

CHAPTER FIVE

Flexing the Environmental Muscle: The Cross-Florida Barge Canal, the Everglades Jetport, and Big Cypress Swamp

In the late 1960s, environmentalists came to the defense of Everglades National Park and its water needs. Two other controversies in the late 1960s and early 1970s – the proposal to build a jetport in Big Cypress Swamp and the construction of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal – would mobilize and crystallize the environmental movement in Florida to an even greater degree. On their faces, these two skirmishes, which have already been widely discussed by environmentalists, journalists, historians, and political scientists, seem to have little place in a history of the C&SF Project. The jetport, for example, generated little Corps involvement, in part because it had no direct impact on the C&SF Project.¹ The barge canal – although planned and constructed by the Corps – was located in northern Florida, outside of the scope of the C&SF Project. But for several reasons, both of these stories must be told in order to comprehend the full history of water management in South Florida. Both highlighted growing concerns with water quality in Florida in the late 1960s and early 1970s, concerns that would eventually reach an apex with the debate over the Kissimmee River and Lake Okeechobee in the 1970s. Both dealt with how industrial and engineering structures could harm a unique ecosystem, be it Big Cypress Swamp or the Oklawaha River Valley. Perhaps most importantly, both showed the increasing influence of the environmental movement in Florida in water management matters. In both instances, environmentalists were able to focus national attention on the controversies, forcing both the legislative and executive branches of the federal government to become involved. The jetport controversy and the debate over the Cross-Florida Barge Canal thus foreshadowed how environmentalists would handle water management issues in South Florida in the 1980s and 1990s.

In the 1960s, environmentalism became an established force in the United States. The conservation movement of the late 1800s and early 1900s provided a greater awareness of the environment, but it was not until the 1960s that an actual movement – “concerted, populous, vocal, influential, active” – coalesced.² Several factors contributed to this, including the expansion of the nation’s economy in the 1940s and 1950s, which created a more affluent society and increased the number of college educated, middle-class Americans who had time to think about and work for a better quality of life.³ This was significant, as it focused citizens more on a holistic view of the environment and the importance of environmental quality, rather than just wise use, efficiency, and the use of technology to help humans get the most from natural resources.

Likewise, the acceptance of environmental causes as a legitimate aspect of the liberal agenda, the grass roots activism of middle-class women and men, and an infusion of energy by the United States’ counterculture played a large role in heightening concern for the environment. Democratic politicians, for example, saw environmental preservation as a worthwhile cause. President John F. Kennedy sponsored a White House Conference on Conservation in 1962 and appointed environmental enthusiast Stewart L. Udall as his secretary of the interior, while

President Lyndon B. Johnson pushed the environmental agenda even further as part of his “Great Society” plan, in part because of the influence of his wife, Lady Bird Johnson. Indeed, women were an essential part of the expanding environmental movement, just as they had been an important component of the conservation movement. Many women protested environmental degradation in the 1960s as part of their domestic sphere responsibilities: poor water quality or contaminated milk could affect the health of their children. Other women found the environmental cause liberating and a way to become more involved in politics and economics. Finally, many young activists in America embraced environmentalism as a part of their war against authority, consumerism, and large corporations, especially in the late 1960s. “Hippies” founded communes based on becoming one with the earth, while student radicals equated the use of chemical defoliants in the Vietnam War with oil spills and other environmental destruction in the United States. The vigor of these activists infused the environmental movement with necessary energy.⁴

As evidence of environmental destruction, environmentalists turned to ecologists for support. Ecology (a term first used by German zoologist Ernst Haeckel in 1866) had slowly evolved in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries into a stand-alone scientific discipline focused on the study of how animals relate to their inorganic and organic environments. The Ecological Society of America was formed in 1915, and the first ecology departments at universities were established in the 1950s. By that same decade, the examination of all elements in a bounded environment, or ecosystem, and the effects that individual actions had on other aspects of the system, had become an essential part of ecology, influenced by the work of E. P. Odum.⁵

As the environmental movement gained in momentum, it used the ecosystem concept to show the consequences of human actions on the environment, and ecologists, in turn, became caught up in the environmental movement; scientists began to write books and articles for a more general audience, as well as giving public lectures, in order to obtain public support for funding and “to educate the public about the history of science as well as the significance of current research.”⁶ Rachel Carson, a marine biologist, for example, published *Silent Spring* in 1962, a book that, in the eyes of many, ushered in the environmental movement. Other scientists followed, including biologist Barry Commoner, who published *The Closing Circle*, and Paul Ehrlich, an entomologist whose book *The Population Bomb* warned about the dangers of overpopulation. Spurred on by these publications, environmentalism became more prominent in American society in the 1960s; the number of articles on environmental topics in national magazines increased by more than 300 percent from the late 1950s to the late 1960s. Membership in the Sierra Club grew from 15,000 in 1960 to 113,000 in 1970, while the National Audubon Society expanded from 32,000 constituents in 1960 to 148,000 in 1970.⁷

By the end of the 1960s, environmentalism had become a hot political topic, and senators such as Wisconsin’s Gaylord Nelson, Maine’s Edmund Muskie, and Washington’s Henry Jackson made environmental protection one of their primary focuses in Congress. Due to their influence, Congress passed a law in December 1969 declaring the federal government’s responsibility towards the environment – the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). It stipulated that the government would cooperate with state and local entities to ensure the coexistence of man and nature “in productive harmony.” The law established a Council on Environmental Quality in the Executive Office of the President “to appraise programs and

activities of the Federal Government,” and it also required federal agencies to prepare environmental impact statements (EISs) whenever they conducted activities “significantly affecting the quality of the human environment.”⁸ In accordance with the policy established by NEPA, Congress and the White House created the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) soon after NEPA’s passage to regulate actions affecting the nation’s environment.⁹

With the aid of NEPA, environmental groups began to attack the Corps with more frequency and with more concerted approaches. Because the law required federal agencies to produce EISs for their projects, it opened federal construction proposals to more public scrutiny than ever before. The law therefore forced the Corps and other federal agencies to consider environmentalist concerns in their endeavors, heightening the already-burgeoning power of the movement.¹⁰ Nowhere is this more apparent than in the issues surrounding the Cross-Florida Barge Canal, the Everglades Jetport, and Big Cypress Swamp in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

As environmental organizations increased the visibility of construction projects in Florida, several Floridians increased their prominence in the national eye. Joseph B. Browder, for example, a former television producer who quit his job to focus on environmental issues, served as the southeastern regional representative of the National Audubon Society and was instrumental in forming the Everglades Coalition to defeat the jetport. During the debate over the jetport, he testified before numerous congressional committees about the airport’s potential effects on Everglades National Park. Browder also convinced Marjory Stoneman Douglas, the author of *The Everglades: River of Grass*, to found Friends of the Everglades in 1969 to fight the jetport proposal. Arthur R. Marshall, a marine biologist who worked at the Vero Beach office of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service until 1970 (when he took a position at the University of Miami), spent countless hours educating people on the South Florida water system, believing that the Everglades needed its natural flow restored in order to prevent the region from dying. Marshall also criticized Florida’s grow-at-all-costs approach to land use and water planning, believing that some restrictions were necessary to preserve the state’s water supply.¹¹



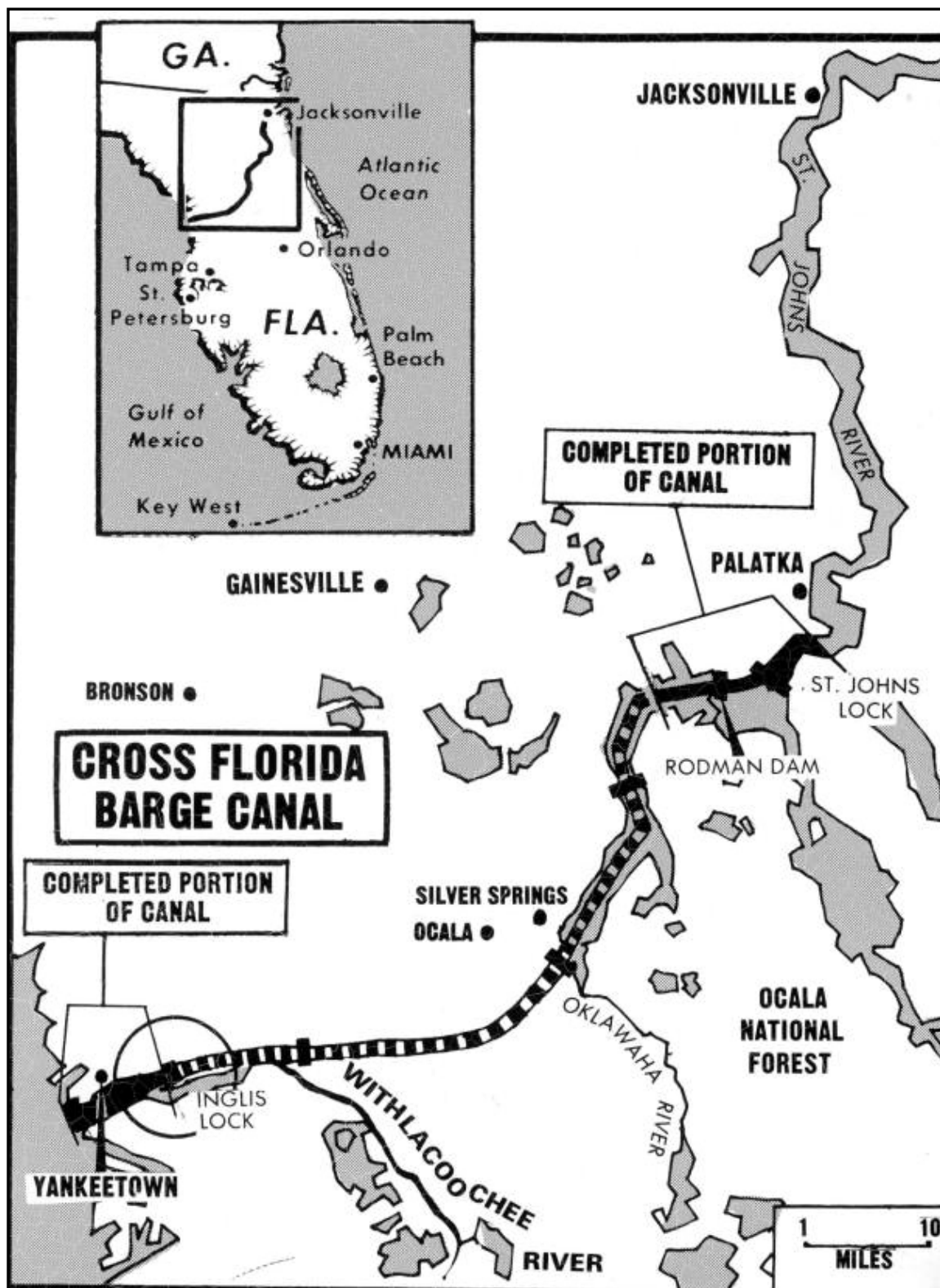
Governor Claude Kirk (left) presenting an award to Nathaniel Reed (right). (Source: The Florida Memory Project, State Library and Archives of Florida.)

In both federal and state offices, Browder, Douglas, and Marshall had some receptive audiences; the importance of ecological issues in Florida transcended political parties. Although President Richard Nixon, a Republican, did not agree with much of the environmental movement, he understood politics well enough to support some key issues, such as NEPA and the Clean Air Act of 1970, in order to deflect the political influence of rivals such as Edmund Muskie and Henry Jackson. Nixon also appointed some crucial environmental officers, including Deputy Assistant to the President for

Domestic Affairs John Whitaker, who held a deep concern for the environment; Russell Train, the undersecretary of the interior who became chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality in 1970; and Nathaniel Reed, special environmental assistant to Florida Governor Claude Kirk, who became assistant secretary of the interior for fish, wildlife, and parks. Because of Reed's familiarity with Florida issues, he was instrumental in achieving national concern for problems affecting the Everglades and South Florida. On the state level, Governor Claude R. Kirk, Jr. (Republican, 1967-1971) understood the political benefits of supporting environmental causes, while his successor, Reubin Askew (Democrat, 1971-1979) was more committed personally to environmental action, as was Jay Landers, his environmental adviser. Because of the efforts of these officials, environmentalists were able to achieve some worthy goals in Florida in the late 1960s and early 1970s, especially revolving around Big Cypress Swamp and a proposed jetport in the area.¹²

In order to defeat the jetport, environmentalists used tactics pioneered in the fight against a Florida construction project, albeit in northern Florida, planned by the Corps of Engineers: the Cross-Florida Barge Canal. The canal had deep historical roots. The idea for a waterway connecting one side of Florida to the other had existed since the initial Spanish occupation of Florida in the 1500s, and Floridians had made several proposals of a trans-Florida canal in the 1800s and early 1900s.¹³ With General Charles P. Summerall, a retired four-star general who had served as Chief of Staff from 1926 to 1930 heading the efforts, support for the canal gained momentum in the 1930s, in part because it promised jobs for a depression-ridden state, and in part because the Corps determined that a feasible route existed. The Corps concluded that the best path for the canal, which would be a sea-level ship canal, would begin on Florida's western gulf coast at Yankeetown (approximately 70 miles north of Tampa), where the Withlacoochee River flowed. The canal would follow the Withlacoochee east to Dunnellon, and then northeast (but south of Ocala) to the Oklawaha River. Following the Oklawaha, it would connect to the St. Johns River at Palatka, eventually emptying into the Atlantic Ocean at Jacksonville. President Franklin D. Roosevelt authorized using emergency funds for the construction of this route in order to provide jobs in Florida, leading the Corps to begin construction on the waterway. After spending \$5 million and clearing nearly 5,000 acres of land in the late 1930s, however, the project was abandoned, largely because of opposition from railroads and other entities, which claimed that poor water quality and aquifer contamination would result. Therefore, the Corps developed a new plan in 1943, proposing that the canal be a lock, rather than a sea-level structure, that would serve barges instead of ships. The 12-foot deep waterway would contain five locks and two dams, including the Rodman Dam and Eureka Dam across the Oklawaha River. However, due to the United States' participation in the Second World War, the canal received little federal support.¹⁴

The major push for construction of the barge canal came in the 1960s after John F. Kennedy won the presidency, partly on a platform guaranteeing the waterway's construction. His support, coupled with state backing engineered by Governor Farris Bryan, pushed Congress to appropriate funds for the canal's construction in 1962. On 27 February 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson presided over a groundbreaking ceremony in Palatka that commenced canal construction once again.¹⁵



Location of the proposed Cross-Florida Barge Canal. (Source: The Florida Memory Project, State Library and Archives of Florida.)

