at an early date, commencement of construction work on a ship canal across the peninsula."



### The Canal Project as Work Project

While Roosevelt eased nationwide unemployment, political considerations within both Congress and Florida prevented the president from authorizing the project immediately. Thus state requests for funding languished under the review of several federal agencies until an opportune moment could guarantee its success. By 1935, federal funds to

combat unemployment were organized under Roosevelt's executive authority. Therefore, FDR could give money to the project without Congressional approval. Politically, however he needed strong support from the Florida Congressional delegation in order to fund the project.

Spurred on by Florida Senators Park Trammell and Duncan Fletcher, and Representatives Lex Green and Claude Pepper, Roosevelt allocated \$5 million on August 30, 1935 to begin construction of the canal. Always the consummate politician, Roosevelt took advantage of a natural disaster off the coast of Florida to rally support for his decision. Following the grounding of the cruise ship Dixie in a hurricane on September 2, 1935, Roosevelt announced the next day that the canal "would forever make it unnecessary for sea goers to risk their lives in circumnavigation of Florida's long, hurricane-blistered thumb."

After a hundred years of surveys and bureaucratic footdragging, work began immediately on a project of extraordinary scale. When completed, the 171 nautical mile passageway would dwarf its closest rivals, the Panama and Suez Canals. Not simply cutting a 32 mile path directly through the Central Florida Ridge, the project also involved significant alterations of the St. Johns, Ocklawaha, and Withlacoochee Rivers. Construction would similarly include the dredging of channels deep into the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean to make navigable entryways into the cross-peninsula passage. Planners envisioned moving 571 million cubic yards of rock and earth in a completion time of five years.



Organized as a relief project, financial considerations forced engineers to construct the canal at sea level rather than using locks as had been planned. This would mean simply cutting a 30 feet deep, 250 feet wide swath across Florida and its fresh water aquifer. Though boosters applauded the rapidity and decisiveness of Roosevelt's decision, they would rue the lack of planning and forethought in making the project a sea level venture. This decision galvanized opposition to the canal by raising the specter of salt-water intrusion into the state's water supply and thus threatening all Floridians.

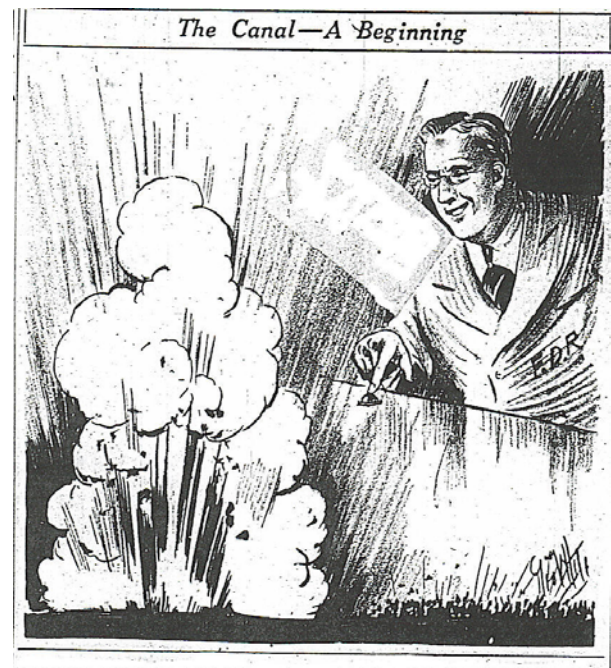
### Breaking Ground to Begin the Canal

Even before the official groundbreaking, the Army Corps of Engineers was hard at work. Appointed as head of the project, Lieutenant Colonel Brehon B. Somervell proved to be an eager taskmaster. Far from an obscure builder, Somervell was an ambitious officer who would later use his Ship Canal experience to launch an illustrious Army career that included building the Pentagon and becoming a key player in the Manhattan Project, which created the atomic bomb. Arriving in Ocala on September 6, he announced that he would employ four shifts to work day and night. "We are going to push the canal right along as long as the money holds out," he said. "It's up to the other fellows to provide us with additional funds."

For Somervell and other Corps leaders, Roosevelt's funding offered an opportunity to include the canal as part of a vast waterways project involving numerous rivers and large expenditures of money. They envisioned a wide-ranging inland waterway system connecting the Mississippi River and the east coast. For them, the Florida Ship Canal would be part of what the Corps consistently called "The Missing Link," the final connector between the mid-west and the Atlantic. Fueled by the Corps' historic mission to facilitate internal improvements and helped by a federal government committed to public works projects, the 1930s was a propitious time for large-scale water projects such as the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Grand Coulee and Hoover Dams. Indeed, given those conditions, it is striking that the Florida Ship Canal was not completed,

which underscores the importance of both local and national politics in the decision-making process.

With little consideration about such broad national issues, construction started at 6:00 am on September 6, 1935 as thirty men began building a camp to house engineers and workers. Located about two miles south of Ocala on Highway 441, Camp Roosevelt consisted of "quarters for officers and barracks for enlisted men and laborers, complete with canteens, mess-halls, and all the other appurtenances of an army post, including guard-house." Buildings from the camp still remain as part of a greater Ocala neighborhood. Though not eligible for historic register status because of significant alterations through the years, a possibility remains to erect a state historic marker to commemorate the camp's importance to the project.



In addition to commencing construction of Camp Roosevelt, workers immediately began clearing the underbrush along the canal right-of-way seven miles south of the city. The official groundbreaking was held on September 19, as Franklin Roosevelt, through a telegraph link at his Hyde Park estate, set off a blast to inaugurate construction. Several thousand enthusiastic supporters gathered at the

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sight of the blast to hear prominent Floridians extol the virtues of the project. Among them were Senator Duncan Fletcher, who gave the principal address, and Henry H. Buckman. While the ceremony proved to be an auspicious start for the canal, those persons suspicious of omens had good reason to feel ill at ease. Instead of waiting for a break in the ceremony, Roosevelt mistakenly triggered an explosion that rocked the audience in the middle of Fletcher's speech. In spite of the mistake, boosters felt their dreams were well on the way towards fulfillment.

### Changes in the Physical and Social Landscape

Work began in both clearing the land and excavating the canal. Crews ranging between 80-120 men were involved in clearing the land by hand for eventual excavation. These laborers were housed in portable camps between Palatka and Dunnellon. Much of the project centered on the section between the Ocklawaha and the Withlacoochee. Other workers followed land clearers, excavating the canal. Work, again, centered on the central section crossing the Central Florida Ridge.



Excavation procedures were a remarkable mix of modern technology and old-fashioned muscle. "Working alongside the modern, powerful excavating machines were men loading trucks with shovels and mule teams dragging old-fashioned scrapers. Huge tractor-scraper, draglines, belt conveyers, tractor-hauled wagons, and trucks all

played a major role in the excavation process, but always there were scores of men chopping and digging with shovels and trimming the slopes of the canal by hand." The use of relief workers caused significant worker turnover as "many of the relief laborers were lacking in physical stamina." By mid 1936, ten miles of the cut had been excavated through the Central Florida Ridge, with approximately 13 million cubic yards of dirt removed.



In addition to clearing the land and excavating the canal, engineers proposed a series of railroad and highway bridges to be built over the waterway. A major bridge was the Dixie Highway (now U.S. Highway 441) bridge at Santos, located about 6 miles south of Ocala. The large excavations necessary for both the canal and the bridge at this location necessitated the destruction of the traditionally African-American community at Santos. This vibrant town of approximately 300 residents centered on a railway depot on the Florida Transit and Peninsula Railway and included stores, a post office, a school, and three churches. The strong sense of community pride was represented by a local baseball team organized in the 1890s, which remained active through the 1930s. While physically destroyed, the spirit of the Santos residents remained intact, creating a legacy of black life that remains today. The interpretation of this community and its historic structures are an important part of the Greenway Master Plan.

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Additionally in this area, four enormous concrete bridge stanchions remain in the middle of Highway 441. The only bridge construction ever started from this project, these tree-covered silent sentinels, now nominated for historic register status, stand as a monument to the 1930s canal project and will be an integral part of the historic interpretation of the Greenway.

### A New Boomtown

With the beginning of canal construction, Ocala experienced a boom similar to Dunnellon's 1890s phosphate craze. Recruited from Florida's relief roles, more than six thousand men—far fewer than the 20,000 the Corps had envisioned for the completion of the project—had been put to work by mid-1936. By Depression standards, the pay was good, with workers making thirty cents an hour. Working only 6 days a week in 6 hour shifts, the men cleared \$10.80 weekly. With deductions for camp meals at fifty cents a day, workers brought home \$7.80, enough to live on and spend freely in Ocala's burgeoning entertainment district. Ocala saw new restaurants, hotels, and theaters opening as business increased between 25 to 50 percent.

Native Ocalans recognized the economic importance of the project and conveniently looked the other way as bars and slot machines proliferated in their community. In one county meeting, for example, ten applications for liquor licenses appeared on the agenda. While Ocala boomed, officials of other Florida cities publicly complained that the ship canal was draining labor from their municipalities. Within the county itself, some farmers complained that their hired labor was being siphoned off by the canal's lure of higher wages and shorter hours. Despite this and other problems, Ocala gladly accepted the workers and the economic boost they provided.



With the advent of construction, the Ocala area was soon filled with “itinerant peddlers, preachers, medicine men, sooth-sayers, beggars, acrobats, and musicians” who crowded into “large and small side shows and tent meetings” in efforts to cash in on the project. In spite of the carnival atmosphere of Ocala and Camp Roosevelt, little major disturbances occurred. Fighting, public drunkenness, and petty larceny were commonplace enough that the Marion County Sheriff's office noted their workload had tripled since canal work started.

Local city and county law enforcement officials expanded their forces as the Army Corps of Engineers also hired four officers, deputized by the county, to maintain order in the camp. In addition to guarding against illegal gambling, which proved difficult to prevent, camp patrols kept their guard for confidence men on the prowl for easy marks among the workers. With so many workers, prostitution was a perennial problem. Women occasionally filled the woods around the camp but were generally left alone if they refrained from bringing alcohol. While not legally sanctioned, prostitution was tacitly approved as community officials encouraged a local doctor to visit an established “disorderly house” to combat the threat of venereal disease.

While local officials and camp administrators could turn their heads at minor legal transgressions, they could not ignore signs of potential union organization. Officials felt that workers were well compensated for their labor, especially in the Depression-era South, and saw labor advocates as troublesome intruders. Union organizers threatened the project by raising the specter of strikes and other

labor unrest that would jeopardize timely completion of the project.

In March 1936, George Timmerman, a thirty year old St. Augustine brick layer was found “nailed to a cross, in a heavily wooded section near [Camp Roosevelt] . . . his lips were sewn shut and a heavy hunting coat was tied over his head to muffle his groans . . . Officers said he had been engaged in labor difficulties on the cross-state canal.” Instead of investigating the incident, local law enforcement officials blamed Timmerman himself, and said the man staged a fake crucifixion with Timmerman as the victim to gain publicity for an ostensible sideshow career. In addition to the economic angle, Ocala Police Chief J. H. Spencer also accused Timmerman of “allowing himself to be nailed to the cross for communistic reasons.” The man was taken to the hospital, and upon receiving medical attention, was forced to leave the area. Workers were now warned. Labor organization would not be tolerated along the canal.

### Opposition Halts Construction

#### The Local Opposition: Protecting Florida’s Water Supply

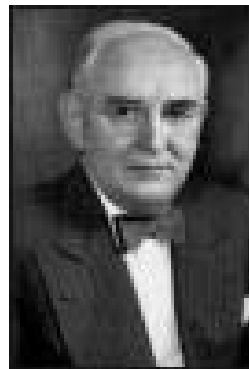
While the threat of unions represented a minor irritant, increasing statewide and national opposition provided a much more significant impediment to the project. A loose coalition of railroad executives, citrus growers, southern Florida shipping interests, and nascent environmentalists raised a chorus of concerns over the canal’s long-term effects on the state. While some of the opposition, particularly from the railroads, was motivated by self-interest, the environmental opposition presaged questions later raised in the 1960s. Particularly important were ideas concerning the intrusion of salt-water into the Florida aquifer because of the deep cut of the Ship Canal.

Criticism even began before the ground-breaking occurred. As one Tampa editorial noted, “Incited by selfish interests . . . an effort is now being made, through the construction of a cross-state canal, to mar and in least in part to destroy the wonderful superiority of this land called Florida, which would in all probability ruin, by contamination of the salt

waters, many hundreds of these underground streams.” Growers also recognized the potential threat to their livelihood. As the editor of the Florida Grower declared in June 1935, “in its pollution of our fresh waters, it would be a greater calamity than any freeze or hurricane which has come to this State.” Canal proponents countered that the project’s potential damage was negligible. Though neither side could provide conclusive scientific evidence on the issue, Floridians remained profoundly divided over the merits of the project.

#### The National Opposition: Preventing Government Waste

Nationally, opposition centered on the canal’s position as a pork-barrel project of limited national value. Led by Republican Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, canal opponents viewed the project as another example of government waste and New Deal profligacy. Vandenberg also raised constitutional questions as to the legitimacy of spending federal dollars without Congressional authorization. Moreover, he saw Roosevelt’s \$5 million appropriation as only the first installment of a massive infusion of federal money.



While the canal’s estimated completion cost was \$146 million, Vandenberg claimed it could increase to well over \$200 million before completion.

By March 1936, the issue of canal funding reached its bitter climax on the Senate floor. A dying

Senator Duncan Fletcher bravely attempted to rally support for the project but Vandenberg's persuasive powers proved too much. By the vote of 36-35, an amendment for a \$12 million appropriation to fund the canal for the next fiscal year was defeated. The House similarly rejected the Senate amendment two months later, ironically on the same day that Duncan Fletcher died. Unable to resolve the issue, Congress simply let the project languish. Despite the protestations of Florida's canal supporters, Roosevelt refused to use his authority to continue the canal. Recognizing the extent of local and national opposition, and pressed by Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes, an avid enemy of the canal, Roosevelt was content to let the issue die.

Within weeks of the Congressional debate, canal work came to a halt. As workers went home, Ocala's boom was over. Only three percent of the project was complete, with only a third of the estimated land clearing finished. For all the money and time expended in canal construction, the only visible reminders were 4,000 acres of cleared land along the right-of-way, almost 13 million cubic yards of excavated soil, and four concrete stanchions marking an incomplete highway bridge over a phantom waterway. The 97 buildings on the 215 acre site of Camp Roosevelt was turned over to another W.P.A. program, the National Youth Administration, as a school. Years later the complex served as an extension campus for the University of Florida. After World War II the University used it to house veterans.



### Plans for the Canal Languish

The defeat of 1936 did not stop the calls for a canal. Boosters continued to advocate for the continuation of the project throughout the federal bureaucracy. These efforts achieved no visible signs of success but kept the idea of a canal alive. In 1939, Roosevelt buoyed supporters with his announcement that "it has long been my belief that a Florida Ship Canal will be built . . . and the building of it is justified today by military and commercial needs." Regional politics and political infighting marked this time period in the canal's history.

Canal boosters ironically received support from their position from the increasingly tense situation across the Atlantic. Supporters like Senator Claude Pepper, Bert Dosh, and Henry H. Buckman now added national defense as a significant rationale for building a canal. With the outbreak of World War II, these arguments gained further credence as German submarines took their toll of oil tankers off the Florida coast. Canal advocates saw an unanticipated silver lining in the destruction of American shipping. As Walter Coachman, an ardent canal promoter and executive vice-president of the National Gulf-Atlantic Ship Canal Association, wrote to his allies in February 1942, "The submarines and Adolph are helping us, but the opposition is also intensely active."

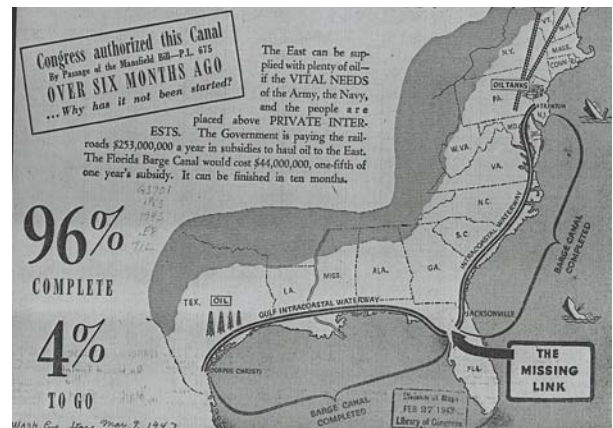
Fighting a different war, canal proponents also saw to outflank their adversaries by changing the canal's design from a ship canal to a lock-type barge canal. Such construction, which would mandate a shallower and narrower cut, would undermine criticism regarding salt-water intrusion. Barge canal construction was also sanctioned by the Army Corps of Engineers, who recommended a 12 feet deep, 150 feet wide canal could be built in three years along route 13-B for a cost of \$44 million. In March 1942, Claude Pepper introduced legislation authorizing "a navigable barge canal across Florida." The stage was now set for a new period of the Greenway's history.

# Chapter Four: A Dream Deferred: The Rise and Fall of the Cross Florida Barge Canal

## Canal Authorization Secured

With World War II in full swing and the image of burning oil tanker off Florida's coast, canal supporters recognized the time was right to reintroduce legislation authorizing the construction of a canal. Citing the importance of national defense, these boosters now argued the canal was necessary to help protect the nation's wartime shipping interests. In 1942, Florida Senator Claude Pepper's bill was favorably reported by the Senate Commerce Committee, and reached the full Senate for another showdown with Senator Arthur Vandenberg and other fiscal conservatives. This time Vandenberg's entreaties failed and the bill passed the Senate by a single vote. Passing by a larger margin in the House of Representatives, the now completed bill for a barge canal was sent to the White House for Franklin Roosevelt's signature. On July 23, 1942, Roosevelt signed the bill authorizing construction. No monies, however, were allocated for the project, and Roosevelt would not make the same mistake he made seven years earlier. If monies were to be expended for canal construction, Congress would have to authorize it.

Though the war provided a significant rationale for the building of a canal, it also served as an impediment to construction. Labor and materials necessary for the canal could best be utilized for more immediate defense efforts. James Forrestal, Under Secretary of the Navy, declared that "the canal's construction would divert strategic and critical materials from the present ship-building program and the Navy Department would necessarily have to oppose it." The Army concurred, complaining that large quantities of equipment and men would be better served elsewhere. A year after the bill's passage, Roosevelt wrote that work could not begin because of the war's more pressing military needs.



In spite of the loss of funding, the Army Corps of Engineers continued to plan for the project. In December 1943, they produced the Definite Project Report that would become the blueprint for the Cross Florida Barge Canal of the 1960s. Following the route of the abandoned Ship Canal, the barge canal would be a 12 feet deep, 150 feet wide water corridor. With five locks, each 75 feet wide and 600 feet long, and three dams, the canal would be a total length of 181.96 miles. The use of locks and dams were designed to prevent salt-water intrusion into the aquifer as "the water surface of the summit section would be free to fluctuate with the normal rise and flow of the groundwater table." The plans also included dramatic adjustments and channelization of the St. Johns River through Jacksonville to Mayport, where further dredging would continue into the Atlantic. On the west coast, a deep channel would be dredged far into the Gulf of Mexico, similar to the plans of the earlier Ship Canal.

By war's end, cost estimates had increased dramatically. Post-war increases in the cost of labor and materials had pushed the project to \$72 million. Vandenberg's promise that the canal was nothing more than a money pit seemed prophetic. Without a pressing need for a canal, Congress turned its attention to other matters. At the same time, the old generation of canal boosters was passing from the scene. New boosters would continue the same well-worn arguments for the canal. Defense arguments, however, would receive more support as a cold war

against the Soviet Union would revive the perceived need for a protective waterway for American shipping.

### The Long Hiatus

The long hiatus of the 1950s saw cost estimates soar once again. As early as 1951, the Corps concluded the project could not be completed with less than \$100 million. Army officials also asserted “the military aspects of the proposed project are so limited that they should not be used as the primary basis for a decision on this matter.” Faced with this impasse, Corps officials requested the usual bureaucratic procedure—another survey. In January 1958, the state Ship Canal Authority simultaneously issued a report which not surprisingly argued the barge canal would provide significant economic value for the state. The more voluminous Corps report, issued later that year, again concluded costs would significantly increase, this time to \$170 million. Though this figure seemed high, the Corps report found the canal had a benefit-cost ratio of 1.05 to 1. Based on this positive assessment, the project was moved to “the active backlog of authorized civil works projects,” making the canal eligible for new planning funds. Florida Congressmen jumped on the new survey, using it as ammunition to resurrect the canal. No funds, however, were allocated throughout the 1950s.

While not a major issue in the 1960 presidential campaign, Democratic candidate John F. Kennedy supported construction. In writing to Jacksonville Congressman Charles E. Bennett, Florida’s new vociferous canal supporter, Kennedy concluded, “I know of your persistent work for the early construction of the Cross Florida Barge Canal. If I am elected president, I will be glad to cooperate with you in making this project a reality. I regard it not only as important to Florida but to the economy of the entire country, which must fully utilize all our natural resources if we are to achieve necessary economic expansion.”

### A New Florida Emerges while Canal Dreams Remain

Kennedy’s comments reflected a New Deal obsession with large-scale public works projects and

his belief in the value of political horse-trading. However, America in general, and Florida in particular, was a much different place by 1960 than it was in 1935. The 1950s witnessed dramatic changes as postwar affluence and technological change improved the quality of life. Most important to Florida was the establishment of the Interstate Highway System in 1956, which opened the floodgates of large-scale development and rapid population growth. The allure of Miami and Florida’s Gold Coast was now accessible, and newcomers provided a viable political alternative to north Florida politicians who controlled state politics and vigorously supported the canal. Though these changes were barely visible as 1960 approached, they marked the start of a new Florida, one tied to the automobile, air conditioning, and a less provincial point-of-view.

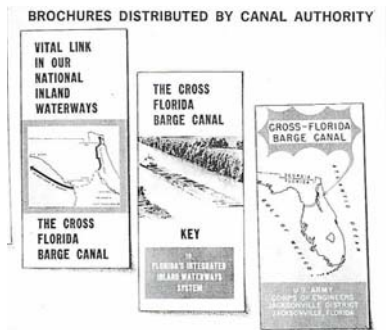
In spite of these trends, local interests remained paramount throughout the 1950s. Charles Bennett symbolized these interests in his vigorous support for the canal. Representing the port city of Jacksonville, Bennett pushed for canal completion as an economic boom for his congressional district. His dream, as well as that of the city’s Chamber of Commerce, was to make Jacksonville a world-class port city, taking goods from overseas as well as products shipped by barge from the Mississippi Valley. Bennett represented a new generation of canal boosters, among them future Florida Governor Farris Bryant and future Lieutenant Governor Tom Adams.

### Moving Towards Construction

The election of 1960 proved fateful for the eventual construction of the canal. Not only was the Democrat John F. Kennedy elected President, but Farris Bryant, a native Ocala strongly supportive of the canal, took over the Governor’s mansion in Tallahassee. The narrow margin of Kennedy’s victory made him especially dependent on southern Democratic support and therefore more amenable to their demands. Among these demands would be the Cross Florida Barge Canal. Sensing a new mood in Washington, the state of Florida changed the title of the State Ship Canal Authority to the State Canal Authority and charged it to not only operate the canal but promote its merits. Within the next two

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years the Authority would act as a vast public relations conduit for pro-canal forces.



### New Justifications for an Old Project

In addition to the previous rationales for construction, canal supporters added newer ones. Taking advantage of a 1960 flood on the Ocklawaha, they now called attention to the incidental flood control benefits of the project. Recreational boating, becoming increasingly important in a consumer driven economy, contributed to another rationale for construction. Boosters did not explain how boating and camping could be reconciled with barge traffic, but explanations did not seem important here. Finally, the proximity of Florida to the newly communist island of Cuba strengthened the traditional defense argument.

In 1962, Georgia congressman Carl Vincent declared the canal must be built "because of its very important national defense aspects." Dale Miller, head of a canal lobbying group, corroborated Vincent's claim by concluding, "with the submarine menace in the next war, much more serious than that in the last, let us not be the victims of too little, too late." With yet another project report published in 1962, the Corps incorporated these claims and thus improved the benefit-cost ratio to 1.2 to 1. Things were looking up for the canal's construction.

In 1962, Governor Bryant mobilized all aspects of state government behind his push for a canal. Learning lessons from the 1930s, advocates called

for a united front to secure the effort. By the summer, boosters even gathered support from the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission and the Florida Board of Conservation. This effort convinced Kennedy that this project was strongly backed by Florida politicians. The fate of the canal was now in the hands of Washington as legislation was appropriated for pre-construction funds and planning. Shepherded through Congress by the consummate political insider, the "He-Coon" Robert Sikes of Crestview, \$200,000 was appropriated for this purpose in 1963.



Not all congressmen were convinced of the validity of the project. Dramatically echoing Vandenberg's fiscal concerns, crusty old Clarence Cannon of Missouri commented bitterly upon the bill's passage that, "No bigger bunch of pirates ever sailed the Spanish Main. All the money that Captain Kidd and Long John Silver stole is infinitesimal compared to this raid on the federal treasury." Cannon's cries of fiscal irresponsibility were not lost. In a major 1963 article entitled "Pork Barrel Outrage: Too Much Money Spent Foolishly," *Life Magazine* singled out the canal as one of a dozen federal projects that exorbitantly wasted tax dollars. Despite the negative publicity, canal advocates pushed ahead.

### Another President, Another Groundbreaking

While advocates supported the project on its merits, Kennedy saw it more as a political tool.

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Recognizing its value in securing Florida in the upcoming 1964 presidential election, Kennedy requested an initial appropriation of \$1 million to begin construction. Kennedy did not live to see the bill passed. Passage was secured in December 1963, with newly inaugurated President Lyndon B. Johnson signing the appropriation into law. Two months later on a gray February day, Johnson did Roosevelt one better. Not content with a long distance ceremony, Johnson traveled to Palatka to participate in the groundbreaking.

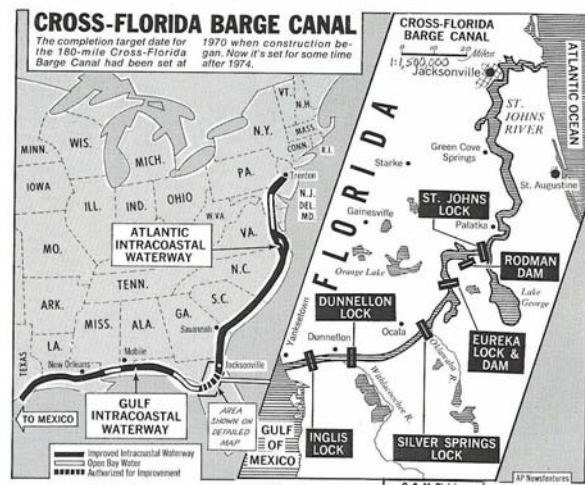


In a festive occasion in front of 15,000 admiring Floridians, Johnson stood in the pouring rain and gave birth to the dream of so many sitting on the Speaker's platform. Bert Dosh, the widow of Walter Coachman, Claude Pepper, and Henry Buckman represented the old guard of canal supporters. Indeed, Buckman had to be lifted onto the stage in his wheelchair, but it was still a wonderful moment for him. The new generation of canal boosters was present as well, with Charles Bennett, Bob Sikes, Tom Adams, and Ferris Bryant proudly joining Johnson in the chicken dinner that followed.

Johnson, using his well-honed oratorical skills, set the tone for the moment boosters had dreamed of for nearly thirty years. "God was good to this country," he proclaimed, "He gave us great estuaries, natural locales for harbors, but he left it to us to dredge them out for use by modern ships. He gave us shallow waters along most of our coast lines, which formed natural routes for protected coastal waterways. But he left it to us to carve out the channels to make them usable. Today we accept

another challenge—we make use of another natural resource. He gave us great rivers, but let them run wild and flood, but sometimes to go dry in drought. Then," he added laughingly, "and sometimes to rain when we have a celebration."

Johnson went on to praise the guests on the dais, "for the work they did in making this barge canal possible, and more importantly, for making the American apparatus of freedom go forward to new dimensions and to new boundaries." Concluding on another laughing note, "every time I left the House, I was button-holed by Senator George Smathers or one of the Florida Congressmen, and I thought Senator Spessard Holland was going to have a heart attack the last time he talked to me about the canal." With that impromptu ending, Johnson pulled the red switch and set off 150 pounds of dynamite to mark the groundbreaking. According to the Ocala Star Banner, "the blast sent a geyser of peat moss, powdered charcoal, and black oil (soaked into the ground). These were added for effect and created a spectacular site. Ordinary soil, the Army Corps of Engineers pointed out, makes a poor showing when subjected to an explosion."



### After Thirty Years, Construction Resumes

Workers immediately began excavation on the six mile stretch of the canal west of the St. Johns River.

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This element of the project was completed by August of 1964. While this section was being completed, other parts of the canal were being excavated or built. Excavation started west of Inglis in November 1964, and construction for the St. Johns Lock began in December and for the Inglis Lock in April 1965.



By the end of 1965, the Corps announced canal construction was 4% complete. The work continued throughout 1966 in spite of ominous trends that further government support would be difficult to obtain. Johnson's pressing of the war in Vietnam would become a major preoccupation of the federal government and force funding to be allocated away from domestic programs.

### The Crusher Clears the Land

By December 1966, the Corps continued its work and began building the Rodman Dam and the Eureka Lock and Dam. The dry statistics of canal construction belied the reality of the environmental destruction taking place both along the Withlacoochee and the Ocklawaha Rivers. Particularly invasive, and especially visible when compared to the traditional use of bulldozers and cranes, was the specially designed crusher. Called the "Crusher Crawler" by engineers, "Big Charlie" by its operators, and "The Tree Killer" by environmentalist critics, this 22 feet high, 306 ton

amphibious machine was utilized for clearing the land for the ten thousand acre Rodman Reservoir located on the Ocklawaha River. Moving through swampy terrain with heavy timber, the crusher could clear land at the rate of one acre per hour. With its concrete-filled reinforced steel push-bar, the machine could topple six feet round cypress trees without any trouble. It could submerge as many as eight cypress trees simultaneously. It pushed over trees and stumps and drove them into the ground, leaving large limbs to remain intact. Able to float at a depth of almost eight feet, the machine could operate in the wettest, boggiest conditions, and easily cross the Ocklawaha. Even canal proponents could question the efficacy of the crusher since it wasted resources by driving trees into the muck instead of allowing them to be harvested for timber. With the assistance of the crusher, less than 15 percent of the region's felled trees had been salvaged for lumber—the rest had been laid flat in the rush to complete the project.



