

Final
**SPECIAL RESOURCE STUDY and
ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENT**
May 2006

FORT KING NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK

Ocala, Marion County, Florida

New areas are typically added to the National Park System by an Act of Congress. However, before Congress decides to create a new park it needs to know whether the area's resources meet established criteria for designation. The NPS is often tasked by Congress to evaluate potential new areas for compliance with these criteria and document its findings in a Special Resource Study (SRS). Congress directed the NPS to prepare a SRS for Fort King, a Second Seminole War site in Ocala, Florida in 2000 (Public Law 106-113 Appendix C §326).

A SRS serves as one of many reference sources for members of Congress, the NPS, and other persons interested in the potential designation of an area as a new unit of the National Park System. Readers should be aware that the recommendations or analysis contained in this SRS do not guarantee the future funding, support, or any subsequent action by Congress, the Department of the Interior, or the NPS. Because a SRS is not a decision making document, it does not identify a preferred NPS course of action. However, NPS Policy (§4.4 NPS DO-12) requires that each SRS include an Environmental Impact Statement and identify an environmentally preferred alternative (§2.7D NPS DO-12). In addition, the 1998 Omnibus Parks Management Act (Public Law 105-391 §303) mandates that each SRS identify the alternative or combination of alternatives which would, in the professional judgment of the Director of the National Park Service, be "most effective and efficient" in protecting significant resources and providing for public enjoyment.

Three alternative management approaches and a No Action alternative are analyzed in the document.

Alternative A: Alternative A is the No Action alternative and describes a future condition which might reasonably result from the continuation of current management practices. Under Alternative A, the Fort King site would remain predominantly undeveloped, public access would be restricted, and the site's archeological resources would be protected and preserved in an undisturbed condition.

Alternative B: Alternative B highlights the site's archeological resources by preserving and interpreting them in-situ. The alternative takes a conservative approach to site development that favors a simple and low cost implementation strategy. Alternative B is identified as the environmentally preferred and the most effective and efficient alternative.

Alternative C: Alternative C highlights a combination of archeological and historic themes. Existing site infrastructure is used as a base to quickly and efficiently provide public access and interpretive services. The alternative favors a development strategy that builds upon a modest initial investment that can be expanded over time as additional funding and resources are secured.

Alternative D: Alternative D highlights Fort King's strong association with nationally significant historical events and interpretive themes. The alternative takes an ambitious approach to site development. Its initial investment in cultural landscape rehabilitation and contemporary visitor service infrastructure is intended to quickly establish the name recognition and credibility needed to attract higher profile partners and compete for private and public financing.

Potential environmental impacts that would result from implementation of the above alternatives are addressed in the document.

Comments about this document should be sent to:

U.S. Mail: National Park Service, Southeast Region
Attn: Tim Bemisderfer / Fort King SRS
100 Alabama Street, 6th Floor, 1924 Building
Atlanta, GA 30303

Email: tim_bemisderfer@nps.gov

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Purpose of Study

Congress periodically adds park units to the National Park System to reflect new understandings of natural systems, changing patterns of recreation, and the progression of history. In order to fully consider the merits of a potential addition, Congress requires specific information about the area and its resources. To acquire this information, Congress may direct the National Park Service (NPS) to analyze the site and document its findings in a Special Resource Study (SRS). Congress directed the NPS to prepare a SRS for Fort King, a Second Seminole War site in Ocala, Florida in 2000 (Public Law 106-113 Appendix C §326).

A SRS serves as only one of many reference sources available to members of Congress, the NPS, and other persons interested in the potential designation of an area as a new unit of the National Park System. Because a SRS is not a decision making document, it does not identify a preferred NPS course of action. However, NPS Policy (§4.4 NPS DO-12) requires that each SRS include an Environmental Impact Statement and identify an environmentally preferred alternative (§2.7D NPS DO-12). In addition, the 1998 Omnibus Parks Management Act (Public Law 105-391 §303) mandates that each SRS identify the alternative or combination of alternatives which would, in the professional judgment of the Director of the National Park Service, be “most effective and efficient” in protecting significant resources and providing for public enjoyment.

Readers should be aware that the recommendations and analysis contained in this SRS do not guarantee the future funding, support, or any subsequent action by Congress, the Department of the Interior, or the NPS. Identification of an environmentally preferred and most effective and efficient alternative should not be viewed as a positive or negative recommendation by the NPS for any future management strategy or action.

Historical Background

Fort King was originally constructed to support Federal troops enforcing conditions of the 1823 Treaty of Moultrie Creek which restricted Florida Indians to reservation lands and prohibited all but authorized persons from entering them. Initially considered a temporary military post, it was often referred to as “Camp” King or “Cantonment” King during the early years of its existence. Cantonment King began as an

irregularly shaped 20-foot tall pine and cypress log stockade. A number of additional structures were constructed both inside and outside the stockade wall between March 1827 and July 1829. Federal troops abandoned the site in 1829 when Major General Winfield Scott determined that supplying the fort overland from Fort Brooke near Tampa Bay was too costly.

With passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, U.S. policy concerning American Indians living east of the Mississippi changed from containment to one of forced removal. The controversial signing of the Treaty of Payne’s Landing in 1832 provided the U.S. government with the justification it sought to permanently remove the Seminoles from their Florida lands. “Fort” King was reactivated as a military post in 1832 to facilitate removal of the Seminoles to western reservations as stipulated in the treaty.

On December 28, 1835 a band of Seminoles led by Osceola attacked and killed the Seminole Indian Agent Wiley Thompson and several others at Fort King. Simultaneously, a force of Seminoles and Black Seminoles attacked 100 Federal troops making their way to Fort King from Fort Brooke. Only two soldiers survived the attack. Most scholars consider these two events as the beginning of the Second Seminole War.

The U.S. military abandoned Fort King for a second time in May 1836 and the unoccupied facility was burned by the Seminoles two months later. Federal troops reoccupied the site and rebuilt the fort in April 1837. The new Fort King included a square shaped stockade with two diagonally placed blockhouses and a two-story barracks. Several additional buildings were constructed outside the stockade over time.

Nearly 1,500 U.S. soldiers were killed and an estimated \$30 to \$40 million in expense and property damage incurred by the U.S. Government during the Second Seminole War. Battles between Federal troops and Seminole warriors continued until 1842 when a truce was declared. No peace treaty with the Seminoles was ever signed. In the end, more than 4,000 Seminoles and Black Seminoles were removed west of the Mississippi. Approximately 600 Seminoles avoided removal by strategically retreating into the wetland areas of southern Florida.

Fort King played an important military role throughout the Second Seminole War by serving as a council site for negotiations between Seminoles and the U.S. Government and as headquarters for the U.S. Army of the South. In 1843, the fort was abandoned for the last

time by the military but continued in civilian use as the county seat for the newly created Marion County. In 1846, the seat of government was relocated to the nearby City of Ocala. No longer needed for military or civilian purposes, Fort King's structures were dismantled and sold as building materials and its property returned to the state for sale to private citizens.