However, opposition to the canal gradually coalesced, largely because of its potential environmental harm. In 1962, after seeing a presentation by the Alachua Audubon Society, Marjorie Carr, a resident of Gainesville and wife of University of Florida zoologist Archie Carr, became convinced that the canal would destroy much of the lower stretches of the Oklawaha River. This river meandered for 60 miles through northern Florida, east of Ocala, the largest city near the river, as an outlet for the Oklawaha chain of lakes, including Lake Apopka. Beginning at Lake Griffin, the river ran through a subtropical hardwood forest on its way to the St. Johns River, providing habitat for limpkin, otter, and alligator, as well as numerous game fish such as bass. Although farmers had diked the upper portion of the river in the 1800s, and although the timber industry extracted numerous trees from the forest in the 1880s, the Oklawaha still had, in the words of journalist Luther Carter, a “wild and junglelike character.”¹⁶ Realizing the beauty and importance of the Oklawaha ecosystem, Marjorie Carr, together with biochemist David S. Anthony of the University of Florida, began a society-sponsored study of the barge canal’s potential environmental effects.¹⁷ After deciding that the canal and the construction of Rodman Dam and Reservoir would largely destroy 40 out of the 50 miles of the Oklawaha that still flowed freely, Carr, the Alachua Audubon Society, and the Florida Audubon Society asked Congress to investigate alternate routes for the waterway, bypassing the river. Stating that the Corps claimed that environmental damage would be minimal, Congress refused.¹⁸

Yet Carr influenced others, and they began to agitate for the preservation of the Oklawaha. In 1966, over 350 people attended a state-sponsored public hearing on the canal, which, according to William N. Partington of the Florida Audubon Society, was “the largest of its kind to be held on a Florida conservation issue.”¹⁹ Critics, including a group called Citizens for the Conservation of Florida’s Natural and Economic Resources, told state leaders that the canal and Rodman Reservoir would kill the Oklawaha’s natural beauty. According to Partington, Florida Secretary of State Thomas Adams and other officials, using arguments that

jetport proponents would also make, dismissed these concerns as “birdwatchers let[ting] off steam” and counseled environmentalists to move out of the way “so that orderly progress could be made.”²⁰ Despite the unproductive nature of the meeting, Partington believed it to be a turning point in the history of Florida’s environmental movement because it was the first time that individuals and disparate groups united behind a common ecological cause.

In March 1966, state officials formally endorsed the project, and for the next few years, the Corps worked on channel construction and building other works, including Rodman Reservoir.



Governor Claude Kirk (left) presenting an award to Marjorie Carr (center), the driving force behind environmental opposition to the Cross-Florida Barge Canal. Carr’s husband Archie (right) looks on. (Source: The Florida Memory Project, State Library and Archives of Florida.)

But when the Corps filled the reservoir in 1968 and 1969, water hyacinth began to flourish, validating a 1967 report by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration indicating that algal blooms were likely in the reservoir. The Corps continued its work on the Eureka Lock and Dam on the Oklawaha, but the condition of Rodman Reservoir led Carr and others, who originally wanted the Corps to change only the course of the canal, to call for a complete halt to construction.²¹

In order to effectuate a work stoppage, Florida environmentalists formed the Florida Defenders of the Environment in July 1969 to coordinate legal work with the Environmental Defense Fund, Inc., an organization established in 1967 to litigate against ecological despoilers, specifically against the use of the pesticide DDT (one of its founders, Victor J. Yannacone, Jr., lived by the motto “Sue the Bastards”).²² Using environmental litigation to stop potentially destructive projects was a relatively new tactic, having been pioneered in 1965 by the Sierra Club and other environmental groups to stop the construction of a hydroelectric project above the Hudson River. Yet it had proved enormously effective, paving the way for the establishment of Florida Defenders, with Partington as chairman and Carr as assistant general chairman. Having commissioned a study of the canal’s ecological effects, Florida Defenders, assisted by the Environmental Defense Fund, filed a suit against the Corps on 15 September 1969, charging it with violating the constitutional rights of American citizens by destroying the natural resources of the Oklawaha River Valley. The litigation asked that the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., enjoin the Corps from further work on the canal until a study on social costs and benefits could be performed.²³

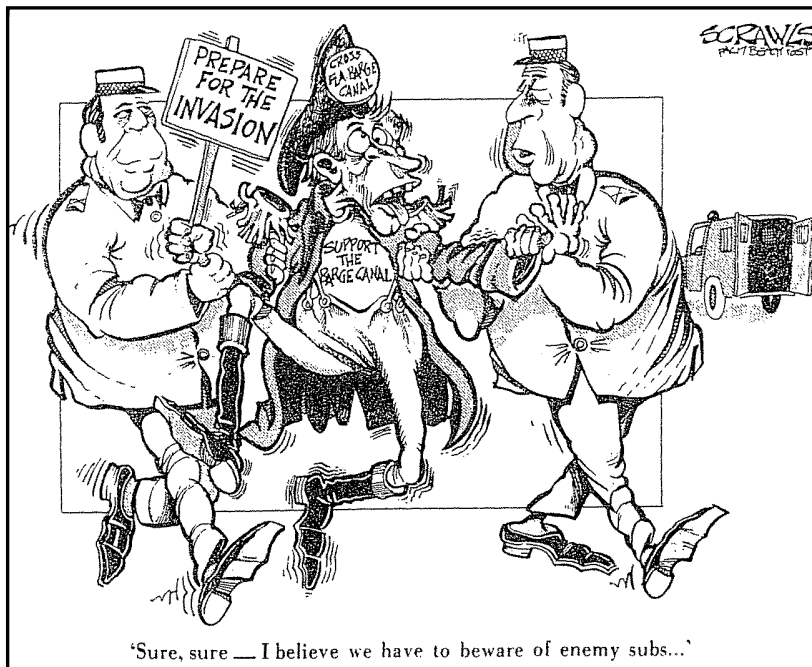
Meanwhile, the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission and the FWS both determined that the canal would result in drastic changes in the Oklawaha ecosystem and that the Rodman Reservoir would degrade quickly into a stagnant nutrient trap. Both agencies recommended a detailed ecological study of the canal’s impacts.²⁴ At the same time, Florida Defenders of the Environment completed its ecosystem study in March 1970. It foresaw only ecological disaster for the Oklawaha Valley – “the only large wild area remaining that supports the full spectrum of plant and animal life native to north-central Florida” – if the canal was completed. The organization, therefore, recommended the halt of further appropriations for the waterway, the draining of Rodman Reservoir, and the return of the Oklawaha to its “natural free-flowing condition.”²⁵

In 1970, an article in *Reader’s Digest*, which had 18 million subscribers, attacked the project and the Corps further, influencing hundreds of people to write letters to the secretary of the interior about the project. In this essay, entitled “Rape of the Oklawaha,” James Nathan Miller, an environmentalist, characterized the Corps as “the most damaging single force at work on the U.S. countryside” and the canal as merely one more pork-barrel boondoggle. He accused Corps leaders of deliberately massaging the canal’s benefit-cost ratio in order to justify it economically. Miller asked for not only a stoppage of construction, but also recommended that the federal government either eliminate benefit-cost analyses altogether (because no economic price could be placed on environmental values) or provide ways to “inject *human judgment* into a formula that now accepts only dollar signs.”²⁶

The Corps also began facing battles on the economic front, as Congress cut congressional appropriations for the canal. This led to a slowdown in construction, and the delay allowed canal

enemies to increase their efforts. Blazing a path that jetport opponents would follow, environmentalists decided to petition the federal government for help. In January 1970, 162 prominent scientists, including environmental leaders throughout the United States, sent a letter to President Richard M. Nixon, asking him to dismiss the project to prevent “further degenerative manipulation of one of the most valuable natural ecosystems of Florida” and to preserve “the quality of the subsurface water supply of Central Florida.”²⁷ In June, Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel asked the Secretary of the Army to implement a moratorium on construction until new ecological and economic studies could be completed. After some resistance, Corps leaders agreed to a six- to twelve-month moratorium.²⁸

Meanwhile, the President’s Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) investigated the canal situation. After perusing several ecological studies, the CEQ concluded that the canal would destroy the unique characteristics of the Oklawaha River Valley, causing water weed infestation in the area, polluting surface and subsurface water, and changing the river from “a cool, highly enriched, densely shaded, flowing” waterway to “a warm water, highly enriched, unshaded, shallow watercourse, with little or no flow.”²⁹ Because of this potential damage, Russell Train, chairman of the CEQ, recommended to John C. Whitaker, Deputy Assistant to the President, that project construction halt.



An editorial cartoon from *The Palm Beach Post* depicts the "crazy" reasoning that barge canal proponents used to justify the canal.

Whitaker forwarded Train’s recommendation, as well as a separate decision paper Whitaker had composed, to John Ehrlichman, President Richard Nixon’s aide over domestic affairs. After reviewing these documents, Ehrlichman decided that the CEQ had valid reasons for wanting the project halted, so he told the Chief of Engineers to end construction. “It’s doing terrific damage,” Ehrlichman recalled saying to the general, and “the cost-benefit basis doesn’t prove out to me.”³⁰ The Corps did not necessarily disagree, and its Environmental Advisory Board (first established in

April 1970 to provide advice to Corps leaders on ecological concerns) recommended a thorough review of the project in December 1970.³¹

Before the Corps could make a comprehensive examination, U.S. District Court Judge Barrington Parker issued a preliminary injunction barring the Corps from further work on the canal. Only four days later, on 19 January 1971, Nixon released a written directive that the

Corps cease work on the canal to preserve the Oklawaha environment. Not only would the canal significantly harm “a uniquely beautiful, semi-tropical stream,” Nixon stated, but it was also economically unjustified. “The step I have taken today,” the President explained, “will prevent a past mistake from causing permanent damage.”³²

But Nixon’s order had repercussions, as both state officials and canal proponents believed that he had exceeded his authority.³³ Accordingly, the Authority filed a suit in the Jacksonville Federal District Court against the United States, stating that the President did not have the power to halt construction.³⁴ The litigation continued for the next three years, and on 31 January 1974, U.S. Circuit Court Judge Harvey M. Johnsen ruled that Nixon did not have the proper authority to halt the canal, stating that such power rested only with Congress. Canal proponents celebrated this victory, but it seemed hollow, primarily because Johnsen also issued a permanent injunction on further construction until the Corps completed a comprehensive environmental impact statement (EIS) with a revised benefit-cost ratio. Johnsen’s ruling eroded state support of the project, as Florida Governor Reubin Askew stated that he and his cabinet would not ask for any additional canal appropriations until the Corps had completed the EIS, and the Florida Department of Natural Resources rescinded its previous support of the canal until it had examined the EIS and the economic report.³⁵

The state’s position on the canal was clarified in a two-day public hearing held in December 1976. Three hundred fifty people attended, some of them wearing green signs proclaiming “Stop the Canal” or “Save the Oklawaha,” while others had red and blue buttons declaring “I Support the Canal.” After hearing testimony from both sides, the cabinet voted six to one to withdraw state support for the canal, and on 17 January 1977, it passed a resolution recommending against further construction and asking Congress to deauthorize the project.³⁶

With no further state backing, and realizing that the issue had become so politicized that the Corps could not win, the Jacksonville District’s EIS, published in 1977, recommended against further construction. Jacksonville District Engineer Colonel Donald Wisdom still believed that the canal was both economically and ecologically viable, but only if both sides were willing to compromise. Unfortunately, according to Wisdom, canal opponents “no longer could look at anything but total stoppage of the canal”; there was no chance of conciliation.³⁷ Chief of Engineers Lieutenant General J. W. Morris concurred in the Jacksonville District’s decision to abandon the canal, declaring that environmental concerns precluded the Corps from continuing the project. The only things left to accomplish were the Oklawaha River’s restoration and the project’s deauthorization, things that took several years to accomplish. Ultimately, however, the state designated canal route lands that it owned as the Cross Florida Greenway State Recreation and Conservation Area, renamed the Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway in 1998.³⁸