Brown Gregg, the Leesburg engineer who designed the crusher specifically for the project, had no qualms about the use of his machine in clearing the Ocklawaha Valley. "I think it has now come to be recognized that my tree crusher was not so bad a thing," he said in 1971, "that going through a swamp and pushing trees over and embedding them in the mud and sand is the natural way, the way nature puts those trees down. It's just evolution in a sense." Maybe more than anything else, images of the tree crusher galvanized opposition and raised questions about the legitimacy of the project.

### Supporters and Opponents in the Barge Canal Debate

Such questions about the canal did not deter a new generation of supporters. Though some stood to gain personally—especially through land speculation and government contracts—from the project’s completion, many were genuinely excited about the canal’s relationship to Florida’s continued economic progress. Secretary of State Tom Adams expressed this enthusiasm in 1966 when he addressed an audience of Florida business leaders. Adams claimed the canal would “put Florida at the apex of the greatest trade potential in the nation—a crossroads between the Atlantic Seaboard and the Gulf of Mexico and the Midwest.” As a critical junction of a continuous inter-coastal route between Texas and the Atlantic coast, the canal would facilitate the shipment of such commodities as lumber, ore, coal, petroleum products, fertilizer, industrial chemicals, paper products, and animal feed. Especially important in this economic equation would be the transportation of huge Saturn Rocket boosters to Cape Kennedy, emphasizing the connection between the ancient dream of Florida’s canal and Florida’s modern economic future.

Critics, of course, would maintain the barge canal’s narrow width and shallow depth would not allow for the transportation of such gigantic rocket parts. More importantly, they were generally unconcerned with rocket parts or any other manifestation of economic growth. Led by a group of scientists influenced by the works of Aldo Leopold and Rachel Carson, these opponents saw the canal as an attack upon nature itself. Merging the poetic prose of Sidney Lanier regarding the Ocklawaha’s primal beauty with hard scientific data on the detrimental effects of the project, they crafted a cogent argument for the canal’s demise. Organized around the Alachua Audubon Society, the group went through several manifestations to eventually coalesce into an organization known as FDE, Florida Defenders of the Environment, by July 1969.

While concerned about Florida generally, these environmentalists focused almost exclusively on saving the state’s last wild river, the Ocklawaha. Led by “a Micanopy housewife,” Marjorie Harris Carr,

this coalition of activists did not appear as a viable threat to the canal’s completion. However, Carr’s dogged determination and savvy use of the state’s media outlets belied the organization’s relatively weak appearance. In an increasingly contentious decade that witnessed numerous conflicts against the status quo, Carr and her coalition proved that activist citizens, working within the system, could make a difference.



### Marjorie Carr and the Politics of Environmentalism

Though she would use the image to her advantage, Marjorie Carr was far from the traditional housewife portrayed by her critics. Born in Boston in 1915 and coming of age in the frontier area of southwest Florida in the late 1920s, Marjorie Harris combined a New Englander’s love for learning with a Florida Cracker’s love for the land. Harris entered Florida State College for Women in Tallahassee in 1932 and majored in zoology. After graduation, she moved to Gainesville and was consigned to a laboratory because of unwritten rules regarding a woman’s place in academe. It was there she would meet Archie Carr, a newly minted professor of zoology. After a whirlwind courtship, they were married in January of 1937. Archie Carr proceeded to have an illustrious career as a wildlife biologist at the University of Florida, becoming nationally known through such works as [The Windward Road](#).

Though Marjorie gave up her formal career as an academic to raise her family, she remained a scientist

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at heart, and an important sounding board for her husband's work. In a later time, Marjorie Harris Carr would have had an esteemed career as a published author and a university professor. In the early 1960s, however, she found a higher calling in the defense of the Ocklawaha.

Happening upon the issue after attending an Alachua Audubon Society meeting in November 1962, Carr quickly became motivated to defend the Ocklawaha watershed. In conjunction with University of Florida professor David Anthony, Carr turned Alachua Audubon into an advocacy organization demanding protection of the river. As she would say in 1966, "we conservationists don't give a hoot about the canal either way. We are just pro-Ocklawaha." By then, however, being pro-Ocklawaha meant fighting against the canal. Through grassroots letter writing, organizational networking, and an ability to use the media to get her message across, Carr proved a formidable opponent for canal boosters. Within a year, Carr and her allies could not be dismissed as mere "bird watchers and butterfly catchers."



### The Tallahassee Showdown

A showdown between pro- and anti-canal advocates occurred in January 1966 at a hearing of the Florida Cabinet's annual water resources development

conference. This bureaucratically mundane event was the only public hearing held on the canal and its effect on Florida's environment. Turned into a battleground between Carr and her supporters and Florida Secretary of State Tom Adams, it was not simply a contentious meeting, but "the beginning of concerted action by Florida conservation leaders." Adams and Corps Engineers were summarily dismissive of the four hundred people crowding the Tallahassee auditorium opposing the canal. Adams' bullying tactics and condescending comments became the centerpiece of Progress, Pork Barrel, and Pheasant Feathers (1966), an anti-canal propaganda piece that would receive much play over the rest of the decade.



In spite of all of Carr's efforts, it appeared that canal completion was inevitable. By 1968, Rodman Dam, creating Lake Ocklawaha, and the St. Johns Lock (later renamed after Henry H. Buckman) had been completed and work was well underway on the west end of the canal near Inglis. Little work had been done, however, on the connector part of the canal, the piece designed to cross the Central Florida Ridge.

Even though construction continued, national opposition was building. As early as 1965, the New York Times, determined to keep the Ocklawaha a wild river, editorialized, "It is time to stop the work and weigh the total public interest in the Ocklawaha before irreparable, tragic damage is done to this stream for benefit of a project which is at best of dubious merit."

As criticism mounted and government funding dwindled with every annual appropriation, canal proponents responded with more and more vigor. Not only emphasizing the benefit of the canal to Florida's economy, supporters increasingly used its relationship to recreation as a rationale for completion. In addition to encouraging boating, they argued, the project would enhance fishing with newly created lakes and nearly 300 miles of shoreline. Far from destroying the natural environment, the canal would attract people to the outdoors with thirty-two proposed recreational sites that included boat ramps, picnic pavilions, and campsites. Designed to forestall environmentalist criticism, the Corps' commitment to recreation was also factored into a new study that elevated the project's benefit-cost ratio to 1.5 to 1. Critics countered the estimate was just the latest in a long line of flimsy arguments based not on legitimate data but a desire to complete a canal that had been started thirty years earlier.



### **Progress and Politics: Florida becomes a Sunbelt State**

While it appeared all but inevitable that the canal would be completed, broader social and political forces were coming together to halt the project's completion. Nationally, the demands of the Vietnam War overwhelmed domestic spending, especially for public works projects like the canal. Annual budget cuts took their toll, and by 1970 the project received less than 50 percent of its anticipated funding. On the state level, Florida was on the crest of profound social and economic

changes that had been accumulating over the postwar period. The development of interstate highways and rapid suburbanization invited a crush of migration to the Sunshine State. As part of a pattern of regional growth that would soon be deemed the "Sunbelt," Florida's demographic shift would accompany dramatic economic changes—NASA rockets at Cape Canaveral was perhaps the most telling symbol of this modernization—as tourism and retirement communities proliferated across the state. All of this conspired to make Florida a more cosmopolitan and less insular place by the late 1960s.

Such changes also altered the state's political climate, which led to a weakening of power of North Florida's good-old-boy porkchop politicians. Indeed, 1968 would become a watershed in the state's political history as both Richard Nixon and Claude Kirk occupied the White House and the Governor's Mansion respectively. With Republicans in power, canal boosters saw a decline in their political influence. Moreover, both Nixon and Kirk, anxious to consolidate their gains, saw a chance to attract more voters by embracing an emerging environmental movement. In the case of Nixon, he not only incorporated such environmentalists as Floridian Nathaniel Reed (a fervent canal opponent) into his administration, but supported such key legislation as the Environmental Protection Act and Endangered Species Act. While crass political opportunism was no doubt a motivation, the environmental record of both of these officials was a departure from their Democratic predecessors, who continued to depend on New Deal-style works projects to attract voters. With all of these changes coming to head by the end of the decade, it is not coincidental that 1971 marked both the end of the canal and the beginning of the Disney era.

### **FDE, EDF, NEPA, and the CFBC: A Showdown in the Courts**

By 1969, canal opponents recognized the political scene was changing and seized a chance to stop the canal. Construction proceeded, albeit slowly, as the Corps continued to work on its locks and dams and began to build two large bridges in eastern Marion County. At the same time, years of coalition-building with statewide chapters of the Audubon

Society and other environmentalist groups encouraged Marjorie Carr and other Gainesville activists to establish the Florida Defenders of the Environment (FDE) in July 1969. In addition to their reliable strategy of letter writing and public confrontation, they enlisted scientists from around the country to bolster their case against the Corps. Of all things, it took a fortuitous reading of Sports Illustrated to add another weapon to their arsenal. Lee Ogden, an Alachua Audubon member, read with interest a February 1969 article on the Environmental Defense Fund's (EDF) aggressive legal tactics on behalf of ecological causes. Contacting Victor Yannacone, legal advisor for the EDF, Ogden wondered if the organization would consider a lawsuit against the Corps. The Environmental Defense Fund welcomed the opportunity, using existing Florida environmental groups as a local base of support to oppose the canal.

Filing suit in federal district court in September 1969, EDF demanded a halt in construction pending a new study that measured the canal's "social costs and real social benefits," something they and other environmentalists claimed the Corps never accounted for in earlier studies. This lawsuit was bolstered substantially by the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) in late 1969, which would require the consideration of the environmental impact of such projects as the Cross-Florida Barge Canal.



On a related front, FDE published its own environmental impact statement authored by twenty-six noted scientists. Made public in March of 1970, the study raised questions about the project's cost effectiveness and reinforced the belief that the canal would cause significant ecological damage throughout the Ocklawaha Valley. Indeed, the report disputed the Corps' claim that the Barge Canal was a dramatic improvement over its relatively more destructive predecessor from the 1930s. Reflecting much of the criticism of the Ship Canal, FDE scientists warned that even a shallow canal would pollute the aquifer because of the porosity of the underlying rock structure. They asserted the barge traffic alone would jeopardize both the surface and ground water with the threat of oil spills and other leakage from vessels and from the washoff of herbicides, pesticides, fertilizers, and wastes that would accompany industrial and residential development along the canal route. The project also threatened the water quality of Silver Springs, Marion County's chief tourist attraction. More importantly, however, the wholesale destruction of the Ocklawaha Valley, a wild habitat that supported a "full spectrum" of plant and animal life, would far outweigh any benefits accompanying the construction of artificial lakes. The report even assailed the assumption of improved fishing and boating by pointing out that the lakes developed behind the dams would be too shallow and weed-laden for aquatic recreation.

While the FDE report was couched in scientific terms, another more visceral assault quickly galvanized widespread public opposition. An article in the January 1970 issue of Reader's Digest entitled "Rape on the Ocklawaha" publicized the environmentalist cause more than Marjorie Carr could have imagined. Soon thousands of letters opposing the canal flooded the offices of federal and state authorities.

### President Nixon and the Canal

In June 1970, in response to both the scientific and emotional attacks on the canal, Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel called for a fifteen-month moratorium on canal construction pending yet another study, but this time by his office. Predictably, this request was not well received by the

Army Corps of Engineers, and no funds were allocated for the new study. The Corps continued to dig but came up with an alternative plan to forestall critics—a canal bypassing the established route. Running parallel to the Ocklawaha, this new design would allow both the canal to be completed and undercut opposition to it by saving the river. At the same time, the Corps organized a pro-Canal public relations offensive to counter the claims of Carr and her allies by spending more than \$1500 a month to publicize its project.

The controversy reached a head in the final months of 1970 as President Nixon's Council on Environmental Quality—recently established by NEPA—recommended terminating the project. On January 15, 1971, U. S. District Court Judge Barrington Parker issued his ruling on the EDF lawsuit, calling for a preliminary injunction halting further work on the canal. His ruling, based heavily on FDE's scientific evidence, cited the lack of an environmental impact statement, now mandated by NEPA, as the rationale for his decision. Once again, another study would be necessary to resolve the issue.

Four days later, however, Richard Nixon stunned the Corps and canal supporters by allying himself with the Court. In a message announced to the press with no opportunity for questions, Nixon simply declared: "I am today ordering a halt to further construction of the Cross Florida Barge Canal to prevent potentially serious environmental damage. . . . A natural treasure is involved in the case of the Barge Canal—the Ocklawaha River—a uniquely beautiful, semitropical stream, one of the very few of its kind in the United States, which would be destroyed by construction of the Canal." Stating clearly that his decision emanated from the advice of the Council on Environmental Quality, he concluded that "the step I have taken today will prevent a past mistake from causing permanent damage."

Though litigation and contentious dispute would continue for well into the next decade, for all intents and purposes the dream of a canal was dead. Marjorie Carr, once dismissed as a "mere Micanopy housewife," had defeated a formidable adversary: the result of centuries of ambition and nearly forty

years of implacable bureaucratic momentum had suddenly come to a halt.

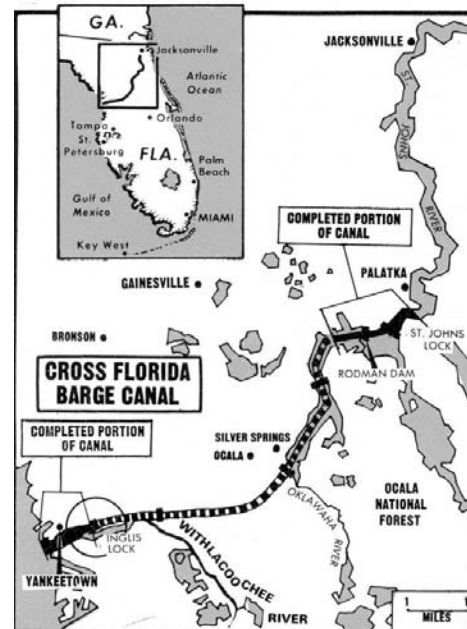
### Chapter Five: A Different Dream, A Different Vision: From Canal to Greenway

#### A Decisive Announcement leads to Unresolved Questions

President Richard Nixon's announcement brought forth a flurry of varied responses. Predictably, canal boosters, especially Congressmen Charles Bennett and Bob Sikes, blasted the action as an abuse of executive power and demanded continued construction. Nationally, canal opponents hailed the measure as a first step towards evaluating environmental considerations in large-scale public works projects. As the *New York Times* proclaimed: "The President is apparently beginning to realize—and it is high time that Congress recognized—that the American people are becoming increasingly fed up with the expensive, boon-doggling, make-work, environmentally destructive projects that to a large degree characterize the civilian activities of the Army Corps of Engineers."

Florida environmentalists praised the announcement as the final nail in the canal's coffin. However, while Nixon's decision seemed conclusive, it raised more questions as to the fate of the Ocklawaha River. Was the canal dead or simply dormant? What was to happen to Lake Ocklawaha (also called Rodman Reservoir)? Would the river flow freely once again? The answer to these questions proved much more difficult than Richard Nixon or Marjorie Carr could have ever imagined. Again, the interaction of politics, economics, and science created a bizarre holding-pattern that saw little resolution for a generation. Boosters still held the hope the canal could be completed. Opponents saw the order as only the first step towards dismantling the Ocklawaha's dams to eventually restore the river. Few seemed satisfied with the status quo. But neither side possessed the political capital either locally or nationally to decide the issue. For the next three years the Cross Florida Barge Canal laid in a state of political limbo as advocates and opponents turned to the courts to argue over both the

legitimacy of Nixon's decision and the viability of the project itself. Also involved in the litigation was the fate of the Ocklawaha River, and arguments over Lake Ocklawaha and the dam that had created it. If either side expected a clear victory in the courts, they were sadly mistaken.



#### Courts and Reports: The Canal Debate in the 1970s

Within a month of Nixon's decision the Florida Canal Authority filed suit in the Jacksonville Federal District Court to resume canal construction. Meanwhile so many other parties entered the legal fray that the court had to consolidate five cases into a long trial that began in July 1973. In a case that was so complex that at one point advocates and opponents were both plaintiffs and defendants, U.S. District Court Judge Harvey Johnsen ruled in January 1974 that Nixon's termination was unlawful because Congress had both authorized and funded the canal and only it could halt the project. "The situation," he wrote, "is going to have to grind its way along . . . until Congress sees fit to provide the final answer."

While this seemed a clear victory for the canal's advocates, Johnsen also concluded the Corps could

not continue construction without an environmental impact study required by recent law. Neither side was pleased with the decision, yet neither appealed it. Congress, busy with the intense political turmoil over the Watergate scandal, had little interest in the project. Efforts to deauthorize the canal, which would have clearly established its death, met strong opposition among Florida's Congressional delegation, especially Jacksonville's Charles Bennett and William Chappell of Ocala. Hardly dead but barely alive, the canal languished on life support.

In August of 1976, the Corps issued a voluminous draft restudy that focused almost exclusively on the canal's effect on the Ocklawaha River and the surrounding valley. The Corps' scientists reluctantly agreed that completing the canal at this juncture would require \$370 million. Four months later, prompted by the Corps' seeming lack of interest in completing the project, Florida Governor Reuben Askew and his cabinet voted 6 to 1 to withdraw state support from the canal and furthermore to make plans to restore the Ocklawaha to its natural channel. Recreating the raucous atmosphere of the public hearing ten years before, this two day meeting had a decidedly different outcome. In spite of the opposition from two former governors and Congressman Chappell, Marjorie Carr and the Florida Defenders of the Environment (FDE) carried the day. Like a vampire, however, the canal refused to die.



In order to stop the canal, Congress needed to deauthorize the project. By 1977, a consensus had developed that the canal was not only harmful to the environment but no longer necessary. Indeed, the development of interstate highways—notably I-10 from Jacksonville to Pensacola and I-4 from Daytona Beach to Tampa—was already meeting the state's commercial demands as trucking had replaced river traffic as a primary means of transportation during the postwar period.

Using environmental and economic arguments, many Florida politicians, including both of its United States Senators, moved to kill the canal. They found strong support with the newly elected, environmentally friendly president, Jimmy Carter, who made his opposition to the project clear. Regardless of the strength of this developing alliance, anti-canal advocates could not carry the day. They faced a small but influential foe in Congress as perennial canal boosters Bennett, Chappell and Sikes used their legislative savvy to prevent the passage of the measure in the House. The vampire still lived.

### The Drive for Deauthorization

The demographic and political trends of the 1960s continued through the 1970s and well into the 1980s, when Ocala Congressman Buddy MacKay cosponsored a bill to deauthorize the canal. A protege of former Governor Reuben Askew, MacKay represented the very heart of canal country. He, however, recognized there could be an alternative future for Ocala. In hearings held in Palatka in June of 1985, Florida's new breed of politicians railed against the project. Governor Bob Graham concluded, "there is one thing which we do not count among our inventory of needs, and that is the Cross Florida Barge Canal." State officials saw deauthorization as an opportunity to put canal lands to an alternative public use. Without congressional deauthorization, the lands lay dormant. As Graham concluded, "no decision can be a decision." At the hearing, Congressman Chappell fought a rearguard action against anti-canal forces but had to admit defeat.

A year later, deauthorization passed both houses of Congress in spite of the die-hard efforts of Bennett and Chappell. With the canal itself as a dead issue,

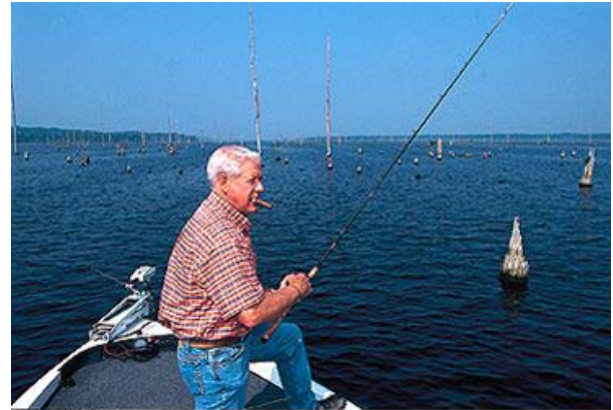
the debate shifted towards issues concerning the removal of Rodman Dam and the future use of lands previously allocated for canal construction. Questions remained: would hundreds of parcels of land revert to their former owners? Could the state utilize the land for other purposes? Were former owners due reimbursement for lands no longer allocated for canal construction? And if they were, would compensation come from Washington or Tallahassee?

Some of these questions were resolved in the 1990s. Deauthorization required the setting aside of 77,000 acres for “conservation and recreational uses such as hiking, bicycling, fishing, and bird watching.” Millions of dollars were refunded to the counties along the canal route in repayment for their decades-long investment in the canal. The State Department of Environmental Protection assumed control over canal lands from the now defunct State Canal Authority. Plans moved ahead for the establishment of a linear park using these lands. While there was general agreement on the benefits of this project, contentious disputes still raged over the fate of the Rodman Dam. The Florida Defenders of the Environment continued their fight to see the dam destroyed and the Ocklawaha flow freely. Again, marshaling both scientific evidence and sentimental rhetoric, the organization appealed to both state and federal authorities to restore the river to its natural condition.

### **A New Debate: Rodman Dam and the Fate of the Ocklawaha River**

Though the canal was dead, a new advocate arose to protect its vestiges. State Senator George Kirkpatrick of Gainesville became a strident voice for keeping the dam and preserving the ecosystem it created. His rationales centered on the economic importance of the dam to Putnam County and the wonderful fishing provided by the reservoir. Kirkpatrick represented a large constituency of supporters who saw the dam and its reservoir as assets. Ironically, they used environmental arguments to advocate for the preservation of the habitat created by the Rodman Reservoir. Coalescing into an organization known as “Save

Rodman Reservoir,” they too provided scientific evidence challenging FDE’s contention that the dam created a dying body of water.



The decade of the 1990s marked significant political infighting over the dam, its reservoir, and the fate of the Ocklawaha River. Though Marjorie Carr had stopped the canal, she would not live to see the Ocklawaha River undammed. Upon her death in October 1997, Carr was buried with a “Free the Ocklawaha” bumper sticker on her casket. In spite of widespread scientific and public support for removing the dam and letting the river run its natural course, Kirkpatrick proved to be a worthy successor to the likes of Bert Dosh, Henry Buckman, and Charles Bennett. Using political capital and legislative legerdemain, Kirkpatrick succeeded in keeping the dam intact. In appreciation for his efforts, the dam was renamed Kirkpatrick Dam in August of 1999. The controversy over the dam outlived Kirkpatrick as well. Dying suddenly in February 2003, Kirkpatrick was buried with a “Save Rodman Reservoir” sticker on his casket in an ironic counterpoint to his old adversary, Marjorie Carr.



In 1998 the State of Florida established the Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway, turning the boondoggle of a canal into a model conservation project. While Carr's legacy lies in the natural uses of this land, canal supporters ironically have their monuments as well. Buckman Lock and Kirkpatrick Dam on the eastern end of the Greenway represent the human effort to tame nature. That the Greenway contains elements of both nature and human endeavor points to the ambiguous nature of human interaction with the environment. Politics, science, and economics all provided chapters in the story of the Greenway and its important place in Florida's history. This story is so compelling because Florida's past is at once its future—as the questions raised by the canal and its legacy persist. The unintended consequences of canal development and the unfulfilled dreams of canal boosters have created an oasis of undeveloped land amid suburban sprawl. The irony of this would no doubt make Marjorie Harris Carr smile.

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#### **Gerald Ford Presidential Library**

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## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

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## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

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Elmer Thomas Collection  
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Box 40, folder 77a  
Carl Albert Collection  
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## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

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- Cerrato, Cynthia L. “Davenport: A Prehistoric Village and Mound Site in the Ocala National Forest.” M.A. thesis, University of South Florida, 1994.
- Crum, Lou Jean. “The Ocklawaha River.” M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1954.
- Amy Ellerson. “The Cross-Florida Barge Canal: Ideologies in Conflict.” M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1995.

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Eriksson, Barbara Dunlap. "The History of the Florida Ship Canal from its Earliest Beginnings to its Temporary Abandonment in 1942." M.A. thesis, Stetson University, 1964.

Middleton, Sallie R. "Cutting through Paradise: A Political History of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal." Ph.D. diss., Florida International University, 2001.

Van Der Hulse, Kenneth. A Report on Conditions in Marion County Resulting from the Gulf-Atlantic Ship Canal Project. Typescript, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. March 17, 1936.

Youngberg, Gilbert A. "The Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal Across Florida, An Historical Summary: an address presented by Gilbert A. Youngberg at the twentieth annual meeting of the Florida Engineering Society at Daytona Beach, Florida, April 3, 1936." Florida State Archives, Department of State, Division of Library and Information Services, Bureau of Archives and Records Management. Tallahassee: Florida.

## Appendix B: Office of Greenways and Trails Sources and Materials

The following were cataloged following an inventory of the State of Florida Department of Environmental Protection's Office of Greenways and Trails (OGT), Tallahassee, Florida in July 2001. Primarily from the state's Canal Authority, which includes Ship Canal sources from the 1930s, much of the material also includes Army Corps of Engineers Papers. All of the Canal Authority minutes provide a good glimpse of the institutional development of the canal. The Corps' papers have good clip files and internal memoranda regarding criticism of the project. The papers also contain good maps and photographs from the 1960s. Finally, the OGT's flat files have several good maps and clippings for interpreters to draw on. While they are primarily photocopies, they provide good leads for other materials.

Please note that this list is based upon locations from the summer of 2001. Materials may have been moved since.

### Original location: Room 815 AB

#### FIVE DRAWER GRAY FILE CABINET

##### Drawer One, Canal Lands Advisory Committee (May 1991-September 1992)

###### Minutes and Reports

See list of "Meetings, Workshops, and Public Hearings" within drawer for dates and locations of assorted meetings. Total of 16 folders.

Several copies of "To Be or Not to Be" – The Rodman Reservoir Controversy: A Review of Available Data," from the Department of Fisheries and Aquiculture, September 9, 1992.

###### VHS Video Tapes

FDE Presents Restoring the Ocklawaha (21:45)

Tree Crusher video

Originals and a copy (made August 2001) of both.

Rodman Reservoir Flood plain Characteristics (Restored by RS&H Underwater Video)

Rodman Reservoir (no time)

###### Photographs

20 original slides and photographic print copies of Lyndon Johnson 1964 groundbreaking

2 BW 8x10 photos of Johnson and groundbreaking explosion

###### Audiotape

Original reel-to-reel tape of Cross Florida Barge Canal Ceremony at Palatka, 27 February 1964. Features President Lyndon B. Johnson as speaker. Audio cassette copy (August 2001) of above Johnson groundbreaking ceremony

### **Drawer Two, Canal Authority Minutes, January 1966 to June 1993**

Volume XI, October 1966 through September 1967

Volume XII, October 1967 through December 1969

Volume XIII, January 1970 through December 1971

Volume XIV, January 1972 through March 1976

Volume XV, April 1976 through December 1979

Volume XVI, February 1980 through September 1981

Also two red volumes: Canal Authority of the State of Florida 1981-1988 and 1988-1993

### **Drawer Three, Canal Authority Minutes, June 1933 to December 1965**

Volume I, 6-5-33 through 7-12-36

Volume II, 10-15-36 through 12-7-38

Volume III, 1-14-39 through 1-8-44

Volume IV, 1-29-44 through 12-13-47

Volume V, 12-15-47 through 1-8-55

Volume VI, 1-21-55 through 3-13-61

Volume VII, 6-7-61 through 8-3-63

Volume VIII, 9-20-63 through December 1964

Volume IX January 1965 through December 1965

Volume X, January 1966 through September 1966

### **Drawer Four, Cross Florida Canal Navigation District Minutes, September 1935 to December 1990**

Volume I, 9-12-35 through 2-13-37

Volume II, 2-20-37 through 12-13-41

Volume III, 1-10-42 through 12-13-47

Volume IV, 12-15-47 through 3-7-55

Volume V, 3-12-55 through 12-21-59

Volume VI, February 1960 through November 1965

Volume VII, March 1966 through May 1980

Volume VIII, November 1982 through January 1991

### **Drawer Five, Miscellaneous Materials**

Folder One, Clippings

Most newspaper clippings c. December 1976.

Folder Two, Ariel Photographs

Accordion File 228-10 CFBC 1936-1971

Assorted materials from the Corps of Engineers, including:

1962 Economic Evaluation of CFBC Project.

Copy of Wernick article, "Let's Spoil the Wilderness," Saturday Evening Post, Nov 65, anti-environmentalist piece as ammunition for Corps of Engineering.

1966 section, good articles (Ocala Star Banner, May 8, 1966) re. Ocklawaha and development.

Files from 1965 to 1968 have good material, including numerous photocopies.

Accordion File 228-10, CFBC HIST

St. Johns Lock Groundbreaking – General Welling's Talk, 1964-65

Assorted articles and program.

Accordion File 228-10 CFBC HIST

Eureka, 1966-69

Photocopies of articles, including response to Reader's Digest "Rape on the Ocklawaha" article and assorted Florida Defenders of the Environment (FDE) literature.

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Accordion File 228-10 CFBC HIST  
Adverse – General 1962-1968

### **SHELVING AREA, NEXT TO THE FILE CABINET**

#### **Third Shelf, from the top**

Microfiche

Two boxes and one assembled by paper and rubber band.

Box one: Property Titles by County

Box two: Landowners of Property Acquired for Right-of-Way

Petitions

Two accordion folders of Rodman petitions, c. 1995.