Analysis of National Significance, Suitability, and Feasibility

Analysis of National Significance

By law (Public Law 91-383 §8 as amended by §303 of the National Parks Omnibus Management Act (Public Law 105-391)) and NPS Policy (NPS Management Policies 2001§1.2) potential new units of the National Park System must meet established criteria for national significance, suitability, and feasibility to be eligible for consideration.

By virtue of its designation as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 2004, the resources at Fort King have already been acknowledged by the NPS as nationally significant.

Analysis of Suitability

To be suitable as a new unit, an area must represent a natural or cultural theme or type of recreational resource that is not already adequately represented in the National Park System or is not comparably represented or protected for public enjoyment by another land managing entity.

Following a comprehensive comparison of the site to other NHL properties, sites related to the Second Seminole War, and sites related to the life of Osceola, it was determined that the interpretive themes present at Fort King are underrepresented in the National Park System, especially when considered in combination with the site's extensive archeological resource base.

Analysis of Feasibility

To be feasible as a new unit, an area's natural systems and/or historic settings must be of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure long-term protection of resources and be able to accommodate public use.

A comprehensive site analysis conducted by the NPS did not uncover issues related to landownership, political or community support, acquisition costs, threats to the resource, potential access, property size, or configuration that would disqualify the site from further consideration as a national park unit.

Alternatives for Management

Alternatives for management further explore the feasibility of a potential new area by identifying possible managers other than the NPS, partnership opportunities, staff or development requirements, and costs associated with operating a national park unit at the site. In consultation with other federal agencies, State and local governments, tribal governments, non-governmental and civic organizations, potential park neighbors, and the general public the NPS developed and analyzed three action and one No Action alternatives.

Alternative A

Alternative A is the No Action alternative and describes a future condition which might reasonably result from the continuation of current management practices. Under Alternative A, the Fort King site would remain predominantly undeveloped, public access would be restricted, and the site's archeological resources would be protected and preserved in an undisturbed condition. The site would not be included in the National Park System.

Alternative B

Alternative B highlights the site's archeological resources by preserving and interpreting them in-situ. The alternative takes a conservative approach to site development that favors a simple and low cost implementation strategy.

Alternative C

Alternative C highlights a combination of archeological and historic themes. Existing site infrastructure is used as a base to quickly and efficiently provide public access and interpretive services. The alternative favors a development strategy that builds upon a modest initial investment and can be expanded over time as additional funding and resources are secured.

Alternative D

Alternative D highlights Fort King's strong association with nationally significant historical events and interpretive themes. The alternative takes an ambitious approach to site development. Its initial investment in cultural landscape rehabilitation and contemporary visitor service infrastructure is intended to quickly establish the name recognition and credibility to attract higher profile partners and compete for private and public financing.

A detailed discussion of management alternatives is presented in Chapter Three.

Alternatives considered but rejected

Three management approaches were formulated early in the planning process, evaluated, and subsequently rejected from further consideration. The principle reasons for their rejection are described below:

Management by the NPS

While technically possible to accomplish, management of the Fort King site by the NPS was not considered feasible in light of current budgetary constraints and other NPS priorities.

Management by the Florida Park Service

Upon consulting with the Florida Park Service, creating a state park at Fort King was determined not feasible in light of current budgetary constraints and the state's prior commitment to other high priority park projects.

National Heritage Area

Creation of a National Heritage Area was considered not feasible because of the incomplete documentation of historic and archeological resources at other Second Seminole War sites in Florida and the perceived difficulty organizing and managing a partnership among the myriad of potential government, tribal, and private partners/owners.

Environmentally Preferred Alternative

The environmentally preferred alternative is determined by applying criteria set forth in NEPA, as guided by direction from the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ). The CEQ has stated that the environmentally preferred alternative is the alternative that will promote the national environmental policy as expressed in NEPA, Section 101. This includes alternatives that:

- Fulfill the responsibilities of each generation as trustee of the environment for succeeding generations
- Assure for all generations safe, healthful, productive, and esthetically and culturally pleasing surroundings
- Attain the widest range of beneficial uses of the environment without degradation, risk of health or safety, or other undesirable and unintended consequences
- Preserve important historic, cultural, and natural aspects of our national heritage and maintain, wherever possible, an environment that supports diversity and variety of individual choice
- Achieve a balance between population and resource use that will permit high standards of living and a wide sharing of life's amenities
- Enhance the quality of renewable resources and approach the maximum attainable recycling of depletable resources

Because the site is already largely in public ownership or otherwise protected from incompatible development, each of the alternatives would fulfill the responsibilities of this generation as trustee of the site for succeeding generations. Similarly, the other goals listed would be satisfied, to a slightly greater or lesser degree by each of the alternatives. However, because the implementation of Alternative B would require substantially less grading and vegetation removal than the other action alternatives and, in theory, disturb fewer archeological artifacts, it has been designated as the environmentally preferred alternative.

Most Effective and Efficient Alternative

The 1998 Omnibus Parks Management Act (Public Law 105-391 §303) mandates that each SRS identify the alternative or combination of alternatives which would, in the professional judgment of the Director of the National Park Service, be "most effective and efficient" in protecting significant resources and providing for public enjoyment.

For the purposes of this study, effectiveness and efficiency are defined as the capability to produce desired results with a minimum expenditure of energy, time, money, or materials. A comparison of costs associated with each alternative indicates that Alternative B would require the least expenditure of energy, time, money, and materials. Based on this reasoning, Alternative B is identified as the most effective and efficient.

Potential Environmental Impacts Associated with the Alternatives

Potential Impacts to Cultural Resources

Alternative A: Impacts would be minor, long-term, and potentially adverse. Limited funding would be available for archeological work and there would be no on-site management facilities or staff.

Alternative B: Impacts would be minor, long-term, and potentially adverse or beneficial, depending on the availability of funding and location of buried archeological resources. No full time staff would be available to monitor site resources but the presence of visitors alone could serve to deter daytime looters. The volume of earth moving associated with the construction of site infrastructure poses a greater risk of disturbing unknown archeological remains than Alternative A but less than Alternatives C and D. The site would be eligible to receive assistance and/or federal funding for archeological investigations. Archeological studies could be conducted as funding and state policy allows.

Alternative C: Impacts would be moderate, long-term, and potentially adverse or beneficial, depending on the

availability of funding and location of buried archeological resources. A small professional interpretive staff, together with increased site visitation, would result in more efficient monitoring of site resources than would be likely under alternatives A and B. The volume of earth moving associated with the construction of site infrastructure poses a greater risk of disturbing unknown archeological remains than Alternative A and B but less than Alternative D. Technical assistance may be available from NPS to guide the care of artifacts, which would be stored at an off-site facility. Archeological studies could be conducted as funding and state policy allows.