The Everglades Jetport

The battle over the Cross-Florida Barge Canal was not an isolated incident; instead, there were several examples in the 1960s and 1970s of environmental interests halting or rejecting Corps projects. A proposed dam and reservoir on the Meramec River in eastern Missouri, first planned in the 1930s, met its ultimate demise in August 1978 when voters voted against the project’s continuation for both economic and environmental reasons. Likewise, in southwestern

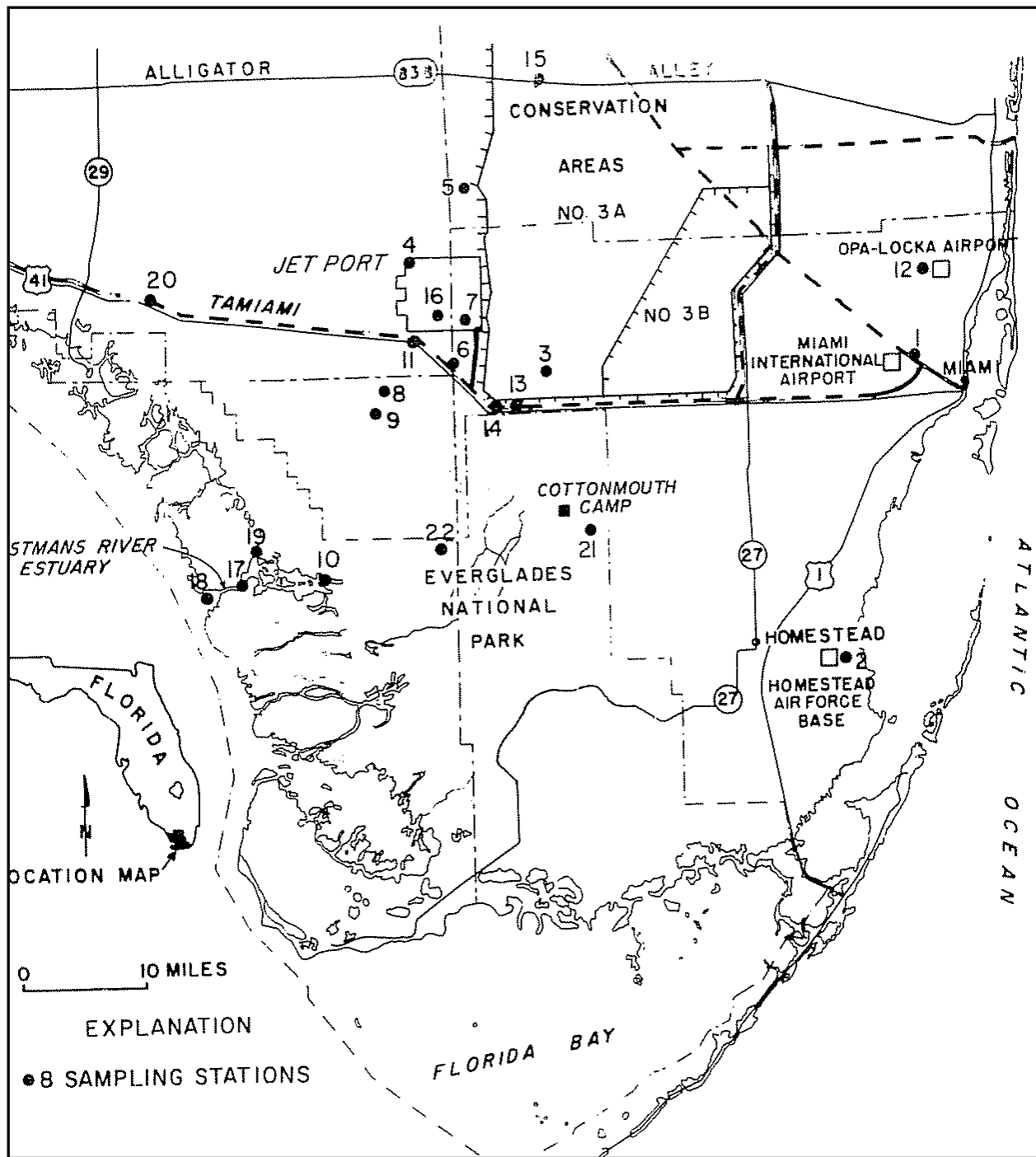
Wisconsin, environmentalists banded with congressional leaders such as U.S. Senator Gaylord Nelson to prevent the Corps from building a dam and reservoir for flood protection on the La Farge River.³⁹

Another example came in Florida itself, where environmentalists used many of the same tactics that they employed in the Cross-Florida Barge Canal fight to defeat a proposed jetport in Big Cypress Swamp in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The jetport proposal stemmed from the increasing growth and rapidly expanding population of South Florida in the 1960s. Dade County, for example, saw its population climb from approximately 500,000 people in 1950 to nearly 1.5 million in 1970. The larger number of residents created a real estate boom that showed no signs of stopping; Florida was projected in the 1960s to become the third largest state in the United States by 2000 (a prediction slightly off-the-mark, as the state had the fourth largest population in 2005). But the state itself did not have adequate planning measures for controlling the effects of this expansion on vital natural resources, including water. As Paul Brooks explained in an article in *Audubon* in 1969, “pressures on the land and water are at a maximum; zoning for their protection at a minimum.”⁴⁰ As Florida continued to grow, the stress on its natural resources increased as well.

These problems were clearly seen when Dade County proposed the building of a jetport in Big Cypress Swamp on the northwest boundary of Everglades National Park. The swamp itself was a mix of marsh and lowland forest, containing sloughs, tree islands, bay and cypress trees, orchids, ferns, and bromeliads on limestone and sand formations. The area was almost completely flat, and it was estimated that 50 percent of the surface water running into Everglades National Park (or 9 percent of the park’s total water) came from the swamp’s extremely slow-moving sheet flow. The area also housed 17 endangered species, including the Florida panther, the American alligator, and the roseate spoonbill.⁴¹

Despite its ecological importance, many believed that the swamp was the ideal place for a new jetport in South Florida. An airport was necessary, proponents claimed, because the increasing number of tourists going to Miami and South Florida’s east coast brought an ever-growing number of flights and travelers to Miami International Airport. The fact that Miami was a good departure point for transoceanic travel and that domestic carriers conducted many training flights in the area only compounded the problem. In the mid-1960s, transportation experts estimated that Miami International Airport, which saw 10 million passengers and 500 million pounds of air cargo a year, would reach its air traffic saturation point by 1973. Therefore, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) and the Department of Housing and Urban Development began searching for sites where a new training facility could be located, thereby relieving some of the airport’s pressure.⁴²

Working jointly with the Dade County Port Authority, which the Florida state legislature had created in 1945, and desiring that the site be somewhere remote from human habitation, the FAA determined in April 1966 that the best site was north of the Tamiami Trail in Water Conservation Area No. 3, close by the boundary of Everglades National Park. But no one consulted with either the NPS or the FCD about this location until February 1967. At that time, the FCD announced its opposition to the site because it believed an airport was incompatible with the objectives of the water conservation areas, and the Dade County Port Authority and the FAA decided to search for a new location.⁴³



Map showing the location of the proposed Everglades Jetport. [Source: U.S. Geological Survey, "Preliminary Determinations of Hydrobiological Conditions in the Vicinity of the Proposed Jetport and Other Airports in South Florida" (1969).]

Initially, the agencies investigated areas south of Tamiami Trail and next to Everglades National Park, but park officials complained that aircraft noise would disrupt wildlife in those locations. The Port Authority therefore turned its attention to southwestern Florida, and in November 1967, leaders of Dade and Collier counties announced that they had agreed to the construction of a jetport on a 39-square mile tract within Big Cypress Swamp, six miles north of the park's Forty-Mile Bend Ranger Station, with an eastern boundary common with Conservation Area No. 3's western border. Two runways would be completed within five years to begin pilot training, but the Port Authority envisioned that the jetport would eventually have another two to four runways and that it would begin conducting domestic and international commercial flights when Miami International Airport reached its saturation point. Preliminary construction plans commenced almost immediately.⁴⁴

The proposal failed to produce any opposition in its first few months. The Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission reviewed the plans and offered no objection; Director O. E. Frye, Jr., told the Dade County Port Authority that he was concerned with possible jet fuel contamination of Conservation Area No. 3, but he dropped the matter after a Port Authority representative assured him that no problems would occur. Instead, Frye complimented the planners, envisioning "the creation of extensive waterways resulting from the construction of elevated runways which could afford virtually unlimited fishing possibilities."⁴⁵ According to journalist Luther Carter, the FCD, the State Board of Conservation, and the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund also reviewed the plans and made no objections.⁴⁶ NPS officials did voice some concern about the location, fearing a jetport would contaminate water flowing into the park, but these protests were only made to Florida Game officials.⁴⁷

With only limited opposition, the Dade County Port Authority held a groundbreaking ceremony on 18 September 1968. Governor Kirk and U.S. Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd did not attend the festivities, but Kirk sent a statement praising the jetport while Boyd participated by telephone. This spirit of cooperation ended in October during a meeting between the FCD and the State Road Department when Robert Padrick, chairman of the FCD and a member of the Sierra Club, discovered that the alignment of proposed Interstate 75 had been changed to cross through the middle of Conservation Area No. 3 in order to facilitate travel from Miami to the jetport. Because such a placement would have bisected the conservation area, potentially destroying its ecological values, Padrick, in the words of John Maloy, an engineer with the FCD, "sounded the clarion call," writing to more than 100 Florida environmentalists, including Nathaniel Reed in the governor's office, to mobilize opposition to the plan.⁴⁸

Padrick also called a meeting in December 1968 with representatives from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, the NPS, Everglades National Park, the FWS, the USGS, the Sierra Club, and the National Audubon Society to discuss how to proceed. Park leaders again raised concerns that the jetport would pollute water coming into the park, while others worried about the impacts of industrial and housing developments that would certainly follow the airport's construction. Joseph Browder of the National Audubon Society and Gary Soucie of the Sierra Club indicated that the group should focus on relocating the facility, but others seemed unwilling to pursue that option. Instead, the gathering decided to submit questions and concerns to the Dade County Port Authority for its consideration.⁴⁹

In the meantime, the jetport proposal began receiving national attention. The *New York Times* covered the issue extensively, in part because the New York Port Authority and the Metropolitan Transportation Authority believed that the completion of the jetport would divert international travelers to Miami. Some even speculated that the jetport would be bigger than the New York, Los Angeles, and Washington airports combined.⁵⁰ Anthony Wayne Smith, president of the National Parks Association, published an editorial against the facility in *National Parks Magazine*. Calling the jetport the latest of numerous environmental follies in Florida, Smith wondered why the United States in general and Florida in particular had such difficulty with “economic, social, and governmental planning.” Could people not see that the jetport “greatly imperiled” a national park on which the public had “invested vast efforts and millions of dollars?” Could not effective land or water planning be implemented to prevent such travesties? Not only would the park suffer, Smith claimed, but the Miccosukee Indians, who were related to the Seminole and who had a state reservation in the area, would as well since the facility covered their traditional hunting grounds. He called for concerned citizens to write to President-elect Richard Nixon and ask for his help.⁵¹

As the criticism mounted, the Dade County Port Authority decided to hold a public hearing on 28 February 1969 to answer growing concerns. At this meeting, Port Authority officials addressed the questions submitted to it by federal and state leaders, including what other locations had been considered, how the jetport would be operated, what steps the Port Authority would take to guard against water pollution, and what overall regional development planning had been made. Yet the Port Authority did not resolve any of these issues, answering most of them with a perfunctory “this question is presently under study.”⁵² Despite this unaccommodating attitude, federal agency representatives persisted in their opposition. John C. Raftery, superintendent of Everglades National Park, discussed the “enormously complex problems” that the jetport would cause, “including disruption of the Park’s remaining natural water supply, introduction of pollutants and destruction of Park’s wilderness values.”⁵³ According to one observer, Arthur Marshall, representing the Interior Department, stated that the main problem was the environmental damage the jetport could wreak on South Florida, especially Big Cypress Swamp, Conservation Area No. 3, Everglades National Park, South Florida estuaries, and the land of the Miccosukee Indians. Air, noise, and water pollution were all potential effects, Marshall continued, as was the possibility of a reduction in water reaching the park. Because of this, Marshall proposed that an interagency working committee be appointed consisting of representatives from state and federal agencies, as well as the Miccosukee, to provide solutions to these issues.⁵⁴

Marshall’s suggestion fell on deaf ears, leading Browder to declare that unless the Port Authority could provide assurances that the jetport would not harm the Everglades ecosystem, he would wage a national campaign to stop its construction.⁵⁵ State officials, however, seemed largely pacified after the hearing. Reed informed Governor Kirk that the building of the jetport in Big Cypress Swamp was inevitable, meaning that the state should work to ensure that it became a “great” facility with “minimal disturbance of natural values and historic water sloughes [*sic*].” By using “careful planning, zoning, and enforcement,” Reed continued, these goals could be reached; he also argued that development of the area by the Port Authority – “a well financed agency” – was preferable to actions by individual landowners.⁵⁶

waving homeowners shouting objections to a jetport in their corner of the county, the commission crushed those expectations by a four-to-three vote against site 14.