Folder one: list of signatures

Folder two: signatures and numerous letters expressing public comment

Box marked:

“Old Office Files Mostly on Leases” from the Canal Authority (primarily from 1970s)

Folder marked:

“Proposed Draft of Real Estate Design Memorandum No. 18, 4 August 1967”

Contains interesting photographs of buildings—hunting cabins, homes, etc— from Ocklawaha, Orange Lake, Rainbow Springs, Mud Lake and other surrounding areas. May be of interest to historians or architects.

#### **Fourth Shelf, from the top**

Contains two framed photographs of heavy equipment and the canal (undated).

### **Original location: Room 806C**

Survey of eight (8) U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (COE) boxes with specific reference to matter relating to the Cross-Florida Barge Canal (CFBC).

#### **ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS BOXES (8)**

##### **Box One**

COE Re-Study reports: 1976

General CFBC files: June, 1976

##### **Box Two**

COE, detail design, Rodman Dam: November, 1964

COE, detail design, clearing Rodman Pool: January, 1966

COE, Economic Evaluation of CFBC: March, 1962 (good historical materials)

COE, detail design, relocation of U.S. Highway 19: April, 1964

Engineering Plans, State Road 40 Bridge

Study, CFBC: 1946 (good historical materials)

Evaluation CFBC project: June, 1962 (good historical materials)

COE, detail design, Inglis Lock: May, 1964

COE, detail design, St. Johns Lock: November, 1963

COE, detail design, Eureka Pool clearing, January, 1970

COE, detail design, re-location of railroad near Dunnellon: September, 1969

COE, supplement to economic re-study: August, 1963

COE, Preliminary Master Plan: October, 1965

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COE, detail design, Inglis Lock Bypass Channel: February, 1969  
COE, detail design, project office building: March, 1965  
COE, detail design, re-location of State Road 40: May, 1966  
COE, detail design, Inglis Lock cooling water: January, 1966  
COE, detail design, canal excavation: December, 1966  
COE, detail design, locks and bulkheads: June, 1967  
COE, detail design, State Road S-464 Bridge: January, 1968  
COE, detail design, State Road 475 Bridges: May, 1967

### Box Three

COE, railroad crossings: December, 1965  
COE, re-study reports: 1975-76

### Box Four

#### Folders

Rodman Pool, Easements and Suits  
Rodman Pool, Title Certificates  
Acquisitions, Putnam County: 1930s  
Title Certificates, Citrus County: 1960s  
Copy of Canal Authority Real Estate Log and Abstracts  
Land Title Computer Printouts  
Railroad crossings at Dunnellon  
YCK court cases and materials

#### Loose materials

Deeds and Easements

### Box Five

#### Folders

COE design memorandum: September, 1967  
Aquifer Tests in the CFBC, USGS (U.S. Geological Survey) and COE: August, 1975  
COE, Economic Evaluation of the CFBC: March, 1962  
COE, detail design, relocation of State Road 316  
COE, re-study, final summary: February, 1972  
COE, detail design, locks and bulkheads: June, 1967  
COE, status report: April, 1975 (important historical materials)  
COE, real estate design memo: July, 1964  
COE, Kearney report on transportation: 1975  
U.S. Department of the Interior, Recreation Interim Study: February, 1975  
COE, Preliminary Master Plan: October, 1965  
Canal Trial, Clippings: 1973-74  
Inglis Dam: 1972-73  
    General correspondence and clippings: January – June, 1973  
    General correspondence and clippings: July – December, 1973

### Box Six

Design memoranda, inspection reports, scientific studies, status reports, 1966-78 (technical materials)

### Box Seven

#### Folders

General History I: correspondence, economic studies, 1892 letter: 1892 – 1933 (important materials)  
General History II: clippings, memos, COE report on ship canal: 1966 – 68 (important materials)  
General History III: clippings, memos: n.d. (important materials)  
General History IV: clippings: 1970 (important materials)  
General History V: 1970: Information concerning the Rodman Reservoir draw-down: 1970  
COE, re-study report: 1975  
Technical documents, including overheads  
Yankeetown News: 1936 (important materials)  
Aerial color photographs, ten (10); of the CFBC: November, 1972

### Box Eight

COE, detail design, Rodman Dam: November, 1964  
U.S. Interior Dept., CFBC, Environmental Assessment, Recreation Report: February, 1975  
COE, preliminary master plan, CFBC: November, 1965 (good maps and general information)  
COE, detail design, re-location of railroads near Dunnellon: September, 1969  
COE, detail design, Inglis Spillway and Dam: September, 1966  
COE, detail design, Inglis Lock, May, 1964  
U.S. Interior Dept., CFBC re-study report, recreation and related aspects: May, 1976  
COE, CFBC operation and maintenance manual: n.d.  
COE and USGS, Geohydrology of the CFBC Area, w/ Special Ref. to the Ocala Vicinity: 1970  
COE, CFBC re-study report, aquatic vegetation study: May, 1976  
COE, CFBC re-study report, summary: August, 1976  
Status report of the CFBC – Canal Authority: April, 1988  
Photos, eight by ten (8" x 10"), Canal and Rodman, thirty-three (33): late 1960s (important materials)  
Ground-breaking file, photos, slides, audiotape, memorabilia, LBJ speech: n.d. (important materials)

### FLAT FILE

#### Drawer 11

A. Canal Authority, Annual Report: 1964  
B. De-authorization resolutions: 1989 – 1991 (blue cardboard backing, good for display)  
C. Dedication invitations: 1968, 1970, 1992  
D. COE magazine: December, 1992  
E. CFBC public information posters: (n.d.)  
F. Maps:  
    1. Wildlife effects, Alachua Audubon: (n.d.)  
    2. Florida topography: 1913  
    3. 7 CFBC conservation area  
    4. 1769 copy, St. Johns River  
    5. Ship Canal, Bird's Eye View: 1930s  
    6. SJRWMD (St. Johns River Water Management District.) map (n.d.)  
    7. Large aerial photo, S.R. 316 Bridge (n.d.)  
G. Photos, from FDE, Rainbow River sewage (n.d.)  
H. Misc. clippings: 1964 – 1994  
I. Ship Canal activities: 1936

### Drawer 13

- A. Eight large b. & w. photos of the Ship Canal (n.d.)
- B. Maps, including:
  - 1. Photostats of territorial maps, 1885
  - 2. Hart Steamship Lines
  - 3. COE maps: 1933 – 1970s
  - 4. Ship canal: 1879
  - 5. Ship canal, rights-of-way: 1936
- C. Photographs, incl. aerials, eight by ten (8" x 10") in manila envelope: 1930s

### Original location: DEP Conference Room

#### RODMAN BOXES, EVALUATED FROM JULY 2003

DEP Summary Document, Public Comments, Restoration of Rodman, June 93-April 95  
Prepared for the Florida Legislature, April 1995  
Court Decision, Canal Authority v. Calloway, et al., February 15, 1974  
Draft Executive Summary: Rodman Reservoir Economic Study, DEP Legal, December 9, 1994  
Lock Traffic Logs, St. Johns Lock, December 1968-December 1969  
Correspondence, FDE to OGT, February 1995  
Title Maps, Cross Florida Barge Canal, 1964-1967

### Original Location: DEP Vault (first floor)

#### DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION VAULT

Title and Land Records Section, Bureau of Survey and Mapping, Division of State Lands

DEP Greenways and Trails, Agency Deed Files

Includes index according to plotted acreage and 3 inch thick document of Canal Authority lands, noting parcel numbers, acreage, amount paid (and when), and names of previous owners.

The vault also contains a legal-sized index ©. 1993) of Canal Authority Currently Held Parcels (51 pages).

## **Appendix C: Newspaper Headline List**

While by no means conclusive, the following list of newspaper headlines serves as a solid introduction to a major source of primary material regarding the history of the Florida canal. On the one hand it offers a quick chronological glance of the development of both the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal and Cross Florida Barge Canal. On the other hand, it serves as a documentary base for interpreters to pull contemporary headlines for visual display. Pulled from across the state and from a wide variety of sources, this list provides a rough cross-section of accounts and opinions about the project.

### **American Forests**

06/64      The Cross Florida Canal

### **The Bradenton Herald**

02/05/39    The Florida Canal and the Navy Department  
02/05/39    Water League's Head Writes to Senator Pepper

### **Brooksville Sun-Journal**

10/08/67    Intercoastal Waterway Gets U.S. Engineers OK

### **Business Week**

04/10/37    Boost Florida Canal

### **Chicago Tribune**

05/17/39    Florida Canal Waste Blasted By Vandenberg  
05/18/39    Senate Kills New Deal Florida Canal  
05/29/39    Florida Canal Case

### **Crystal River Sentinel**

12/22/66    Prehistoric Bones Found in Barge Canal

### **Dade City Banner**

09/26/68    Barge Canal Opens Recreational Areas

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### **Daytona Beach Morning Journal**

12/28/67 St. Johns Lock Opens Soon  
09/24/68 Cross State Canal Job Progresses  
09/25/68 First Trickle of Water (photo)

### **DeLand Sun News**

12/09/36 Is It Worth The Gamble?  
09/26/67 Let's Avoid Delay In Barge Canal  
12/31/67 Delay In Canal Completion Seen Over Appropriation Cut

### **Dunnellon Press**

10/05/67 Army Engineers Chose In-Shore Waterway Route-Public Hearing Oct. 24  
12/19/68 Speedy Completion of Canal Pledged by Congressman Boland At Lock Dedication

### **Engineering News-Record**

09/12/35 Work on Canal Across Florida to Start Immediately  
01/09/36 Limited Effect on Water Supplies Expected from Florida Canal  
03/19/36 Florida Canal Funds Voted Down  
04/02/36 Beginning the Florida Canal  
04/16/36 Florida Canal and Quoddy Must Get Approval of Congress  
06/01/67 300-Ton Masher Clears Reservoir Site

### **The Florida Alligator**

03/31/72 Specialists Defend Environment  
10/21/76 It's Alive  
07/26/77 Can Canal Route Be Erased?  
07/28/77 Bury It  
02/13/78 Undo It  
09/21/82 Cross-Florida Barge Canal Shows Signs of Life  
10/20/82 Plan for Canal Study Gets \$20,000  
01/25/83 Environmentalist Wants Cemetery to Mean Death for Canal  
02/10/83 Barge Canal Land Advice Criticized  
04/20/83 Barge Canal May Face Watery Grave  
05/17/83 Subcommittee Hears Canal Deauthorization Bill  
07/21/83 Coal-Powered Plants Push for Cross Florida Canal Completion  
09/12/83 Heavenly Help  
02/02/84 Barge Canal Will Be Maintained  
08/10/78 The Canal Dies Slowly  
06/28/84 MacKay Urges Canal Death

### **Florida Business Leader-Commercial Record**

04/08/68 Jax C of C Pushing Budget For Barge Canal

### Florida Times Union

03/20/1903 Lucas Line Steamer Metamora Sinks in the Oklawaha River  
09/21/24 Grant's Tour Gave State First National Notice  
02/20/34 Status of Florida Canal Explained By H. H. Buckman  
09/18/35 Canal Session Is Postponed Until Friday  
09/19/35 Roosevelt to Set Off Blast Today Launching Excavation On Gulf-Atlantic Ship Canal  
09/20/35 Ship Canal Launched: President Sets Off Blast From Home; Backers Encouraged, Participation of FDR Held Good Augury, Cheers Greet Ascension of Dirt-Geyser  
09/20/35 As Work on Cross-State Canal Was Officially Launched (photos)  
09/21/35 Fletcher Credits Roosevelt For Construction of Canal  
11/18/35 Canal Digging Machines Set  
03/11/36 Motorcade to Start Early On Canal Trip  
03/12/36 Motorcade to Canal Leaves This Morning  
03/13/36 Local Residents Inspect Florida Cross-State Canal  
03/13/36 Canal Motorcade, 119 Cars Long, Pays Visit to Waterway Project  
03/13/36 New Try for Canal Funds Meets Defeat  
03/17/36 Vote in Senate on Florida Canal Fund Expected Today; Army Increase Is Approved  
03/18/36 Senate Rejects Florida Ship Canal Appropriation, 39-34  
03/19/36 Canal Forces Gain Ground In New Move  
08/02/39 Canal Project Are Outlined  
03/20/58 Bennett Takes New Approach To Canal  
09/14/61 Barge Canal Supporters Are Rapped  
09/01/63 Barge Canal Aid by JFK Due Thanks  
12/27/63 First Cross-State Canal Bids Slated  
12/27/64 Cross-Florida Barge Canal Beginning To Take Shape with Monster Dragline  
03/07/65 Old Agencies Push Canal Job  
02/28/65 LBJ Sets Off Blast to Open Work on Canal  
10/09/66 Beatin' the Boats Over the Cross-Florida Barge Canal  
04/13/67 Huge Machine Clears Trees In Canal Site Demonstration  
10/13/67 Holland to Talk To Canal Group  
11/16/67 Start of Greatest Boom Seen for North Florida  
12/15/68 Canal Lock Opens (photos)  
08/28/69 Expert Hits Barge Canal, Reservoirs  
01/11/70 Canal's Foes Attacked By Bryant at Dedication  
01/16/70 Backers of Canal Feel Work Halt Is Too Drastic  
05/07/70 Florida Told Canal May Ruin Oklawaha  
05/07/70 Kirk Adopts 'Wait And See' Canal Stand  
05/12/70 Kirk Stand on Canal Awaits U.S. Studies  
09/27/70 Barge Canal Pollution May Affect 2 Resorts  
01/21/71 Florida Canal 'Germ' Took 150 Years to Sprout  
01/25/71 Alachua Woman's Fears Led to Canal Halt  
01/25/71 Yankeetown Citizens Bitter Over Stoppage Of 'Big Ditch'  
01/31/71 Barge Canal Proponents Find No Help in D.C.  
01/31/71 D.C. News Isn't Good For Canal Supporters  
02/02/71 Putnam Taxpayers League Protests Canal Work Halt  
02/17/71 'Nothing Beautiful About Oklawaha'  
02/23/71 Groups Unite to Fight Lawsuit on Canal Halt  
03/02/71 Rail-Barge Proposal Presented by Stone

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07/23/71 Florida Barge Canal Foe Is Rapped  
12/05/72 Roberts Asks Support for Canal Impact Study  
01/19/73 Cross-Florida Canal Still Controversial  
06/07/73 Allcorn Says Barge Canal Trial Here Could Reveal Scandal Rivaling Watergate  
06/07/73 Consulting Service Reapproved  
07/15/73 Cross Florida Canal Returning to Court Here Monday  
08/10/73 No Historical Sites in Path of Canal, UF Professor Says  
12/16/74 Cross-Florida Canal Meeting Due in Ocala  
08/18/76 Studies Show Barge Canal Impractical, Shevin Says  
08/27/76 Putnam Officials Charge Shevin 'Violated Oath'  
09/08/76 Shevin Opposes Barge Canal Secrecy  
09/15/76 Barge Canal Conflict Continues in Clay  
09/15/76 Askew Cites Reasons For Canal Opposition  
10/10/76 Kill the Canal – And Watch the Red Tape  
01/20/78 Askew Names Five to New Canal Authority  
02/10/2002 Rodman Dam Unlikely To Be Gone By Deadline  
02/10/2002 How the Plug Would Be Pulled on the Rodman Reservoir

### **Ft. Lauderdale Daily News**

12/09/67 Waterway Future Undermined?

### **Fort Myers News-Press**

10/03/67 Gulf Waterway Now Held Feasible  
08/16/73 Canal Defense Use Eyed

### **Gainesville Sun**

03/19/05 A. W. Taylor May Get Big Contract: May Make Geodetic Survey For Great Florida Canals  
07/31/19 Rep. Frank Clark Introduces Bill For Fla. Canal Funding  
03/03/32 Local Merchants Endorse [Illegible] Canal Movement  
08/16/33 Federal Public Works Engineers Study Canal Across Florida  
05/27/35 Committee Would Further Plans For Canal  
06/07/35 Growers Condemn Proposed State Canal  
06/09/35 Proposed Canal Would Not Hurt Water Supply  
06/14/35 Two Sides Scrap Over Effect Of Canal On State's Agriculture  
06/24/35 Cross-State Canal Would Not Harm Water Supply, Summerall Says  
06/26/35 Opposing Factions On Canal At War Again  
08/14/35 Canal Group Plans New Activity  
08/15/35 Roosevelt Asks For Canal Data  
08/21/35 President Roosevelt Makes Statement In His Press Conference  
09/05/35 Work On Survey For Canal Gets Under Way  
09/06/35 Canal Will Avoid Hazards, Says Summerall  
09/08/35 Somervell Gives Working Plans For Canal  
09/09/35 Work On Canal To Start Next Thursday  
09/20/35 Digging On Canal Now In Full Swing  
05/04/43 Senate Subcommittee Approves 28 Million For Florida Canal  
03/25/58 Cross-Florida Canal Figures in U.S. Defense  
01/26/65 Money for Barge Canal Part of Budget Request

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|          |                                                                                           |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 01/31/65 | Barge Canal Could Save Area Millions                                                      |
| 02/11/65 | Cross-State Barge Canal Gets Commission A[pproval?]                                       |
| 02/19/65 | Tells of the Problems In Digging Barge Canal                                              |
| 05/02/65 | Officials Launch Inglis Barge Canal Complex                                               |
| 05/06/65 | Oklawaha River's Splendor To Give Way to [Copy Cut Off]                                   |
| 05/07/65 | Barge Canal Moving Fast; Benefits to Florida Cited                                        |
| 05/13/65 | Blasts Canal Foes                                                                         |
| 06/17/65 | \$10 Million Is OK'd For Cross-State                                                      |
| 07/28/65 | Barge Canal Delaying Action Attacked by Commissioner                                      |
| 12/21/69 | Barge Canal: Business Boon or Pork Barrel Outrage? The Conservation Controversy Continues |
| 08/16/65 | Canal Displayed                                                                           |
| 08/19/65 | Oklawaha Fight Brings Headlines                                                           |
| 09/27/65 | Barge Canal Construction Moving Along at Fast Clip                                        |
| 03/08/70 | Canal Study Ordered But Work Goes Ahead                                                   |
| 03/14/70 | Army Asked to Reevaluate Florida Barge Canal                                              |
| 04/22/70 | Barge Canal Benefit-Cost Figures Said Misleading                                          |
| 05/08/70 | Barge Canal Support Grows                                                                 |
| 05/12/70 | Kirk's Support Of Canal Hinges On Federal Study                                           |
| 05/12/70 | 'Most Devastating Projects' Tag Tied to Barge Canal                                       |
| 05/18/70 | Boatacade Wades into Cross-Florida Canal Debate                                           |
| 06/09/70 | Hickel Asks Barge Canal Work Halt for 15 Months                                           |
| 06/19/70 | Won't Halt Work On Barge Canal                                                            |
| 06/25/70 | Barge Canal Promotion Attacked in Putnam County                                           |
| 06/30/70 | 6,000-Ton Shipment Gets Stuck in Canal                                                    |
| 06/30/70 | Hickel To See Investigation Results of Canal                                              |
| 07/01/70 | Barge Canal: As Canal Issue Snowballed Deeper Studies Made                                |
| 07/01/70 | Canal Benefits Called Inflated                                                            |
| 07/01/70 | 'Last Chance Walk' Is Planned                                                             |
| 07/02/70 | Cost Estimate Said Low: Barge Canal 'Benefits' Usually Discounted by Opponents            |
| 07/02/70 | List of Firms With Canal Contracts                                                        |
| 07/03/70 | Barge Canal: 'Wild River' Oklawaha Is Now a Dead Dream                                    |
| 07/04/70 | Half-Loaded Barge Said Grounded on First Canal Journey                                    |
| 07/05/70 | Was Barge Stuck Or Not? Witnesses Swear By It                                             |
| 07/09/70 | Legislators Question Use Of Taxes to Promote Canal                                        |
| 07/10/70 | Canal Or No Canal, Oklawaha Doomed                                                        |
| 07/27/70 | No Action Yet On I-75 Bridge                                                              |
| 07/31/70 | Army Eyes Alternatives To Halting Barge Canal                                             |
| 08/01/70 | Environment Group Charges Army 'Stalling' Canal Halt                                      |
| 08/09/70 | Canal Boon, Backers Say                                                                   |
| 08/11/70 | Army Studying Alternate Canal Route?                                                      |
| 08/12/70 | Faircloth Calls for Barge Canal Halt                                                      |
| 08/14/70 | Says Kirk Backs Fla. Canal Fight                                                          |
| 08/22/70 | Canal Delay Rejected                                                                      |
| 08/23/70 | Charge Canal Rupturing Springs                                                            |
| 09/17/70 | Turlington Criticizes Promotion On Cross-Florida Barge Canal                              |
| 10/07/70 | 'Father' of Barge Canal, Bert Dosh, Dies in Ocala                                         |
| 10/29/70 | Godfrey Blasts Barge Canal As 'Disastrous Destruction'                                    |
| 11/06/70 | Canal Is Called No Threat                                                                 |
| 11/20/70 | To Lower Level of Barge Canal                                                             |
| 11/27/70 | In Wake Of Hickel Firing: Conservationists Ask Nixon For Barge Canal Moratorium           |

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01/05/71 Barge Canal Changes May Be in the Works  
02/02/71 Amended Canal Route Urged  
02/03/71 No Alternate Canal Route Acceptable to Conservationists  
02/03/71 Oppose Canal Authority Nix  
02/06/71 Is Anybody Listening?  
02/08/71 Askew Asks for Evidence That Brought Canal Halt  
02/12/71 Nixon's Order Slams Door On Alternate Canal Routes  
02/13/71 Canal Board Files Suit, Calls Nixon Order Illegal  
02/13/71 Canal Conservationists Blast Adams as 'Out of Date'  
02/15/71 Anti-Canal Groups Hide Whole Story, Adams Says  
02/16/71 'Florida Looks Ridiculous' In Canal Suit -- Shevin  
02/24/73 Positive Facts About Rodman  
12/08/65 'Hearing' On Canal Called/River Vs. Canal/Last-Ditch Stand Being Made To Divert Barge Canal  
12/09/65 Floridians Being Alerted  
01/09/66 Corps of Engineers 'Not Deaf' on Canal/Boatacade Protest on Oklawaha  
01/09/66 Inglis Canal Work  
11/16/67 Work Due To Start On Port Next Year, Operation Goal: Some Time in 1969  
11/04/69 'A Sickening Sight To View'  
11/11/69 State Plans Full-Scale Restudy of Barge Canal  
01/06/70 Could Barge Canal Hurt Industries?  
01/11/70 Barge Canal Defended At Inglis Dedication  
01/18/70 Water Level Protests Near Inglis Fruitless  
02/12/70 Beseiged Barge Canal Defended  
02/13/70 Barge Canal Center Stage In Discussion  
02/15/70 Lawmaker, Conservationist Disagree On Canal Effects  
02/19/70 Osborne Asks Private Study on Barge Canal  
02/24/70 Legislator Pushes Canal Fund Cut-Off  
01/07/71 Route Change for Barge Canal Given New Hope  
01/15/71 Suit To Halt Barge Canal Goes to Court Today  
01/16/71 Federal Judge Orders Halt On Parts of Barge Canal  
01/18/71 Nixon May Halt Canal  
01/19/71 Canal to Halt: Gurney Aide/Court Order Not Halting Canal Work  
01/20/71 Ecologists Cheer Canal Halt/The Fight Began in Gainesville  
01/20/71 Canal Halt Won't Stop Inglis Port Authority Plans  
01/21/71 Mimi's Joy Ride Is Unhappy/The Big Ditch (photos)  
01/24/71 Barge Canal: A Classic Struggle in Central Florida  
01/24/71 Cry of The Loon  
01/24/71 Levy's Hopes Smashed by Canal  
01/25/71 Fame Has Come to Marjorie Carr But to Her, It's a Family Affair  
01/25/71 Canal Less Harmful than Disney  
01/26/71 Urge Water Projects Probe; Canal Halt Called 'Anarchy'  
01/30/71 Bill to Drop Canal Group Filed Friday

### Jacksonville Journal

02/17/64 Idea of Barge Canal Is 400 Years Old  
04/12/67 Machine Tramples 85-Ft. Trees  
02/01/68 Canal Authority Chief Criticized Budget Cut

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

### Journal of Commerce

01/08/68 Florida Canal Completion Date Delayed  
04/03/68 Cross-Florida Canal Seen Luring Industry

### Lake City Reporter

11/02/67 Barge Canal Delay Seen By Ringhaver  
12/20/68 Boland's Aid Helpful, Nixon's Help Necessary

### The Ledger

02/15/71 Adams Defends Canal, Again Raps President

### The Miami Herald

09/19/35 President To Push Key Today To Begin Canal Excavation  
09/20/35 Roosevelt's Hand Starts Canal Digging  
09/20/35 Up in Hyde Park, N.Y., yesterday afternoon President Roosevelt...  
03/12/36 State Canal Fund Request Turned Down  
03/12/36 Wells Not The Man  
12/31/41 Florida Canal Unnecessary, Survey Shows  
06/16/62 Canal Given Boost  
11/13/69 Barge Canal Ruckus Continues  
03/17/70 Barge Canal Labeled Unfeasible  
03/18/70 Cross-State Canal Already There  
03/18/70 Rerouting of Canal Urged  
05/11/70 The Battle of the Barge Canal  
06/09/70 At the Corps of the Problem  
07/07/70 Bumpiness For The Barge Canal  
09/23/70 The Canal's Barging Ahead  
11/11/70 Barge Canal Issue Boils Again  
01/20/71 Pork Barrel's Hard to Stop  
01/21/71 Halting The Barge Canal A Timely And Proper Move  
01/21/71 'Defense' Defeated The Canal  
02/04/71 Pork Choppers Still Pro-Canal  
04/05/71 Barge Canal 'Blocked For Good'?  
05/19/72 Canal Project Is Still In Debate  
05/31/72 State Canal Idea Goes Way Back  
01/17/73 Barge Canal Foes Put On Defensive by Court  
02/08/74 Barge Canal – 146 Year Struggle  
02/12/74 Barging Ahead – For 136 Years  
07/09/74 Barging Along on That Canal  
05/13/75 The Corps of Engineers Is Suspect  
04/23/76 Cross State Controversy Barges On  
12/30/76 Along The Barge Canal  
03/07/71 The St. Johns: The River That Lost Its Way (Tropic magazine)

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

### Newsweek

|          |                                                                                                                |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 03/07/36 | Projects: Some Become Hazards In Presidential Obstacle Race                                                    |
| 04/25/36 | Limber No                                                                                                      |
| 05/25/36 | Projects: Congress Says 'No' to Quoddy and Florida Canal, but President Says 'Maybe, Sometime'                 |
| 06/06/36 | Relief                                                                                                         |
| 06/26/36 | Congress: Another Roosevelt Session Finally Expires, Bequeathing a \$19,000,000,000 Bill and a New Kind of Tax |
| 07/18/36 | The Federal Week                                                                                               |
| 08/22/36 | Primaries: Florida Nominates Canal and Townsend Champion                                                       |
| 09/12/36 | Florida Canal (Letter to Editor from Ocala, Florida)                                                           |
| 11/28/36 | The Federal Week                                                                                               |
| 12/26/36 | Florida: Another Step Toward Resurrection of Canal Project                                                     |
| 09/13/45 | Canal: Gulf-to-Ocean Ships to Get a Short-Cut Across Florida                                                   |
| 02/01/71 | The Environment: Blocking Florida's Ditch                                                                      |

### The New York Times

|          |                                                                                        |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 06/01/35 | Canal is Approved to Bisect Florida                                                    |
| 07/04/35 | To Take Up Florida Canal                                                               |
| 08/27/35 | Old Florida Snarls Florida Canal Plan                                                  |
| 09/04/35 | \$5,000 Grant for Florida Ship Canal, To Start Work on Safer Route to the Gulf         |
| 09/08/35 | Florida is Divided Over Canal Plans                                                    |
| 09/16/35 | Start Florida Canal                                                                    |
| 09/22/35 | Roosevelt Fires Ship Canal Blast                                                       |
| 10/02/35 | Plans Made to Speed Florida Canal Work by Spending \$20,000,000 More in the First Year |
| 10/20/35 | Ship Canal Project Causes Florida Split                                                |
| 10/24/35 | Vote Florida Canal Bonds                                                               |
| 10/25/35 | Sees Funds for Florida Canal                                                           |
| 11/24/35 | Florida Has A Canal Boom                                                               |
| 12/08/35 | More Funds Asked for Florida Canal                                                     |
| 12/18/35 | To Press Florida Canal                                                                 |
| 12/27/35 | Denies Ship Canal Will Hurt Florida                                                    |
| 12/29/35 | Florida Ship Canal                                                                     |
| 01/05/36 | Florida's Canal Still Arouses Ire                                                      |
| 02/05/36 | Vandenberg Fights Florida Ship Canal                                                   |
| 02/11/36 | Quoddy Project is Shunted Aside                                                        |
| 02/13/36 | Assails Opponents of Florida Canal                                                     |
| 02/16/36 | Hard Fight Brewing on Quoddy and Canal                                                 |
| 02/22/36 | Vandenberg Hits Canal and Quoddy                                                       |
| 03/03/36 | Vote Interior Bill Adding \$62,717,000                                                 |
| 03/07/36 | Florida Canal Gets \$200,000 After House Barred New Fund                               |
| 03/07/36 | Florida Canal Job Gets \$200,000 More                                                  |
| 03/08/36 | Vandenberg Warns on Florida Canal                                                      |
| 03/10/36 | Vandenberg Asks Tidal Funds Ban                                                        |
| 03/11/36 | Robinson Defends Projects of WPA                                                       |
| 03/12/36 | Senators Refuse Funds for Canal                                                        |
| 03/17/36 | Clash in Senate on Florida Canal                                                       |
| 03/18/36 | Florida Ship Canal Beaten in Senate                                                    |
| 03/19/36 | Nailed to a Cross, With Lips Sewed                                                     |