Alternative D: Impacts would be moderate, long-term, and potentially adverse or beneficial depending on availability of funding and location of buried archeological resources. The volume of earth moving associated with the construction of site infrastructure poses a greater risk of disturbing unknown archeological remains than Alternatives A, B, and C.

Site development and management would be guided by a master plan prepared on behalf of the City of Ocala and Marion County, who would retain ownership of the majority of the tract. A full-time trained staff and increased site visitation would reduce risk of loss or damage to site resources. Archeological studies could be conducted as funding and state policy allows.

Potential Impacts to Natural Resources

Alternative A: Impacts would be minor to moderate, long-term, and potentially adverse. Limited conservation of natural resources would occur. The Fort King site would be vulnerable to invasion by non-native species. No effort would be made to rehabilitate the site's original plant communities to a condition similar to how they existed during the Seminole wars.

Alternative B: Impacts would be minor to moderate, long-term, and potentially adverse. Only limited conservation of natural resources would occur, with emphasis placed instead on assuring safe encounters by the public with plants and animals. Some soils, vegetation, and wildlife would be disturbed by new site facilities. Some efforts would be made to combat invasions by non-native species, with impacts that would be long-term, moderate, and beneficial.

Alternative C: Impacts would be minor to moderate, long-term, and both adverse and beneficial. Most new developments would occur in areas of existing disturbance, but some natural resources would be displaced or destroyed by construction of new facilities. A 100-foot diameter area would be cleared of trees and other large woody vegetation at the fort's historic location. Efforts would be made to combat invasion of the site by non-native species.

Alternative D: Impacts would be minor to moderate, long-term, and both adverse and beneficial. Conservation of natural resources would be monitored by on-site staff. The site's master plan could call for rehabilitation of the site's plant communities to a condition similar to the time of the Seminole wars. Site managers would systematically remove non-native species from the buffer area around the fort location. More extensive site development would occur under this alternative than alternatives B and C, resulting in more loss or damage to natural resources. Twice as much disturbance of vegetation would occur near the fort's historic location than under Alternative C.

Potential Impacts to Visitor Use and Experience

Alternative A: Impacts would be negligible. The DAR monument site and the surrounding area would remain available for public visitation, as would the existing wayside exhibit. Access to the remainder of the site would remain restricted. Opportunities for meaningful interpretation of the site would be very limited.

Alternative B: Impacts would be moderate, long-term, and beneficial. The DAR monument would be complemented over time by new, basic visitor facilities, such as self-guided interpretive trails, wayside exhibits, and brochures. Active interpretation of the site would be conducted by volunteers as demand warrants.

Alternative C: Impacts would be moderate to major, long-term, and beneficial. Local site managers, in conjunction with a professional consultant, would develop a park master plan for the site. Existing structures would be renovated and re-used for visitor use and site administration.

Alternative D: Impacts would be major, long-term, and beneficial. The DAR monument would remain in place, and would be supplemented by self-guided interpretive trails, wayside exhibits, and brochures. A visitor center/museum facility would be constructed to interpret the site and house artifacts. Interpretation of the site would be conducted by trained staff members, in consultation with federally recognized American Indian tribes and other culturally associated groups.

Potential Impacts to Facilities, Operations, and Administration

Alternative A: Impacts would be negligible. No facilities would be constructed, and visitor access to the site would be restricted, except for the area around the DAR monument. No staff dedicated solely to management of the site would be hired.

Alternative B: Impacts would be long-term, moderate and beneficial. Day-to-day operation of the site would be largely overseen by volunteers; no staff dedicated solely to management of the site would be hired.

Limited facilities and opportunities for site visitors would be provided.

Alternative C: Impacts would be moderate to major, long term, and beneficial. The existing residence would be renovated for use as a visitor contact station and administration building. Trails and other visitor service facilities would be installed. A small professional interpretive staff would handle routine site operations.

Alternative D: Impacts would be major, long term, and beneficial. A new visitor center/administration building and other constructed facilities would allow improved site administration. The site would be managed by a management entity funded from local sources. This alternative would be the costliest to implement.

Potential Impacts to Socioeconomic Conditions

Alternative A: Impacts would be negligible. Opportunities for promoting the site would not be pursued and possible increases in tourism and associated economic benefits would not be realized. Visitation to the site would not increase by much, if at all. Maintaining current traffic levels might be perceived as a benefit by some residents of neighboring subdivisions.

Alternative B: Impacts would be negligible to minor, long-term, and beneficial. The site would remain a fundamentally local attraction having relatively few visitor services, with correspondingly small direct and indirect economic impacts. Traffic would increase slightly from current levels. Noise levels would increase somewhat during the day due to visitor use.

Alternative C: Impacts would be moderate to major, long-term, and beneficial. Having more development and a permanent staff, the site would likely attract larger numbers of long-distance travelers than it would under alternatives A and B, with correspondingly greater economic benefits. Site development and costs of annual operation would be borne primarily by local governments and/or a designated local entity. Traffic and noise levels would increase more than under Alternative B.

Alternative D: Impacts would be moderate to major, long-term, and beneficial. As an intensively managed historical site, Fort King would likely attract more regional and national attention than it would under the other alternatives, thereby generating greater economic benefits. On the other hand, site operations and maintenance costs would be correspondingly higher. Site development would most likely entail partnerships between and among local government, Indian tribes, and organizations. Traffic and noise levels would increase more than under alternatives B and C.

A detailed discussion of potential environmental impacts associated with the Action and No Action alternatives is presented in Chapters Four and Five.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract, 1

Executive Summary, 3

Introduction, 11

Site Overview

Historical Context

Chapter One: Purpose and Need for Study, 27

Chapter Overview

Purpose and Need for Study

Study Methodology

Study Limitations and Recommendations

Future Considerations

Chapter Two: Evaluation of National Significance, Suitability, and Feasibility, 31

Chapter Overview

Evaluation of National Significance

Evaluation of Suitability

Evaluation of Feasibility

Chapter Three: Alternatives for Management, 45

Chapter Overview

Description of Alternative A: No Action Alternative

Description of Alternative B

Description of Alternative C

Description of Alternative D

Summary and Comparison

Environmentally Preferred Alternative

Most Effective and Efficient Alternative

Chapter Four: Affected Environment, 63

Chapter Overview

Mandatory Environmental Impact Topics

Description of Existing Conditions

Chapter Five: Environmental Consequences, 71

Chapter Overview

Assessment Methodology

Impact Types

Impacts of Alternative A: No Action Alternative

Impacts of Alternative B

Impacts of Alternative C

Impacts of Alternative D

Chapter Six: Consultation and Coordination, 79

Chapter Overview

History of Public Involvement

Public Review and Comment Period for FSRS/EIS

NPS Policy on Disclosure and Anonymity

Distribution of Draft Document

Preparers and NPS Planning Team Personnel

Appendix A: Comments from Government Agencies, 85

Glossary, 97

References, 101

Index, 107

Images, Illustrations, and Tables

Figure 1. Region and Vicinity, 12

Figure 2. Properties Comprising the Fort King Site, 13

Figure 3. 1839 Sketch of Fort King by Lt. John T. Sprague, 23

Figure 4a. Historical Locations of Other Second Seminole War Sites in Florida, 36