In part it was a vote against further development in burgeoning South Florida. Miami Mayor John Orr, chairman of the Metro Commission and one of those who voted against site 14, questioned whether the county actually would need a new airport even in the 1980s when airport planners estimate that traffic growth will require it. "There are any number of us who are resisting that rate of growth now," he said in a telephone interview. "The activity of the present Metro Commission in zoning and land-use planning is going to slow things down."

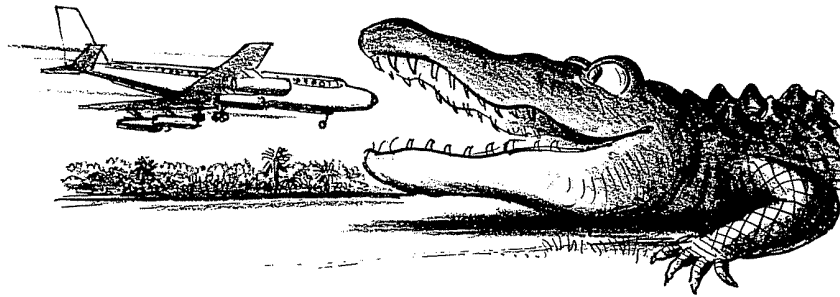
As for the need for flight training

according to the Interior Department's 1969 Leopold Report would mean the destruction of the entire South Florida ecosystem.

With no alternate site designated, they feared that pressure to continue and to expand flight operations in the Big Cypress could never be laid to rest. Only last fall, officials within the U. S. Department of Transportation were arguing for expanded operations in the Everglades even *after* a new airport was built.

Whether the commissioners' vote put a stop to the new site selection process and therefore caused a breach of the jetport pact was not clear in the days immediately following their action. Under the terms of the 1970 agreement, the federal government can close down the Everglades operation after giving 90 days'

the water and air and the animal and plant life of the surrounding swamp is not clear nor is it likely to be for many years. The South Florida Environmental Project, a multiagency monitoring program within the Department of Interior, is gathering and analyzing data on pollution at the airstrip. Noise pollution monitoring has been too recently instituted for data to have been analyzed. Regularly conducted sampling of water begun in May 1970 and air quality monitoring begun in March 1972 have so far revealed no detectable environmental disturbances. But as pointed out in a recent preliminary environmental impact statement prepared by the Port Authority, "This is not to be construed as meaning that the utilization of the facility is having no effect on the environment, but that



facilities, the mayor pointed out that "Our own Port Authority people testified that with these newer types of airplanes, the 747s and DC-10s and so on, a higher percentage of training is being conducted in simulators than in aircraft." According to an Eastern Airlines spokesman, a pilot learning to fly an L-1011 spends five hours in a visual simulator for every one in the aircraft.

For the Everglades coalition of more than twenty conservation organizations—chaired by Dr. Elvis J. Stahr, president of the National Audubon Society, and Anthony Wayne Smith, president of the National Parks and Conservation Association—it was a vote that jeopardized years of painstaking efforts to protect Everglades National Park by prohibiting development in the Big Cypress watershed to its north, development that

notice if, in its judgment, Dade County is in "default in diligently attempting to locate a site for a regional airport."

In a letter to President Nixon, the Everglades coalition urged the closing down of the airport "as rapidly as training can be shifted, unless the commissioners reconsider." Local conservationists saw a chance to open the site selection process to areas outside Dade County where drier, higher land would provide a site less damaging to the environment than any in Dade County. And the airlines, with millions of dollars invested in the Miami area, were reportedly pressing for a vote of approval of site 14.

In the meantime, training flights continue at the Dade-Collier Transition and Training Airport. The impact that the continuous landings and takeoffs of the big jets are having on

the effects, if any, are at this point in time sufficiently subtle that they were not detected by the techniques utilized in the monitoring effort."

"These results were predictable," comments Joe Browder, a spokesman for the Everglades coalition who has long been involved in the jetport controversy. "The training operations were permitted under strict controls designed to prevent any damage. But it would be wrong to conclude from this data that no long-run damage will occur." One disturbing fact is that measurements of ozone at the Everglades airport have at times exceeded national ambient air quality standards. Ozone, a critical element in the Los Angeles smog, is formed by reactions involving hydrocarbons and nitrogen oxides in the presence of sunlight. According to John T. Brown, in charge of Interior's monitoring pro-

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An editorial cartoon from *Audubon Magazine* shows the conflicts between airplanes and wildlife that the jetport would produce.

Facing the intransigence of the Port Authority and the passivity of the state, environmental organizations took another approach. In April 1969, Smith and Browder formed the Everglades Coalition as a way for different national associations to work together for the stoppage of the jetport proposal. Smith and Elvis Stahr, former Secretary of the Army who served as president of the National Audubon Society, co-chaired the organization, while Browder served as its

coordinator. This group contained representatives from most of the major environmental organizations in the United States, including the National Parks Association, National Audubon Society, Wilderness Society, Sierra Club, Nature Conservancy, National Wildlife Federation, and the Friends of the Earth – in the words of Smith, “practically the entire conservation movement.”⁵⁷ Other organizations, such as the United Automobile Workers of America and the United Steelworkers of America also joined. The major objectives of the Everglades Coalition were to stop jetport construction, to preserve Big Cypress Swamp, and to protect Everglades National Park.

Meanwhile, Marjory Stoneman Douglas formed another organization whose initial purpose was jetport opposition. One night in a Miami grocery store, Douglas encountered Susan Wilson, one of Browder’s assistants, and told her how impressed she was with Browder’s work on the jetport problem. Instead of accepting the compliment, Wilson asked Douglas what she was doing to help the Everglades. “Oh me?” Douglas answered. “I wrote the book.” Wilson, quick to seize the opportunity, rejoined “That’s not enough,” informing Douglas that they needed more help. A bit taken aback, Douglas mumbled that she was willing to do whatever she could. The next day, Browder called her and asked her to write a “ringing denunciation of the jetport” in the press.⁵⁸ When Douglas demurred, explaining that such statements were better coming from organizations, Browder told her to form one, explaining that she could unite some of the local individuals and organizations interested in preserving the Everglades in the same way that he had brought national interests together. Accepting Browder’s challenge, Douglas created the Friends of the Everglades and opened it to all interested parties, requiring only a membership fee of \$1. It grew steadily over the next few years as Douglas and other members traveled throughout South Florida, informing citizens about the jetport and the destruction it could cause.⁵⁹



Marjory Stoneman Douglas, founder of Friends of the Everglades. (Source: The Florida Memory Project, State Library and Archives of Florida.)

The Everglades Coalition and the Friends of the Everglades heightened public awareness about the jetport, and they also implemented a new strategy to stop the development. In the Department of Transportation Act of 15 October 1966, Congress had inserted a proviso that the secretary of transportation could not approve any undertaking using land from “a public park, recreation area, wildlife and waterfowl refuge, or historic site” unless he or she had first determined that no other feasible alternative existed and that the program had implemented sufficient mitigations to “minimize harm” to such areas.⁶⁰ Because the jetport required the rerouting of Interstate 75 through Conservation Area No. 3, representatives of the Everglades Coalition, Sierra Club, National Audubon Society, and other organizations argued that the airport’s construction fell under the authority of the Transportation Act. Secretary of Transportation John Volpe had not made any studies of feasible alternatives or

of environmental effects, they claimed, meaning that he had not complied with the law. In April 1969, Everglades Coalition members sent a letter to Volpe, urging him to conform to the act by stopping construction and relocating the airport. “We would hope that the burden of resolving this conflict would not have to fall upon the shoulders of the President of the United States,” they concluded.⁶¹

But environmentalists were well aware that the involvement of high-level federal officials, and perhaps even President Nixon, might be necessary to prevent the jetport’s construction.⁶² Fortunately for them, they had an ally in Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel. In March 1969, Hickel had toured South Florida to attract attention to alligator poaching in Everglades National Park. While there, he flew over the proposed jetport site, observing the completed runway and contemplating the “long-term damage” that the facility could cause.⁶³ Hickel and other Interior officials were especially worried about water pollution, stemming both from the jetport itself and from the construction of industrial and residential areas around the facility. Such development, Hickel believed, would dump fertilizer, insecticides, and sewage into water flowing into the park. After his return, Hickel contacted Volpe to express his concerns.⁶⁴

Due to Hickel’s pressure, as well as the constant criticism of environmental organizations, Volpe agreed in June 1969 to the creation of a joint committee of Interior and Transportation representatives to conduct studies on the jetport. The Interior Department took the lead on the examination of environmental effects, designating Dr. Luna Leopold, a USGS research hydrologist who was one of the most prominent geomorphologists of the twentieth century, as well as former head of the USGS’s water resources division and the son of famed wildlife conservationist Aldo Leopold, as the coordinator of the study, with Arthur Marshall serving as the Florida liaison and Manuel Morris of the NPS as the federal contact. Governor Kirk, together with Reed, applauded the idea. Apparently, public discontent with the proposed jetport had convinced Kirk and Reed to cooperate with the environmental study.⁶⁵

As the study commenced, the U.S. Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, under the leadership of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, held hearings on Everglades National Park water issues, including the jetport. All interested parties were represented, such as the Interior Department, the FCD, the Corps of Engineers, the EC, the National Audubon Society, the Sierra Club, and the Dade County Port Authority. Critics of the jetport explained that they wanted the Port Authority to find another location for the facility; they were not asking for its complete elimination. The Port Authority, however, represented by William W. Gibbs and C. H. Peterson, doubted that another feasible site existed. Besides, they testified, the Port Authority had only plans to construct a training facility; it would not build a full-fledged jetport “until it can be clearly proven that such development will not have an adverse effect” on the park.⁶⁶ Senator Gaylord Nelson found that difficult to believe, especially because the Port Authority’s 1968 annual report had delineated plans to convert the training operation into a commercial jetport by 1980 at the latest. In addition, Gibbs and Peterson angered Nelson by telling him that the Port Authority had no responsibility for any kind of development that occurred outside the 39-square-mile area, even though Port Authority Director Allen Stewart and Deputy Director Richard Judy kept boasting about the huge growth that would follow the jetport’s construction. Who would take responsibility for ensuring that development did not

harm the park, Nelson wondered. Peterson answered that it was a county duty, but that did not appease Nelson who decried the lack of land and water planning in Florida.⁶⁷

The flippant attitude of the Dade County Port Authority regarding Big Cypress development upset environmentalists, as did several inflammatory quotations attributed to jetport supporters in the press. Michael O'Neil, Florida's secretary of transportation, for example, told reporters that he did not care if the jetport harmed alligators because the animals "make nice shoes and pocketbooks." Meanwhile, Judy proclaimed that "Big Cypress Swamp is just typical South Florida real estate" that would eventually be "one of the great population centers of America," while Stewart announced that "a new city is going to rise up in the middle of Florida . . . whether you like it or not."⁶⁸

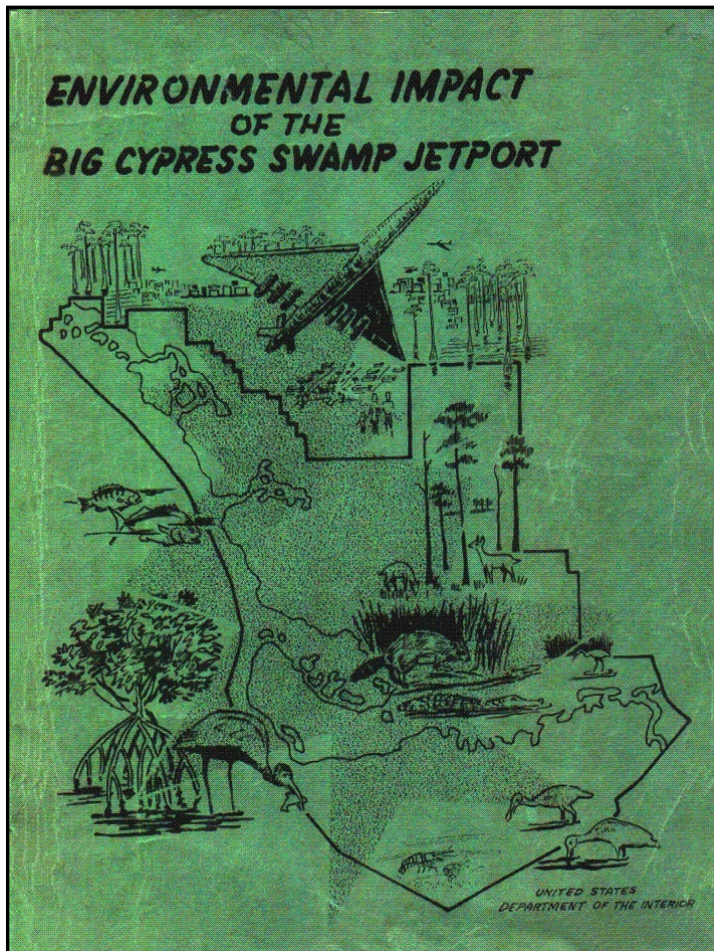
As jetport proponents made such bold pronouncements, and as the September opening of the first runway neared, a spate of critical articles appeared in national publications. In July, *National Parks Magazine* published a piece, complete with photographs of bulldozers and downed trees, calling attention to the "serious new threat" that the jetport posed to Everglades National Park.⁶⁹ That same month, an article in *Audubon* by environmentalist Paul Brooks condemned the jetport, quoting Park Superintendent John C. Raftery as stating that the park faced "slow death" if the facility became a reality. "As now located," Brooks declared, "the Everglades jetport is an abortive offspring of the unholy wedlock of the booster and the engineer."⁷⁰ Only by ensuring its removal could environmentalists protect the park from ultimate destruction.