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

|          |                                                                                                                                 |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 03/22/36 | Division on Canal Persists in Florida                                                                                           |
| 04/11/36 | Hopkins-Ickes Issue Again Rises In House                                                                                        |
| 04/16/36 | Roosevelt Denies Funds to Quoddy                                                                                                |
| 04/19/36 | Two States Ponder Pet Projects' Fate: Prospective Stoppage of Funds for Quoddy and Ship Canal Worries Folk in Maine and Florida |
| 04/21/36 | In The Nation: Republicans Looked To for Counter-Relief Policy                                                                  |
| 04/26/36 | Millions Already Sunk                                                                                                           |
| 04/29/36 | River Parley Asks Billion Program: Florida Ship Canal Included in 113 Navigation and Flood Control Projects                     |
| 05/14/36 | Robinson Acts to Aid Quoddy and Canal                                                                                           |
| 05/27/36 | Senators Approve Survey of Quoddy: Committee on 12-to-5 Vote Orders a Favorable Report on Plan to Include Florida Canal         |
| 05/30/36 | Fight Over Quoddy in Senate: Relief Bill is Blocked by a New Move for Power Plan and the Florida Canal                          |
| 05/31/36 | Senate Votes 35-30 for the Florida Canal; Rejects Passamaquoddy                                                                 |
| 05/31/36 | Canal Prospects Revived in Florida                                                                                              |
| 06/01/36 | Log-Rolling Projects                                                                                                            |
| 06/07/36 | Florida and Quoddy                                                                                                              |
| 06/19/36 | ...To Pass Tax Bill (Incomplete)                                                                                                |
| 06/28/36 | Ship Canal 'Death' Is Seen in Florida                                                                                           |
| 07/02/36 | Canal Barracks to Be School                                                                                                     |
| 07/12/36 | Canal Research To Go On                                                                                                         |
| 11/18/36 | Army Board Backs Canal for Florida                                                                                              |
| 11/22/36 | Hope Stirs for Canal and for Quoddy Also                                                                                        |
| 12/17/36 | Backs Florida Ship Canal: Summerall Holds Project Would Not Imperil Water Supply                                                |
| 12/18/36 | Railroads Assail Canal for Florida                                                                                              |
| 12/27/36 | Split Is Widening on Florida Canal                                                                                              |
| 12/31/36 | Renews Warfare on Florida Canal                                                                                                 |
| 05/19/42 | Over-All Report Prepared                                                                                                        |
| 05/26/42 | Government Backs Gasoline Barges                                                                                                |
| 05/31/42 | Pipeline is Urged to Cross Florida                                                                                              |
| 06/26/42 | Florida Canal Advocated                                                                                                         |
| 02/28/64 | President, in the South, Pledges Broad Fight for Racial Equality                                                                |
| 01/21/65 | Army Engineers Suspend Work on Canal in Florida                                                                                 |
| 01/22/65 | Floridians to Discuss Canal                                                                                                     |
| 05/15/65 | Contracts Are Let for Florida Canal                                                                                             |
| 07/21/65 | The Fate of the Oklawaha                                                                                                        |
| 08/11/65 | Florida Canal Backed (Letter to the Editor)                                                                                     |
| 11/06/65 | Florida Canal Opposed (Letter to the Editor)                                                                                    |
| 01/11/70 | Florida Conservationists Unite for '70s                                                                                         |
| 03/17/70 | Hickel Responds on Florida Canal                                                                                                |
| 03/24/70 | U.S. Ecology Unit Plans Hearings                                                                                                |
| 06/09/70 | Hickel Asks Stay on Florida Canal                                                                                               |
| 06/19/70 | Florida Canal Approved                                                                                                          |
| 01/16/71 | U.S. Judge Temporarily Bans Work on Florida Barge Canal                                                                         |
| 01/20/71 | President Blocks Canal in Florida                                                                                               |
| 01/22/71 | Death of a Boondoggle                                                                                                           |
| 01/24/71 | No Canal                                                                                                                        |
| 02/14/71 | Florida Asks Resumption of Work on Barge Canal                                                                                  |
| 02/28/71 | Legacy of Abandoned Canal                                                                                                       |

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

|          |                                                                               |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 06/21/71 | Environmental Council Acts on Imperiled Florida Area                          |
| 07/04/71 | Conservationists Win Florida Canal Ruling                                     |
| 09/26/71 | Army to Tear Down Part of Florida Canal                                       |
| 02/20/72 | Corps of Engineers Caught Up in Battle of the Builders Against the Preservers |
| 05/21/72 | U.S. May Acquire River                                                        |

### The Ocala Banner

|            |                                                                                            |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 02/21/1885 | Lookout For the Locomotive! The Silver Springs, Ocala and Gulf Railroad an Assured Fact    |
| 03/07/1885 | Silver Springs                                                                             |
| 03/21/1885 | Ocala's Destiny Fixed                                                                      |
| 06/12/1885 | The S.S., O. & G. R. R.                                                                    |
| 09/11/1885 | Silver Spring Sold                                                                         |
| 03/20/1903 | The Panama Canal is in sight. It is an era of canals. Let the Silver Springs Canal follow. |

### Ocala Star Banner

|           |                                                                    |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 03/20/36  | Says He Heard Man Plan To Crucify Himself                          |
| 03/20/36  | Senate May Vote Today On Canal Funds                               |
| 02/27/64  | Thousands on Hand For Groundbreaking Event                         |
| 02/27/64  | FDR Pressed Button In '35 To Start Canal Work                      |
| 02/28/64  | Florida Barges Ahead, Johnson Gets 'Warm' Welcome Despite Rain     |
| n.d. 1965 | The Ever-Changing Ocklawaha; Florida Wild Life in 1877             |
| 08/15/65  | Pros And Cons Of River-Canal Issue Aired                           |
| 11/21/65  | Barge Canal a Waste of Money?                                      |
| 04/14/67  | Delegates Appointed To Waterway Meet                               |
| 04/17/67  | Canal Land Suit In Circuit Court                                   |
| 04/24/67  | Archaeologists Wield Shovels At Barge Canal                        |
| 10/16/67  | Soon Finish Barge Canal Rodman Dam                                 |
| 10/19/67  | Huge Inglis Port Complex To Start                                  |
| 11/14/67  | Plans For Port To Be Revealed                                      |
| 11/16/67  | Inglis Port To Be In Use In 1969                                   |
| 11/16/67  | New Type Barge Eyed For Canal                                      |
| 01/09/68  | Resume Trial On Fla. P.L. Condemnation                             |
| 02/01/68  | Delegation Should Seek Hike In Canal Allocation                    |
| 03/01/68  | Defense Value Of State Barge Canal Is Great                        |
| 03/21/68  | An Honor For Harry Buckman                                         |
| 05/09/68  | Kirk After Funds                                                   |
| 08/03/68  | Lock Named For Bert Dosh                                           |
| 09/26/68  | 'Big Ditch' At US 19 Luring the Fishermen                          |
| 01/26/69  | Barge Canal Brightens Outlook For Yankeetown                       |
| 02/25/69  | A Phrase For Canal: 'Tonnage Pays Taxes'                           |
| 11/26/69  | We Can Have Barge Canal And Conservation Too                       |
| 11/02/70  | Speaking Invite Revoked Over Barge Canal Remarks                   |
| 01/20/71  | Engineers Ponder Canal Work Phase Out                              |
| 01/20/71  | Canal Foes To Continue Legal Suit                                  |
| 01/21/71  | President's Canal Order Creates Many Questions                     |
| 01/21/71  | Work On Canal At A Standstill                                      |
| 04/13/90  | Ayer: Preservation Central to Canal Issue                          |
| 09/15/92  | Florida's Greenway: How to create and preserve it (Special Report) |

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

### Orlando Morning Sentinel

09/17/35 Water Supply Safe, Canal Chief Assures Seminole Skeptics  
09/18/35 Business Boom in Ocala As Canal Pyas off \$22,000

### Orlando Sentinel

09/18/35 Would Divide State  
09/19/35 Canal Digging To Open Today  
09/20/35 \$146,000,000 Canal Cash Held Assured  
10/13/35 Canal "Feeder" Idea  
03/12/36 Fletcher Loses In Canal Fund Strategy  
04/09/58 Century's Dream Near At Hand?  
01/21/60 Cross-State Barge Canal Hopes Revive  
10/22/61 Go-Getter Behind The Barge Canal  
06/11/61 Tom Adams Sparks Cross State Canal  
07/01/62 Barge Canal Seen Boosting Mineral Industry  
09/16/62 Sanford-Canaveral Canal Ideas  
10/12/62 Barge Canal Study Funds Win Approval Of Senate  
10/13/62 Canal Fund Fight Near Victory  
10/14/62 Happy Ending To A Long Hard Fight (Cartoon)  
10/14/62 Green Light At Last For Canal  
10/24/62 House Passes Cross-State Canal Bill  
11/20/63 House Approves Barge Canal Funds  
01/24/64 Bryant Denies Recreation \$\$ Use For Canal  
10/31/65 Barge Canal To Be  
11/24/66 Barge Canal Called River of Commerce For Nation  
04/13/67 'Monster' Clears Land  
09/05/67 29,000 Miles Of Boating  
12/06/67 Central Florida To Be Boaters' Paradise  
12/29/67 Pessimistic Note Sounded In Canal Report  
02/01/68 Barge Canal Funds Cut Won't Halt Marion Jobs  
02/02/68 Vietnam Casualty (Political Cartoon)  
02/03/68 Canal A Defense Measure  
06/07/68 Viet To Sap Waterway Project \$  
09/22/68 Benefits From Barge Canal Outlined  
10/13/68 Florida Barge Canal To Carry Your Family Budget Bit Farther  
12/09/68 Florida Canal Must Be Completed  
09/21/69 Adams Charges 'Sly Lie' Used to Block Canal  
02/13/70 Canal Critics Accused Of Raising False Fears  
03/13/70 'Big Ditch' Questioned  
11/01/70 Nader Asked to Fight Canal  
01/13/2002 Port Left High, Dry by Demise of Cross-Florida Barge Canal  
05/05/2002 Return to the River

### The Orlando Sunday Sentinel-Star

10/13/35 Boom Awakens Sedate O-Can-Activity Stirs Food Palaces  
10/13/35 Florida Gulf-Atlantic Ship Canal  
10/13/35 Welcome to Ocala's New Citizens

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

### Orlando Star

12/18/68 1973 Target Date For Canal

### Orlando Evening Star

01/20/71 Ecologists Plan to Press Suit Against Halted Canal

### Palatka Daily News

03/20/1903 Metamora Sunk  
02/27/64 With Pomp And A Boost  
02/27/64 Significant Day (Editorial)  
02/28/64 The Rains Came, But So Did President Johnson  
10/30/67 Waterways Personnel Inspects Barge Canal  
04/30/68 Ride Over Canal Bridge Brings New Realization  
05/23/68 Barge Canal Hailed As Gift to Tomorrow  
09/05/68 Canal Work to Limit Oklawaha Navigation  
09/24/68 St. Johns Lock Is Born  
09/25/68 Canal Reality  
12/17/68 Dedication Ceremony Of Lock Is Impressive  
12/26/68 Leading Congressman To Push Canal by '73  
11/07/69 Students Take Tour of Canal  
01/20/71 Nixon Nixes Canal Dream/President Makes Serious Error in Judgment!!!/Many Citizens Shocked By President's Action  
01/21/71 Putnam Board Joins Canal Injunction Opposition Move  
01/27/71 Governor, State Cabinet Urged to Challenge President to Halt Barge Canal Work  
02/09/71 Chamber Continuing Fight to Save Canal/President Replies to Messages Sent by Barge Canal Boosters  
02/11/71 'Fight to Save Canal' (incomplete)  
06/20/72 House Committee Approves Funds For Barge Canal  
07/27/72 State Is Asked To Drop Support Of Canal Board  
11/01/72 Cross-Florida Canal Counties Chief Suggests Alternate Waterway Route  
06/06/73 Barge Canal Has Drawn Most of Ecologists Tears  
01/25/74 Nixon's Mind Not Closed on Canal Question?  
03/01/74 Canal Counties Urge Environmental Statement On Cross-State Waterway  
08/11/76 Barge Canal Backers Claim Victory  
02/25/77 Corps Recommends Ending Canal Work  
04/22/77 Chappell Grills Corps On Canal Deauthorization  
05/24/77 Carter Moves To Kill Barge Canal  
05/25/77 Give Congress Time To Act  
06/22/77 Cabinet Fires Another Torpedo At Barge Canal  
02/01/78 \$5 Million Could Go Down Drain  
02/24/78 Putnam UF Alumni Club Questions Role of Faculty Members In Canal Controversy  
02/26/78 Carter Should Have Lake Plan By Feb. 28  
03/24/78 Chappell Tells Clay Co-op Crowd That Lake Should Be Retained  
04/11/78 Canal Land Owners Win \$1 Million Judgment  
04/18/78 Chiles, Stone Expect To Win Canal De-Authorization  
05/26/78 Senate Subcommittee Sets June 16 Hearing On Cross Florida Barge Canal  
05/31/78 Hearing June 16 To Deauthorize Canal

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

06/27/78 Appropriation Okayed For New Canal Study  
01/05/79 Oklawaha May Be Named Wild, Scenic River  
02/16/79 Panel Votes To Kill Barge Canal  
03/30/79 Court Clears Way For Owners To Buy Back Canal Property  
04/02/79 Barge Canal Deauthorization Bill Set  
04/05/79 Florida House Votes To Kill Barge Canal  
04/30/79 End Of An Era: Remnants Of River Boat Hiawatha Go Up In Flames  
05/04/79 The Hiawatha Steams Into History: A Nostalgic Trip Into Yesteryear  
06/22/79 \$312,000 Marked For Barge Canal Legal Actions  
08/10/80 Canal Authority Studies Ways To Finance Study  
08/29/80 Cross Florida Barge Canal Authority Seeking Year's Reprieve  
12/04/80 Canal Land Disposal Study Pending  
02/05/81 Authority Gets New Lease on Life  
02/06/81 Canal Authority Isn't Dead Yet  
09/16/81 State Asked to Head Off Hydro Plant  
08/13/82 Magazine Story Won't Halt Growth  
01/09/02 River's Return

### **The Times-Herald (Palatka)**

02/01/1895 Capt. Benj. A. Deal, The Newly Appointed Auditor of the F.S. Railroad  
10/25/1895 A Card From Capt. M. R. Bryan

### **The Palm Beach Post**

05/15/62 Rail Official Raps Proposed Barge Canal Across Florida

### **Palm Beach Post-Times**

02/25/73 Barge Canal Chronology

### **Pensacola Journal**

10/07/62 Florida Gets Potent Help In Drive for Barge Canal  
11/05/62 Florida Canal Plan Advanced By Cuban Row  
04/08/68 Budget Cut Bad

### **Putnam County Courier**

05/15/68 Barge Port Wins Majority

### **Sanford Herald**

10/17/67 Canal Starts In '70/Krider Re-Elected  
02/06/68 Defense Canals

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

### St. Petersburg Times

09/18/35 Building Homes For Florida Canal Workers (photos)  
09/18/35 F.D.R. To Tap Key As Canal Work Begins  
09/19/35 Ocala Booming As Canal Work Gets Under Way  
09/20/35 Would it be lese majesty to wonder if the presence of...  
09/20/35 F.D.R. Pushes Key To Start State Canal  
03/02/36 Work Continues On Florida Ship Canal  
03/10/36 W.P.A. Inquiry Asked To Sift Federal Relief: Vandenberg Renews His Attack on Continuing Work on Florida Canal  
03/12/36 Senate Group Rejects State Canal Project  
03/27/62 Bryant Sees Canal Plan Flowing At Last  
07/01/62 Canal Would Help Mineral Production  
11/28/62 Holland Says Fate of Canal Near Decision  
10/03/67 'Missing Link' Cost Estimate Dips \$30-Million  
10/04/67 The Missing Waterway Link  
10/19/67 \$3 Million Inglis Port Nearing  
12/30/67 War Slows Progress Of Cross Florida Canal  
01/31/68 Canal Cuts Are Deplored  
11/25/69 Barge Canal Is Praised  
12/03/69 Barge Canal Funds Okayed By Committee  
08/02/70 The Corps of Engineers is like... (Floridian Magazine)  
12/26/73 Blue Run Was Rainbow's Pot of Gold

### Suncoast Sentinel

05/11/67 Work Progresses on the Inglis Lock of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal

### Suwannee Democrat

11/20/69 The Farm Front, By Doyle Connor, Commissioner, Florida Department of Agriculture

### Tallahassee Democrat

09/19/35 Canal Workers Go To Project  
09/20/35 The Official Start of Florida's Big Canal (photo)  
09/20/35 You Will Like The New Florida Canal  
09/20/35 Army Of Labor Begins To Dig On Canal Route  
03/13/36 Senate Groups Rejects Canal  
07/29/62 Like Redistricting, Barge Canal Plan Has Divided State  
10/12/62 Switch Aids Canal Hopes In Congress  
10/13/62 Barge Canal Voted Funds; Long Standing  
11/04/67 Slowdown On Canal  
12/13/67 Leon-Wakulla Port Benefit Explained

### Tampa Times

09/30/67 Closing the Missing Link  
10/11/67 Expansion Urged

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

10/24/67 Closing the 'Missing Links'

### Tampa Morning Tribune

09/19/35 President Will Start Blasting Of Canal Today  
09/19/35 Seminole Group Still Seeks To Stop Canal Work  
09/19/35 Assemble Polk Workers  
09/20/35 President Sets Off Explosion To Start Canal: Thousands Cheer Formal Beginning of Florida Waterway  
09/20/35 The Canal – A Beginning (Cartoon)

### Tampa Tribune

09/20/35 President Sets Off Explosion To Start Canal  
03/12/36 Florida Canal Funds Rejected By Senate Group  
03/12/36 Roosevelt Not Likely To Inspect Canal  
10/23/42 Canal "Dead"---Again  
09/11/60 Central Florida's Depression-Era Ditch to Nowhere  
03/27/62 Bryant Predicts Funds For Cross-State Canal  
08/15/62 Funds For Canal Are Denied  
10/31/62 Opportunity Knocking  
06/21/63 Bryant Urges \$1 Million To Start Digging Cross-State Barge Canal  
10/20/63 Municipalities League Backs Cross-State Barge Canal  
03/06/64 State Eyes New Districts For Canal 'Missing Link'  
05/09/67 Canal Board Tells Manager To Study Industrial Usages  
05/27/67 Canal Area Eyes Industry  
06/01/67 Barge Canal Completion Date Fades  
09/30/67 'Missing Link' in Waterway Approved by Engineer Corps  
10/10/67 Public Projects Freeze Could Hit Barge Canal  
11/16/67 \$3.3 Million Inglis Barge Port Planned  
03/23/68 Ocala Interests Ponder Waning Canal Support  
09/19/68 Progress Report – Barge Canal Pushes Recreation Potential  
05/14/69 Engineers Begin Final Clearing of Debris On Big Rodman Lake  
11/11/69 Public Works Building Funds Partly Restored

### Time

06/02/41 National Affairs: Buck-Passing  
04/19/43 U.S. At War: Down with the Ditch/Up with the Ditch  
04/13/70 Cloudy Sunshine State  
02/01/71 End of the Barge Canal

### Times-Union and Journal, Jacksonville, Florida

12/21/69 Born of Emotion, Canal Still in Furor

### Wall Street Journal

08/24/70 Conservationists Seek to Stop Construction of Cross-Florida Barge Canal

### Washington Post

01/20/39 Vandenberg and Pepper Clash On Ship Canal For Florida  
01/16/71 Federal Judge Halts Construction On Cross-Florida Barge Canal

### Waterways Journal

10/28/67 Work Is Progressing On Florida Barge Canal  
02/03/68 Cross-Florida Barge Canal Construction Delayed  
02/24/68 'Florida Canal Will Have Big Economic Impact'

### The Weekly Bee (Gainesville)

06/30/1883 The Florida Ship Canal  
07/14/1883 Route For A Ship Canal: Practicality Of Its Construction Discussed

## Appendix D: Historical Imagery List

This list catalogs the historical imagery contained with the Digital Office's database. One can easily find images through a key word search—for example “steamboats,” “maps/plans,” or “ship canal project”—within the category of “historic photos/graphics.” This list is by no means comprehensive, as there are wide variety of photographs and illustrations to pull from newspapers, magazines, promotional literature, and institutional documents, to name but a few of the sources we have drawn from. However, the historians wanted to include an additional list to give future interpreters a quick glance of the range of images that pertain to the Greenway's past. These images are listed in categories regarding the broad subject matter and location of the original materials. If there is any question as to the location of a specific item, do not hesitate to contact either Steven Noll or David Tegeder for further information.

Source: Ocklawaha River images, Florida State Archives, Florida Memory Project

For a fuller description of each photograph, see the Florida State Archives Photographic Collection, Tallahassee, Florida, <http://www.floridamemory.com/>, referring to the letter and number combination that appears after the hyphen in each file name. To explore photographs that relate to the Greenway, use such keywords as “Ocklawaha River” and “Cross Florida Barge Canal.” Keep in mind that the Archives is continually adding to their database, so the number of images will keep changing over time.

### Ocklawaha miscellaneous

| <u>Image file name</u> | <u>Description</u>                                                                                             |
|------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 180 - n030583          | Image captioned “Ocklawaha Beauty,” (fishing).                                                                 |
| 7 - rc18291a           | Route map of the Ocklawaha River Railway Co.                                                                   |
| 86 - pr09876           | Postcard photo of passenger launch on river, captioned “The Boiling Spring, Silver Springs, Florida” ca. 1920. |
| 88 - pr09469           | Steam launch among vegetation, ca. 1900.                                                                       |
| 90 - pr09467           | Aerial view of the Ocklawaha River.                                                                            |
| 91 - pr09466           | Aerial view of the Ocklawaha River.                                                                            |
| 99 - pr07198           | Two men at an Indian mound                                                                                     |

### Ocklawaha natural images

|               |                                                                                                                   |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 10 - n047389  | Drawing captioned “On the Ocklawaha River Florida.”                                                               |
| 109 - pr00141 | Drawing of man armed with rifle in rowboat along wooded riverbank with two alligators, captioned “A Sudden Turn.” |
| 111 - ge0979  | View of the Ocklawaha                                                                                             |
| 146 - n038955 | Photo image of river marked “A.P. Lewis, Palatka, Florida.”                                                       |
| 147- n038957  | River landing viewed through trees from opposite bank; “The Devil's Punch Bowl.”                                  |
| 149 - n038954 | Image of palm tree leaning horizontal, “The Pipe of Peace.”                                                       |

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

| <u>Image file name</u> | <u>Description</u>                                                                                        |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 150 - n038953          | River scene; "The Narrows."                                                                               |
| 151 - n038952          | "The Narrow Pass Above Eureka Landing."                                                                   |
| 153 - n038950          | Heather Island Landing on the Upper Ocklawaha, south of Silver Springs.                                   |
| 155 - n038948          | Stereo-optic card image of wooded sandy bluff, captioned "Florida, Land of Flowers and Tropical Scenery." |
| 156 - n038947          | Fishermen and small boat along wooded river bank.                                                         |
| 157 - n038946          | O. Pierre Havens' photo, Palmetto Landing.                                                                |
| 159 - n038944          | "Up the River from Palmetto Landing."                                                                     |
| 163 - n038939          | "Ocklawaha River view," possibly over wake of paddlewheeler.                                              |
| 164 - n038938          | "Trees along the Ocklawaha."                                                                              |
| 167 - n038935          | "Spanish Moss overhanging the Ocklawaha River."                                                           |
| 168 - n038934          | "Grecian Bend in the Ocklawaha River."                                                                    |
| 169 - n038933          | Ocklawaha River view.                                                                                     |
| 176 - n038926          | Ocklawaha River view                                                                                      |
| 89 - pr09468           | Ocklawaha River view                                                                                      |
| 90 - pr09467           | Aerial view of the Ocklawaha River                                                                        |
| 91 - pr09466           | Aerial view of the Ocklawaha River                                                                        |
| 94 - pr09463           | Great Cypress Pass on the Ocklawaha River                                                                 |
| 99 - pr07198           | "Two men at an Indian mound."                                                                             |

### Ocklawaha postcards

|              |                                                                                                                                      |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 205 - pc3283 | Color postcard of the Randall Hotel and orange grove on the Ocklawaha River, Hart Line steamer <i>Hiawatha</i> docked in background. |
| 206 - pc3282 | Postcard illustration of the steamer <i>Okahumpka</i> underway on the Ocklawaha River, with handwritten message.                     |
| 207 - pc3280 | Postcard of steamer underway on the Ocklawaha River                                                                                  |
| 208 - pc3279 | Colorized duplicate of pc3280 (above), with handwritten message, dated January 8, 1907.                                              |
| 209 - pc2976 | River view, Ocklawaha.                                                                                                               |
| 209 - pc2976 | Color postcard view of river and wildlife.                                                                                           |
| 211 - pc2974 | Postcard: "Scenery on the Ocklawaha River, Florida."                                                                                 |
| 212 - pc2973 | Postcard: "Vista on the Ocklawaha River, Florida."                                                                                   |
| 213 - pc2972 | Color postcard of scenic view on the Ocklawaha River, with inset illustration captioned "In God We Trust."                           |
| 214 - pc2971 | Color postcard view of the Randall Hotel on the Ocklawaha River, orange grove in foreground, at Connor, Florida.                     |

### Ocklawaha recreation

|               |                                                              |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 148 - n038956 | Fisherman on small boat, moored near riverside dwellings.    |
| 173 - n038929 | Duplicate of n038956 above, but with improved image quality. |
| 180 - n030583 | African-American woman fishing along riverbank.              |
| 21 - c670556a | Boat and Car Ferry on the Ocklawaha.                         |
| 22 - c670578  | Sportsman's Lodge and service station, Welaka.               |
| 24 - c670573  | Boating on the Ocklawaha.                                    |
| 25 - c670576  | Boating on the Ocklawaha.                                    |
| 26 - c670571  | Two boats speeding on the Ocklawaha.                         |

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

| <u>Image file name</u> | <u>Description</u>                                        |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 27 - c670567           | Boating on the Ocklawaha.                                 |
| 28 - c670564           | Boating on the Ocklawaha.                                 |
| 29 - c670583           | Boating service station on the Ocklawaha.                 |
| 32 - c651624           | Small boat on Ocklawaha, dense hammock.                   |
| 35 - c630295a          | Boating on the Ocklawaha.                                 |
| 36 - c630296           | Boating on the Ocklawaha.                                 |
| 38 - c630290           | Boating on the Ocklawaha.                                 |
| 5 - cn047625           | Convoy of small boats.                                    |
| 56 - c018592           | Boats on a cruise (disregard false image code, A021u3dg). |
| 57 - c018608           | Boats on a cruise.                                        |
| 62 - c013414           | Boat club trip on Ocklawaha.                              |
| 67 - c013413           | Boat club trip on Ocklawaha.                              |
| 69 - PR13407           | Indian motorcycles along the river.                       |
| 88 - PR09469           | Boat stuck in Ocklawaha River.                            |
| 93 - PR09464           | Fishing near Grahamsville.                                |
| 95 - PR05383           | Graham's Landing on Ocklawaha.                            |

### Ocklawaha river trade

|               |                                              |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 11 - rc05278  | Sawmill on the Ocklawaha.                    |
| 110 - GE0980  | Power house and lock on Ocklawaha.           |
| 117 - n041031 | Dredge.                                      |
| 12 - rc04250  | Log rafts along the Ocklawaha.               |
| 13 - rc16522  | Cable ferry with horsedrawn cart.            |
| 14 - rc05005  | Cable ferry.                                 |
| 15 - rc10454  | Cable ferry.                                 |
| 152 - n038951 | River landing.                               |
| 154 - n038949 | Man standing near piles of lumber.           |
| 158 - n038945 | Rogers Landing.                              |
| 160 - n038942 | Landing at Okeehumkee.                       |
| 161 - n038941 | Graham's Landing.                            |
| 162 - n038940 | Post office at Sharps Ferry.                 |
| 165 - n038937 | Sunday Bluff Camp.                           |
| 166 - n038936 | Eureka Landing with firewood.                |
| 170 - n038932 | Moss Bluff lock and dam                      |
| 171 - n038931 | Orange Creek Landing with African Americans. |
| 172 - n038930 | Orange Creek Landing.                        |
| 174 - n038928 | Loading wood at Fort Brook.                  |
| 175 - n038927 | Conner Landing.                              |
| 177 - n032463 | Pullboat near Sunday Bluff.                  |
| 178 - n032374 | Hauling logs with mules.                     |
| 179 - n031235 | Woodstop on Ocklawaha.                       |
| 181 - n030570 | Gigging from steamer, c. 1905.               |
| 182 - n030546 | Grahamville Ferry.                           |
| 183 - n029460 | Moss Bluff lock and dam.                     |
| 184 - n029035 | Orange grove on the Ocklawaha.               |
| 185 - n029007 | Orange Boat on the Ocklawaha.                |
| 186 - n029785 | Sharps Ferry bridge.                         |

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

| <u>Image file name</u> | <u>Description</u>                          |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 187 - n029784          | Sharpes Ferry bridge.                       |
| 188 - n029783          | Sharpes Ferry bridgetender's building.      |
| 189 - n029782          | Road view of bridge.                        |
| 190 - n029781          | Bridgetender's building and roadbed.        |
| 191 - n029627          | Swingbridge pivot.                          |
| 192 - n029626          | Swingbridge grate.                          |
| 193 - n029743          | Moss Bluff bridge.                          |
| 194 - n029742          | Road view of Moss Bluff bridge.             |
| 195 - n029741          | Moss Bluff bridge.                          |
| 196 - n029740          | Moss Bluff bridge.                          |
| 197 - n029739          | Moss Bluff bridge.                          |
| 198 - n029738          | Moss Bluff bridge, bridgetender's building. |
| 199 - n029753          | Bridge over Ocklawaha.                      |
| 200 - n029752          | Bridge over Ocklawaha.                      |
| 201 - n029751          | Bridge over Ocklawaha.                      |
| 203 - n029749          | Bridge over Ocklawaha, turnbuckle closeup.  |
| 204 - n029748          | Bridge over Ocklawaha.                      |
| 31 - c670566           | Old building and bridge.                    |
| 64 - rc05434           | Loading oranges on the Ocklawaha.           |
| 8 - rc10691            | Log raft with three men.                    |
| 82 - pr09931           | Randall Hotel orange grove with steamboat.  |
| 87 - pr09872           | Dredge.                                     |
| 9 - rc10453            | Log raft.                                   |
| 92 - pr09465           | Dredge.                                     |
| 95 - pr05383           | View of river from Graham's Landing.        |
| 96 - pr05382           | Landing with oxen.                          |
| 97 - pr05380           | White's Landing with steamer.               |
| 98 - pr05122           | Lumber camp on Ocklawaha.                   |