Figure 4b. Condition of Known Second Seminole War Sites in Florida, 36

Figure 5. Alternative A – No Action, 46

Figure 6. Hypothetical Schematic Design for Alternative B, 48

Figure 7. Cost Tables and Phasing Plan for Alternative B, 49

Figure 8. Hypothetical Schematic Design for Alternative C, 52

Figure 9. Cost Tables and Phasing Plan for Alternative C, 53

Figure 10. Hypothetical Schematic Design for Alternative D, 57

Figure 11. Cost Tables and Phasing Plan for Alternative D, 58

Figure 12. Comparison of Alternative Highlights, 59

Figure 13. Summary of Potential Environmental Impacts, 60-61

Figure 14. Impact Threshold Definitions, 72-73

INTRODUCTION

Site Overview

New areas are typically added to the National Park System by an Act of Congress. However, before Congress decides to create a new park it needs to know whether the area's resources meet established criteria for designation. The NPS is often directed by Congress to evaluate potential new areas for compliance with these criteria and document its findings in a Special Resource Study (SRS). Congress directed the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a SRS for the Fort King site in Public Law 106-113 Appendix C §326.

Designated a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 2004, Fort King has unique and significant historical associations with the Second Seminole War, an event of national importance known to few Americans.

The Fort King site is located in the City of Ocala in Marion County, Florida (Figure 1). Although no above ground remnants are extant, many natural features associated with the site's historic landscape: the sandy hill upon which the fort's stockade was built, the nearby spring that supplied water for its troops, and the woods surrounding the fort stockade are present.

The 37-acre area composing the NHL is made up of three contiguous tracts of land (Figure 2). The principal tract, known as the McCall Tract, contains approximately 22 acres and is owned jointly by Marion County and the City of Ocala. The North Tract is approximately 14 acres in size and owned by Marion County. A one acre tract is owned by the Ocala Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR).

Used on and off for agriculture since its military occupation, none of the three tracts has been actively farmed for over 30 years. While the top layer of soil has suffered somewhat from erosion and past agricultural practices, limited excavations and systematic shovel testing confirm that archeological components associated with Fort King are still preserved below the plow zone.

Fort King has been the focus of historic preservation interest since 1927 when the DAR acquired property to construct a memorial to those who died during the Second Seminole War. In 1937, the fort site was recognized in a historic site inventory conducted by the Florida Works Progress Administration (WPA 1937) as "the most important of the Military Posts maintained during the War with the Seminoles." A state-wide effort to place the two largest tracts on the National Register of Historic Places was initiated in the 1980s but failed when mutually agreeable terms could not be negotiated among the interested parties.

The tract on which the archeological remains of Fort King are located was purchased in 1952 by the Catherine McCall family. The family constructed a modest brick home and several outbuildings but left the majority of the tract undeveloped. Recognizing its historic value, the McCalls granted permission for the first of five archeological surveys of the site in 1953. Subsequent studies were conducted in 1989, 1991, 1994, and 1998.

The North Tract was purchased by Marion County in 1991. The McCall property was jointly purchased by Marion County and the City of Ocala in 2001. The City of Ocala currently provides maintenance services for all three tracts under the terms of a cooperative agreement.

Historical Context

Of all American Indian Tribes subjected to forced removal, the Seminole Indians put up the fiercest resistance. The Second Seminole War was the longest and most expensive Indian war involving the U.S. (Hunt and Piatek 1989:1). In fact, the only U.S. military conflict lasting longer was the Vietnam War (Brown 1983:454).

The Second Seminole War cost the U.S. Government and American settlers \$30 to \$40 million in expense and property damage. American deaths numbered 1,466 regulars, 55 militiamen, and almost 100 civilians. Most of the deaths, especially for combatants, resulted from disease and other hardships rather than wounds suffered in battle. In the end, more than 4,000 Seminoles and Black Seminoles were removed west of the Mississippi. Approximately 600 Seminoles avoided removal by strategically retreating into the wetland areas of southern Florida.

The following section presents an overview of Fort King's association with events and persons significant in U.S. history. The overview draws heavily from the Fort King NHL Nomination (Pepe 2003).

American Indian Removal Policies and Jacksonian Democracy

The idea of "Indian Removal," the transference of American Indians to remote territories or areas outside the borders of the United States can be traced back to the beginning of the nation. Early U.S. leaders viewed native presence within the bounds of the new nation as a military threat that might be exploited by foreign governments. They also desired possession of native lands for settlement and industry.

As early as the presidency of George Washington, there was talk of creating a "Chinese wall" to keep the