General news magazines also provided publicity. *Time* called the battle over the jetport a "testing ground for U.S. environmental policies," stating that environmentalists feared the impacts of "jet noise, exhaust fallout, fuel and oil spills" on Everglades National Park, as well as "the prospect of helter-skelter development around the airport."⁷¹ *Look* issued a photo essay depicting "the assault on the Everglades,"⁷² while *Life* published an article by Florida mystery writer John D. MacDonald, arguing that the jetport would eliminate the westward flow of water from Big Cypress Swamp, the last "reasonably natural" water supply to the park.⁷³ These articles all mentioned that the joint Department of Transportation/Department of Interior study of ecological effects was in process, but, as *Look* pessimistically related, "there is no assurance that the county will be willing to abandon years of ambitious planning" even if the examination proved that such an action was necessary to save the park.⁷⁴

As the news media continued its discussion of the jetport, representatives of the Department of Transportation and the Department of the Interior completed their environmental examination, issuing it in September 1969.⁷⁵ The first sentence of the document, usually referred to as the Leopold Report after Luna Leopold, pulled no punches. It proclaimed that the

development of the proposed jetport and its attendant facilities will lead to land drainage and development for agriculture, industry, housing, transportation, and services in the Big Cypress Swamp which will inexorably destroy the south Florida ecosystem and thus the Everglades National Park.⁷⁶

The major problems, the report continued, would result from the air, noise, and water pollution produced by the jetport and any commercial development, affecting plant and wildlife, the Miccosukee Indians, and tourists visiting the park. The report then outlined three alternatives



Cover of the Leopold Report.

watershed important to the park, needed additional forms of protection. And, third, the state of Florida needed to implement land use planning laws to safeguard its natural resources. Two subsequent reports from other sources bolstered these conclusions. The first, sponsored by the National Academy of Science, declared that the jetport would considerably damage Big Cypress and recommended instead that regional planning and Big Cypress preservation be implemented.⁷⁸ The second, conducted by a task force called Overview, which was chaired by former Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and commissioned by the Dade County Port Authority, outlined ways in which the jetport and the park could coexist, but ultimately called for the acquisition of Big Cypress Swamp by state or federal officials.⁷⁹

With the growing amount of hard evidence that the jetport and commercial development in Big Cypress would have deleterious effects, state officials finally acted. Convinced that “poorly planned development” of the Big Cypress Swamp had harmed both Everglades National Park and South Florida’s “ecological balance,” Reed began agitating for regional planning and “enforceable land use programs that protect the environment while allowing the private owner use of his land.” He asked a commission composed of representatives from Dade, Collier, and Monroe counties to develop “a regional land use program to protect the Big Cypress Water

that Florida officials could take: first, they could allow construction of the training facility, the subsequent jetport, and the commercial development to occur, thereby resulting in complete ecological devastation; second, they could allow the existing runway to be used as a training facility with no other expansion, which would give the state enough time to develop proper planning and land use regulations; or third, they could convince the Port Authority to remove the runway and abandon the site, which would “inhibit greatly the forces tending toward development in Big Cypress Swamp.”⁷⁷ The report made no recommendation as to the appropriate course to take, content only to describe the environmental effects of each measure.

But to any careful reader, three conclusions were clear. First, jetport development should be abandoned and the runway should be removed in order to preserve Everglades National Park.

Second, Big Cypress Swamp, as a

Shed,” and he recommended the establishment of a state task force to aid Transportation and Interior in the selection of a new site.⁸⁰ At the same time, Kirk informed Hickel and Undersecretary of the Interior Russell Train that the state no longer supported the jetport, and he requested abandonment of the Big Cypress site. The Everglades Coalition, meanwhile, filed a petition in October requesting that Volpe disapprove the jetport under the authority of the Department of Transportation Act of 1966, while Hickel told John Ehrlichman, Nixon’s aide over domestic affairs, that the FAA had the power to delay and hinder the project, thereby making it too expensive for the Port Authority’s liking.⁸¹

Hickel and Train also gave a copy of the Leopold Report to Ehrlichman and to John C. Whitaker, Deputy Assistant to President Nixon, asking that the White House back the jetport’s relocation. Ehrlichman then prepared a summary of the issues and gave it to Nixon. After reading the brief, Nixon informed Ehrlichman that the South Florida airport must not be developed in Big Cypress, and that as soon as another location became viable, the training runway should be eliminated. He directed Ehrlichman to have Interior and Transportation officials begin negotiations with the Dade County Port Authority and the state of Florida to implement these actions.⁸²

Nixon’s efforts to prevent jetport construction came at a time when the President was first beginning to embrace a strategy of addressing environmental concerns proactively, resulting in part from favorable publicity that Nixon received for his support and signing of NEPA. Nixon’s State of the Union address in January 1970, for example, would discuss the importance of the environment, and the President was also preparing an environmental message for Congress. Although Nixon would sour on environmental issues late in his presidency, his early administration sought to mine ecological concerns for political gold. Halting jetport construction early in 1970 fit into this scheme; the concerns of Hickel, Whitaker, and Ehrlichman also played into the decision.⁸³

Regardless, for the next several weeks discussions occurred between the Interior Department, the Department of Transportation, the Florida governor’s office, and the Dade County Port Authority about what to do with the runway and the ultimate development of the jetport. Finally, on 16 January 1970, all sides signed “The Everglades Jetport Pact.”⁸⁴ This agreement recognized that South Florida needed another airport to relieve congestion at Miami International Airport, and it also acknowledged the Port Authority’s efforts at finding a reasonable site. However, because studies had concluded that the jetport “would not be compatible with the preservation and protection” of Everglades National Park and that unregulated operation of the training facility would “produce serious environmental and ecological effects,” all sides agreed to certain stipulations. The Port Authority assented to operate the training facility as a single runway, and it agreed to “immediately” institute measures to find another jetport site, submitting quarterly reports of its progress to the United States. If the federal government deemed that the Port Authority was not diligently pursuing another site, it could terminate the pact. Otherwise, when an appropriate location was found, the United States would purchase it for the Port Authority. The state of Florida would “diligently assist” the Port Authority in its search and would convey any state lands free of charge to it. Once the Port Authority had constructed a suitable airport, it would then abandon the runway in the Big Cypress Swamp. It also consented to a list of measures to prevent fuel or oil contamination of land or water by the existing facility,

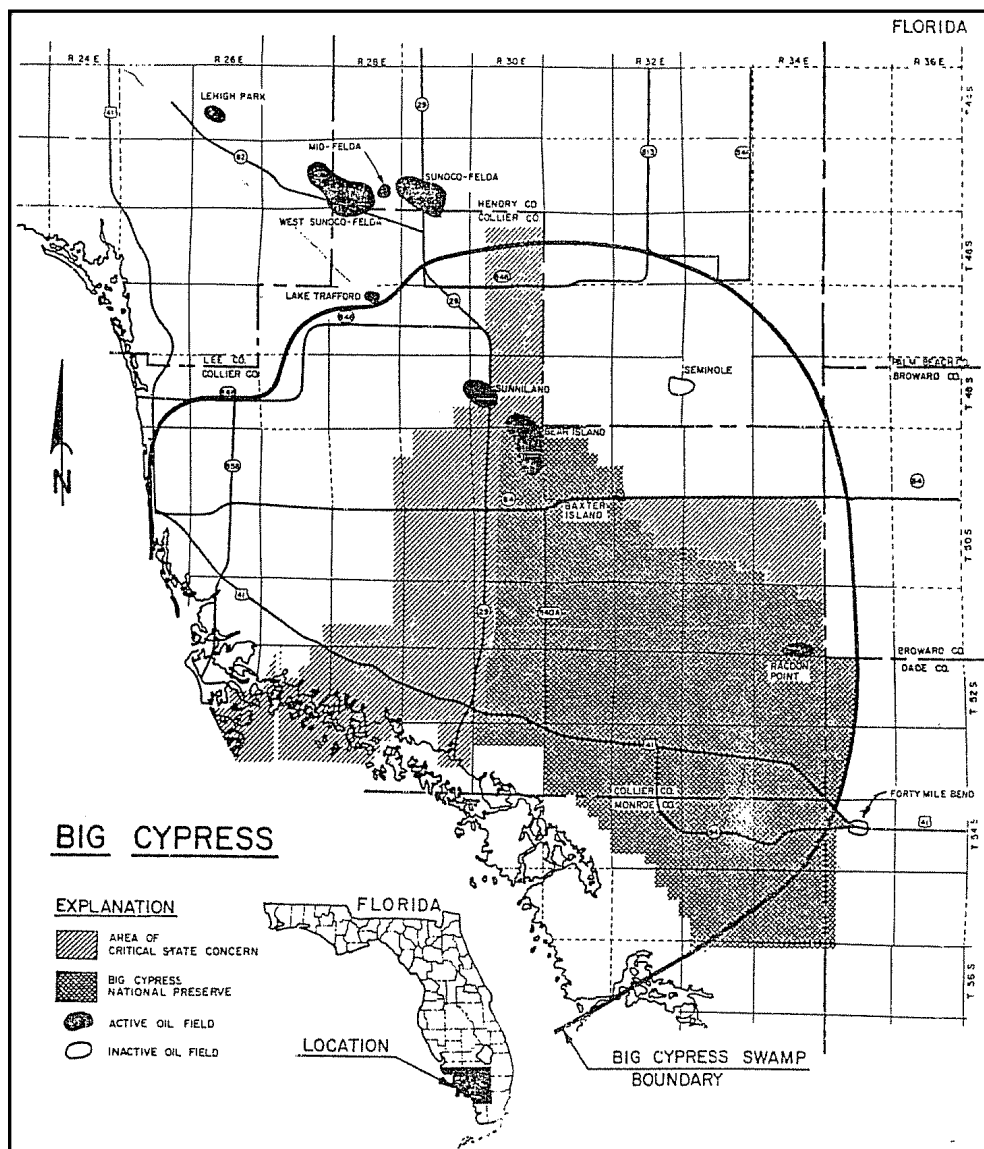
and it agreed not to drain the land or use herbicides, insecticides, or fertilizers. The United States would monitor these operations to ensure that no harm came to the park. In addition, the United States would conduct an ecological study of the Big Cypress Swamp in order to develop planning that would preserve and protect the park and its water supply.⁸⁵

Yet the fight was not over. Soon after the execution of the pact, the secretary of the interior, the secretary of transportation, the FAA administrator, Florida's governor, and the Dade County board of county commissioners established an interdisciplinary team that began searching for a new jetport location. Over the next few years, the group evaluated 36 sites, and eventually decided that Site 14 in northwest Dade County by the Broward County line was the best location. This site was approximately 15 miles northeast of Everglades National Park along the transition between the Everglades and the Atlantic Coastal Ridge, covering approximately 48 square miles, two-thirds of which was in Conservation Area 3B. Several objections were raised to this location; the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers protested that it would affect C&SF Project works, while environmentalists worried about its impacts on the Everglades Kite, an endangered bird. An environmental impact statement was prepared, but by the late 1970s, use of the training facility in Big Cypress Swamp had drastically declined from 100,000 flights to 20,000, leading some to wonder whether a new site was really necessary. The debate over this issue eventually led to a temporary disbanding of the Everglades Coalition due to internal conflicts, as some members wanted no new jetport while others believed one was necessary. By the 1980s, no final jetport resolution had been reached, although Site 14 was still the desired location.⁸⁶

Preservation of Big Cypress Swamp

Meanwhile, federal and state authorities wrestled with the problem of what to do with Big Cypress Swamp; in the press conference announcing the signing of the Everglades Jetport Pact, Secretary of the Interior Hickel had, in the words of historian J. Brooks Flippen, "promised further administration action to protect the entire Big Cypress Swamp."⁸⁷ Indeed, many did not want to leave protection up to Collier County officials because of their action (or non-action) regarding Golden Gate Estates. In the 1960s, the Gulf American Land Corporation, led by brothers Leonard and Julius Rosen, had marketed 113,000 acres of land in the Big Cypress Swamp as Golden Gate Estates, a huge housing subdivision only a few miles from Naples and the Gulf of Mexico. To prepare for the development, the company built 171 miles of canals and 807 miles of roads, effectively draining much of the area and altering the ecosystem. But by the 1970s, only a few dozen families lived in the development, mainly because of the legal problems of Gulf American and its successor, GAC Properties. Collier County authorities could have prevented the road and canal construction, but instead encouraged it, even though Gulf American had filed no firm plans for the development, because several Golden Gate promoters sat on the board of county commissioners. Therefore, state and federal officials had little faith in Collier County developing any meaningful protective measures, especially since Florida had outlawed county zoning.⁸⁸

In April 1971, the Everglades-Jetport Advisory Board, a commission consisting of the heads of the seven agencies composing the Interior Department as well as the department's solicitor, issued a study of how Big Cypress could be preserved. It concluded that outright purchase of the land would cost \$155.6 million, so it recommended that the federal government acquire