### Ocklawaha – Silver Springs

|               |                                         |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 112 - n041756 | Silver Springs landing, postcard.       |
| 18 - c670586  | Silver Springs glass bottom boats.      |
| 19 - c670587  | Powerboats at Silver Springs.           |
| 20 - c670582  | Powerboats at Silver Springs.           |
| 70 - pr10432  | William Howard steam at Silver Springs. |
| 86 - pr09876  | Boatwreck at Silver Springs.            |

## Ocklawaha River steamboats

| <u>Image file name</u> | <u>Narrative description of image</u>                                                                                                                                                                |
|------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 113 - n041052.jpg      | Steamboat at Cypress Gate, ca. 1900                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 114 - n041050.jpg      | Lucas Line steamer and African-American family along riverbank, ca. 1900                                                                                                                             |
| 115 - n041048.jpg      | Steam launch with fisherman and sightseers, ca. 1900                                                                                                                                                 |
| 116 - n041039.jpg      | Ox team and boy delivering firewood to river steamer, ca. 1900                                                                                                                                       |
| 118 - n041008.jpg      | Sternwheeler underway on Ocklawaha with passengers on top deck, ca. 1900                                                                                                                             |
| 119 - n041007.jpg      | River steamer docked, men and women gathered at bow, ca. 1890                                                                                                                                        |
| 120 - n040998.jpg      | Steamer underway on the Ocklawaha River                                                                                                                                                              |
| 122 - n040618.jpg      | Illustration of the Hart Line steamboat <i>Hiawatha</i> underway at night, with bonfire atop pilothouse, captioned: "The Illuminated Ocklawaha Forest, a Weirdly Beautiful Radiance," ca. 1905       |
| 123 - n040617.jpg      | Hart Line steamer <i>Hiawatha</i> docked at wooded riverside landing, likely Conner's landing, a.k.a. Conner's Grove, near Silver Springs, with many passengers ashore and on board, ca. 1915.       |
| 124 - n040616.jpg      | Hart Line steamer <i>Hiawatha</i> docked with passengers and crew gathered at bow, ca. 1920.                                                                                                         |
| 125 - n040615.jpg      | Hart Line steamer <i>Hiawatha</i> tied-up to wooded riverbank, ca. 1910                                                                                                                              |
| 126 - n040614.jpg      | Hart Line steamer <i>Hiawatha</i> underway in narrow river, ca. 1905.                                                                                                                                |
| 127 - n040613.jpg      | Hart Line steamer <i>Hiawatha</i> underway, ca. 1905.                                                                                                                                                |
| 128 - n040607.jpg      | Hart Line steamer <i>Hiawatha</i> , docked with passengers and crew gathered on and near bow, Mar. 21, 1906?                                                                                         |
| 129 - n040586.jpg      | Two-decked, wooden river vessel, loaded with cargo, tied to riverside clearing, ca. 1900.                                                                                                            |
| 130 - n040772.jpg      | Single-decked river steamer <i>Putnam</i> , tied-up to large wharf with passengers, ca. 1895.                                                                                                        |
| 131 - n040771.jpg      | Indistinct, damaged plate showing small single-decked steamer tied-up at crude dock, date unknown.                                                                                                   |
| 132 - n040764.jpg      | River steamer <i>Osceola</i> at dock with passengers and crew gathered on and around bow, rowboat in foreground, ca. 1895.                                                                           |
| 133 - n040725.jpg      | River steamer <i>Okeehumpkee</i> berthed at wooded landing along the Ocklawaha River, loading and unloading. Date unknown.                                                                           |
| 134 - n040763.jpg      | Postcard illustration of the steamer <i>Oseola</i> , in its original configuration, underway on the densely-wooded Ocklawaha River, alligator in foreground.                                         |
| 135 - n040759.jpg      | Steamer <i>Osceola</i> , boarding passengers at dock, ca. 1895.                                                                                                                                      |
| 136 - n040757.jpg      | Stereo-optic plate of steamer <i>Osceola</i> embarking passengers and cargo at a dock (probably) on the St. Johns River, ca. 1890.                                                                   |
| 137 - n040752.jpg      | Steamer <i>Osceola</i> , with extended foredeck and second deck, tied-up at cleared river landing on Ocklawaha or Silver River, transferring freight. Crew members, few passengers aboard, ca. 1895. |
| 138 - n040750.jpg      | Steamer <i>Osceola</i> , in later configuration tied-up to river bank, possibly at Silver Springs, large rowing dories in foreground, ca. 1915.                                                      |
| 140 - n040694.jpg      | Lucas New Line Steamer <i>Metamora</i> , underway rounding a river bend, ca. 1900.                                                                                                                   |
| 141 - n040679.jpg      | Steamer <i>Marion</i> , tied up to river bank along the Ocklawaha, passengers seated on second deck forward, ca. 1885.                                                                               |
| 142 - n040735.jpg      | Hart Line steamer <i>Okeehumpkee</i> underway on the Ocklawaha River, ca. 1910. Copious water hyacinths in foreground.                                                                               |
| 143 - n040733.jpg      | Steamboat underway on narrow, wooded river, date unknown.                                                                                                                                            |
| 144 - n040426.jpg      | Hart Line steamer <i>Astatula</i> underway on the Ocklawaha River, crew members on stern, ca. 1910.                                                                                                  |
| 145 - n040425.jpg      | Steamer underway on the Ocklawaha, date unknown.                                                                                                                                                     |

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

| <u>Image file name</u> | <u>Narrative description of image</u>                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 71 - pr10094.jpg       | Postcard illustration of steamer underway on the Ocklawaha at night, sows burning pitch bucket (for illumination) attached and extending from port side of deckhouse, date unknown.                                                                     |
| 72 - pr10091.jpg       | Steamboat at Conner's Landing near Silver Springs, large pile of cordwood, outbuilding on upland with signs, date unknown.                                                                                                                              |
| 73 - pr10078.jpg       | Postcard illustration of the Howard Line steamer <i>William Howard</i> , getting underway from Eureka Landing on the Ocklawaha River, ca. 1915.                                                                                                         |
| 74 - pr10071.jpg       | The S.J. Bouknight steamer <i>Tuskavilla</i> , tied up to rustic dock along wooded section of the Ocklawaha River, ca. 1880.                                                                                                                            |
| 75 - pr10014.jpg       | The Hart Line steamer <i>Okeehumpkee</i> , tied up at Conners Landing, passengers on board and ashore near port side freight hatch. Date uncertain; the <i>Okeehumpkee</i> (built in Palatka as the <i>Okahumpkee</i> ) operated from 1873 to ca. 1920. |
| 76 - pr10013.jpg       | Steamer, likely the Hart Line's <i>Okeehumpkee</i> , approaching large wharf along Ocklawaha River. Riverfront warehouse in scene. Date unknown.                                                                                                        |
| 77 - pr10005.jpg       | Steamer tied up at river landing with steep, high embankment, cordwood supply site. Passengers on top deck. Date unknown.                                                                                                                               |
| 78 - pr09990.jpg       | Enclosed motor launch with passengers and crew aboard, tied up to riverbank, ca. 1910.                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 79 - pr09953.jpg       | Salvors at work on the wreck of the Lucas Line steamer <i>Metamora</i> in the Ocklawaha River, after her foundering on March 19, 1903. The vessel was subsequently refloated.                                                                           |
| 81 - pr09933.jpg       | Postcard illustration of the Hart Line steamer <i>Hiawatha</i> , underway at Silver Spring, ca. 1915.                                                                                                                                                   |
| 82 - pr09931.jpg       | Postcard illustration of the Hart Line steamer <i>Hiawatha</i> , docked at the Randall Hotel and orange grove on the Ocklawaha River, ca. 1915.                                                                                                         |
| 83 - pr09926.jpg       | Possibly the Hart Line steamer <i>Griffin</i> , tied up at an Ocklawaha River landing, laden with cargo on the upper deckhouse roof, ca. 1875.                                                                                                          |
| 84 - pr09925.jpg       | Steamer docked at Moss Bluff landing on the Ocklawaha River, date unknown.                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 85 - pr09901.jpg       | The S.J. Bouknight two-decked day steamer <i>Alligator</i> , docked near a motor launch, ca. 1900.                                                                                                                                                      |

Source: Cross Florida Barge Canal photos, Florida State Archives, Florida Memory Project

For a fuller description of each photograph, see the Florida State Archives Photographic Collection, <http://www.floridamemory.com/>, referring to the letter and number combination that appears after the hyphen in each file name.

| <u>Image file name</u> | <u>Description</u>          |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 - rc07164            | Map, canal overview         |
| 10 - pr01373           | Canal project, office       |
| 100 - pr01262          | Groundbreaking, Inglis Lock |
| 101 - n045312          | Groundbreaking, LBJ         |
| 11 - pr01372           | Construction, bridge        |
| 12 - pr01370           | Land clearing, Eureka       |
| 13 - pr01371           | Construction, Inglis Lock   |

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

| <u>Image file name</u> | <u>Description</u>                      |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 14 - pr01368           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 15 - pr01366           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 16 - pr01369           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 17 - pr01367           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 18 - pr01365           | Construction, Inglis Lock               |
| 19 - pr01364           | Construction, Inglis Lock               |
| 2 - pr01300            | Construction, canal dig                 |
| 20 - pr01363           | Construction, Inglis Lock               |
| 21 - pr01362           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 22 - pr01361           | Construction, Lock and Bridge           |
| 23 - pr01359           | Canal project, dredge at Eureka         |
| 24 - pr01358           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 25 - pr01360           | Land clearing, Eureka                   |
| 26 - pr01357           | Land clearing, crane and fire           |
| 27 - pr01350           | Canal project, digging with water       |
| 28 - pr01355           | Canal project, digging with water       |
| 29 - pr01356           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 3 - pr01327            | Construction, bridge                    |
| 30 - pr01354           | Land clearing, Eureka                   |
| 31 - pr01352           | Construction, Inglis Lock               |
| 32 - pr01351           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 33 - pr01350           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 34 - pr01349           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 35 - pr01348           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 36 - pr01346           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 37 - pr01345           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 38 - pr01347           | Land clearing, Eureka                   |
| 39 - pr01344           | Construction, bridge equipment          |
| 4 - pr01377            | Canal project, digging, along US 19     |
| 40 - pr01343           | Construction, bridge equipment          |
| 41 - pr01341           | Land clearing, Eureka                   |
| 42 - pr01340           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 43 - pr01339           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 44 - pr01338           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 45 - pr01337           | Construction, Inglis Lock               |
| 46 - pr01336           | Construction, Inglis Lock               |
| 47 - pr01335           | Construction, Inglis Lock               |
| 48 - pr01334           | Construction, Inglis Lock               |
| 49 - pr01332           | Construction, Inglis Lock               |
| 5 - pr01378            | Construction, diggings                  |
| 50 - pr01333           | Construction, diggings, Inglis Lock     |
| 51 - pr01331           | Construction, diggings, barge and crane |
| 53 - pr01329           | Construction, Inglis Lock               |
| 54 - pr01328           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 55 - pr01325           | Construction, digging                   |
| 56 - pr01342           | Construction, St. Johns Lock            |
| 57 - pr01326           | Canal project, diggings with water      |
| 58 - pr01324           | Canal project, diggings with water      |

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

| <u>Image file name</u> | <u>Description</u>                         |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 59 - pr01323           | Canal project, diggings with water         |
| 6 - pr01379            | Construction, bridge                       |
| 60 - pr01322           | Land clearing, crusher                     |
| 61 - pr01321           | Land clearing                              |
| 62 - pr01320           | Land clearing                              |
| 63 - pr01319           | Canal project, Eureka Lock and dam drawing |
| 64 - pr01299           | Construction, digging                      |
| 65 - pr01298           | Construction, digging                      |
| 66 - pr01296           | Canal project, Holiday Inn sign, Inglis    |
| 67 - pr01295           | Canal project, Holiday Inn sign, Inglis    |
| 68 - pr01294           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 69 - pr01293           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 7 - pr01376            | Construction, bridge                       |
| 70 - pr01292           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 71 - pr01291           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 72 - pr01290           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 73 - pr01289           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 74 - pr01287           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 75 - pr01286           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 76 - pr01288           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 77 - pr01285           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 78 - pr01284           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 79 - pr01283           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 8 - pr01375            | Land clearing, Eureka                      |
| 80 - pr01282           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 81 - pr01281           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 82 - pr01280           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 83 - pr01279           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 84 - pr01278           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 85 - pr01277           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 86 - pr01276           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 87 - pr01275           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 88 - pr01274           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 89 - pr01273           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 9 - pr01374            | Construction, St. Johns Lock               |
| 90 - pr01272           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 91 - pr01271           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 92 - pr01270           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 93 - pr01269           | Canal project, bridge                      |
| 94 - pr01268           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 95 - pr01266           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 96 - pr01265           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 97 - pr01267           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 98 - pr01264           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 99 - pr01263           | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| 100 - pr01262          | Groundbreaking, Inglis                     |
| ship canal, ge1382a    | Ship canal diggings, 1932                  |

### Source: Ocklawaha photos, 1950s FSU Thesis

Note: The source for this set of images comes from an Florida State University Master's thesis. The citation is: Crum, Lou Jean. "The Ocklawaha River," Tallahassee, Florida State University, thesis, 1954.

| <u>Image number</u> | <u>Description</u>                                    |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1                   | Ocklawaha structures, Grahamville general store, 1907 |
| 2                   | Steamboat, William Howard                             |
| 3                   | Steamboat, Alligator                                  |
| 4                   | Steamboat, William Howard moored at Grahamville       |
| 5                   | Steamboat, Hiawatha                                   |
| 6                   | Ocklawaha natural images, Orange grove, Randall Hotel |
| 7                   | Steamboat, Okeehumkee                                 |
| 8                   | Steamboat, sample stationary                          |
| 9                   | Ocklawaha River, launch on the river                  |
| 10                  | Ocklawaha River, boatdeck view of foliage             |
| 11                  | Ocklawaha River, outboard cruising                    |
| 12                  | Ocklawaha River, boat club                            |
| 13                  | Ocklawaha River, woman on outboard                    |
| 14                  | Ocklawaha River, logs towed on river                  |
| 17                  | Ocklawaha River, muck farm                            |
| 18                  | Ocklawaha River, loading celery                       |
| 19                  | Starkes Ferry, cable ferry                            |

### Source: Library of Congress photos, Ocklawaha River

Note: The following images come from the Library of Congress's American Memory project. You can find the images from the digital library at <http://memory.loc.gov/>. Use the key word "Ocklawaha River" in the search. You may want to omit the "c" from the word to find other materials, as the spelling of the river changes over time.

| <u>Image number</u> | <u>Description</u>                |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1-AEP-FLS272        | Child holding alligator           |
| 2-DET4a31564        | Florida sunset on Ocklawaha, 1899 |
| 3-DET4a32643        | Ocklawaha River                   |
| 4-DET4a09441        | Ocklawaha, steamboat              |
| 5-DET4a05596        | Ocklawaha, steamboat              |
| 6-DET4a05598        | Ocklawaha, ferry                  |
| 7-DET4a09443        | Ocklawaha river, fishing          |
| 8-DET4a05597        | Ocklawaha, ferry                  |
| 9-DET4a09440        | Ocklawaha River                   |
| 10-DET4a03514       | Ocklawaha, steamboat              |
| 11-DET4a09442       | Ocklawaha, Silver River junction  |

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| <u>Image number</u> | <u>Description</u>        |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 12-DET4a09435       | Ocklawaha, Silver Springs |
| 13-DET4a09437       | Ocklawaha, steamboat      |
| 14-DET4a09439       | Ocklawaha, ladies parlor  |
| 15-DET4a05595       | Ocklawaha, steamboat      |
| 16-DET4a09436       | Ocklawaha, Silver Springs |
| 17-DET4a09438       | Ocklawaha, ladies parlor  |
| 18-no code          | Ocklawaha River           |
| 19-DET4a03515       | Ocklawaha River           |
| 20-no code          | Ocklawaha River           |

### Source: Florida State Archives

The following materials are located in the State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida.

| <u>image number</u> | <u>category</u> | <u>source</u>                                     |
|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1.                  | Steamboat       | RG 900000 Series 83 Folder 01                     |
| 2.                  | Scenery         | RG 900000 Series 83 Folder 01                     |
| 3.                  | People          | RG 900000 Series 83 Folder 01                     |
| 4.                  | Scenery         | RG 900000 Series 83 Folder 01                     |
| 5.                  | Scenery         | RG 900000 Series 83 Folder 01                     |
| Cartoon 1           | Barge Canal     | <u>Orlando Sentinel</u> Cartoon 3/30/63           |
| Cartoon 2           | Barge Canal     | <u>Orlando Sentinel</u> Cartoon 10/16/63          |
| Cartoon 3           | Barge Canal     | <u>Orlando Sentinel</u> Cartoon 11/21/63          |
| Cartoon 4           | Barge Canal     | <u>Orlando Sentinel</u> Cartoon 6/25/63           |
| Cartoon 5           | Barge Canal     | <u>Orlando Sentinel</u> Cartoon 1/23/64           |
| Cartoon 6           | Barge Canal     | <u>Orlando Sentinel</u> Cartoon 2/27/64           |
| CFBC map            | Map/Plans       | RG000102 Series 756 Box 31 – Folder 2             |
| Crusher 1           | Barge Canal     | <u>Jacksonville Seafarer</u> Magazine 6/67, p. 14 |
| Crusher 2           | Barge Canal     | <u>Jacksonville Seafarer</u> Magazine 6/67, p. 15 |

### Source: Florida State Museum

The following materials come from the Florida State Museum's Transportation Files: Water – Photographs and Photocopies (folder I and III).

| <u>image number</u>    | <u>category</u> | <u>source</u>           |
|------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Shooting Alligators | Recreation      | Trans: Water – folder 1 |
| 2. Astatula            | Steamboat       | Trans: Water – folder 1 |

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| <u>image number</u>   | <u>category</u> | <u>source</u>           |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 3. Oxen and Steamboat | Steamboat       | Trans: Water – folder 1 |
| 4. Steamboat          | Steamboat       | Trans: Water – folder 1 |
| 5. Tourist/Steamboat  | Steamboat       | Trans: Water – folder 1 |

| <u>image number</u>     | <u>category</u> | <u>source</u>             |
|-------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1. black workers        | People/Places   | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 2. fish gigging         | People/Places   | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 3. black family         | People/Places   | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 4. black baby weighing  | People/Places   | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 5. Putnam Hotel info    | People/Places   | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 6. Palatka waterfront   | People/Places   | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 7. Ocklawaha info sign  | People/Places   | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 8. Hiawatha schematic   | Steamboats      | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 9. Okahumkee schematic  | Steamboats      | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 10. Boat schematic      | Steamboats      | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 11. Notice sign         | Steamboats      | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 12. River map           | Map//Plans      | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 13. Ocklawaha Valley RR | People/Places   | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 14. Osceola             | Steamboats      | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 15. Landing             | Steamboats      | Trans: Water – folder III |
| 16. Silver Springs RR   | People/Places   | Trans: Water – folder III |

### Source: Claude Pepper Papers

The following two images come from the Claude Pepper Papers, Claude Pepper Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

| <u>image number</u> | <u>category</u> | <u>source</u>                |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Defense CFBC        | Barge Canal     | Defense – 1939- Photo H (70) |
| Senate Trip, 39     | Barge Canal     | Tour 3/10/39 – Photo B (182) |

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### Source: Youngberg Papers, Three Sets

The following images come from the Gilbert Youngberg Papers (YP), Rollins College Special Collections, Winter Park Florida.

| <u>image number</u>             | <u>category</u> | <u>source</u>                                          |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Ship Canal                   | Ship Canal      | Youngberg Papers, Box 3 folder 2                       |
| 2. National Defense             | Ship Canal      | Youngberg Papers, Box 3 folder 2                       |
| 3. Bird's Eye View              | Ship Canal      | Youngberg Papers, Box 3 folder 2                       |
| 4. Canal Across Florida         | Ship Canal      | Youngberg Papers, Box 3 folder 2                       |
| Doc. 1, RR and excavation       | Ship Canal      | YP, Documentary Photos, Box 5 folder 2                 |
| Doc. 2, typical earth cut       | Ship Canal      | YP, Documentary Photos, Box 5 folder 2                 |
| Doc. 3, excavation              | Ship Canal      | YP, Documentary Photos, Box 5 folder 2                 |
| Doc. 4, dragline & conveyer     | Ship Canal      | YP, Documentary Photos, Box 5 folder 2                 |
| Doc. 5, belt conveyer           | Ship Canal      | YP, Documentary Photos, Box 5 folder 2                 |
| Eng. 1, quarry and sink hole    | Ship Canal      | YP, Engineering Photos, Box 5 folder 2                 |
| Eng. 2, Santos bridge abutment  | Ship Canal      | YP, Engineering Photos, Box 5 folder 2                 |
| Eng. 3, Santos bridge abutment  | Ship Canal      | YP, Engineering Photos, Box 5 folder 2                 |
| Eng. 4, Santos bridge, concrete | Ship Canal      | YP, Engineering Photos, Box 5 folder 2                 |
| SW 1, canal clearing scene      | Ship Canal      | Youngberg Papers, <u>Southeastern Waterways</u> , 7/36 |
| SW 2, conveyer                  | Ship Canal      | Youngberg Papers, <u>Southeastern Waterways</u> , 7/36 |
| SW 3, spoil bank, excavation    | Ship Canal      | Youngberg Papers, <u>Southeastern Waterways</u> , 7/36 |
| SW 4, Dern and Summervell       | Ship Canal      | Youngberg Papers, <u>Southeastern Waterways</u> , 7/36 |
| SW 5, Santos bridge             | Ship Canal      | Youngberg Papers, <u>Southeastern Waterways</u> , 7/36 |
| SW 6, Youngberg photo           | Ship Canal      | Youngberg Papers, <u>Southeastern Waterways</u> , 7/36 |

### Source: Youngberg Pictures, CFBC folder

The following images come from the Gilbert Youngberg Papers, Cross Florida Barge Canal Folder, located in Rollins College Special Collections, Winter Park Florida.

| <u>image number</u>    | <u>category</u> | <u>source</u>          |
|------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| Y1, digging near Ocala | Ship Canal      | Youngberg, CFBC folder |
| Y2, crane and digging  | Ship Canal      | Youngberg, CFBC folder |
| Y3, family near cranes | Ship Canal      | Youngberg, CFBC folder |

### Source: Collier's Photos, Youngberg Collection

The following images come from an issue of Collier's Magazine in the Gilbert Youngberg Papers, Cross Florida Barge Canal Folder, located in Rollins College Special Collections, Winter Park Florida.

| <u>image number</u>       | <u>category</u> | <u>source</u>                              |
|---------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------------|
| men and mules, excavation | Ship Canal      | <u>Collier's Magazine</u> , 12/14/35, p. 9 |
| men at camp               | Ship Canal      | <u>Collier's Magazine</u> , 12/14/35, p. 9 |

### Source: Beauties of the Ocklawaha [1890], Rollins

The following images come from Beauties of the Ocklawaha and Tampa, Florida [1890], n.p, n.d., located in Rollins College Special Collections, Winter Park Florida.

| <u>image number</u>               | <u>category</u> | <u>source</u>                       |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| beaut1, Ocklawaha River           | Scenery         | <u>Ocklawaha Beauties</u> , Rollins |
| beaut2, Ocklawaha Vistas          | People          | <u>Ocklawaha Beauties</u> , Rollins |
| beaut3, Steamer, Graham's Landing | Places          | <u>Ocklawaha Beauties</u> , Rollins |
| beaut4, Silver Springs Run        | Scenery         | <u>Ocklawaha Beauties</u> , Rollins |
| beaut5, Silver Springs            | Scenery         | <u>Ocklawaha Beauties</u> , Rollins |
| beaut6, Steamer Okahumkee         | Steamboats      | <u>Ocklawaha Beauties</u> , Rollins |

### Source: Army Corps of Engineers Collection

The following come from the Army Corps of Engineers Office of History, Humphreys Engineer Center, Fort Belvoir, Virginia. The images come from the Archives collection, Civil Works Projects, Cross Florida Barge Canal (3 boxes).

| <u>image number</u>              | <u>category</u> | <u>source</u>         |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| canal lock profile, barge canal  | Plans           | box II - 19, folder 1 |
| Dunnellon lock, areal shot       | Plans           | box II - 19, folder 1 |
| Eureka lock,, areal shot         | Plans           | box II - 19, folder 1 |
| Inglis lock,, areal shot         | Plans           | box II - 19, folder 1 |
| old canal ship work,, areal shot | Plans           | box II - 19, folder 1 |
| Silver Springs lock,, areal shot | Plans           | box II - 19, folder 1 |
| St. Johns lock, , aerial shot    | Plans           | box II - 19, folder 1 |

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| <u>image number</u>            | <u>category</u> | <u>source</u>         |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| canal and springs              | maps/plans      | box II - 19, folder 3 |
| lock overview, color schematic | maps/plans      | box II - 19, folder 3 |
| salt water - Rainbow Springs   | maps/plans      | box II - 19, folder 3 |
| salt water - Silver Springs    | maps/plans      | box II - 19, folder 3 |

The following set, from the same archive collection, have good captions regarding the impact of Rodman Reservoir and the Barge Canal project. Most of these shots appear from the 1970s.

| <u>image number</u>        | <u>category</u>   | <u>source</u>         |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Lake Ocklawaha area map    | maps              | box II - 19, folder 5 |
| fish kill, Payne's Landing | scenery           | box II - 19, folder 5 |
| boat ramp                  | places/recreation | box II - 19, folder 5 |
| canal bank                 | places            | box II - 19, folder 5 |
| canal erosion              | barge canal       | box II - 19, folder 5 |
| crusher damage             | barge canal       | box II - 19, folder 5 |
| fish kill                  | barge canal       | box II - 19, folder 5 |
| Kenwood, bulldozer         | places            | box II - 19, folder 5 |
| Kenwood aerial             | places            | box II - 19, folder 5 |
| Ocklawaha map              | map               | box II - 19, folder 5 |
| boat ramp, Orange Springs  | places/recreation | box II - 19, folder 5 |
| Orange Springs aerial      | places            | box II - 19, folder 5 |
| rec area                   | recreation        | box II - 19, folder 5 |
| root rot                   | barge canal       | box II - 19, folder 5 |
| water with weeds           | barge canal       | box II - 19, folder 5 |

The following two images, from the same archive collection, come from an issue of Florida County Government Magazine, 1970.

| <u>image number</u>        | <u>category</u> | <u>source</u>                    |
|----------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| evolution of lock, profile | map/barge canal | <u>Florida County Government</u> |
| lock graphic               | map/barge canal | <u>Florida County Government</u> |

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Source: Marion County Chamber of Commerce

The following come from the Marion County Chamber of Commerce, Ocala, Florida.

| <u>image number</u>        | <u>category</u> | <u>source</u>  |
|----------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| barge canal, aerial 1964   | barge canal     | Marion Chamber |
| LBJ 1 (groundbreaking)     | barge canal     | Marion Chamber |
| LBJ 2 (groundbreaking)     | barge canal     | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 1  | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 2  | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 3  | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 4  | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 5  | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 6  | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 7  | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 8  | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 9  | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 10 | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 11 | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 12 | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 13 | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 14 | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 15 | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 16 | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 17 | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal construction 18 | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |
| ship canal cartoon         | ship canal      | Marion Chamber |

Source: Three Miscellaneous Images

| <u>image number</u>      | <u>category</u> | <u>source</u>                              |
|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------------|
| canal construction       | Barge Canal     | <u>Orlando Sentinel</u> , 11/26/64         |
| land clearing, equipment | Barge Canal     | <u>Florida County Government</u> , 9/10/70 |
| Ship Canal map           | Ship Canal      | Library of Congress map collection         |



## **Appendix E: Oral History Interview Subject List**

The following oral history interviews have been completed as of August 2003.

David Bowman, Office of Greenways and Trails  
Tom Tyler, heavy equipment operator on Cross Florida Barge Canal  
Steve Specht, Public Relations Manager of Silver Springs  
Cleveland E. Powell, Army Corps of Engineers  
Jim Vearil, Army Corps of Engineers

The following individuals have been identified for prospective oral history interviews in the near future. This list is by no means conclusive. We are continually searching for people with stories to tell about the canal and the Greenway's history.