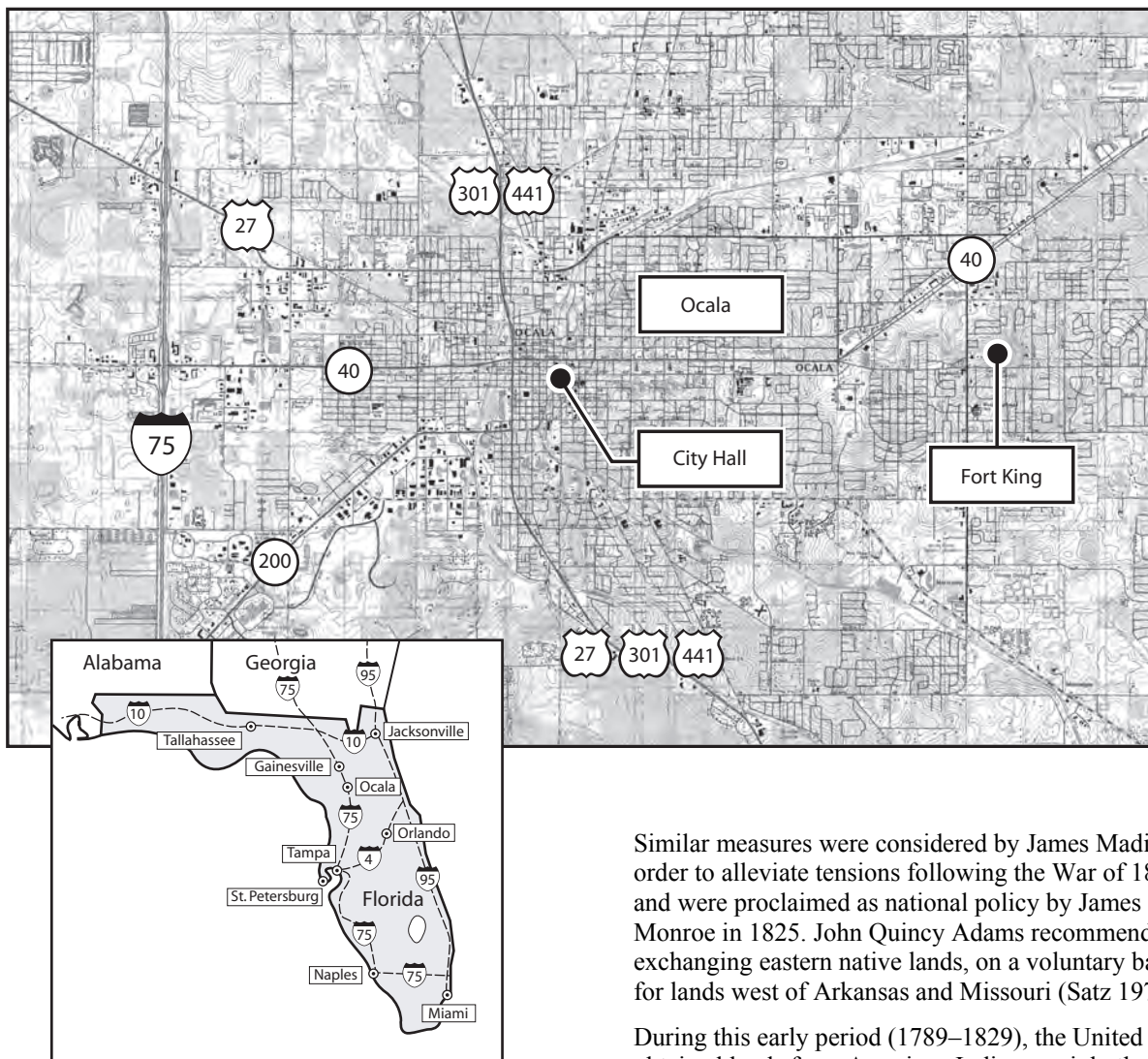


Figure 1. Region and Vicinity

American Indians and their new Anglo American neighbors separate. Thomas Jefferson used tribal treaties as a means to provide land for the expansion of American frontiers as well as to separate the Indians from contact with British and Spanish influences in Florida and Louisiana (Clark and Guice 1989:31, 32, 36). After the purchase of Louisiana from France, Jefferson hoped that a portion of it could be used to lure American Indians from lands further East (Binder 1968; Satz 1975). To encourage such migration, he supported the use of government-sponsored trading factories in native lands to encourage debt among them “beyond their individual means of paying” because, “whenever in that situation, they will always cede lands to rid themselves of debt (Bergh 1907:349-350).”

Similar measures were considered by James Madison in order to alleviate tensions following the War of 1812 and were proclaimed as national policy by James Monroe in 1825. John Quincy Adams recommended exchanging eastern native lands, on a voluntary basis, for lands west of Arkansas and Missouri (Satz 1975).

During this early period (1789–1829), the United States obtained lands from American Indians mainly through treaties. These treaties were brokered through various combinations of bribery, deception, threats of force, and actual force. By acknowledging tribal sovereignty the U.S. government was able to justify dispossessing them of their lands through formal purchase or trade. Thus, in theory, the public’s demand for native land was placated in ways that did not impugn the honor of the nation.

Initially, American Indians generally did respond to increasing American movement west by moving further west themselves. This helped to justify one of the main assumptions of American Indian policy at this time – “that the eastern tribes would continue to relinquish their land at approximately the same rate that whites demanded it (Satz 1975:2).” However, by the 1820s the Cherokees and other tribes, especially from the southeast, began to assert that tribal sovereignty also gave them the right to stay in their homelands without