Map of the Big Cypress area. [Source: Big Cypress Area Management Task Force, "Report to Governor and Members of the Cabinet" (1983).]

approximately 38,000 acres adjoining the Tamiami Trail and operate it as the Tamiami Trail National Parkway. The rest of the Big Cypress would be subject to compensable land use restrictions, meaning that no drainage or construction would be allowed, but landowners could file claims with the U.S. Court of Claims for compensation, which would have a limit of \$10 million for all awards.⁸⁹

Many environmentalists, including Browder and Marshall, disagreed with this recommendation, claiming that the only way to save Big Cypress and to protect the Everglades' water supply was through purchasing the entire area. They convinced Florida Governor Reubin Askew of this necessity, and in July 1971, he told Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton (who

had replaced Hickel in 1970) that “acquisition is the only sure method to protect the heart of this natural ecosystem,” a stand supported by the entire cabinet sitting as the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund.⁹⁰ With Askew’s backing, Florida’s two senators, Democrat Lawton Chiles and Republican Edward Gurney, introduced a bill (drafted by Browder) into Congress in August, stipulating that the federal government purchase 547,000 acres in Big Cypress Swamp and designate it as the Everglades-Big Cypress National Recreation Area. As this bill made its way through Congress, Reed, who had become assistant secretary of the interior for fish, wildlife, and parks, began pushing for the Nixon administration to support the acquisition, as did other prominent environmentalists such as Elvis Stahr of the National Audubon Society, Anthony Wayne Smith of the National Parks Association, Browder, and Leopold. The Environmental Coalition for North America, an organization working for national environmental causes, pledged its backing as well. These individuals and groups had a ready ally in the White House in John Whitaker, Deputy Assistant to President Nixon. Because of Whitaker’s and Reed’s influence, and realizing the importance of obtaining Florida votes in the 1972 presidential election, Nixon issued a statement in November declaring that it was “essential for the federal government to acquire this unique and vital Watershed.”⁹¹

Only a day after Nixon’s proclamation of support, Senator Henry Jackson, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs who had his own presidential aspirations, held a hearing on Chiles’ legislation in Miami. State officials and environmentalists made a united stand on the purchase, but landowners in Collier County complained about the measure, stating that 35,000 landowners would be ruined by the acquisition. Some even likened the proposal to oppression by the Soviet Union. Former Florida Governor Fuller Warren, representing the landowners, stated that the government would severely cripple Collier County by removing so much land from the tax rolls, for “next to the air we breathe, the most essential ingredient of life is revenue.”⁹² Yet state officials and the Nixon administration continued to support acquisition; Nixon even sent his daughter, Julie Nixon Eisenhower, to tour the area with Secretary Morton in January 1972, while the administration introduced its own Big Cypress purchasing bill into Congress (S. 3139).⁹³

In April 1972, the Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs held a hearing on the two bills, which were essentially similar except for three major points: S. 3139 created a national freshwater reserve rather than a recreation area, eliminated acquisition by legislative taking, and provided for joint state-federal management of the Big Cypress area. This time, however, Senator Alan Bible from Nevada presided, and he was not as favorably inclined toward the acquisition as Jackson. Bible found S. 3139 more palatable than Chiles’ bill, but he still found problems with the legislation, including the cost of acquisition and the provision in S. 3139 that landowners be compensated over 10 years rather than immediately. He made his views known throughout the hearing, giving a sympathetic ear to Collier County landowners.⁹⁴

In the late spring of 1972, Bible’s opposition solidified when Robert O. Vernon, Florida’s state geologist, claimed that Big Cypress Swamp runoff was not essential for the park’s water supply because surface runoff accounted for only 11 percent of the park’s total water.⁹⁵ Hearing this, Bible announced that he would not allow the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation to release S. 3139 to the Senate “until the people of Florida resolve their differences on the Big



Ponded water in the Big Cypress Swamp. (Source: U.S. Geological Survey.)

Cypress question.”⁹⁶ Environmentalists and other scientists vehemently disagreed that water from Big Cypress was unessential, but the damage had been done.

Meanwhile, the Seminole and Miccosukee Indians objected to the Big Cypress plan, fearing its effects on their land. In 1957, the Seminole Tribe of Florida had organized itself under the authority of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. In 1962, Indians living along the Tamiami Trail, who considered themselves as distinct from the Seminole (even though non-Indians generally referred to them as Seminole), had organized into a separate entity known as the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians. In order to ensure that the Miccosukee had a land base, the state had divided the Big Cypress Reservation in 1965, giving the lower 76,000 acres to the Miccosukee and allowing the Seminole to retain the upper 28,000 acres adjoining the federal tract.⁹⁷ Both tribes worried that this land would be included in the Big Cypress boundaries. Howard Tommie, chairman of the Seminole Tribal Council, and Fred Smith, president of the Seminole Tribe, thus counseled legislators to forestall such an action, claiming that the Seminole already managed 62 percent of their land for natural resources. “We don’t want to be told what to do on our land,” Tommie explained, while Smith insisted that the Seminole were “more ecology-minded than some of the professional ecologists.”⁹⁸ The major concern of both the Seminole and the Miccosukee was that the federal government would not allow them to maintain their traditional ways of life, including hunting and fishing, on any land included in the preserve. These fears evaporated, however, after Congress included specific language in the Big Cypress

legislation allowing Indians the “usual and customary use and occupancy” of their lands, including hunting, fishing, trapping, and the conducting of tribal ceremonies.⁹⁹

With the Seminole and Miccosukee on board, Governor Askew and the state legislature took some significant action in the spring of 1973, spurred on by Florida Wildlife Federation President John “Johnny” Jones. Jones, one of the most effective lobbyists in Florida history, was strongly in favor of Big Cypress preservation and obtained a meeting with Bible where he asked him why he opposed the bill. According to Jones, Bible told him that the federal government had already spent enough money to acquire Everglades National Park; he asked Jones, “When is Florida going to put the money into this damn thing?” Jones asked him how much he wanted Florida to contribute, and Bible said \$40 million. Jones then informed Askew of Bible’s request, and Askew had State Senator Daniel Robert “Bob” Graham, the future governor of Florida, propose a bill in the Florida legislature that the state contribute \$40 million for land acquisition.¹⁰⁰ That same law, known as the Big Cypress Conservation Act of 1973, also designated approximately 574,000 acres of Big Cypress Swamp, as well as an additional 285,000 acre buffer zone (including Okaloacoochee Slough, the Fakahatchee Strand, and the northern Ten Thousand



Miccosukee and Seminole representatives before the Florida legislature. (Source: The Florida Memory Project, State Library and Archives of Florida.)

Islands) as an “area of critical state concern.”¹⁰¹ This designation was created in the Florida Environmental Land and Water Management Act of 1972 to allow the state to prevent development in and provide other protection to environmentally important regions.

Despite the passage of this legislation, Bible continued to oppose the bill, “double-crossing” Florida, in the words of Jones.¹⁰² But in the fall of 1973, the House of Representatives passed H. R. 10088, a bill introduced by Representative James Haley of Florida and sponsored by the rest of Florida’s congressional delegation. Similar to Chiles’ bill, it had one major difference: instead

of establishing a national recreation area, it would create the Big Cypress Water Preserve, a new unit of the national park system. The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs envisioned preserves as areas with “exceptional values or qualities illustrating the natural heritage of the Nation,” including “ecological communities, . . . natural phenomena, or climax communities.” Under this bill, the NPS would manage the preserve to maintain “the natural and scientific values of the area.”¹⁰³

After passing the House, the legislation went to the Senate where it sat for several months due to Bible’s opposition. Finally, Thomas Kimball of the National Wildlife Federation approached Senator Henry Jackson and, according to Jones, “told him [Jackson] what a dirty deal Bible had pulled.”¹⁰⁴ Jackson then pushed the bill, forcing Bible’s subcommittee to consider it. The Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation made several changes and recommended its passage to the Senate. The alterations included replacing the legislative taking aspect of acquisition to “normal acquisition procedures” (meaning that landowners would receive compensation over a six-year period) and allowing “all improved residential and commercial property, including mineral estate” to remain in the Big Cypress area as long as it was not “detrimental to the Preserve.”¹⁰⁵ The House agreed to these changes, and the bill went to President Gerald Ford for his signature. It became law on 11 October 1974, allowing \$116 million for the purchase of 574,000 acres in the Big Cypress Swamp (the state of Florida would still contribute its \$40 million).¹⁰⁶ Although some details still had to be finalized with the acquisition, environmentalists, the state of Florida, and the federal government had effectively ensured the preservation of part of the Big Cypress Swamp, an area important not only for its water supply to Everglades National Park but for its own ecology as well.

The battles over the jetport and the barge canal, coupled with the passage of NEPA in 1970 and the growing use of environmental law, ushered in a new way of doing business for the Corps. Both of these controversies indicated that environmentalists now had the power to halt projects that they considered to be ecologically damaging. In the aftermath of these fights, the Corps acknowledged that it had to consider environmental concerns more closely, something which it had vocalized since the late 1960s. The Corps would frequently encounter bumps and setbacks as it began to change its mission-oriented focus to one that accepted the necessity of considering environmental concerns, but by the mid-1970s, the Corps was clearly on its way to making such changes permanent. As historian George E. Buker has indicated, the Cross-Florida Barge Canal was “the last major engineering project” in Florida that “ignored the protests of the environmentalists.”¹⁰⁷ Part of the reason for this was that Corps leaders, such as Colonel Wisdom, were willing to consider carefully environmental concerns. Wisdom himself denied Section 404 permits on Marco Island to the Deltona Corporation in 1975, for example, inaugurating “the most important single event during the post-NEPA period” that “improve[ed] the Corps’ environmental image.”¹⁰⁸

But another reason was merely the increasing influence of environmentalists. Victories in halting both jetport and canal construction and in obtaining protection for Big Cypress Swamp gave the environmental movement increasing confidence and more unity and cohesion, and highlighted its growing strength within Florida and the nation as a whole. Environmentalists were now major players in water management issues in Florida, and they had developed the organizational ability and the tactics to attack projects that could potentially degrade ecological

values. The work of organizations such as the Everglades Coalition and the Friends of the Everglades, as well as individuals such as Joseph Browder, Arthur Marshall, and Marjorie Carr, pushed the administrations of Claude Kirk, Reubin Askew, and Richard Nixon to look more closely at environmental issues in Florida no matter what their political party. At the same time, the jetport and barge canal battles forced federal, state, and local officials to realize two things: first, that the state of Florida, in the face of continued growth, had inadequate measures to protect natural resources within its borders, and second, that the state's water resources – especially in terms of quality – needed to be addressed. For the rest of the 1970s, all water management players would have the opportunity to apply the lessons learned from the jetport and the barge canal as they tackled a problem that threatened the entire South Florida ecosystem – the degradation of the Kissimmee River and Lake Okeechobee.

Chapter Five Endnotes

¹ At a 1969 hearing before Congress, Chief of Engineers Lieutenant General William F. Cassidy explained that Big Cypress Swamp was outside of the boundaries of the C&SF Project, meaning that the Corps had no jurisdiction over the jetport. If the structure was actually built, the Dade County Port Authority would have to receive Corps approval before discharging water into any of the water conservation areas, but until that time, the Corps had no authority. Therefore, Corps participation in the jetport controversy was relegated to occasional attendance at meetings and hearings. Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Everglades National Park: Hearings Before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, Ninety-First Congress, First Session, on the Water Supply, the Environmental, and Jet Airport Problems of Everglades National Park*, 91st Cong., 1st sess., 1969, 27 [hereafter referred to as Jetport Hearing]. As evidence of this, note that Cassidy's testimony runs for over 20 pages, but only about six short paragraphs have any information about the jetport; the rest deals with water supply to Everglades National Park.

² Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Green Revolution: The American Environmental Movement, 1962-1992* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 6.

³ Samuel P. Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 2-5, 34-35; Samuel P. Hays, *A History of Environmental Politics Since 1945* (Pittsburgh, Penn.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000), 15-19, 22-23; Adam Rome, "'Give Earth a Chance': The Environmental Movement and the Sixties," *Journal of American History* 90 (September 2003): 527-530; Lynton Keith Caldwell, *The National Environmental Policy Act: An Agenda for the Future* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 26-28.

⁴ Rome, "'Give Earth a Chance,'" 525-554; J. Brooks Flippen, *Nixon and the Environment* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 3-5.

⁵ Robert P. McIntosh, *The Background of Ecology: Concept and Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 2, 194-196; Frank Benjamin Golley, *A History of the Ecosystem Concept in Ecology: More Than the Sum of the Parts* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993), 1-3; Dorothy Nelkin, "Scientists and Professional Responsibility: The Experience of American Ecologists," *Social Studies of Science* 7 (1977): 79-80.

⁶ Quotation in Michael A. Bryson, *Visions of the Land: Science, Literature, and the American Environment from the Era of Exploration to the Age of Ecology* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002), 134-135; see also Nelkin, "Scientists and Professional Responsibility," 80.

⁷ Rome, "'Give Earth a Chance,'" 527; Flippen, *Nixon and the Environment*, 5; Michael E. Kraft, "U.S. Environmental Policy and Politics: From the 1960s to the 1990s," *Journal of Policy History* 12, no. 1 (2000): 23; Sale, *The Green Revolution*, 1-3, 20-22.