### **Putnam County**

John Huber, former reporter for Palatka Daily News  
Ed Taylor, Save Rodman  
David Ziegler, self-proclaimed "river rat"  
Gene O'Connor, land owner  
Nel Smith, prominent Palatka family  
Punk Walker, former Mayor of Palatka  
Art Ginn, longtime area realtor  
Roy Kummer, Ocklawaha land owner  
Hugo Kummer, local historian  
Woody Tilton, local Rodman land owner  
Allen Trovillion, local politician  
Lester Teuton, anti-Rodman activist  
James Birchfield, heavy equipment operator on the Cross Florida Barge Canal

### **Marion County**

David Cook, former Associate Editor of Ocala Star Banner  
Tommy Needham, former Marion County Commissioner  
Gerald Ergle, Mayor of Ocala  
Mike Finn, former Ocala City Councilman  
Buddy MacKay, prominent Florida politician  
Jim Williams, former Lieutenant Governor  
Tom Olson, Marion County Tax Collector  
Guy Marwick, Silver River State Park Environmental Education  
Buddy Kinsey, Office of Greenways and Trails

### **Santos Area Residents**

Wayne Little  
Jack Damon  
Rev Harold Damon  
Ronald Matthews  
Mazzie Ivey  
Allen Kendrick  
Nemiah Maxey  
Fay Gary  
Jack Daniels

### **Inglis/Yankeetown**

Sally Price, former Yankeetown postal official

### **Florida Defenders of the Environment**

David Anthony  
Richard Hamann  
David Carr  
Lee Ogden  
Kristina Jackson

## Appendix F: Sample Interview Transcript

Interviewer: Steve Noll  
Interviewee: Dave Bowman  
Date: 3-23-2003

- N: This is an Oral History interview conducted by Steve Noll and Dave **Tegeder** for the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project, at the Office of Greenways and Trails. It is March 23, 2003, and we are conducting this interview in Orange Springs in the home of Dave Bowman. Good afternoon, Dave.
- B: Good afternoon.
- N: Before we start on the official part of the project, why don't you tell us some information about you: your birthday, where you were born, where you went to school, and how you came upon the Barge Canal.
- B: I was born on July 11, 1942, in **Savage**, Maryland. [I] went to school, I don't think I went to the same school more than a year and a half in a row, but grew up all around Maryland. Our family moved to Florida when I was fifteen, in 1956. [We moved to Florida] in the Orlando area. [I] went to several schools, lived in several places down there, [and] I graduated from Lake View High School in Winter Garden in 1960. [I] immediately joined the Marine Corps and was gone for three years. Spent the [duration of the] Cuban Missile Crisis in trenches down in Guantanamo Bay, that was probably the military highlight of the career. [I] came out and went to junior college at Orlando Junior College, for the first two years, and then transferred to the University of Florida in 1966. [I] graduated in 1968, in December, with a degree in Forestry and Wildlife Ecology. [I] had heard from several professors about the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project, which was already underway. In fact, [I] did not like living in town, and so I found a place to live out near Orange Springs while I was still going to the University of Florida. [I] got to view the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project while I was a student. I think 1966 was the first time I actually went down to the old ferry landing in Orange Springs. That, and hearing my professors, and also having a basic interest in conservation, especially. [I] became very interested in what was going on down there because I had seen the forest be flattened by this huge machine and started finding out about what the project was all about. When I graduated in 1968, and I was still going to school at night working on a Master's degree, I decided to try to find a job with the Corps of Engineers, and find out what all was going on and how the "enemy" worked.
- N: Enemy? Why are they the "enemy," and who are they the enemy of, at that point?
- B: Well, they're the enemy of the fast-growing environmental movement. This is just before the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act in 1969. I was still a student and there were a number of professors I had, including some friends in the Zoology Department. Archie Carr, who wasn't that vocal about it one way or the other; but Professor John **Kaufman**; of course Professor David Anthony in Biochemistry; Professor **Nordly** in the Ecology Department; and of course Howard **Odum** in the Wetlands Center, later would be in the Wetlands Center, he was professor of Engineering at the time, Environmental Engineering, especially. I had courses with all those professors and more who were either members or who strongly supported the Florida Defenders of the Environment [FDE]. [I], not knowing

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the other side at the time, I kind of scoped them out from what I was hearing and what I was seeing, for where I was living, that they were the enemy of the environment.

N: “They” meaning the Corps?

B: Yes, the Corps of Engineers and all of the Canal Authority, people who were backing this project. Now, you’ve got to remember I was kind of a young guy, but I was a little older than most college students because I had been in the service for three years. So, I didn’t have that unquestioning loyalty to the environmental movement, so I wanted to see what the other side had to say. The best thing I could do, after having worked...I worked my way through college, [and] had a full-time job most of the time. I had worked for the Gaming Commission, the US Forrest Service for a couple of summers out west, landscaping companies, Soils Department at the University of Florida, [and the] Forestry Department at the University of Florida. So, I had seen, you know, I had quite a bit of work experience and I wanted to work for the other side, and so I got a job with the Corps of Engineers in April of 1969.

N: What was that job?

B: It was a deck-hand on a tugboat.

N: So, this didn’t involve environmental policy or anything else?

B: No, it was just a job so I could continue going to graduate school at night, at the time. Actually, I had planned to do a short career of about five years, just traveling around the US, working for different parks to get to know the country and the way different agencies formed their policy, kind of. I was interested in the Bureau of Land Management, the National Park Service, the Forest Service, and a number of other agencies. Also, [I was interested in] the Corps of Engineers, because they have a park management program also. Anybody that dealt in recreation and management and natural resources I was interested in, but I was interested in getting the ground picture from traveling around. This project here became so interesting, of course as I came right on board just before NEPA was being passed, and there was a lot of activity [and] protesting of this project here. It seemed like I could learn more here. Plus, I had two children in fast succession, 1969 and 1970, and that tends to tie you down and rearrange your priorities about whether you should go off traveling around. So, it became very interesting and I just kept staying here. A job came open for park ranger in July of that same year, 1969. So, I was only a deck-hand on a tugboat, working on the Ocklawaha River clearing and different projects. [I was] putting up channel markers where they were destroying the river so you could see where the river channel was. I only did that for about three months and then I became a park ranger.

N: Working on the Ocklawaha for the Corps?

B: While working on the Cross-Florida Barge Canal, but mainly on Rodman Reservoir.

N: What did your job entail, what did you have to do, and how did that job change your perception of either the Corps or the environmental movement?

B: My perception of the Corps was changed pretty much immediately. I found that they were like most organizations that I had experienced before, including the military and different agencies and companies that I had worked for, and also different companies and agencies that I’ve dealt with since. They were like any other agency. Most of the people are very competent, intelligent, and I enjoyed working around. There were some, just like any agencies, that had their own axes to grind, so to speak, and weren’t that objective. Anyway, I enjoyed working for the Corps of Engineers, especially after being motivated to

work for them the way I was. I guess you could say I learned a lot from them, about organizations, and about the fact that they have a core of people at all levels that are very intelligent, dedicated, and fairly objective. They like to see the projects they initiate completed of course, but I think most of them realize that they're in public service and they have to change with the changing priorities of what the people want. In fact, they are very direct when they do change because the Commander and Chief of the Corps of Engineers is the President [of the United States]. So if the President becomes convinced that something needs to change, it's just the order, and the Corps of Engineers immediately does what he wants them to. It's not like USDA or US Department of Interior that might question and argue about it. The Corps of Engineers, the Chief of Engineers is an army officer, and so he says yes sir.

N: Right, it's that military mind-set.

B: Yes.

N: Did you have any problem [with] being perceived by the Corps as a "environmentalist?" How did they perceive you as a park ranger? Did they see this position as simply a sop to the environmentalists, or did you have free-reign to do what you felt you needed to do?

B: No, I had free-reign as far as freedom to speak, of course within limits. They wanted certain things to go through the chain of command up to Jacksonville, to come out of their public affairs office just like an organization, but I had full freedom to speak with any organization, for sure. Several times I spoke my mind in the public and was kind of humored more than chastised for doing that, I would say.

N: Where did you come down on what was going on the Ocklawaha during that time period? What are your perceptions of what was going on there during that time, and the building of the canal?

B: My perceptions were that the cost of the project, especially [the] environmental cost, did not justify building the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project. I kept those thoughts in the background while we were having all of the public meetings and public input. [I] figured that if I was to be part of that project, that I should let the objections come from the public and maybe not so much from me, because things like that are more effective. I guess I react as a trooper when it comes to doing your job even though you might not personally agree with it. Because which every way it went, whether the Barge Canal Project went through, I would be a more effective employee and maybe get my view, as far as conservation went, [across] more effectively if I had a good objective record of being an employee, you know, under the fire of whether the project is going to be built or not. At the same time I was, I think, very open to anybody that had questions about the figures and the studies and the economic justification. Like I said, I had full range to tell people my opinion based on the facts during that period when the Barge Canal was being fought one way or the other, and that's what I did. When representatives or anyone would come around asking questions, I'd give them the facts. The facts really, I didn't think, supported building the projects because the economics were fairly marginal without getting into the environmental disruption that the Barge Canal Project was going to cause. I think I kind of fought my battle against the Barge Canal Project straight through the middle, as I see it. I probably lost a few, so called, friends in the environmental community in Gainesville because of it. That's fine, I don't miss them.

N: Yes, that's what I was going to ask. What was the reaction of your fellow students and your professors to your going over the dark side, as it were?

B: Most of them I think became better friends, at least professionally, maybe not personal, because of that. Most of them respected my opinion. Like Dr. Howard Odum, he and I were always very cordial and would talk at length when we got together about what was going on in the field versus...things like water

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quality, and what the remnants of the project could be used for in the future. Also, his brother, Eugene Odum, from the University of Georgia, I would say became closer friends [with me] amongst several others. Even those who were speaking out strongly, and maybe using, I would say, facts to their advantage, and some of the not so factual stuff to their advantage, we're still friends.

N: Yes. What was the Ocklawaha like in 1970, as an ecosystem, as a river?

B: The section that was effected by Rodman Reservoir, which is the fifteen miles between Rodman Dam and Eureka in 1970, was fast being changed over to a more open canopy. A lot of the trees had already died, the ones that couldn't take that much flooding for that long a period of time. In fact, I remember 1970 as being the year that within the main reservoir area all that was left with any greenery were the Cabbage Palms, Cabbage Palms being different from other trees in that they're monocots. They're like a corn plant, they regrow all their growing tissue every year. They die off the root major stems, the growing parts, and also the growing tissue, or I should say the living tissue at the top also regrows. So, the whole root system regrows every year. So, I think that's why they lasted longer.

N: Did you see the river as a pristine environment that was being just spoiled, or was it an environment that had already been changed significantly by man? That ties into the questions about FDE and their concerns about the river as this remnant of natural Florida.

B: Yes, it was the remnant of natural Florida. To more of a degree, it had been developed. There's less river channel frontage owned by the public in that section of Rodman Reservoir than there is in the upper section of the Ocklawaha.

N: The other section being?

B: [The other section is] from Eureka to Silver River. From Eureka to Silver River it's pretty much natural, the way it was, except for the original loggings and a couple of landings, but from Eureka down to Rodman Dam, there were a lot of hunting camps and a few canals built to [the] side with small lots. A lot of people that had these hunting camps had direct sewer pipes into the river. Stuff like that, but that's really minimal. It was a fairly natural stretch of river and it was completely disrupted by flooding, of course.

N: When was the dam completed?

B: 1968 was when it was first flooded.

N: Then, the reservoir then reached the level where it is today?

B: [It reached that level] in 1969. It was flooded to elevation sixteen in 1968, and then reduced to fourteen because it was easier to do some of the snag removal, the last minute snag removal, and then it was brought up to full-pool in 1969, up to twenty.

N: Where is it today?

B: Today, it's at twenty or something just less than that, maybe nineteen point seven.

N: As the park ranger for this project, what were some of your duties?

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- B: First of all, most of course, is to take care of any public use on the project. Of course there was a lot of public use [such as] fishing at the dam. We had four boat ramps that had been completed, and there was a lot of public use there. In 1969, they went ahead ... I say they, the powers up in Jacksonville wanted at least a temporary camp ground because they were getting so many calls for overnight camping out there.
- N: The “powers,” meaning the Corps?
- B: Yes. They had a master plan already on the books by 1969. From that, we hired a few summer students and few temporary laborers, and we went about constructing a road and a layout at Rodman Reservoir. I was in charge of that, the layout of Rodman Campground. That was a lot of fun because it brought in a lot of my experience with surveying and some experience and training with Recreation Management, which was the layout of campgrounds and stuff like that. Then, we went over to **Kenwood** and Orange Springs and created some day-use areas, some picnic areas, laid that out. So, I was involved from the ground up, putting facilities on the ground, on the land we already and come to find out later, on some land that we didn’t own.
- N: Who owned that land?
- B: The Miller family still owned quite a bit of the **Kenwood** area, but of course the Canal Authority was in place to procure all of those lands, and I guess the court thought that it was just a matter of a few months before they would get them. In fact, it was a matter of about thirty years before they got it.
- N: Can you speak then, of the different roles of the Canal Authority versus the Corps in the building and construction of the canal?
- B: Yes. Generally the Corps of Engineers, when they undertake a civil works project, as far as I know, always has in place or always like to have in place a local sponsor that does the local work [such as] disseminating information [and] procuring lands that are needed for the project. In Florida, that organization was the Canal Authority of the State of Florida. They were the big backers, so to speak, and the big pushers of the project to get the Florida government to put up their share of funding, and especially backing.
- N: Does that work well, with a state agency working together with a federal agency, or are there problems with that?
- B: Well there’s problems of course, but generally I think it’s the only way to go if you’re going to build, I guess you’d say, a project of national importance to the whole navigation system and the country. That was why the project was undertaken, but it’s always good to have the local state that it’s involved in right up front with you.
- N: The economic benefits that were supposedly to accrue from the canal’s completion and use, can you speak to what those were supposed to be? You’ve already expressed that you didn’t think that they were viable, but can you tell me what the rationale was for building this canal?
- B: Yes, as I understood and have read since about it, the Corps had done several economic analysis before the present-day Barge Canal was started in 1964. [They] just kind of kept it on the shelf because it was marginal. Then, sometime in the early 1960s, recreation benefits were either legally or at least pushed as part of the overall determining formula for whether a project should be built or not. When they included the recreation benefits, I understood that the benefits went above one point zero to one. I don’t know what that was, but it was still marginal in my mind. It is like one point one-three or one point two at the

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most, as I recall. That just wasn't enough in my mind because the environmental impacts hadn't been put in there at all, just recreation. When you put recreation in there, they always prefer like a lake project that a lot of people can get benefit out of with skiing and things like that I don't really care about, over what people can use a river for. I mean, that was just inherent in that decision to put that in there, and it wasn't fair in my mind.

N: The recreational benefits would be economically important to it?

B: Right.

N: Tell me about FDE [The Florida Defenders of the Environment]. How did they get involved and what's the relationship of FDE and Marjorie Carr to this project?

B: FDE was already involved when I was a student at UF. Of course, [I] was taking a lot of biology, botany and zoology courses, even statistics and chemistry. [I] spent quite a bit of time in the classes of professors who were members of FDE. Inevitably they would use that project as an example of things that were going on that needed to be changed. I didn't need much coaching to realize, because I agreed that those things needed to be changed. FDE is an organization. The first time I heard about them was, I believe, before I went to work for the Corps, probably 1968. Just before I went looking for a job with them I had already heard about the Florida Defenders of the Environment and what they were doing. [I] knew several students who were members and who I would later have contact with on the project, like George **Gerner** who headed up the task force to come down and restudy from Washington, to study the environmental impacts in the early 1970s.

N: He was a student at UF with you, then?

B: Yes.

N: He was also in the Forestry Department?

B: Yes, but I had always, and right on through, had respect [for FDE] and was in fact a member for most of the time. [I] still am a member of the FDE so I can keep up with what they're doing. They also do a lot of good work on other projects in the state of Florida, including the Suwannee River and the Apalachicola River, that I like to keep track of. I'm not a real active member. I think my job is more effective if I stay away from both extremes of the battle over what used to be the Barge Canal but is not centered on Rodman Reservoir. I just try to feed the information to both sides as they request it. I'm a member of both sides, Save Rodman and also FDE, just so I can stay in tune with what they're both doing.

N: FDE has been classified as much an organ of Marjorie Carr as a broad-based environmental coalition. How do you see Marjorie Carr and her role in this?

B: Well, I think she was one of their prime motivators, of course. I have heard from other members, especially later on in the 1980s [and] through the 1990s that maybe she was a little too locked in to restoring Rodman, [and] maybe expended a lot of energy and the resources of that organization doing that, but that's up to them. I've heard those stories, but that's the only thing that I've heard that would take away from [the] effort.

N: Did you know her personally?

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- B: Oh yes, I talked to her, but we weren't that close, of course, because she disagreed with some of the stuff, or maybe most of the stuff, that I was saying or putting in the newspaper as a kind of defense to keep a lot of their figures honest. Like any organization, I think a lot of their figures got into newsprint and in different reports that were a little exaggerated to say the least. Some of them [were] just non-factual either from misunderstandings on their part about budget items and stuff, or whatever, and I would try to keep those straight by coming up with the figures and getting those in the newspaper or wherever to correct it. That was the only rub that I think that we had. You have to do what you think is right and she did what she thought was right.
- N: Would you say that FDE and Marjorie Carr were the instrumental factor in the ending of the canal?
- B: I would say so.
- N: The lawsuit, the Environmental Defense Fund, and all these things that are occurring in 1970, these are crucial steps in Nixon's eventual closing [and] stopping of the canal?
- B: Yes.
- N: What was the atmosphere of the Corps when the first court ruling comes down, and then Nixon's promulgation that the work needs to be stopped? Was it shock? Was it anger? Was it resignation? Were you still working for the Corps at that point?
- B: Yes, that was 1971. Yeah, I had been working for them for two years. I was one of only, maybe, two people. I think they had someone that had a college degree in agronomy and maybe somebody in civil culture in a Jacksonville district. We're talking about six to eight hundred employees. So actually, I was the only field biologist, [really] anybody with any training in biology that they had [was]. So, I was on the front line as far as showing people around that were doing all these restudies and reevaluations from different tasks forces out of Washington and Atlanta who would come down to gather facts for an upcoming section of the trial over the whole Barge Canal Project. So, I was right in the middle of it. I was possibly the only person in the Corps of Engineers in 1969, 1970, 1971 even, in the Jacksonville District of the Corps of Engineers, who could speak directly with some field knowledge and also some background in ecology and biology. I think maybe that's something that really rubbed a lot of people on the other side the wrong way, but that's okay. They were instrumental in getting a lot of public attention that should have been on projects like the Barge Canal Project. When there weren't any laws to equally consider natural resources [they drew attention], and I think that was a great thing. I think that my working directly with the Corps of Engineers and kind of knowing what they were all about, and also having a knowledge and some education in ecology and natural resource management, I think that hopefully would help to prevent the pendulum from swinging too far to the other way. I think either way the pendulum swings too far, you don't get good, constructive change; it's more emotion than change. So, I kind of look back with some satisfaction on my role in that.
- N: What did other people who were on the project think about Nixon and his actions?
- B: Oh, there was everything from gnashing of teeth to "I told you so." And [some said that] this is going to be better in the long run when they find out what the facts are and we go ahead with the project anyway, because we can do it environmentally sound, the way we should do it. I mean, there were a lot of good, what I thought were professional reactions to it, and then there were also some emotional ones. It was pretty interesting.

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- N: I can imagine. Did people assume that there would be a backlash and that the project would go forth again, or did they feel that this was kind of a sop to the environmental movement and this was part of this broader environmental mind set that was going on?
- B: There was some of each. I was of course working pretty closely with quite a few people [like] the project engineer in Jacksonville District, the Chief of Engineering section, and a very fast-growing environmental section that they were trying to bolster and get some expertise in so they could reevaluate the project the way they were supposed to because of the law in 1969. So, there were a lot of changes going on in the Corps of Engineers. We got quite a few good people in the environmental-resources section, I think they call them. That was nonexistent before 1969. Did I wander away from the question?
- N: No, that's good. Wandering away is good. Okay Dave, can you please tell me about Marjorie Carr and the Corps? What did the Corps people think about her personally, or did that matter?
- B: I would say almost to the person, they were civil. Some of them didn't like her. I never heard any curse words. I don't know if they knew I was a member at FDE or not; I don't really care. They were upset about it, and they wondered who this woman was, at first. Those are the earliest things that I can remember. At least the management people [were upset], the Colonel and heads of division who were really impacted by this and had to switch gears from building a project to defending it, and then coming up with a complete restudy. I can only remember, what I would say are that people were gentlemen. I say that because most of them were men. In fact, all of them I can remember early on that were working on the project were men, with a few women engineers. No, I think that comes with being part of the army, they were able to switch gears most of them, and there wasn't a whole lot of gnashing of teeth in the Canal Authority as I remember it. I think Tom Adams, for one, kind of sums it up when he kind of lashed out publicly in a public meeting.
- N: Tom Adams being?
- B: Lieutenant Governor at the time. In fact, I remember a couple of the Corps people, the chief of engineering and the project manager for one, who really didn't have a very good opinion of that kind of tactic. It's kind of corny, but I think people that are in the Defense Department have a little more direct relationship with that thing about, you know, it's American to be able to speak your mind in dissent and that kind of thing. That's where one of my views of the Corps of Engineers as an organization of people changed right there. I kind of have respect for their attitude about the opposition and the fact that our job is to change with changing priorities. I think I found more of that with the Corps of Engineers than I did with the State of Florida and then later on with some of the agencies that testified against the project. I think they used a little more opportunistic, maybe not so factual, arguments than the Corps. The Corps I had more respect for how they handled themselves during that time period. I think they were a little more professional than some of the other agencies that were on the other side.
- N: Was FDE as professional in their dealing or were they resorting to sentimentality and personal attacks, or were they generally focused on the scientific basis for their opposition?
- B: I think given the fact that they were the underdog and they were coming from the side that had no legal protection from 1969. So, they were very incensed, as I was, before 1969 that there was no protection. [There was] no mechanism to evaluate these protects. I think there was a little more emotionalism on their part, you know I give them that, but by and large, the environmental organizations were pretty professional and were looking for the truth also. There were maybe just a few more individuals that were willing to just put their emotionalism right out front of the facts.

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- N: And UF professors were instrumental in organizing FDE and in putting that scientific basis for that?
- B: Yes.
- N: Can we switch gears just for a minute and talk about the canal and its construction? There are great stories about how this pool was constructed, how this forest was leveled. Can you talk about that for a while?
- B: Yes, about a third of the reservoir was...the reservoir being a wetland forest or at least a flat-woods forest that was moist most of the time. A good third of that was crushed with the idea of crushing the trees far enough into the sediment so they wouldn't float, and thereby saving a million dollars or more on the clearing contract.
- N: Was that under the auspices of the Corps or the state?
- B: No, that was Corps. In fact they, I believe, gave out a Value Engineering Award to whoever worked on that project to save the federal government money by crushing the trees to the bottom instead of clear-cutting them, taking them out and burning them.
- N: How were those trees crushed?
- B: They used a one-of-a-kind tree crusher that was constructed just for this project. I'm told [it had] four Caterpillar engines, one in each corner of it. It was thirty-two feet high. I really don't know how long, but it looked like a big tank and it had pumps where you could pump water into it to make it heavier if it met resistance with crushing the trees. Also, you could pump water out of it so it would float if it had to go over a deep area. My first sight of it was, I think, in 1967 when I went down to Orange Springs Ferry Landing and the forest that used to be there was just about totally gone. I asked the ferry operator, **Johnny Alton**, I said what the hell is going on down here. He told me it was part of the federal Barge Canal project. That's kind of where I put two and two together about what was going on and what I had heard what was going on about the project. It wasn't that I didn't know anything about the project, I just didn't realize that it was coming that fast. [I] didn't immediately link what was going on at that landing with all the trees crushed into the ground, but I found out pretty quick.
- N: Now the crusher, it had crushed them just simply with the giant treads? Was there something on the front of it?
- B: Well, it had like a big bumper on the front of it. [It was like] a huge pipe, I don't know how big it was, at least a foot in diameter I would suppose. [It was like] a big breaker bar on the front. It would hit the trees at about thirty feet high, which would give it a pretty good leverage action on the tree to push them down. Then, it would walk over them with the tracks.
- N: Was this successful? Did it push them into the sediment permanently?
- B: No, that's, I think, where the Corps really lacked anybody that had done any evaluation of the whole, especially the soils of the project. As you know, there are a lot of high islands in the Ocklawaha River swamp, they grow oak trees and things like that. You're not going to really press anything too far into the sand that way. Not only that, a lot of the organic soils aren't that deep, so you're pushing them into soft mud, and when these trees and all these gases starts to deteriorate, it's going to tend to knock them out of the mud. From what I heard, they were also not planning on a fairly dry season, they were planning on more wet soils. I think that's just an excuse as to why a lot of them didn't stay down, why a

lot of them popped to the surface. I think they would have popped anyway, no matter how wet of a period we'd have had or how deep the mud had been. That's about all you can say about that. It really didn't work. I mean, it worked in the sense that it got rid of the forest, but it didn't work in two ways: Number one, they had to spend quite a bit of money, going out there with a barge, a crane, and a tug boat picking them up and putting them on burning islands. Number two, I think the pictures that FDE took and put in newspapers all around the state probably did more to mobilize people into saying what the hell are we doing with this project when they saw all those floating stumps.

N: Or when they saw that giant machine?

B: Right, exactly.

N: What happened to the thing?

B: I haven't been able to find out. I've heard three different [stories], almost legends, now. One [story said] that it went to South America and started doing the same thing down there. I don't think that's true, but...

N: But it's a great story.

B: It's a great story. One [story said] that they moved it to the Intercoastal waterway, over there somewhere near Flagler Beach, and it's rusting away somewhere on a spoil island. Another [story said] that it was disassembled and sold either in parts or they put it together again in South America. [laughing]

N: Did you ever meet the man that is responsible for building this thing and everything?

B: [I] met Jack **Perko** and talked to him a number of times, who lived a Payne's Landing. He was a subcontractor for **Gray**, Gibson, and **Gregg**, they all fit, you know, that built and managed the crusher. I could be wrong about the actual construction company under that overall contract with **Gray**, Gibson, and **Gregg**, but I know Jack **Perko** worked as a field supervisor for them and actually supervised the people who ran the tree crusher on a day to day basis. So yeah, I've talked to people that were involved with it and I talked to some fellow who actually ran the crusher, but I don't think he's alive now and I don't even remember his name anymore.

N: What do you think about doing that? Just a job?

B: Yeah, pretty much a job running a huge bulldozer.

N: No different than anything else, just bigger?

B: [Yes]

N: Do you think that machine and the way it was utilized so wonderfully by FDE, is that crucial in changing the public's perception?

B: Yes. I think that's what usually happens. In my experience with these types of projects, it's hard to get a ground swell of interest in it, and then something just comes along that's a real pivotal point, and I think that was it. That's the way I look at it. One of the charter member of FDE owned a spring. [He owned] a small cabin and a small spring. I think it's Cause Springs, just above Payne's Landing.

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N: That's on the Ocklawaha?

B: Yeah. I think he's either related or later sold his place to the **Bealing** family who are also members of FDE. Anyway, he told me a story of the day he saw the crusher coming down around the periphery of the reservoir. One of the jobs of the crusher was to crush the perimeter at elevation twenty to twenty-one for "mosquito control". [The crusher was supposed to do this] to get rid of the nasty swamp forest and have a perimeter where you could spray for mosquitos around the periphery. He said he became a member as soon as he could when that crusher came through there and ran right across his spring and crushed the trees down into his spring, of his like idealistic, Florida swimming hole. Who could not understand this guy becoming a member of FDE after he sees that?

N: Sure, but they did this on his private property?

B: Well, I'm not sure. It's hard to say without going back on the records and seeing the date at which the Canal Authority paid and took possession of different things, because there's so many different legal instruments, easements and just a whole rainbow of different interests that the Canal Authority had. So, possibly it was his property at the time and possibly it was the government's, but that really doesn't matter when you're interested in a piece of natural Florida and you see it get crushed.

[end tape A: side 1]

N: Okay, we're kind of back now. Let's talk about what happens to the Barge Canal Project, the Corps, and you after Nixon halts the project in 1971. The project is on hold, what's your job, and what's the Corps' job, and what's FDE's job?

B: 1971, after the halt, I would say two to three days a week I was either showing somebody around from some kind of task force gathering information, [such as] the media. The other two days, I was trying to do some resource management and trying get our boundaries surveyed so that we could protect the land and the water, and also take care of the recreation traffic that was going on.

N: Significant recreation traffic at that point?

B: Yeah, about 250 to 400,000 people a year with very minimal facilities. We were not allowed to construct anything. We had to make due with...

N: Was that because of Nixon's order?

B: Right. Yeah, we couldn't spend money improving any of the facilities. So, we're stuck with pretty heavy recreation traffic, especially on weekends. The only facilities we could put out there are **port-o-lets** that you would find at a construction site. Plus, very few other facilities like tables, information boards, and signs about how to get here and our regulations and everything, so it's definitely a full-time job. I'm working quite a bit even on the weekends, because that's when a lot of people want to come out and see it that are involved with the media and everything.

N: How big a deal was it regarding the media? Did they see it as a major issue affecting the state, or was it just considered a small, political problem?

B: No, I think they saw it as affecting the state and possibly partly the southeast as far as navigation went. Yeah, the main focus was stopping the Barge Canal, then. Also, on the other side you've got the government going through the motions of interpreting the National Environmental Policy Act and trying

to form an organized approach to restudy the whole project, which is several million dollars in the works between 1971 and 1977 when they completed the study.

N: That's that twenty-volume tome?

B: Yeah, that's that three and a half foot thick, blue study.

N: Were you involved in the restudy?

B: Oh, yes. [laughing]

N: What were the results of the restudy?

B: The results were that, [to] just about say it in one sentence, the Chief of Engineers found that the project could not be recommended at this time because of the marginal economic value and the probable, large ecological impacts of the project. I remember that as being his statement. I think it's in the executive summary to that effect. So, that was it overall.

N: That is that the restudy is finally finished?

B: In 1977 [it was finished].

N: 1977. By that time, is FDE pushing for the dam's removal, for Rodman's removal?

B: Yes, they were always pushing for Rodman's removal. In fact, when I first came to work for the Corps, I think I was there three months, just before I became a ranger, and I was already involved with meetings at UF with wildlife professors and people from the Jacksonville district about getting the water off those trees in Rodman. I would say that was a 100 percent genuine interest in trying to save that river-swamp forest, because even though we don't have a whole lot of data on river-swamp forests...I mean, there is some expertise in wetlands and stuff, and they know that a lot of those trees are not going to take a year or two of high water, and they didn't. So yeah, I'm involved in that as early as 1969. That didn't abate whenever the studies were going on about either going ahead or de-authorizing the Barge Canal. Throughout that time there's continual clamor to drain Rodman Reservoir and get the water off of it.

N: In order for Rodman to be drained, the canal project would have to be de-authorized?

B: Yeah, Rodman became a central issue several times during even the earlier hearings in 1971 [and] 1972. I took out a number of study teams from US Forest Service and everyone to gather information on how many live trees were left in this area and how many they first saw as dying before the year was out. There were several motions made to drain the reservoir, or at least draw it down significantly while the Barge Canal trial was going on.

N: What's the state's role or position during this hiatus period?

B: The state is the main proponent for keeping the reservoir and going ahead with the Barge Canal, because early on the Corps of Engineers was made a party to...well, when President Nixon says he wants to Barge Canal stopped and they get a judgement to temporarily halt it, the Corps of Engineers is a party to that. They automatically switch and defend halting the Barge Canal Project until it's studied. So then, you have the Canal Authority and their group of witnesses that are the main push for continuing work on the Barge Canal. So actually, you have the Corps of Engineers on the same side as the other federal agencies,

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as well as FDE, to temporarily halt and justify halting it until it can be studied right. Then, you have the Canal Authority subpoenaing me as a hostile witness against my agency I'm working for.