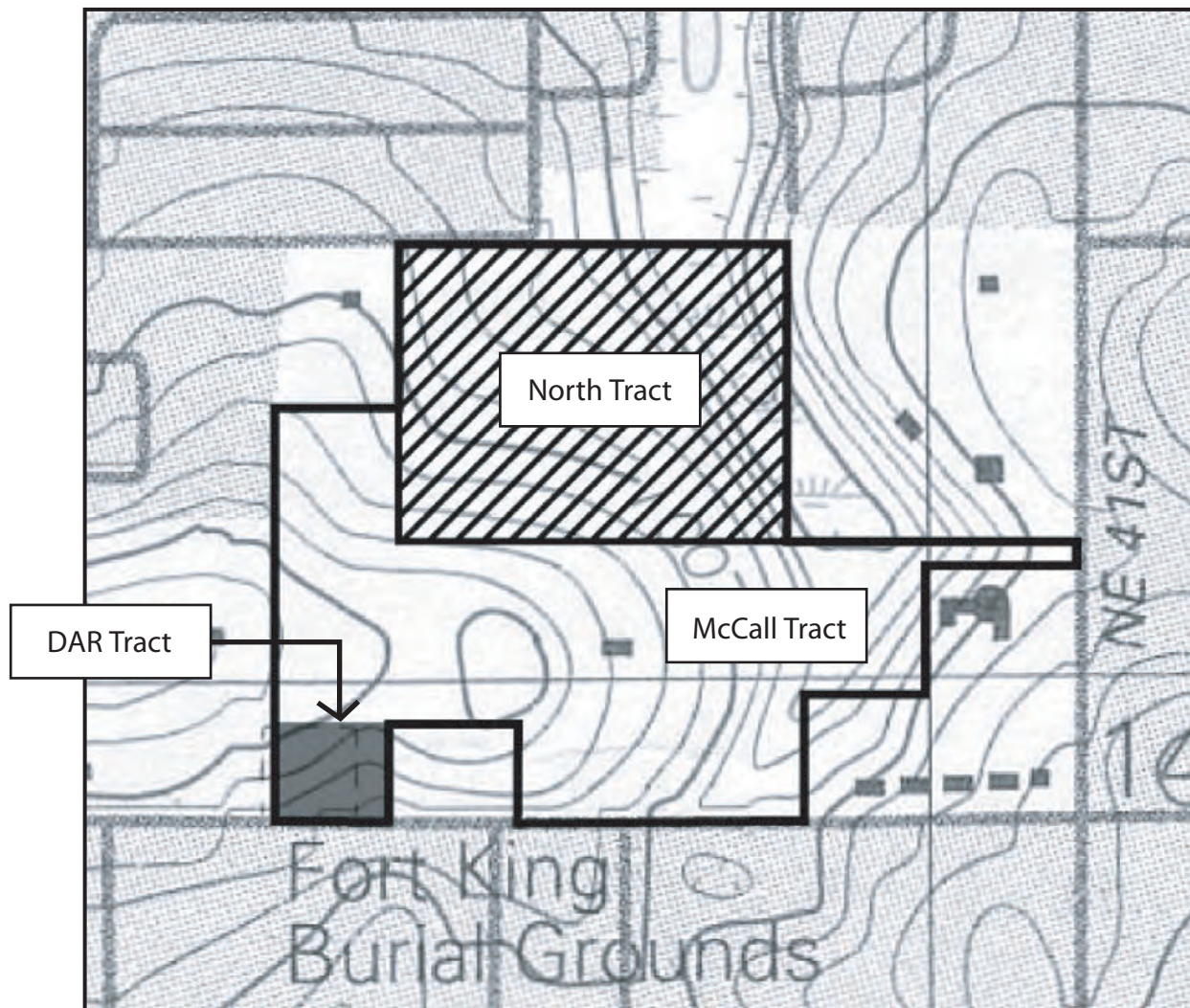


Figure 2. Properties Comprising the Fort King Site

ceding further lands to the United States. Although this position received great sympathy and support from many U.S. citizens, particularly in New York and New England, overall, public support was mainly on the side of Indian removal (Satz 1975).

After Andrew Jackson's victory in the election of 1828, he moved quickly to make good on his campaign pledge to remove eastern tribes to lands west of the Mississippi River. To this end, Jackson and his supporters made passage of the Indian Removal Act one of their top priorities. The Removal Act, signed into law by the president on May 28, 1830, provided congressional sanction and the necessary funds to carry out his relocation plan.

The Jackson administration immediately negotiated a removal treaty with the Choctaws, the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, and then turned its attention to

other eastern tribes. By the end of Jackson's second term, the United States had ratified nearly 70 removal treaties and acquired approximately 100 million acres of native land in exchange for approximately 32 million acres of land west of the Mississippi. Most tribes removed fairly peacefully, usually after intense negotiations, but the Seminoles of Florida were a notable exception (Satz 1975).

The Origins of the Seminoles

It is estimated that the native Florida aboriginal groups had been almost completely exterminated as a result of disease, British sponsored slave raids, and outright warfare with Creek and Yamasee Indians by 1710. The most damaging blow to aboriginal groups was destruction of the Spanish mission system in 1704 by Creek warriors and a small group of British colonists

led by Colonel James Moore, Governor of South Carolina (Swanton 1922; Hann 1988).

Realizing that almost all of Florida outside the walls of St. Augustine was virtually deserted, and therefore indefensible, the Spanish persuaded groups of mostly Lower Creeks to migrate into northern and central Florida. By 1765, many of these new settlers were considering themselves as a separate people from their relatives and ancestors outside Florida. Apparently, European colonists had also come to recognize them as independent and began to use the term “Seminole” to describe them. This term was a Muskogee word, *simanó-li*, taken originally from the Spanish word, *cimarrón*, for “wild” or “runaway” (Sturtevant 1971:100-105).

On March 27, 1814, the Second Creek War (1813–1814) in Alabama Territory was brought to an end with General Andrew Jackson’s crushing defeat of the Red Stick Creeks at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. On August 9, 1814, Jackson imposed the severe Treaty of Fort Jackson on the Creeks, which forced them to cede two-thirds of their land. The most militant surviving Creeks chose to “redeploy” in the territory of Florida. By the early 1820s, nearly two-thirds of the native Florida population consisted of recent refugees from the Creek War who had merged with the original Seminoles (Mahon 1985:6-7; Steele in Pepe, Steele and Carr 1998:51-52).

The events of the First Seminole War (1816–1818) made it clear that the American Indians residing in Florida were no longer allied to their Creek relations still residing mostly in Alabama. During this conflict, “friendly” Creeks joined with American troops under the command of General Andrew Jackson in a campaign against Seminoles, Red Sticks, and Blacks in northern Florida (Covington 1993:41-49). The war resulted in the transfer of Florida from Spain to the United States in 1821 and the appointment of Andrew Jackson as the first Territorial Governor. Almost immediately after becoming a U.S. Territory, the U.S. began negotiating with the Florida Indians as Seminoles and a group separate from the Creeks (Sturtevant 1971:107).

The Treaty of Moultrie Creek

Recognizing the threat that a militant native population posed to American settlement, William Duval, Florida’s second Territorial Governor (1822–1834), was the first public official to suggest removing the Seminoles west of the Mississippi. President Monroe agreed, although he suggested the possibility of confining the Seminoles to a smaller area within Florida as an alternative. The result was a council held at Moultrie Creek, near St. Augustine, in September 1823 between the Seminoles and agents appointed by Monroe’s Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun.

The Treaty of Moultrie Creek stipulated that in return for relinquishing almost 24 million acres of land, “that the government could sell at \$1.25 an acre, the Seminoles received moving expenses; an annuity of \$5,000 for twenty years; food for a year; payment for improvements left behind in northern Florida; provision for a school, [a] blacksmith, and gunsmith; farming implements; livestock; and employment of an agent, subagent, and interpreter” (Covington 1993:52, 53). The treaty also created several reservations for the Florida Indians and prohibited all but authorized non-Indians from entering them.

A number of small, northern reservations were located on the Apalachicola River and reserved mostly for the Lower Creek bands who aided Jackson in the First Seminole and Creek Wars. A southern reservation consisting of approximately 4 million acres was also established in central Florida. This reservation, although much larger than the Apalachicola reservations, contained some of the worst land in Florida (Mahon 1985:29-50; Covington 1993:50-60; Steele in Pepe, Steele and Carr 1998:54; Hellmann and Prentice 2000). By design, the borders of the southern reservation were created with the intent of cutting off Seminole access to the Gulf and Atlantic coasts.

After surveying the reservation in January 1826, Governor Duval admitted that: “the best of the Indian Lands are worth but little: nineteen twentieths of their whole country is by far the poorest and most miserable region I have ever beheld” (Lowerie and Franklin 1834:663-664). By January 1827, Oren Marsh, a member of a party appointed by Duval to evaluate Seminole improvements (Covington 1993:57), reported about life on the reservation:

The situation of these people is truly deplorable at present, in consequence of the loss of their crops last season, and the difficulty of obtaining their natural means of subsistence: game, of every description, it is very difficult to be found in the nation...

...The Chiefs of the Nation are also, particularly distressed at this time, on account of the disobedience of a great portion of the Mickasukee tribe, who have been absent from the nation nearly a year, and who seem determined not to return to their limits; several of the emigrant Chiefs (but not those of the Mickasukee tribe), have been traveling night and day, in search of these abandoned wretches, for the purpose of persuading them to return, while their own families have been starving at home, but have not been able to succeed in getting any into the nation, or but a few of them (National Archives, Document 0019-0021).