⁸ The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (83 Stat. 852).

⁹ Caldwell, *The National Environmental Policy Act*, 28-30, 37.

¹⁰ See Jeffrey K. Stine, "Environmental Politics and Water Resources Development: The Case of the Army Corps of Engineers during the 1970s," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Santa Barbara, 1984, 25, 35.

¹¹ Arthur R. Marshall, "Repairing the Florida Everglades Basin," 11 June 1971, File Everglades National Park 1958-86 General/Resolutions/Agreements, Box 02161, SFWMDAR; Blake, *Land Into Water*, 196-197.

¹² Flippen, *Nixon and the Environment*, 8-11; Blake, *Land Into Water*, 197-198; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 50-53; Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence*, 57-58.

¹³ Blake, *Land Into Water*, 150-151. For a history of the canal up to the 1920s, see Charles E. Bennett, "Early History of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (1966): 132-144. This is not an entirely objective piece, as Bennett, a U.S. representative from Florida, was a major proponent of the canal.

¹⁴ See C. P. Summerall, Chairman, The Ship Canal Authority of the State of Florida, to Governor, 16 January 1943, File Canal 1940-1949, Box 2, Robert N. "Bert" Dosh Papers, Manuscript Series 25, Special and Area Studies

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Collections, George A. Smathers Library (East), University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida [hereafter referred to as Dosh Papers]; Walter F. Coachman, Jr., to The Members of the Executive Committee of Canal Counties, 24 January 1942, *ibid.*; U.S. Engineer Office, *Definite Project Report on Cross-Florida Barge Canal* (Jacksonville, Fla.: U.S. Engineer Office, 1943).

¹⁵ William N. Partington, “History of the Cross-Florida Canal,” in Florida Defenders of the Environment, *Environmental Impact of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal* (Gainesville, Fla.: Florida Defenders of the Environment, 1970), 55; Blake, *Land Into Water*, 152-162, 164-165, 201-203; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 271-273, 276-278; J. Richard Sewell, “Cross-Florida Barge Canal, 1927-1968,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (April 1968): 371, 374-375, 379-381; Flippen, *Nixon and the Environment*, 58. Kennedy and Johnson’s support was not necessarily out of a belief in the benefits of the canal; at least some came from political expedience. In July 1963, Major Holbrook Scott, an Ocala resident, claimed that the “Barge Canal issue can make or break the Federal Administration in Florida in 1964.” The situation was probably not that dramatic, but it is clear that both Kennedy and Johnson realized the political value of supporting the canal, at least in these early stages. See Scott to Hon. Clarence Cannon, M. C. from Missouri, 29 July 1963, Folder Canal 1960-1965, Box 2, Dosh Papers.

¹⁶ Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 267.

¹⁷ “Canal Fight Started At Audubon Meeting,” *The Tampa Tribune-Times*, 24 January 1971.

¹⁸ Quotation in “Canal Fight Started at Audubon Meeting”; see also Stephen Trumbull, “The River Spoilers,” *Audubon* 68 (March-April 1966): 109-110.

¹⁹ Partington, “History of the Cross-Florida Canal,” 55.

²⁰ Quotation in William M. Partington, “Oklawaha – The Fight Is On Again!” *Living Wilderness* 33 (Autumn 1969): 19; see also Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 281-282; “Canal Fight Started At Audubon Meeting”; Partington, “History of the Cross-Florida Canal,” 55; “Cross Florida Barge Canal Chronological Development,” 12 February 1971, 4, File Cross Fla Barge Canal—General, Box 2, Davis Papers. For an example of the recreational benefits of Rodman Reservoir, see Department of the Army, U.S. Army Engineer District, Jacksonville, Florida, News Release, “Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project,” n.d., File Barge Canal 1969-70, Box 2, S949, FSA.

²¹ Partington, “History of the Cross-Florida Canal,” 55-56; “Canal Fight Started At Audubon Meeting”; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 283.

²² For more information on the formation of the Environmental Defense Fund and its role in the fight against DDT, see Thomas R. Dunlap, *DDT: Scientists, Citizens, and Public Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

²³ Partington, “Oklawaha – The Fight Is On Again!,” 19-22; “Canal Fight Started At Audubon Meeting”; Partington, “History of the Cross-Florida Canal,” 56; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 284-287; Stine, “Environmental Politics and Water Resources Development,” 51-52, 59.

²⁴ See Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, “A Brief Assessment of the Ecological Impact of the Cross Florida Barge Canal,” November 1969, File Fla. Game and Fresh Water Fish Comm., Box 1, John Henry Davis Papers, Manuscript Series 23, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Library (East), University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida [hereafter referred to as Davis Papers]; United States Department of the Interior, Fish and Wildlife Service, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, “Review and Appraisal of the Cross Florida Barge Canal,” 30 March 1970, File Florida Defenders of the Environment, *ibid.*

²⁵ Florida Defenders of the Environment, *Environmental Impact of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal*, 1-5.

²⁶ Quotations in James Nathan Miller, “Rape on the Oklawaha,” *Reader’s Digest* 96 (January 1970): 54-60 (emphasis in the original); see also Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 291-292.

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²⁷ “Text of a Letter Addressed to President Nixon, Dated January 27, 1970, Mailed February 6, 1970 and Signed by 162 Environmental Scientists,” File Clippings 1969-1974, Box 3, Davis Papers; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 290.

²⁸ Flippen, *Nixon and the Environment*, 105; Robert E. Jordan III, Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Army (Civil Functions), to Honorable John C. Whitaker, Deputy Assistant to the President, 11 November 1970, File Barge Canal 2-71/8-71 (Governor Askew), Box 2, S949, FSA; “Canal Foe Coalition Seeks Drive Support,” *The Tampa Tribune*, 9 September 1970; “Army to Reject Halting Barge Canal?” *Miami Herald*, 19 June 1970; “Environmental Veto Threatens Florida Canal,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 29 June 1970; “Cross Florida Barge Canal Chronological Development.”

²⁹ Quotation in Executive Office of the President, Council on Environmental Quality, “Summary of Environmental Considerations Involved in the Recommendation for Termination of Construction of the Cross Florida Barge Canal,” File U.S. Council on Environmental Quality, Box 3, Davis Papers; see also Russell E. Train, Chairman, Memorandum for Mr. Whitaker, 1 December 1970, in Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 311-312.

³⁰ John D. Ehrlichman, “Presidential Assistant with a Bias for Parks,” an oral history conducted in 1991 by William Duddleson, in *Saving Point Reyes National Seashore, 1969-1970: An Oral History of Citizen Action in Conservation*, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1993, 368-369 [hereafter referred to as Ehrlichman interview]; see also Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 296-298.

³¹ Stine, “Environmental Politics and Water Resources Development,” 59-60.

³² Quotation in Office of White House Press Secretary, Statement by the President, 19 January 1971, in Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 312; see also “President Blocks Canal in Florida,” *New York Times*, 20 January 1971; Blake, *Land Into Water*, 209; Flippen, *Nixon and the Environment*, 130; Stine, “Environmental Politics and Water Resources Development,” 60-61. Whitaker told journalist Luther Carter that Parker’s court injunction did not influence Nixon to halt construction; the White House had received Whitaker’s decision paper several days before the ruling was announced. Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 298-299.

³³ See Ehrlichman interview, 369; Martin Reuss, *Shaping Environmental Awareness: The United States Army Corps of Engineers Environmental Advisory Board, 1970-1980* (Alexandria, Va.: Historical Division, Office of Administrative Services, Office of the Chief of Engineers, 1983), 19.

³⁴ “Wanted Dead or Alive? Cross Florida Canal,” *Pensacola (Fla) News-Journal*, 18 April 1971; Robert L. Shevin, Attorney General, to The Honorable Reubin O’D. Askew, 15 February 1971, File Barge Canal 2-71/8-71 (Governor Askew), Box 2, S949, FSA; L. C. Ringhaver, Chairman, to Richard M. Nixon, 12 February 1971 (with attachment), *ibid.*; Blake, *Land Into Water*, 212.

³⁵ “Nixon Can’t Halt Canal, U.S. Judge Johnsen Rules”; “Resolution,” File Cross-Florida Barge Canal, Box 9, S1160, Florida State Board of Conservation Water Resources Subject Files, 1961-1968, FSA; Blake, *Land Into Water*, 213. The Corps had prepared an EIS in 1970, but environmentalists believed that this seven-page paper was insufficient and the court agreed.

³⁶ “Corps Strives To Blunt Barge Canal Opposition,” *The Florida Times-Union*, 17 December 1976; “Cabinet Vote Doesn’t Bury the Barge Canal,” *The Florida Times-Union*, 19 December 1976; “Resolution,” 17 January 1977, in U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Jacksonville District, *Cross Florida Barge Canal Restudy Report: Final Summary* (Jacksonville, Fla.: Department of the Army, Jacksonville District, Corps of Engineers, 1977), A-1 – A-4; Blake, *Land Into Water*, 214.

³⁷ Colonel Donald A. Wisdom interview by George E. Buker, 22 and 23 December 1978, Jacksonville, Florida, 22, transcript in Library, Jacksonville District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Jacksonville, Florida [hereafter referred to as Wisdom interview]; “Cross Florida Barge Canal Restudy Report, Appendix D, Major Issues,” in Jacksonville District, *Cross Florida Barge Canal Restudy Report: Final Summary*, D-12.

³⁸ Jacksonville District, *Cross Florida Barge Canal Restudy Report*; Wisdom interview, 22; Florida Department of Environmental Protection, “Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway – History,”

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<<http://www.dep.state.fl.us/gwt/cfg/history.htm>> (18 January 2005); Florida Defenders of the Environment, "Restoring the Ocklawaha River Ecosystem" <<http://www.fladefenders.org/publications/restoring3.html>> (18 January 2005). Ocklawaha is a variant spelling of the name of the river.

³⁹ For more information about the La Farge Project, see Theodore Catton and Matthew C. Godfrey, "Steward of Headwaters: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, St. Paul District, 1975-2000," 75-82, manuscript prepared for the St. Paul District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, St. Paul, Minnesota. For more information about the Meramec Dam, see T. Michael Ruddy, "Damming the Meramec: The Elusive Public Interest, 1927-1949," *Gateway Heritage* 10 (Winter 1989-1990): 36-45.

⁴⁰ Paul Brooks, "Superjetport or Everglades Park?" *Audubon* 71 (July 1969): 5; see also Planning Research Section, Department of Planning and Zoning, Miami-Dade County, "Demographic Profile, Miami-Dade County, Florida, 1960-2000," September 2003, 1 <http://www.co.miami-dade.fl.us/planzone/Library/Census/demographic_profile.pdf> (21 January 2005).

⁴¹ Everglades-Jetport Advisory Board, "The Big Cypress Watershed: A Report to The Secretary of the Interior, April 19, 1971," in Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, *Everglades-Big Cypress National Recreation Area: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate*, 92d Cong., 1st sess., 1971, 137-139.

⁴² Robert S. Gilmour and John A. McCauley, "Environmental Preservation and Politics: The Significance of 'Everglades Jetport,'" *Political Science Quarterly* 90 (Winter 1975-1976): 721-722; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 188.

⁴³ Gilmour and McCauley, "Environmental Preservation and Politics," 723; "Miami Jetport and Interstate 75: Everglades National Park," File Jetport Correspondence 1971, Box 8, S949, Governor's Office Jay Landers Subject Files, FSA.

⁴⁴ Gilmour and McCauley, "Environmental Preservation and Politics," 723; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 189-191; "Miami Jetport and Interstate 75." For a full discussion of Port Authority consultations with the NPS during this process, see J. D. Brama, Assistant Secretary for Urban Systems and the Environment, to Hon. Henry M. Jackson, Chairman, Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, 27 June 1969, in Jetport Hearing, 38-39.

⁴⁵ O. E. Frye, Jr., Director, to Mr. Alan C. Stewart, Dade County Port Authority, 22 February 1968, File Big Cypress: Jetport (Environmental Studies), Box 1, S1719, Game & Fresh Water Fish Commission Everglades Conservation Files, 1958-1982, FSA.

⁴⁶ Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 193.

⁴⁷ "Report on Ecology Conference Relative to the Proposed Collier-Dade Training Airport, June 20, 1968," File Big Cypress: Jetport (Environmental Studies), Box 1, S1719, FSA.

⁴⁸ John "Jack" Maloy interview by Matthew Godfrey, 14 July 2004, West Palm Beach, Florida [hereafter referred to as Maloy interview]; Jetport Hearing, 68, 87-88; Gilmour and McCauley, "Environmental Preservation and Politics," 725; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 194-195; Blake, *Land Into Water*, 218.

⁴⁹ "Minutes of a Meeting of the Governing Board of the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District and the Interested Parties Who Were Present to Discuss the Dade County Port Authority's Proposed Jet Port Site Held at the Riviera Country Club in Coral Gables, Florida, Friday, December 13, 1968," File Big Cypress: Jetport (Environmental Studies), Box 1, S1719, FSA; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 195-196.

⁵⁰ Flippen, *Nixon and the Environment*, 31-32.

⁵¹ "Folly in Florida," *National Parks Magazine* 43 (January 1969): 2.