N: So you were testifying in the trial?

B: Yes.

N: Where was that held?

B: Jacksonville.

N: During what years [did it go on, and] how long did the trial last?

B: I'm talking about pretrial hearings and depositions and everything, probably 1971 to 1973.

N: What's the final judgement in the trial?

B: [The final judgement was] that it would be halted and no more construction can take place except for completing a couple of highway bridges that were dangerous, like Highway 40. [No more construction] until the federal government came up with an environment-impact analysis and a complete update of the economics and engineering and everything else on the Barge Canal.

N: That's the restudy?

B: That's the restudy.

N: What's the state's interest in continuing this? [Is it] strictly economic?

B: [I] don't know. I wasn't that close to the Canal Authority. Let me see, I think **Giles Evans** was the Canal Authority Manager, who I've always found to be a class-act. Even though he'd fire off letters with some things I didn't agree in them, he was just doing his job, defending and trying to get the Barge Canal [project] back on track. He and I always got along personally when he would come to me for information and stuff like that, but I don't know much about his personal...

N: Motivations.

B: or emotional side.

N: Did you have any contact with **Bert Dosh**?

B: No.

N: No. [Did you have any contact with] the Ocala Boosters?

B: No, just things that I read. I think I saw him a couple of times, but I was never introduced to him, so I never really knew him.

N: On the whole Ocala is seriously pushing...

B: Right.

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- N: I'm sure they felt that they were stabbed in the back by Nixon and maybe even by the Corps.
- B: The Jacksonville group, too, was involved in it pretty heavy, keeping it going. In fact, the Canal Authority was in Jacksonville at the time. [laughing]
- N: Once the restudy is completed, is the Corps' role finished or are you still employed by the Corps?
- B: No, I'm still employed and actually I am the natural resource manager during that time period, about 1978. Then, in 1981 when we're still in limbo, the studies are complete and they're still arguing about them, but [there's] not enough interest in Congress to start any of the authorization procedure. The project engineer who was stationed in Palatka, who I worked for, died, and they decided to take advantage of the situation since it didn't look like any construction was going to take place any time soon. [They] changed that whole office to a resource management office, and I became the head of that whole office in Palatka, which included several other things. [It included the] aquatic-plant control program for the north half of the state, Palm Valley Bridge, Canaveral Walk at Cape Canaveral, a permits program for protecting wetlands. So, I've got remnants of the Barge Canal plus all that other stuff.
- N: Can you talk about the relationship of ecology and the eastside of this project versus the ecology and politics of the westside? The westside has a dam and lock that are, at some point, very similar to what happens over at Rodman, why all the hue and cry about the Ocklawaha and very little about the Withlacoochee [River]?
- B: Well, the most important thing is Lake Rousseau or the back waters of the Withlacoochee was constructed and flooded. I think they settled in 1907. I mean, it's so old that I've heard 1903, 1904, and 1907, and maybe in 1910. So, this is a reservoir that's been there already for sixty-five years whereas on the eastside you've still got the Ocklawaha River and it's slowly drowning under a newly constructed reservoir. Also, either the state or the federal government also have an interest in some of the land around it, so you don't have a lot of residents living right on lake shore. It would be quite a bit easier and you could save a lot more of the natural environment if you drained Rodman. So, I think that's mainly the reason why they centered on the Ocklawaha River. It could be saved, but the Withlacoochee River has been drowned for sixty years.
- N: When does the transition take place from the Corps to the state?
- B: That's 1992 when Congress de-authorized it. There was a lot of work that went into that agreement. The state agreed to take over all the facilities that were included in the project, and all the lands, water, and structures, and to make it available to the public by protecting it and make it available for recreation, wildlife conservation, and other resource management benefits to the public.
- N: So, the Corps is still in charge throughout the entire decade of the 1980s?
- B: Yes.
- N: You're employed by the Corps during that entire decade?
- B: Right.
- N: The project is basically still on hold. Does anyone hold out a glimmer of hope that it will be revitalized, or is everyone just assuming that the axe is going to fall and it will be eventually de-authorized?

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- B: No, I think...If I told my people in the Corps of Engineers, I would say [that] with each passing year after about 1980 when nothing came very fast to kind of turn it around, the chief of engineers had taken a stance to, for the time being, the project would not be recommended. I don't think anybody in the Corps of Engineers saw anything like a windfall of funding or anything that would bring it back up again as being beneficial. So, year by year they resigned themselves, at least as an organization, that it was just going to sit on the books for a while and probably not be built in the near future, if at all.
- N: How is that for the morale of the Corps, that you're involved in a project that's basically dead but not dead?
- B: I think for the older engineers who had spent a good part of their career working on the Cross Florida Barge Canal, that was probably pretty serious to their morale. Most intelligent people who work for the government, they see their job more as public service and rather than getting the project completed, even though you worked on it personally, maybe you were the project manager for the Cross Florida Barge Canal...Sam **Eisenberg** was the project manager for quite a while and him and I became friends, and he had a very good attitude about it. You know, the Corps of Engineers has plenty of work to do other than the Barge Canal in his office. In general, he was pleased that the Corps had come such a long way in the way they did business before 1969 and the way they were doing it [later]. So, I think that's a pretty good indication of the attitude with all those changes going on. I think they realized business was being done in a better manner.
- N: Does your position change, and your responsibilities, do they change during this decade or are you still involved in resource management throughout this whole time period?
- B: Yeah, but I'm as the manager for thirty-five people instead of being a ranger with a couple of assistants here and there. So, I'm [doing] more work in the office, more reports and doing that, plus all the supervision duties for thirty people or so. Well, I can't say I didn't enjoy it. There were aspects of it I enjoyed, but I wouldn't look forward to doing it again.
- N: Are you the Corps' primary person then, on this, or are there other people involved? Can it be said that during the 1980s that you *are* the Corps during this time, you and your office?
- B: Yes [along with my] support staff up in Jacksonville who were still working and keeping things updated. We still have structures: We've got three locks that were built, each one cost 8 to 10 million dollars, and a number of dams, two over \_\_\_\_\_, and of course Rodman Dam. [We had] an office and some other facilities down in the center of the state that were built for the Barge Canal. So, we've got all of that stuff to maintain, and since there's not much interest except, you know, get that thing away from me, it's a political hot potato, I don't really have anything to do about it but I've got to appropriate some money for it, so here's this much. So, you're managing a project that you're not getting quite enough money to maintain in a very good state. So, you're watching it slowly...
- N: [You're watching it] deteriorate.
- B: ...deteriorate for lack of interest. You know, that's something you don't like to see, but like I said, most people that work with the government realize that those things happen and they don't take it personally.
- [laughing]
- B: That's all I can say.

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- N: Are the locks serving a purpose? Are ships and boats being locked through, or not?
- B: No.
- N: So basically, your function there is just maintaining of structures rather than use?
- B: [We're there] maintaining structures and trying to keep it open for recreation traffic, which keeps it in shape. If we don't use it, it's going to deteriorate further, so it's not just that there's a lot of recreation traffic out there that wants to get through, it's we've got to operate it anyway.
- N: What is FDE's role throughout this decade of the 1980s? Are they pushing constantly for de-authorization, and is their focus changing at all towards free-flowing of the river as opposed to [that idea that] now the canal is completely gone?
- B: No, throughout the late 1970s and all through the 1980s and into the 1990s, they were pushing just as strongly to drain the reservoir. I'd say they push a little stronger when they see an opportunity that they might be successful, but they've got a pretty strong push to get rid of the reservoir throughout.
- N: Is there an assumption that de-authorization will mean the end of the reservoir, at least on their part?
- B: I think it means a big step toward getting rid of the reservoir. [It's the same] as getting rid of the reservoir is seen by the other side as a big step for getting rid of the Barge Canal. That's why, in part, they are fighting so hard to keep the reservoir there. I don't think it's in the interest of the reservoir being better than the river that they're doing it. The other side that wants to see a barge canal is trying to keep the reservoir there because it represents a big stepping-stone in getting the Barge Canal finished.
- N: Is that still there by the late 1980s? [Are] people still pushing to have the canal finished, or has the dam taken on a life of its own?
- B: I think gradually the dam has taken on a life of its own, and the forces that are pushing for [the] Barge Canal are slowly waning. The forces for getting rid of the reservoir and de-authorizing the Barge Canal are gaining momentum.
- N: When does de-authorization finally take place, and how does that affect the ecosystem, generally, and your role in it, specifically?
- B: [It is] de-authorized in 1992. [That] is when they officially handed it over and the Corps of Engineers agreed to manage the structures for another year or transition period, which we did. Then, for the Rodman side, the St. Johns River Water Management District agreed to manage them, I think, for another nine months after the state took it over, because of course the Canal Authority of the State of Florida, which is the organization that managed the Barge Canal Project in the interim, between it becoming a Barge Canal and then over to a greenway, didn't have anybody to manage it either. The natural choice is the water management district since they managed a lot of water-control structures.
- N: Who's managing it on the west side?
- B: The Southwest Florida Water Management District managed the west side for the same time period. Then, in a kind of surprising turn in politics for me, the Canal Authority said that they can manage them cheaper than they were paying the two water management districts to manage each end. So, that's when

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Fred **Ayers** came to me and asked me if there was a possibility I could work with the state. I told them that there was an inter-agency agreement. I'd already heard about that and checked it out.

N: Who is Fred **Ayers**?

B: Fred **Ayers** is the director of the Canal Authority. I think he started in 1988 and he managed the Canal Authority and then as it was transferred into the Office of Greenways and Trails, right on up to about 1997 [or] 1998.

N: How does authorization have to take place? Is this by Congressional action?

B: [It happened through] de-authorization. Yeah, that's US Congress finally getting their act together and actually de-authorizing the project.

N: With that then the dream of the canal as an entity is dead, and the debate then shifts to, instead of building the canal, the debate then shifts to complete removal of Rodman [Dam], at least through?

B: Yes, then the effort is stepped up considerably to get rid of Rodman once the Barge Canal project is de-authorized. Also, [they tried] to get some kind of a conceptual management plan in place that protects everything that is laid out in the de-authorization. There's quite a bit of language in there about protecting the Ocklawaha River. I think Representative Charles Bennet worked long and hard to come to a compromise to de-authorize it and turn over all the stuff to the state of Florida, but only if the they took care of it.

N: But there's nothing in that de-authorization agreement that stipulates anything about Rodman?

B: I don't remember anything specifically other than it was up to the state as they were to protect the remaining portion of the natural Ocklawaha River as the number one item. Then, the rest of as-built structures and everything, they were to manage them.

N: [In] the same way they had been maintaining [them]?

B: No, they had flexibility to do what they wanted to, but they had to come up with the management plan within a certain time period.

N: So, as the de-authorization takes place, you shift then over to the state. What different responsibilities do you have with de-authorization?

B: Yes, I stay with the Corps through 1993 when the water management districts were managing it, because we were also doing a lot of advisory stuff and everything as the transition took place. Then, I started my transfer to the state of Florida. I remained a Corps employee for retirement benefits and everything and the state reimbursed my salary cost back. To the federal government, that started in January of 1994 and went until January of 1999 when I retired from the Corps. I was the Regional Manager for the Cross Florida Greenway.

N: The Canal Authority changes its name and its focus to the Cross Florida Greenway during this decade of the 1990s?

B: Yes, there were a lot of changes going on including a lot of interest in greenways in general across the state, with railroads going out of business and the rails-to-trails organizations popping up to convert

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those to biking and alternate transportation pathways and even DOT and the Federal Highway Administration, whatever national organization runs the highway program. There was a lot of interest and a lot of funding for changing things over to more passive type of transportation and recreation, so there's a lot of greenways interest coming up right at the same time. Actually, I think the first name that the Office of Greenways and Trails had was just Office of Greenways Management. They were in charge of managing all kinds of greenways all over the state of Florida, the biggest project of which was the Cross Florida Greenway.

N: Was there ever any question that this land, when turned over to the state, would be utilized by the state? Was there any push to turn this land back over to private use or to commercialize it?

B: Yes, when it was first transferred of course there were a lot of questions about where the money was coming to do all these management things that they wanted to do, all the surveying and protection activities they wanted to do. The counties had to be paid according to law, also. That was one of the main agreements according to their contributions to the whole Barge Canal project, and that had to be done within a certain number of years. So, the Office of Greenways management started off with not too much money to do things with and no allocations for paying the counties back. So, the counties were going to get back chunks of land in the beginning, in return for the monies they contributed to the Barge Canal project. The Florida state legislators saw fit, wisely so, to come up with some funds to reimburse the counties so that a lot of the Greenway property could stay in tact as a corridor. Luckily [they did this]. So, not many of these land for funds transactions were made.

N: So, what is the environmental legacy of the Cross Florida Barge Canal?

B: The legacy is kind of unbelievable because I don't think any other strategy or whatever you want to call could have put together a one-mile wide corridor, on the average, across the state of Florida, from the Gulf Coast to the St. John's River. This is before a lot of people realized what the advantage of connecting a lot of corridors would be for wildlife as well as for recreation. To have this linear project turned into a greenway and have all these lands that are worth a lot of money if they were used for development, especially connecting the waterways like they do is just a great thing. It's probably one of the greatest things that's happened to the central part of Florida. You sure couldn't, I don't think you could get together the amount money it would take to put together a greenway like this. Plus, [it would be hard to] displace the people that would be living on it.

N: So, what's unique about this swath of land?

B: First of all it goes up, like I said, almost a mile wide in most places and a major river valley which protects it from development. It connects across the Florida highlands in the middle of the peninsula, in an area where a lot of the forest is still in tact. So, you don't have to spend a lot of money buying and restoring an area that's been completely developed and changed [because] you've already got it. It was bought back when land sold for less than a dollar an acre, some it. It traverses most of Florida's major ecosystems, at least for the north part of the state. You've got every type of plant community that exists in Florida in this corridor. It connects the Ocala National Forest, two state forests, Silver River, and Rainbow Springs State Park, and a number of other public lands that actually make a very functional wildlife and recreational corridor across the state.

N: Talk about the continuing **Rodman** controversy and the pro-dam advocates like Ed Taylor versus the FDE opponents like Richard **Hamann**. Where do you stand on that issue? What about the continuing controversy between the state, the federal government, the legislature, [and] the governor? Even in

today's paper Ed Taylor has got a letter to the editor, which tells you that thirty-five years after the fact this is still a hot-button issue. Can you talk about those particulars?

B: Yes, and it's likely to stay hot off and on for a number of years because I don't see the reservoir going away anytime soon. [This is] mainly because when it gets serious one side or the other is going to take the other side to court and that could drag out for a while. It's going to dredge up all the old studies that either one side or the other is going to be dependent on to make their case. There are a lot of politics that you're going to have to tease out of the facts, especially in the 1970s when things were hot and that big restudy was done. I was involved in a lot of the field gathering activities of all kinds, and most of the field data are good. I mean the people actually collected samples in the field, whether it be fisheries, aquatic plants, mammals, reptiles, water quality, whatever. They collected good information, but as soon as it got to the upper levels of management and got politics involved with it...I was just amazed at the number of real facts that were either ignored or completely changed to suit the political need of the time. I think a lot of that stuff is going to come out and it's going to take a while to sort through it and find out what the real facts are. I've written a number of papers back in the 1970s detailing a lot of those mistakes that were made, many of those volumes. It wasn't the data, it was the ignoring of the data and the exaggerations as it went up the upper levels of management. Things like executive summaries were put in there, and that's what most people read. They don't want to read all through the data and see if it correlates to what was actually collected in the field. [Another problem is] maybe it was only collected one time during one season of the year, and you know how Florida changes. Public use changes from season to season [and] the animals you're going to find out there change from season to season. I guess the best way to put it is the way Senator Kirkpatrick put it, which is a lot of it has been cooked and cooked again and cooked again. There's going to be a lot of time spent trying to get down to what the facts are before you can come to any kind of conclusion or you're going to be accused of not doing it right another time. So, it's going to take a while and the reservoir is going to be there through that time, as far as I can see. One of the things that just came up here in the last few years is the benefit that the reservoir performs in that whole river system, which has a lot of problems upstream that may be corrected. That reservoir acts a giant filter, a giant kidney, a giant diaper, whatever you want to call it. Whenever that water is flushed from upstream there are a lot of nutrients that are reused in the reservoir and the water coming out of Rodman Dam is a lot cleaner than the water coming into it. Even Silver River, the nutrient level in that coming out of Silver Springs is really increasing. You can see the difference. I was just up there a week ago. What used to be a white, silvery bottom is now covered with algae because of the increase in the nitrates and probably phosphorus too and a few other things coming in through the water out of Silver Springs. So, Silver River is a big nutrient input into the whole Ocklawaha system. I don't even have to mention the Ocklawaha River which has been changed and has three little locks and dams, above Rodman Dam, on it. The water management district and other agencies are trying to reclaim a lot of those old muck farms up there and they're running into some problems, and it's going to take a while. So, that reservoir...

N: That's way up stream, that's even past where the Silver...

B: Yeah, locks and dams control the flow coming down the Ocklawaha River. It's a very complex issue about what function that reservoir is performing now. What I like to tell people is to say that the reservoir needs to be gone because it's not natural and it's part of the old Barge Canal project. Well, the Cross Florida Greenway was part of the Cross Florida Barge Canal project and we're not going to get rid of it. I mean you have to evaluate each part of that old Cross Florida Barge Canal Project and either keep it, alter it or change it, or get rid of it according to its own merits is the way I see it.

N: The **Rodman** Pool, **Rodman** Impoundment [has existed] for thirty-five years. Has it developed its own unique ecosystem now?

B: Oh, yes. Like Jack **Kaufman** used to say in defense of getting rid of **Rodman**, there's an ecosystem out there that you need to evaluate and come up with the impacts that you're going to cause before you just drain it because it's part of the old Cross Florida Barge Canal project. He used to say well, there's a point on your nose that could be an ecosystem. Anything could be an ecosystem, and that's true. So yeah, Rodman is an ecosystem. It's a very rich one. You know, the base-flow coming into that reservoir is just super rich. The nutrients are going to express themselves because the water slows down, it heats up, sitting out in the sunshine, so it's going to be a very rich ecosystem. It's going to be more like Orange Lake than it is a fairly sterile **Sandhill** Lake. That's the way you should expect it to behave and that's the way it does behave. That doesn't mean it's bad, it just means it's more of an Orange Lake than a Lake Kerr. In fact, that's not a lake at all. There are stretches of the reservoir that flow like a river and has kind of a **rivery** complex of animals of plants. As it slows down it becomes more marsh-like or more everglades-like where you've got very slow sheet flow, and then when you get into the main reservoir it is more like a lake, but then it's not like a lake. How many lakes have 2,000 acres of drowned timber in the middle for structure? It's just a completely different habitat. You know I've picked up a lot of agricultural literature from UF and other places, [like the] University of Georgia. One of the biggest recommendations that they give for farmers that have their little ponds and everything is to put sticks and any kind of stumps and rocks in their pond to increase fish habitat. That's what you have in **Rodman**. It's not bad. It might not be aesthetically pleasing to a lot of people, but it's not necessarily bad. That's the basis for a lot of food organisms, and a lot of ospreys and eagles out there, [and] a lot of ducks. That's why there's more of those animals than there are in a lot of lakes around there.

B: It's just looks...

N: We're sitting on a lake. Look out there, do you see flights of egrets and everything flying over? No, because it's not a very rich lake.

[end tape A: side 2]

N: Dave, why don't you continue talking about the relationship of **Rodman** as an ecosystem to the concerns about both FDE and Save Rodman.

B: Like I said, I could talk for five days straight probably, because Rodman Reservoir has been at the center of such a long controversy. It has peaked my interest for thirty-five years. Of course my educational background and interest all of my life has been in aquatic biology. Over the years I've really seen a lot of amazing things go on about the controversy over **Rodman**. I've seen every argument thrown forward as a reason for or against the reservoir. Some basic things are really missing in a lot of the people's arguments. One of them is, just because an area is man-made doesn't necessarily mean that it's bad or that it's not productive or that it can't be managed. What it does mean is that it's not natural, of course. With some people who want to drain the reservoir that's all that matters. They'll put forth different arguments, but when those arguments either don't agree with you or they find out that those arguments aren't getting them anywhere, they back up to the fact that well, it's not natural therefore it's bad, and we're losing too much natural environment in Florida and so we need to restore the reservoir. I understand where they're coming from because we are losing a lot of natural environment just to residential and business areas. They're no longer functional for wildlife or plants, natural plant communities. So I understand that argument, but when you get down to whether the reservoir does this better or is better for the human experience or is better for fish habitat or whatever, I don't think it should make any difference whether it's man-made or not. It's whether it can be managed efficiently in order to gain enough benefits to where it's better than what was there naturally or is better than what it's going to cost to put it back naturally for the foreseeable future. So, we have to look at what the facts are and what data has been collected. Then, I think it becomes a very hard decision to make as to which one

to go with in your mind if you really realize what a lot of the facts are out there. With that said, I think my position since I've been working with the Corps and with the Greenway has been right down the middle as far as the reservoir goes. There are good reasons for keeping it and there are definitely good reasons for keeping it temporarily, for the foreseeable future, until the upper end of the river is in better shape so you don't need this big kidney toward the bottom.

N: Are they working on the upper end right now?

B: Yes, they're working. They're doing good things, but they're also...

N: Who's doing that, St. John's River Water Management District?

B: Mostly the St. John's River Water Management District, and they have some partners. The Corps of Engineers is a partner and some other organizations [and] counties.

N: So that's tied in with the broader concerns about the Ocklawaha as an entire ecosystem as opposed to simply **Rodman** as a dam all the way down into central Florida with Lake Apopka and all those other places that feed into [it]...

B: Right.

N: ...and feed the Ocklawaha into maybe not quality water.

B: Right. In fact, I was just at a meeting last Thursday. There was a public meeting on the procedure for working up total, minimum, daily-load factors that was headed up by the water management district and [the] EPA for certain drainages into the Ocklawaha river, including the Upper-Ocklawaha River, upstream, and also the Lower-Ocklawaha River which includes Rodman Reservoir. So, they're working on that and they've got some deadlines from the EPA. I don't know, Rodman is such a political issue that a lot of people just kind of walk around discussing it even at meetings where Rodman Reservoir is like right in the middle of the watershed. They'll kind of dance around it and don't really want to get in too deep into it, and I can understand why. They're going to have to spend a lot of time talking to different people about it. I've always said there needs to be some kind of, probably forced, procedure to where all the parties involved and that are responsible for managing the Ocklawaha River including Rodman Reservoir have to sit down and actually talk about it and say that word and not have to worry about the political implications. Otherwise, we're not going to get anywhere.

N: But can you divorce that pure science from the politics? Politics seem to have been so embedded in this whole controversy. Would it be possible to divorce the politics from it?

B: I don't know. It would be hard because one side or the other, if they see that they're being marginalized they always go to the top and have it worked down. Of course that's politics. Either the governor steps in, or somebody else steps in and says hey, before you do that, or don't do that...we're going to do this. It's been a thirty-five year history with Rodman Reservoir. That's just the way it is.

N: Well, certainly with the two major proponents on either side now dead: Marjorie Carr and with George Kirkpatrick who became the spokesperson, the point-man for maintaining the reservoir. Is it possible do you think, with them gone, that maybe there could be some kind of consensus or are their followers going to maintain that it will be destruction of their legacy if the river is allowed to flow or if the dam is allowed be destroyed?

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- B: Yeah, I would say there's going to be a continuation of the followers of each side to be on guard and when they see an opportunity, to probe and provoke. I mean you're always going to see...not always, but for the foreseeable future, you're going to see bills introduced or pressure to introduce bills to go one way or the other, to either protect **Rodman** more or to get something started on partial restoration. I think when you see you can't just come out and do something, then you try for one step at a time to just maybe compromise and reduce **Rodman** by a third, that why we get a little more of the river back and this, that, and the other. From the other side [we may have] a bill introduced to make it maybe a state reserve or a state park. So your going to continually see maneuvers like that for the foreseeable future, I think.
- N: What's the role of the US Forest Service for this?
- B: Well, in that case there shouldn't be any role, because they have about 600 acres underneath the reservoir and they have I don't know how many thousands and thousands of acres all over the nation that are under reservoirs that they don't seem to have a problem with, it's just this one. I think that's been pointed out to them already. I think there's maybe a bill [that's] going to be introduced for them to turn that land that's submerged under over to the state.
- N: Is that in the federal Congress?
- B: Yes, federal. At least I've read that. I don't know, you know how bills are. They're put out there and then they're drawn back because of some other considerations, some other politics. We've been trying to do that since 1994, work with the forest service since they have...
- N: "We" meaning the state?
- B: The state of Florida has several times tried to work for the US Forest Service, to trade lands that we have that are out in the forest that were originally procured for the Barge Canal Project. [This would be] in return for lands that are right along the river or are right along Rodman Reservoir so that both agencies could be more efficient in how they manage their land and make them more continuous. Those usually go forward at the field level very favorably but then when they're elevated to actually get something done somebody will add something else to it. I remember one year, I think it was 1996, we were going to trade all those lands back and forth, and then they started throwing in national cemeteries somewhere down state into it. [That introduced something that was] probably something that's not very appetizing to the group and then finally the whole thing just fell apart because they keep adding other things to it. [They add things] you know like riders, things that people don't want thrown in. Hey, that's an opportunity, let's throw that in there.
- N: Which is where it stands now that there's no talking. Kind of in conclusion, how do think Marjorie Carr would see her legacy in the Greenway? The Greenway is named after her, would she see this as a successful legacy in her name?
- B: Oh I think so, sure. I think she would be pleased that her efforts culminated in this whole thing being turned into wildlife and recreation corridor for the people of Florida and the country.
- N: What then is the ultimate legacy of the Cross Florida Barge Canal? Is it fortuitous, serendipitous land preservation?
- B: Well, in the words of Eugene Odum...When he visited in 1976 and spent a day with me out there. You really should read a part of his letter in there. He was saying that there needed to be a lot more information gathered on how the reservoir functioned, but wouldn't it be great if the whole Barge Canal

would just fall through and the whole area could be converted into a green-belt that would keep development from South Florida and North Florida from meeting in the middle and conserve a good cross-section of Florida through the middle of the state. I think that's exactly what happened. Most of the people I talk to when I give presentations about the history of the Barge Canal and how it came to be a greenway and what the greenway should hold for them in the future...I think people are excited that this whole project became like a windfall for a huge natural area across the middle of the state that is so popular that it's becoming a residential area at best through the old path of the Barge Canal. I think most people are excited and happy that it happened.

N: This is the end of this interview. I'd like to thank Dave Bowman for his time and I appreciate him letting us come out here and interview him. Thank you very much.

B: Thank you, I appreciate you taking the effort to interview people. I'm big on interviewing.



## **Appendix G: Potential Partnership List for Historical Interpretation**

Below is a list of potential partnerships for the Office of Greenways and Trails. The following institutions and individuals can provide assistance with historical and cultural interpretation.

### **PUTNAM COUNTY**

#### General contacts:

Putnam County Chamber of Commerce website - <http://www.putnamcountychamber.org/>  
Putnam County Chamber of Commerce  
Post Office Box 550, Palatka, FL 32178-0550  
Phone: (386) 328-1503 Fax: (386) 328-7076

Putnam County Events Calendar <http://www.putnamcountychamber.org/CALENDARhtm#August>

Note: This calendar is very sketchy. However, there are opportunities to publicize the Greenway with local festivals, ie., the Azalea Festival (March) and Blue Crab Festival (May) For a list of festival contacts, see <http://www.putnamcountychamber.org/visitorlink.htm>

Note: The Putnam County website has a list of local attractions. Greenway representatives should contact the Chamber to include the Greenway. See, <http://www.putnamcountychamber.org/ATTRACTIONS.htm>

#### Local contacts:

Mary Murphy  
Putnam County Public Library  
601 College Road  
Palatka, FL 32177-3873  
(386) 329-0126  
[putnamarchive@hotmail.com](mailto:putnamarchive@hotmail.com)

Note: Ms. Murphy is a local historian who has done several library presentations on the Greenway. The local library is a great avenue to introduce people to the Greenway.