Establishment of the Seminole Indian Agency and Cantonment King

Gad Humphreys, a Seminole ally, was appointed Indian Agent to the Seminoles in 1822 and directed to construct a Seminole Indian agency in the southern reservation at the “center of the Indian population where good land and water may be found” (Carter 1958). He did so in 1825 at a location somewhere in present-day, northeastern Ocala (Cubberly 1927:141-142; Mahon 1985:63; Hunt and Piatek 1991).

Almost from the beginning, companies of U.S. troops set up temporary posts near the agency to control increasing tensions between the Seminoles and American settlers (Mahon 1985:63-64). Cantonment King was constructed in 1827, approximately a mile or two from the agency in the northern portion of the main Seminole reservation (Mahon 1985:66). Colonel Duncan L. Clinch described the importance of Fort King’s location the year it was established:

From my knowledge of the Indian Character, I Consider this post of more importance, in Controlling (sic) the Indians, and in giving protection and Security to the inhabitants of Florida, than any other post in the Territory, as it is in the immediate vicinity of the largest number of the Florida Indians, and between them and the white inhabitants (Carter 1958:856-858).

Clinch’s concerns were well founded as hungry Seminoles dissatisfied with conditions in the main reservation were slow to relocate, and even more reluctant to stay within their new boundaries. Conflicts with American settlers were common and occasional killings were perpetrated by both groups.

Slavery in Florida

Over generations, Florida became a “haven for fugitive slaves, -- or maroons” (Rivers 2000:189) who had escaped from the southern slave states into Florida’s hinterlands. The growing number of African Americans associated with the Seminoles was a major reason for the “Patriot’s War” (1812–1816) in which Americans first attempted to wrest control of Florida from the Spanish partly by crushing Seminole support for escaped slaves (Davis 1930-1931:155; Klos 1995:128). The continued presence of Africans and African Americans among the Seminoles immediately following the Patriot’s War infuriated southerners and led directly to the First Seminole War (Klos 1995:128).

American settlement of the new Florida territory escalated the already significant tension between whites and Indians over the presence of escaped slaves there. Recognized for their fighting ability, political acumen, and knowledge of English, Spanish, and American cultures; African Americans living with the Seminoles were feared by white settlers who felt they might

inspire rebellion among their own slaves. In 1804, 51 % of the 4,445 inhabitants of East Florida were enslaved “negroes (Williams 1949: 96).” By 1830, there were 844 “free negroes” along with 15,501 enslaved “negroes” enumerated in the territorial population of 34,730 (Harper 1927 as cited in Williams 1949:101). The fact that the number of enslaved African Americans and Anglo Americans was approximately equal in the northern counties of Florida weighed heavily on the settlers’ sense of security and intensified their desire to conquer the Seminole and Black Seminoles before an insurrection could take hold (Williams 1949:96; Brown, personal communication 2005).

Contemporary researchers often disagree about the full extent of relations between Seminoles and African Americans in Seminole society. What is generally known is that many African Americans lived in small predominantly black communities and were closely associated with the Seminoles as vassals or slaves. Some African Americans held respected positions as interpreters or administrators and their niche or degree of influence within Seminole society is less clearly defined in the known historical record. Regardless of rank or status, it is certain that living conditions for African Americans associated with the Seminoles, even when enslaved, were much more tolerable than those imposed by whites in the U.S. -- a fact that made Black Seminoles staunch opponents of Indian removal.

White slave owners had hoped the acquisition of Florida would close access to “a trapdoor in the bottom of the nation through which they (escaped slaves) could drop out of Alabama and Georgia and land in freedom (Laumer 1995:15). However, by 1822, John R. Bell, Acting Agent for the Indians in Florida, estimated that there were at least 5,000 Seminole Indians in the territory along with approximately 300 Seminole slaves (Carter 1956:463-465). Throughout the next decade, southern slave-owners sent numerous complaints to Agent Gad Humphreys, Governor Duval, and several Secretaries of War and Presidents, claiming the presence of enslaved African American fugitives among the Seminoles (Hunt and Piatek 1991; Mahon 1985; Covington 1993; Klos 1995:140). The following proceeding of a meeting held by citizens of Alachua County on January 23, 1832 exemplifies the fears and complaints of southerners as a whole:

Whereas it having been ascertained that there are exceeding 1600 Warriors & over 1100 Slaves (belonging to the Indians) now residing in the Seminole Indian Nation many of whom are traversing the County adjoining the Northern Boundary of the Indian Nation and it having been estimated that there are a larger proportion of slaves than white persons owned by the citizens of said county residing within 30 miles of said

Northern Boundary, and Whereas an armed force is deemed requisite to protect the Citizens of said County from aggressions by the Indians or attempts of an insurrection among the slaves, in which case no assistance could readily be obtained from the two Companies stationed at Cantonment Brooke Tampa Bay owing to it being 112 miles distant from said Northern Boundary & 100 miles distant from the Seminole Agency.

Therefore Be it resolved that a Committee of three be appointed to draft a Memorial to the President of the United States respectfully requesting him to direct that a Company of U.S. Troops be ordered from Cantonment Brooke or some other station to Camp King near the Seminole Indian Agency (Carter 1959:643-644).

The Seminoles returned an ever increasing number of fugitive slaves to their purported masters during the 1820s. None the less, persistent claims by southern slave owners that they held back many more than were returned (Klos 1995:140) and the growing clamor over the slave issue in general eventually cost Seminole Agent Gad Humphreys his job. President Jackson, always sympathetic to southern complaints about Indians and fugitive enslaved African Americans, relieved him of the position in 1830 (Mahon 1985:70-71).

The Treaties of Payne's Landing and Fort Gibson

With the departure of Humphreys, the Seminoles lost their most effective American advocate. This was much to their misfortune, as deteriorating conditions within the main reservation forced an increasing number of Seminoles to venture outside its boundaries to supplement their declining life style. Not surprisingly, the number of violent confrontations between Indians and whites increased as resources within the reservation declined. The predicament facing the Seminoles was summarized well in 1832 by the Florida Legislative Council in a petition for their removal:

The Treaty of 1823 (Moultrie Creek) deprived them of their cultivated fields and of a region of country fruitful of game, and has placed them in a wilderness where the earth yields no corn, and where even the precarious advantages of the chase are in a great measure denied them.... They are thus left the wretched alternative of Starving within their limits, or roaming among the whites, to prey upon their cattle. Many in the Nation, it seems, annually die of Starvation; but as might be expected, the much greater proportion of those who are threatened with want, leave their boundaries in pursuit of the means of subsistence, and between these and the white settlers is kept up an unceasing contest (Mahon 1985:73-74).

Noting that Andrew Jackson had already signed the Indian Removal Act into law, the citizens of Florida clearly signaled that they were ready for it to be applied. As a result, the President sent James Gadsen back to Florida to negotiate another treaty with the Seminoles that would remove them to lands west of the Mississippi next to the Creeks already there.