⁵² For the written answers to the questions, see "Answers to Questions Submitted by Central and South Florida Flood Control District, February 3, 1969," in Jetport Hearing, 74-79.

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⁵³ “Statement of John C. Raftery, Superintendent, Everglades National Park at Jetport Meeting, Miami Springs, Florida, February 28, 1969,” File Park Problems Big Cypress Jetport, EVER 22965, CR-ENPA.

⁵⁴ As quoted in C. Edward Carlson, Acting Regional Coordinator, to Mr. Allen Stewart, Director, Dade County Port Authority, 7 March 1969, File Big Cypress: Jetport (Environmental Studies), Box 1, S1719, FSA; see also Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 196.

⁵⁵ Jim Smith to Senator Adams, 7 March 1969, File Jetport Correspondence, Box 8, S949, FSA.

⁵⁶ Nat Reed to Governor Kirk, 5 March 1969, File Jetport—Everglades, Box 9, S949, FSA. Michael Grunwald, citing an interview with Reed, claims that Reed, attending the meeting with Arthur Marshall, “jumped to his feet and berated Dade County mayor Chuck Hall for wasting everyone’s time” with the dismissive answers. However, such an action is not in accord with the letter that Reed wrote to Kirk a week after the meeting, and no other accounts of the meeting mention an outburst by Reed. See Grunwald, *The Swamp*, 255-256.

⁵⁷ As quoted in Senate Committee on Public Works Subcommittee on Flood Control – Rivers and Harbors, *Central and Southern Florida Flood Control Project: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Flood Control—Rivers and Harbors of the Committee on Public Works, United States Senate*, 91st Cong., 2d sess., 1970, 228-230; see also Joseph Browder interview by Theodore Catton, 17 November 2004, Washington, D.C. [hereafter referred to as Browder interview]; “Coalition Forms to Fight Florida Jetport,” *National Parks Magazine* 43 (May 1969): 28; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 196-197; Blake, *Land Into Water*, 218.

⁵⁸ All quotations in Marjory Stoneman Douglas with John Rothchild, *Voice of the River* (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, 1987), 224-226; see also Martha Munzer, “The Everglades and a Few Friends,” *South Florida History Magazine* 23 (Winter 1995): 12-13.

⁵⁹ Douglas, *Voice of the River*, 224-226; Munzer, “The Everglades and a Few Friends,” 12-13; Grunwald, *The Swamp*, 257-258.

⁶⁰ Act of 15 October 1966 (80 Stat. 931).

⁶¹ National Parks Association et al., to Hon. John A. Volpe, Secretary of Transportation, 17 April 1969, in Jetport Hearing, 126-128. For examples of the arguments dealing with the applicability of the Department of Transportation Act, see Jetport Hearing, 121-122.

⁶² See Joe B. Browder, Southeastern Representative, to Mr. Charles H. Callison, Executive Vice President, National Audubon Society, 2 May 1969, File Jetport Correspondence 1971, Box 8, S949, FSA.

⁶³ Walter J. Hickel, *Who Owns America?* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 101-102.

⁶⁴ Hickel, *Who Owns America?*, 101-102; Walter J. Hickel, Secretary of the Interior, to Mr. Secretary, 30 April 1969, File Jetport Correspondence 1971, Box 8, S949, FSA; “Clash Seen Over Jetport Plan,” *The Washington Post*, 15 May 1969; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 197-198; “Conservationists Urge Halt on Jetport Work,” unidentified newspaper clipping, File Jetport Correspondence 1971, Box 8, S949, FSA; Blake, *Land Into Water*, 218; Flippen, *Nixon and the Environment*, 39.

⁶⁵ Russell S. Train, The Under Secretary, to All Assistant Secretaries and Heads of Bureaus and Offices, 9 June 1969, File I.#2.A. Leopold Report, Box 2, Accession No. 412-91-0041, RG 412, Records of the Environmental Protection Agency, NARA-SE; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 198-200.

⁶⁶ As quoted in Jetport Hearing, 101-102.

⁶⁷ Jetport Hearing, 104-106.

⁶⁸ O’Neil and Judy quotations in John G. Mitchell, “The Bitter Struggle for a National Park,” *American Heritage* 22, no. 3 (1970): 100; Stewart quotation in Brooks, “Superjetport or Everglades Park?” 5.

⁶⁹ “‘Progress’ Menaces the Everglades,” *National Parks Magazine* 43 (July 1969): 8-10.

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⁷⁰ Brooks, “Superjetport or Everglades Park?” 5-11.

⁷¹ “Conservation: Jets v. Everglades,” *Time* (22 August 1969): 42-43.

⁷² Anthony Wolff, “The Assault on the Everglades,” *Look* (9 September 1969): 44-52.

⁷³ John D. MacDonald, “Threatened America – Last Chance to Save the Everglades,” *Life* (5 September 1969): 58-66.

⁷⁴ Wolff, “The Assault on the Everglades,” 44. For more information on the national coverage, see “Jetport Fight Stirs National Interest,” *The Miami News*, 28 August 1969.

⁷⁵ Although the Department of Transportation was also supposed to have a voice in the report, it submitted its revisions too late to have them effectively implemented in the final version. Transportation officials had a different view of the problems than Leopold and his team, believing that any threat to the park would exist with or without the jetport, and that commercial development would not be a great problem. The differences between the two viewpoints were so great, and the deadline for publication so near, that Leopold merely submitted the report to Under Secretary Russell Train with Transportation’s name eliminated from the cover. However, when Hickel transmitted the report to Governor Kirk, he stated that the conclusions were made “in consultation with Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe.” Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 204-205; Walter J. Hickel, Secretary of the Interior, to Governor Kirk, 7 October 1969, File Jetport Correspondence 1971, Box 8, S949, FSA.

⁷⁶ United States Department of the Interior and Luna B. Leopold, *Environmental Impact of the Big Cypress Swamp Jetport* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, 1969), 1-2 [hereafter referred to as Leopold Report].

⁷⁷ Leopold Report, 136-144; see also “Miccosukee See Airport as Final Destruction,” *The Florida Times-Union*, 12 September 1969.

⁷⁸ Blake, *Land Into Water*, 220; Gilmore and McCauley, “Environmental Preservation and Politics,” 729.

⁷⁹ For a reprinting of Overview’s report, see “Overview: There’s a Jetport in the Future If South Florida Plans Ahead,” *The Miami Herald*, 11 December 1969.

⁸⁰ “Dictated by Nathaniel Reed – Thursday – September 11, 1969,” File Big Cypress: Jetport (Environmental Studies), Box 1, S1719, FSA

⁸¹ “Policy on Everglades Jetport,” File Big Cypress: Jetport (Environmental Studies), Box 1, S1719, FSA; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 205; Gilmore and McCauley, “Environmental Preservation and Politics,” 730; Flippen, *Nixon and the Environment*, 41.

⁸² Gilmore and McCauley, “Environmental Preservation and Politics,” 731-732; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 207-208.

⁸³ Flippen, *Nixon and the Environment*, 9, 55-56, 221.

⁸⁴ Gilmore and McCauley, “Environmental Preservation and Politics,” 731-732; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 207-208. Collier County was supposed to be a party to the agreement as well, but its officials never signed it.

⁸⁵ “The Everglades Jetport Pact: Articles of Agreement by and between The United States, State of Florida, Dade County Port Authority, Collier County,” File Jetport Correspondence 1971, Box 8, S949, FSA.

⁸⁶ Peter L. Cook, Acting Director, Office of Federal Activities, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Memorandum for Barbara Blum, 21 October 1977, File Jetport Background Info 1976-1979 DEIS, Box 1, Accession No. 412-91-0041, RG 412, NARA-SE; Colonel Emmett C. Lee, Jr., District Engineer, to Division Engineer, South Atlantic, 7 November 1972, File 1110-2-1150a (C&SF) Jetport 1972, Box 9, Accession No. 077-01-0023, FRC; Browder interview; Blake, *Land Into Water*, 221-222.

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⁸⁷ Flippen, *Nixon and the Environment*, 56.

⁸⁸ Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 232-242; Grunwald, *The Swamp*, 234-235, 244; “Drainage Halt Urged In Big Cypress Swamp,” *The Miami Herald*, 30 August 1970.

⁸⁹ Everglades-Jetport Advisory Board, “The Big Cypress Watershed: A Report to The Secretary of the Interior, April 19, 1971,” in Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, *Everglades-Big Cypress National Recreation Area: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate*, 92d Cong., 1st sess., 1971, 131-181; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 242-244; Department of the Interior, “Interior Secretary Morton Releases Land Use Plan for Big Cypress Swamp,” n.d., File Big Cypress, Box 3, S949, FSA; Secretary of the Interior to Director, National Park Service, et al., 19 November 1969, File USDI Everglades Jetport Advisory Board—File #1 Advisory Board Meeting Notes & Progress Report, Box 1, *ibid*.

⁹⁰ Reubin Askew, Governor, to Honorable Rogers Morton, 20 July 1971, File Big Cypress, Box 3, S949, FSA; Resolution, 23 November 1971, *ibid*.

⁹¹ Quotation in The White House, Statement By the President, Big Cypress National Fresh Water Reserve, November 1971, File Legislation Big Cypress—Area of Critical Concern—Background Material 1973-1974, Box 20, D. Robert “Bob” Graham Papers, Manuscript Series 148, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Library (East), University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida; see also Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 245; Grunwald, *The Swamp*, 258. Grunwald argues that Nixon made his announcement because he caught wind that Senator Henry Jackson would be holding a hearing on Big Cypress in Miami and he wanted to “knock Jackson out of the box in Florida!”

⁹² Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, *Everglades-Big Cypress National Recreation Area*, 53-54, 84-86.

⁹³ “Julie and Rogers View Cypress Swamp Tract,” *The Evening Star*, 5 January 1972; Nathaniel Reed, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, to Hon. Henry M. Jackson, Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 19 April 1972, in Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, *Everglades-Big Cypress National Recreation Area: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, Part 2*, 92d Cong., 2d sess., 1972, 15-17.

⁹⁴ Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, *Everglades-Big Cypress National Recreation Area Part 2*, 29, 42.

⁹⁵ Robert O. Vernon, Director, Division of Interior Resources, to The Honorable Reubin O’D. Askew, Governor, 15 June 1972, File Big Cypress, Box 3, S949, FSA.

⁹⁶ Quotation in “Second Look at Big Cypress Bill,” *Fort Myers News-Press*, 6 June 1972.

⁹⁷ Harry A. Kersey, Jr., “The East Big Cypress Case, 1948-1987: Environmental Politics, Law, and Florida Seminole Tribal Sovereignty,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (April 1991): 458-459. In 1984, this state reservation became a federal Indian reservation held in trust by the United States. See Hobbs, Straus, Dean & Wilder to Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida, 20 March 1989, File Indian Affairs Miccosukee Research 94, Box 22792, SFWMDAR.

⁹⁸ “Seminole Ask Exemption of Lands in Swamp Deal,” unidentified newspaper clipping in Folder Legislation Big Cypress, 1972-1973, Box 20, Graham Papers.

⁹⁹ Quotations in Senate, *Establishing the Big Cypress National Preserve, Florida*, 93d Cong., 2d sess., 1974, S. Rept. 93-1128, Serial 13057-7, 7; see also Act of 11 October 1974 (88 Stat. 1258).

¹⁰⁰ Jones interview, 20.

¹⁰¹ Quotation in “Big Cypress Conservation Act,” copy in File Legislation Big Cypress Conservation Act 1973, Box 21, Graham Papers; see also “Big Cypress Eminent Domain Bill Filed,” *Orlando Sentinel-Star*, 13 April 1973;

Chapter Five Endnotes (continued)

“Senator Proposes State Preserve Big Cypress Area,” *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, 6 March 1973; “Memorandum for Record,” 13 March 1973, File Legislation Big Cypress 1972-1973, Box 20, Graham Papers; Senator D. Robert Graham Press Release, n.d., *ibid.*; “Big Cypress Act Defended,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, 10 November 1973; Carter, *The Florida Experience*, 246-247.

¹⁰² Jones interview, 20.

¹⁰³ Quotation in House, *Establishing the Big Cypress National Preserve in the State of Florida, and for Other Purposes*, 93d Cong., 1st sess., 1973, H. Rept. 93-502, Serial 13020-5, 6-7; see also “State and Federal Efforts to Preserve the Big Cypress Swamp,” *Tropical Audubon Bulletin*, n.d., copy in File Legislation Big Cypress—Area of Critical Concern 1973-1974, Box 20, Graham Papers.

¹⁰⁴ Jones interview, 20.

¹⁰⁵ Senate, *Establishing the Big Cypress National Preserve, Florida*, 93d Cong., 2d sess., 1974, S. Rept. 93-1128, Serial 13057-7, 7.

¹⁰⁶ Act of 11 October 1974 (88 Stat. 1258); Blake, *Land Into Water*, 234.

¹⁰⁷ Quotation in George E. Buker, *The Third E: A History of the Jacksonville District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1975-1998* (Jacksonville, Fla.: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1998); see also Stine, “Environmental Politics and Water Resources Development,” 39-40, 51.

¹⁰⁸ Quotations in Jeffrey K. Stine, “Regulating Wetlands in the 1970s: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Environmental Organizations,” *Journal of Forest History* 27 (April 1983): 71; see also Stine, “Environmental Politics and Water Resources Development,” 147-157.