Marcia Lane, City Editor  
Palatka Daily News  
1825 St. Johns Avenue  
P.O. Box 777  
Palatka, FL 32178

### MARION COUNTY

#### General contacts:

Ocala Marion Chamber of Commerce website – <http://www.ocalacc.com/default.asp>  
Katie Mulhearn, Director of Tourism/Hospitality  
Ocala/Marion County Chamber of Commerce  
110 East Silver Springs Boulevard  
Ocala, FL US 34470  
Phone: (352) 629-8051 Fax: (352) 629-7651

Marion County Events calendar  
<http://www.ocalacc.com/chamber/chamber-calendar.asp>

Note: There are many local festivals that offer opportunities to publicize the Greenway. The list of events below suggests potential partnerships could include:

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Fort King Festival (Sept), Marion County Museum                                                                                                                                                                               | (352) 629-2773 |
| Jazz Up Dunnellon Festival (Sept), Downtown Dunnellon                                                                                                                                                                         | (352) 489-2320 |
| Annual Salt Springs Festival (Oct), Salt Springs Park                                                                                                                                                                         | (352) 685-2954 |
| Withlacoochee Bluegrass Festival (Oct), Dunnellon                                                                                                                                                                             | (352) 489-8330 |
| Ocklawaha River Raid (Nov), contact Kevin Kohl                                                                                                                                                                                | (352) 687-8737 |
| Though the site may move in the near future, previous re-enactments have been located in Lake Weir. This annual Civil War re-enactment provides a unique opportunity to showcase the Ocklawaha River and Greenway in general. |                |
| White Buffalo Society Native American Festival (Nov), Fort King                                                                                                                                                               | (352) 625-2279 |
| Ocali Cracker County Days (Nov), Silver River Museum                                                                                                                                                                          | (352) 236-5401 |
| Includes historical demonstrations and activities.                                                                                                                                                                            |                |
| Annual Native American Festival (Nov), Silver Springs                                                                                                                                                                         | (352) 236-2121 |

#### Local contacts:

Betty and Earl DeBary  
Marion County Museum of History  
306 S.E. 26 Terrace  
Ocala, FL  
(352) 629-2773

Guy Marwick, Environmental Educator  
Silver River Museum  
Silver River State Park  
1425 NE 58 Avenue  
Ocala, Florida 34470  
(352) 236-7148

Steve Specht, Public Relations Manager  
Silver Springs  
5656 East Silver Springs Blvd  
Silver Springs, FL 34488  
(352) 236-2121, x1164

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

[stevespecht@silversprings.com](mailto:stevespecht@silversprings.com)

### CITRUS COUNTY

#### General contacts:

Citrus County Chamber of Commerce website – <http://www.citruscountychamber.com/>

Citrus County Chamber of Commerce

208 W Main Street, Inverness, FL 34450-4807

Phone: (352) 726-2801 Fax: (352) 637-6498

Citrus County Events Calendar

<http://www.localendar.com/public/beckye>

Note: This calendar is less detailed than Marion County's, but two festivals with tie-ins to the Greenway come to mind. See:

Annual Manatee Festival (Jan), Crystal River (352) 795-3149

<http://www.citruscountychamber.com/manateefest.htm>

Fort Cooper Days Festival (Mar), Inverness (352) 726-0315

Annual Native American Indian Heritage Week (Oct) (352) 563-5423

#### Local contacts:

Gulf Archaeology Research Institute

5990 N. Tallahassee Road

Crystal River, Florida 34428

website- [www.gariedu.org/index.htm](http://www.gariedu.org/index.htm)

Seminole Wars Historic Foundation

35247 Reynolds Avenue

Dade City, FL 33523

(352) 583-2974

website- [www.swhfoundation.org](http://www.swhfoundation.org)

### OTHER PARTNERSHIP CONTACTS

#### Events and Institutions

Annie W. Pais, Executive Director  
Artists Alliance of North Florida  
PO Box 1149  
Gainesville, FL 32602-1149  
(352) 377-0777  
[awpais@aol.com](mailto:awpais@aol.com)  
website – [www.AAONE.org](http://www.AAONE.org)

Note: This offers an interesting opportunity to introduce the public to the Greenway. The AAONF has sponsored local “paint outs” across North Central Florida. The series features dozens of Florida’s plein air landscape artists who come into a local area—for example, Paynes Prairie Preserve State Park—for a couple of weeks of painting. A collector’s sale follows. In between, people can come to the location and observe artists at work. The Greenway offers a unique area to do this. To the east there is the Ocklawaha; to the west the diggings and other landscapes. Ms. Pais can offer a variety of ways to plan a paint out to draw interest from Ocala and the surrounding area.

Bob McNeil  
Museum of Florida History  
500 South Bronough Street  
Tallahassee, FL 32399-0250  
(850) 245-6400  
[CmcNeil@mail.dos.fl.us](mailto:CmcNeil@mail.dos.fl.us)

Note: Mr. McNeil assisted in the state museum’s display on Ocklawaha Steamboats. He would be a good source of information for future exhibits on the subject.

Florida Humanities Council  
599 Second Street South  
St. Petersburg, FL 33701-5005  
(727) 553-3801  
[www.flahum.org](http://www.flahum.org)

Note: This organization would be of assistance in coordinating public events regarding the historical and cultural significance of the Greenway. Look to them for grants and aid in organizing, for example, public lectures.

Florida Historical Society  
435 Brevard Ave  
Cocoa, FL 32922  
(321) 690-1971  
[www.florida-historical-society.org](http://www.florida-historical-society.org)

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

### Academic contacts

Jim Cusick, Curator  
P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History  
University of Florida  
P. O. Box 117007  
Gainesville, FL 32611-7001  
(352) 392-9075, ext. 306

Note: for assistance on archival materials on Florida history

Jack Davis  
Department of History  
University of Florida  
025 Keene-Flint Hall  
P.O. Box 117320  
Gainesville, FL 32611  
(352) 392-0271

Note: for information concerning Florida history, environmental history

Mark Greenberg  
Florida Studies Center  
University of South Florida  
4202 E. Fowler Ave., LIB122  
Tampa, FL 33620  
(813) 974-7622

Note: for assistance on archival materials on Florida history

Gary Mormino  
Co-director, Florida Studies Program  
University of South Florida  
140 7th Avenue South (Davis 258)  
St. Petersburg, Florida 33701  
(813) 974-2808

Note: for information concerning Florida history

Sallie Middleton  
Department of History  
Florida International University  
University Park (DM-397)  
Miami, FL 33199  
(305) 348-3883 or (305) 348-2328

Note: for assistance on the history of the Cross Florida Barge Canal

Joseph Siry  
Department of Environmental Studies  
Rollins College  
1000 Holt Avenue  
Winter Park, FL 32789  
(407) 629-6564

Note: for assistance on environmental history and policy and the natural history of the Ocklawaha River

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

Brent Weisman  
Anthropology Department  
University of South Florida  
4202 E. Fowler Ave., SOC107  
Tampa, FL 33620  
(813) 974-0780

Note: for assistance on Native American archaeology, particularly the Seminoles

### Demonstrator List for Local Festivals

The following individuals have been identified as living history demonstrators for potential festivals across the Greenway. Many have worked in local festivals in the surrounding area and would thus be familiar with interpreting life along the Greenway corridor.

Pat Chase – Pine Needle Baskets  
P.O. Box 1261  
Bronson, FL 32621

Susan Keller – Spinning, milking  
16 N. County Road 225  
Gainesville, FL 32609

Gloria Corbett – Weaving  
16035 Umatilla Pl  
Umatilla, FL 32784

Sharlene Lane – Triangle-loom-woven shawls  
254 Holley Knowe Road  
Orange Park, FL 32003

Jim Corbett – Blacksmithing  
16035 Umatilla Pl  
Umatilla, FL 32784

Lise-Kay Patterson – Dyeing  
P.O. Box 2287  
High Springs, FL 32655

Butch Crownover – Woodworking  
4410 SW 186<sup>th</sup> St.  
Newberry, FL 32669

Clarice Rutenber – Basketmaking  
337 SE 39<sup>th</sup> Terrace  
Ocala, FL 34471

Nadia Von Dittmar – Palm leaf weaving  
P.O. Box 1261  
Bronson, FL 32621

Tom & Betty Lou Seager  
(Tom, cooper; Betty-Lou, angora spinning)  
40132 Orange Circle  
Lady Lake, FL 32159-5849

Jonathan Hearne – Sheep shearing  
255 Willow Cove Road  
Leicester, NC 28748

David Wooten – Brain tanning  
704 SW 16<sup>th</sup> Ave., Apt. 302  
Gainesville, FL 32601

Claire Wood – Native American & Victorian beadwork  
5018 69<sup>th</sup> Drive  
Live Oak, FL 32060

## **Appendix H: Buckman Lock Visitor Center Interpretive Script**

Below is the script submitted to Hughes/Bowman in November 2002 for use in designing the Buckman Lock Visitor Center display panels. It is presently being used in conjunction with a series of visual images organized by Steve Noll and David Tegeder (the history team).

### **Title: Ala Canal Dreams and the Ocklawaha River**

Subtitle: Spanish Florida

Main text: Since the Spanish conquest of Florida, European settlers have dreamed of developing a water-borne route across the peninsula. In the late sixteenth century, Spanish conquistador Pedro Menendez de Aviles explored the St. Johns River and the west coast of Florida to find a natural channel between the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. For the next two centuries, Spanish officials would draw maps and survey the territory in hopes of creating a short water route. These dreams remained unfulfilled even as Spain ceded Florida to the United States in 1821.

Sources: -find copy of Spanish era map for reproduction; perhaps include a picture of Menendez

Subtitle: Surveying the Peninsula

Subtext: As Florida becomes part of the United States, American officials consider the construction of a canal.

– 1824, Florida Legislative Council recommends to Congress the construction of a cross Florida canal, stressing three advantages: commerce, land development, and wartime troop and supply movements.

– 1826, Congress appropriates funds for the first of numerous studies that will consider as many as 28 routes across Florida.

– Despite Florida's enthusiasm for the project, the Army Corps of Engineers consistently expresses concerns about the difficulties and dubious benefits of such a canal project.

Sources: -copies of assorted maps that display the different routes across Florida. If we can find some way to make an overlay upon each route it would dramatically reveal the assorted routes.  
-copy of title page from Congressional Quarterly (Adams c. 1824) to illustrate Washington's actions.

Subtitle: A Competing Vision: Steamboats and Tourism

Main Text: After the Civil War, dreams of a Florida canal competed with an emerging tourism industry along the Ocklawaha. Until the early 1920s, steamboats plied the St. Johns and the Ocklawaha from Palatka to Silver Springs ushering in Florida's first tourism boom, one based on promoting the natural environment. Such famous Americans as Ulysses S. Grant, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Sidney Lanier explored the river to capture a primitive, natural Florida..

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

Sources:     -Florida Archives photograph collection contains many photographs and old postcards re. the steamboat industry.  
              -photo of Hart and Hart Line steamboat  
              -juxtapose two frontis pieces: Sidney Lanier's title page on natural Florida and Josiah T. Wall's article on need for a Florida canal, c. 1888.

Subtitle: On the Brink of Success: Determining the Route Along the Ocklawaha

Main text:   Following World War I, there was a renewed effort to secure a canal. Local proponents—from Jacksonville, Palatka, Ocala, and Yankeetown—stressed the importance of a cross state canal to the Southeast's regional economy. A canal would cut days of shipping time and allow for safer travel by avoiding the treacherous journey around Florida's peninsula.

Subtext:     – Congress orders another canal survey in 1927  
  
              – Regional support for the canal increases with the establishment of the National Gulf-Atlantic Ship Canal Association in 1932.  
  
              – In 1933, the Army Corps of Engineers establishes Route 13-B for a cross Florida canal. From Jacksonville, the route followed the St. Johns River from its mouth to Palatka, and then along the Ocklawaha River to a point near Silver Springs, where a path would continue westward across land below Ocala to Dunnellon, and then finally along the course of the Withlacoochee River until it entered the Gulf of Mexico near Yankeetown.

Sources:     -pamphlets and promotional literature on the project.  
              -map of the established route, 13-B  
              -pictures of Summerall  
              -cartoons re. safer travel with the canal (avoiding the Sirens of the gulf)

### Title: A1b Construction of a Ship Canal, 1935-1936

Subtitle: The Canal and the Great Depression

Main text: By 1933, canal boosters saw canal construction as a possible solution to Florida's unemployment problem. While a route had already been established, the struggle was now for the Congressional funding to secure the project. In August of 1935, as part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, the federal government allocated a token \$5 million in relief money to begin the construction of an estimated \$146 million public works project. On September 19, 1935, Roosevelt pressed a telegraph button in his office from Hyde Park, New York to ignite a charge of dynamite for a groundbreaking ceremony near Ocala. The dream was now on its way to reality.

Subtitle: Breaking ground to begin the canal

Main text: Over the next year, more than 6,000 workers began excavating a 30 foot deep, 250 foot wide ship canal between Yankeetown and Palatka. Designed as a ship canal, this plan would not require the development of locks. Instead designers proposed a sea level waterway that would allow for ocean-going vessels to travel 195 miles across the state from the Gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic Ocean. Never fully authorized by Congress, the project was put on hold in 1936 because of local and national political considerations.

Subtitle: Opposition Halts Construction

Subtext: Canal construction galvanizes local and national canal critics

- Railroad and South Florida shipping interests are alarmed by the canal's potential competition.
- Agricultural interests and southern Floridians fear the deep cut of a ship canal would destroy the Florida aquifer and turn South Florida into a "desert island."
- National opponents decry the waste of such a "dubious and expensive" project.
- Roosevelt, facing a divided Congress, and a divided Florida, decides the project is not worth the loss of political capital and lets it die.
- Without funding, the project comes to a halt in September of 1936.
- After clearing nearly 4,000 acres of land along the right-of-way and excavating almost 13 million cubic yards of earth, the Army Corps of Engineers completes only 3% of the project.

Sources: -headlines and quotations from newspaper articles  
-photos of dormant camps, diggings, etc.  
-lots of quotations and headlines from local newspaper articles  
-assorted political cartoons on the issue  
-photos of diggings, construction, and stanchions  
-map and/or diagram of ship canal  
-photo of Roosevelt's groundbreaking (explosion)  
-try to locate photo of camps near Palatka (local paper)

### Title: A2a The Struggle to Secure the Canal, 1936-1964

Subtitle: From Work Project to Military Project

Main text: The outbreak of World War II created a new situation in which canal boosters argued the project was necessary for national security reasons. The threat of German submarines off the coast of Florida soon bolstered support for the canal. To address criticism about the project's cost and impact on the state's groundwater conditions, proponents called for a new design—a 12 foot deep barge canal with locks—along the established route.

Timeline:

- Congress authorizes construction of a barge canal in 1942. No funds were allocated for the project.
- 1956, Congress approves \$11,000 for an economic restudy of canal construction.
- 1958, Army Corps of Engineers reports, for the first time, that the project is economically viable.
- Against the backdrop of the cold war and tensions with Cuba, President John F. Kennedy supports Congressional funding for the canal to “provide an impetus to the economy of the Southern United States and augment strategic materials transport capability in the event of a national emergency.”
- October 1963, Congress funds \$1 million for the project and one month later President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the bill. Construction begins February 1964.

Sources:

- color photo of Canal Authority map (noting U-boats off Florida's coast)
- newspaper headlines and photos of Claude Pepper, chief promoter
- we can secure some good quotations from the economic restudy re. national defense arguments . . . Canal Authority pamphlets will work as well
- there are also some good cartoons re. the debate for Congressional funding
- perhaps we can find a photo of Florida's legislative delegation/canal supporters

Subtitle: At Long Last: The Groundbreaking

Main text: On February 27, 1964, Lyndon Johnson comes to Palatka for the barge canal groundbreaking ceremony at the Rodeheaver Boys Ranch.

[Curt: We really don't need much narrative here. Instead the documents and artifacts should tell the story. This should take up more than half the panel.]

Sources:

- DEP has an audiotape of the speech . . . will need to check on the quality. could print the entire text of his speech (it's pretty brief and could look good in large type) that intimates that it is man's responsibility to improve upon God's work—nature.
- DEP and State Archives have photos, seating charts, and there are copies of blueprints for the ceremonies at the Palatka Public Library
- DEP has certificates and parking passes as artifacts
- Palatka Public Library has a few souvenir booklets (sponsored by the Corps of Engineers) that would be interesting for text and photographs

-check Palatka Daily News and other local papers for barge canal souvenir pages

### A2b Building the Canal, 1964-1971

Subtitle: The Grand Vision: A Barge Canal From Yankeetown to Palatka

Main text: Cutting across the peninsula, the Cross Florida Barge Canal was monumental in scale. At a depth of 12 feet and a width of 150 feet, the canal was to stretch 107 miles from the deep water near Yankeetown to the St. Johns River near Palatka. Consisting of 5 locks that were 84 feet wide and 600 feet long, the project also called for the creation of three dams—Rodman, Eureka, and Inglis--and reservoirs that covered a combined area of 50 square miles. In addition to the excavation of more than 87,700,000 cubic yards of earth, the project included the development of 11 highway and 3 railroad bridges as well as such recreational facilities as boat ramps, beaches, and camp sites.

Sources: -perhaps a small map of the entire project with highlighted sections of construction in the 1960s . . . find map with HIGHLIGHTED LOCKS [check pamphlets] May also want to consider map of Rodman Reservoir and Ocklawaha (See Chris's map)

Subtitle: Clearing the Land

Main text: In addition to digging channels and removing the trees and small growth along the Ocklawaha, canal construction demanded the clearing of 6,325 acres of land for the 10,000 acre Rodman reservoir. Some of the land was cut, cleared, and burned by traditional methods. Most of the basin was cleared, however, by a 306 ton crawler-crusher.

Subtext: – Standing 22 feet high, the 24 feet wide and 58 feet long, the amphibious crusher pushed over trees and stumps and drove them into the ground, which, in most cases, left the roots and larger limbs to remain intact and prevent flotation.

– Moving through swampy terrain with heavy timber, the crusher could clear land at a rate of one acre per hour.

– With its concrete-filled reinforced steel push-bar, the crusher could topple 72 inch cypress trees without any trouble. At times it could submerge as many as eight 24 inch cypress trees simultaneously.

– Able to float at a depth of 7 feet, 10 inches, the machine could operate in the wettest, boggiest conditions and cross the Ocklawaha without hesitation. It was a formidable piece of equipment.

Sources: -photographs and tree crusher video (newspaper article on tree crusher inventor)  
-Florida Archives Photo Collection has some great black and white photos of heavy equipment and burning piles of timber

## Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway

Subtitle: The Lock and Dam Under Construction

Main text: As if to make up for thirty years of lost time, the Army Corps of Engineers moved quickly on the project. In February 1964, workers started digging a section of the canal running from Palatka to the St. Johns (now, Buckman) Lock. It was completed by early August 1964. By December, construction began on the Buckman Lock as land was being cleared westwardly to the Rodman Pool.

All of this activity was accompanied by construction on the western end of the canal. Beginning in November 1964, the Corps started dredging the canal from the Gulf of Mexico to the Inglis Lock, which was under construction by the spring of 1965. At the same time, bridge construction on the overpass of U.S. Highway 19 began.

Sources: -again, there are plenty of good photos of the construction process from the Florida Archives. The photos should take up most of the space/narrative. Most, of course, should be of Buckman.  
-may also need to locate assorted blueprints

### A3a Dam vs. Lock/Control Panel Interactive

### A3b Ship/Barge Canal Comparison/Cross-Section of Florida

Note: [We'll need to talk about this. Steve and I are thinking these exhibits will be shaped, in part, by the work of Bill Tilson and perhaps data culled from the natural history group under the leadership of Laura Namm. I think I can find you some data and drawings (especially of the Ship Cana)l, but you may want Tilson to design/draw these panels.]

### A4a The Battle over the Canal: Marjorie Harris Carr and the Politics of Environmentalism

Subtitle: A Struggle between Progress and Preservation

Main text: With construction in the 1960s came renewed criticism of the canal on a variety of fronts. Even before the groundbreaking, Life magazine featured the Cross-Florida Barge Canal as a glaring example of pork barrel politics at its worst. While some assailed the project's excessive price tag, other critics attacked the need for a canal on environmental grounds. For more than a century, boosters saw the canal as crucial to Florida's progress. However, the new environmental critics saw preservation of the environment as more important than economic development at any cost. As part of an emerging environmental movement in the early 1960s, canal opponents organized a grass-roots campaign to challenge the Army Corps of Engineers, and the state of Florida, to stop the project.

Subtitle: Marjorie Harris Carr

Main text: From Gainesville, Marjorie Harris Carr led a coalition of conservationists, nature-lovers, and university biologists to stop construction and preserve the free-flowing Ocklawaha River. A university trained biologist, Carr gave up her career to raise a family. She found her calling in the struggle against the canal. For the rest of her life she fought against the project in print, in public hearings, and in the persistent lobbying of both the Florida legislature and the U.S. Congress. In the end, however, it was the federal court system that became her greatest ally and called for the demise of the project.

Subtitle: A New Defense for the Canal

Main text: Initially canal proponents and the Corps of Engineers dismissed Carr as a mere Micanopy housewife and did not take her opposition seriously. As the environmental movement grew nationally, Carr's issues demanded a response. Canal defenders continued to stress the importance of the project to national commerce and Florida's economic future. At the same time, recognizing Carr's position, they began to justify the project in terms of conservation, natural resources, and public recreation. In addition to flood and mosquito control, for example, the new reservoirs would expand the habitat for fish and waterfowl. In response to Carr, official statements and promotional literature increasingly emphasized how canal construction, in creating more than 254 miles of new waterfront, would lead to 36 public recreation sites—ranging from boating, fishing, and swimming to hiking, cycling, and duck hunting—varying between 30 to 3,300 acres each.

Subtitle: Florida Defenders of the Environment and Reconsideration of the Canal

Main text: Marjorie Carr and other environmentalists countered that the canal's disruption of the wilderness was destroying, rather than creating, recreational opportunities. To challenge both the ecology and the economics of the project, Carr helped establish the Florida Defenders of the Environment (FDE) in July of 1969. Claiming that the Corps had never performed a comprehensive study of the project's environmental impact, the FDE began its own investigation of the question that same year. At the same time the organization allied itself with the national Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) to attack the issue in the courts. In September 1969, the EDF went before a federal district

court to ask for an injunction against further construction until an adequate study of the projects costs and benefits could be completed. Meanwhile, the Cross Florida Barge Canal attracted national attention when the January 1970 issue of the Reader's Digest featured an article entitled "Rape on the Oklawaha."

Sources:

- copies of title pages and photographs from assorted magazine (ie., Life) articles
- quotations from Carr oral interview at FIU oral history collection
- photographs from various local newspapers
- copies of pamphlets and literature from FDE
- barge canal video, Main Street, USA

### A4b The Death of a Dream: From Canal to Greenway, 1971-present

- Timeline: Over time, Marjorie Carr and the Florida Defenders of the Environment was able to persuade government officials to reconsider more than a century of support for the canal.
- Jan 15, 1971, Federal District Court issues an injunction ordering an end of construction pending the outcome of litigation.
  - Jan 19, 1971, President Richard M. Nixon issues an executive order halting the project “to prevent potentially serious environmental damage.” By that time the project was nearly 1/3 complete. Nearly \$74 million had been spent on land acquisition and construction.
  - Jan 31, 1974, Federal court rules Nixon’s order invalid pending an economic restudy of the canal’s benefits.
  - In August 1976, the Corps releases an economic impact statement estimating the cost to complete the canal at \$370 million.
  - December 17, 1976, Florida Cabinet votes 6 to 1 to withdraw state support from the project.
  - For more than a decade afterward, the struggle over the canal evolved into a dispute over the use of land designated for the canal.
  - In 1990, federal legislation finally deauthorized the canal, changing the purpose of the land to recreation and conservation.
  - In 1991, the Florida Governor and Cabinet officially deauthorized the Barge Canal, which paved the way for the establishment of the Cross Florida Greenway State Recreation and Conservation Area across former barge canal lands.
  - In 1998, the state honored Marjorie Harris Carr’s legacy by naming the Greenway in her memory.

Subtitle: Untitled Section Introducing Dave Bowman

Main text: Need a brief biographical note introducing DEP’s Dave Bowman. Need to consult with him and DEP as to what they want to emphasize. The main point of this section is to have him on audio tape describing his career with the barge canal. We will need to photograph him, but we also have assorted newspaper articles (including photos) about him and the canal.

Subtitle: The Legacy of the Cross Florida Barge Canal

Main text: While the dream of a barge canal is dead, controversy still continues over the remnants of its construction, especially the role of the Rodman/Kirkpatrick Dam, and the status of the Ocklawaha River. Proponents for keeping the dam tout its economic and recreational benefits. Opponents, seeking to erase the remains of a decades’s long project, demand the restoration of the Ocklawaha to its free-flowing state.

## **Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway**

Sources:

- video/audio recording of Dave Bowman interview
- bumper stickers and news clippings on contemporary canal controversy
- assorted newspaper headlines and articles
- photographs of deauthorization ceremony

## **Appendix I: Suggested Interpretative Center Scripts**

### **OCKLAWAHA VISITOR CENTER (S.R. 40)**

This location invites an interpretation of the Ocklawaha River and the surrounding region as a natural corridor for transportation and human interaction. This exhibit will open by examining Native Americans and their relationship to the Ocklawaha Valley and the Second Seminole War. Its main focus, however, will be on the river itself, and the steamboat trade that flourished upon it in the late nineteenth century. Centering on the route from Palatka to Silver Springs, the Ocklawaha itself provided Florida's first major tourist attraction. Though this visitors center is located in close proximity to Ocala, we envision it interpreting the importance of the Ocklawaha River as a separate entity. Though interpreters will need to note that this part of the Greenway is no doubt related to the Cross Florida Barge Canal, that story is told elsewhere—notably at the visitor centers at Buckman Lock and Santos—and needs only brief mention here. The Ocklawaha is a unique environment and deserves a space to be interpreted on its own merits.

#### **Timucuan life and culture along the Ocklawaha before European contact**

##### **The Seminole Peoples and the Second Seminole Indian War**

Payne's Landing Treaty and the murder of Wiley Thompson at Fort King

Following the war, the area is open for white settlement

##### **Steamboats along the River**

The River and the Civil War

The Ocklawaha provides sanctuary for blockade runners

The rise of the Hart Line from Civil War trade to tourism

Emphasize Hubbard Hart's entrepreneurial vision

note specially designed ship to navigate the river

(use Smithsonian model of Hart river boat)

History of nineteenth-century tourism and trade based upon a river system

Silver Springs as destination and tourist attraction

The importance of the river experience itself

moonlight tours and gator shooting in a sub-tropical wilderness

Famous tourists: Stowe, Lanier, and Grant

##### **Another way to capitalize on the Ocklawaha**

Commerce along the river

Timber and turpentine along the river

Emphasize movement of cypress rafts down river

Examples of Wilson Cypress and Rodman Lumber Companies

### **The end of an era with the challenge of railroads**

Rise of the Ocklawaha Valley Railroad Company c. 1910

Note later development of highways and automobile connects Silver Springs to Ocala

This visitors center invites cooperation with, among others, Silver River State Park, Silver Springs, Marion County Historical Society, and the Florida State Museum for materials and interpretative opportunities.

## **PROPOSED SANTOS VISITOR CENTER (U.S. 441)**

Roughly in the center of the Greenway, Santos offers the perfect location to address the history of the Greenway as a whole. It also is the place to interpret the earlier phase of canal building, the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal of the 1930s. Having the largest intact remnants of that era in both the bridge stanchions and nearby diggings, the area offers an opportunity for visitors to experience the immense scale of the proposed canal. Centrally located, this center will provide an overview of the entire Greenway, from canal dreams to multi-use recreation.

### **Persistent visions of a cross-Florida canal**

From Spanish conquistadors to twentieth-century boosters

### **Living along the Greenway**

Seminole life and the Second Seminole War

Nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century life

Self-sufficient cracker culture

Marshall Plantation and slavery in central Florida

Santos: A thriving African-American community in a time of Jim Crow

### **The Ship Canal and its construction in the 1930s**

Canal dreams among local booster

Emphasize vision from Yankeetown to Jacksonville

Securing the dream: The Ship Canal and the Great Depression

Franklin Roosevelt and the politics of the canal

(use March of Time 1936 newsreel)

Emphasize the groundbreaking (use Roosevelt commemorative tray)

Rapid construction and excavation across Florida

Men, mules, and heavy equipment build the canal

Building the stanchions, the importance of physical remnants

Camp Roosevelt and the people who built the canal

Corpsmen and workers

Ocala as boomtown

Problems with vice and union organization (the crucifixion)

### **The end of the Ship Canal and the struggle to revive it**

Local, state, and national dynamics in the opposition to the canal

Note its rapid demise and how the project lies fallow for years

Shifting the terms of debate: from trade to national security, WWII and Cold War

### **The move toward the Cross Florida Barge Canal of the 1960s**

Presidential politics to securing appropriations in the early 1960s

(use Johnson audiotape of phone conversations concerning barge canal funding)

Lyndon Johnson and the 1964 groundbreaking

Construction begins

Emphasize continuities and changes in construction from the project of the thirties

### **Opposition to the Canal emerges**

Early criticism for costliness and economic inefficiency

Marjorie Carr and the environmentalist critique

Canal boosters respond

(use Canal Authority promotional videos and FDE films as counterpoints)

### **Nixon suspends the project and the struggle over deauthorization**

### **From exploitation to conservation: the creation of a Greenway**

This visitors center invites cooperation with, among others Silver River State Park, Silver Springs, Marion County Historical Society, Florida State Museum, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and the Fort King National Historic Site (presently being developed for historical interpretation) for materials and interpretative opportunities.

### PROPOSED DUNNELLON VISITORS CENTER (U.S. 41)

Dunnellon provides an opportunity to interpret the western third of the Greenway corridor. Located in an ideal setting for optimum use, Dunnellon is at the confluence of recreational opportunities from the Withlacoochee Trail in the south to the Goethe State Forest in the north. Dunnellon's use of its boomtown past as a means to attract tourists makes this site an attractive place to interpret the western portion of the Greenway. It is important to explain this portion of the Greenway separately since its experience differs from the rest of the region both in its natural and historical evolution.

#### **Early Native American life along the Gulf Coast**

- The experience of the Weeden Island people
- Emphasize mounds and archeological site in the local area
- Note the transition to Timucuan and later Seminoles

#### **Struggles along the Frontier: Camp Izard and the Second Seminole Indian War**

#### **Dreams of development, the growth of Dunnellon and Florida's Phosphate Industry**

##### **Dunnellon's boomtown days**

- Albertus Vogt, John Dunn, and the discovery of phosphate
- An extractive industry emerges
  - Explain phosphate mining in the Dunnellon area
  - Note use of the Withlacoochee and the development of Port Inglis
- Living in a boomtown: Dunnellon in the 1890s
- Dunnellon's sudden demise
  - Industry does return with timber, but on a much smaller scale
  - Goethe's experience in the region

#### **Rainbow Springs as a natural tourist attraction**

##### **Digging the canal, the story of the western end of canal construction**

- Note earlier exploitation of waterways with the establishment of Lake Rousseau
- Ship Canal and the diggings to the east
  - Western boosters: A. F. Knotts and dreams of a commercial Yankeetown

- From Ship Canal to Barge Canal
  - Building Inglis Lock and the U.S. 19 Bridge
  - Spoil islands as habitat

##### **From Barge Canal to Greenway**

- Dunnellon serves as a crossroads between the Greenway and a north-south ecological corridor starting in Levy County and heading southward to Hernando County
  - This invites stronger emphasis on natural history and the connections of eco-systems provided by linear parks

## **Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway**

This visitors center invites cooperation with, among others, the Seminole Wars Historic Foundation, Southwest Florida Water Management District, Gulf Archeological Research Institute (GARI), Rainbow Springs State Park, Marion County Historical Society, Dunnellon Historical Society, and Citrus County organizations for materials and interpretative opportunities.