Negotiations began in May at a place located on the Oklawaha River known as Payne's Landing (a few miles from present-day Eureka). Because Gadsen left no notes, it is almost impossible to ascertain what really occurred during the treaty negotiations. What is known indicates that a small contingent of Seminole leaders signed the Treaty of Payne's Landing on May 9, 1832 agreeing to send a delegation of Seminole leaders to visit the lands chosen for them and the Creeks. If the Seminoles were satisfied with this land, they were to remove to it and then be considered part of the Creek nation. This meant that once in their new home, the government would no longer deal with them as a separate entity (Mahon 1985:75-85).

In October 1832, a Seminole delegation consisting of seven leaders left for Arkansas with the new Seminole Agent, John Phagan. Again, there is little direct evidence of what occurred during negotiations. All seven of the Seminoles are reported to have signed the Treaty of Fort Gibson on March 28, 1833, stating Seminole approval of both the land and the government's removal plan (Mahon 1985:82-85).

President Jackson replaced Phagan with Wiley Thompson late in 1833. Thompson had gained Jackson's attention as a Congressman from Georgia who favored and promoted Indian removal. As the new Seminole Agent, Thompson's mandate was clear: he was to enforce the Treaties of Payne's Landing and Fort Gibson and serve as the "superintendent of emigration" for the Seminoles (Laumer 1995:115). On Christmas Eve, 1833, nine months after the signing of the Treaty of Fort Gibson, President Jackson submitted it and the earlier Treaty of Payne's Landing to the Senate for ratification. Both were unanimously ratified by Congress in April 1834 (Mahon 1985:82-85).

Fort King and Seminole Objections to Removal

It was at Fort King that Andrew Jackson's final plans for Seminole removal were presented to Seminole and Black Seminole leaders. To facilitate these negotiations and because of increasing tensions between the Americans and the Seminoles, the Seminole Agency was moved to within 100 yards of Fort King. The date of the move is not definitely known, but is thought to have been completed by October 1834, when Thompson held the first meetings with Seminole leaders. The two terms "Fort King" and "Seminole Agency" quickly became synonymous and appear to have been used interchangeably from this point on

(Sprague 1964:90). Several letters dating as early as 1832 originated from the “Fort King Seminole Agency” (Hunt and Piatek 1991:85).

The first meeting between Thompson and Seminoles occurred at Fort King on October 21, 1834. It was at this meeting that tribal leaders received what Thompson considered to be their last annuity payment due under terms of the Treaty of Moultrie Creek (Mahon 1985:89). Thompson wrote the following ominous note concerning purchases made by Seminole chiefs following their payment:

It has not escaped me, that the Indians, after they had received their annuity, purchased an unusually large quantity of powder and lead. I saw one keg of powder carried off by the chiefs, and I am informed that several whole kegs were purchased. I did not forbid the sale of these articles to the Indians, because such a course would have been a declaration of my apprehensions. It may be proper to add that the chiefs and Negroes have a deposit of forty or fifty kegs of powder, which I did not credit at the time (Sprague 1964:81).

Two days later, Thompson held a council with Seminole leaders at the fort to discuss details of the two treaties. Thompson made it clear that he did not call them together to talk about whether the Seminoles would honor the treaties. Rather, he only wished to work out the details of *how* they would honor them. To allay any fears they might have about their removal, Thompson assured them that he and Captain Samuel L. Russell would accompany and take care of them on their journey westward. After making his points and providing the Seminoles with several questions to ponder, he allowed them to retire to discuss these matters (Cohen 1836; Potter 1836; Davis 1929; Mahon 1985:89-91). Although Thompson promised the Seminole leaders privacy during their deliberations that night, informants among them supplied him with the details of the talks. It was through his informants that Osceola may have first come to the attention of Thompson and his American colleagues.

While some Seminole leaders talked that night of acquiescing to the demands of Agent Thompson and the treaties he carried, Osceola spoke out firmly against removal. He openly declared his intentions to stay and, if necessary, to fight. He also spoke of those who wished to comply with Thompson as enemies of the Seminole people. Osceola’s exhortations apparently swayed the rest of the tribal council, who elected to convey their objections to Thompson the next day (Cohen 1836; Potter 1836; Davis 1929; Mahon 1985:91-92).

On the second day of Thompson’s first council at Fort King, Osceola apparently sat silently as more senior leaders voiced their objections to removal. Holata Mico

began by telling Thompson that the Seminoles wished peace with their American “brothers.” Micanopy, the hereditary leader of the original Alachua Seminoles, stated that the Seminoles considered the Treaty of Moultrie Creek to remain in effect. Jumper, who had been chosen by the Seminoles to be their main spokesman, reiterated Micanopy’s points. He also stated that when he and the other six Seminole leaders had accompanied Phagan to the west, they liked the lands there but did not care for the Indians who would be their new neighbors. More significantly, he said the Seminole delegation was forced to sign the Treaty of Fort Gibson and they did not understand it to mean that they were agreeing to remove to the west. Instead, they believed they were only stating that they liked the lands and would discuss the matter with the entire Seminole nation upon their return to Florida. Further, he asserted that the Seminole delegation at Fort Gibson did not have the authority to speak for the nation as a whole. He finished with an eloquent description of the Seminoles’ desire to stay in Florida. Holata Emathla reiterated Jumper’s points about the “bad” people that he observed in the western lands. Holata’s brother, Charley Emathla, reiterated that the Treaty of Moultrie Creek was still valid for another seven years. Only when it had expired might the Seminoles consider removal. Regardless, he stated the Seminoles distaste for the long journey that would be required of them if they were to move. He said they would much prefer to stay in the land of their fathers (Cohen 1836; Potter 1836; Davis 1929; Mahon 1985:92).

Thompson was quite unhappy with these statements and called the Seminoles’ words childish and not worthy of men who considered themselves to be chiefs. He made it clear that he wanted to hear no more talk of the Treaty of Moultrie Creek. Instead, he reiterated that he only wished to discuss the details of removal, not the merits of it. He demanded that the Seminole leaders meet with him again the next day to discuss only these details (Cohen 1836; Potter 1836; Davis 1929; Mahon 1985:92).

Thompson began the session the next morning by asking the Seminole leaders to provide him with the answers to the questions concerning removal asked of them previously. Holata Mico again began speaking on the behalf of the Seminoles by stressing that they wished to be friends with the Americans. He ended by flatly denying consent to remove west. Jumper stated again that the Seminoles considered the Treaty of Moultrie Creek still in effect. Even though he admitted that the western lands were probably better than the Seminole reservation specified in that treaty, he said that the Seminoles still considered Florida to be their home and preferred it to removal. Charley Emathla stated that the Treaty of Payne’s Landing had been forced on the Seminoles. He also stated that he did not

enjoy his journey west with Phagan. He finished by reminding Thompson of the promises the government made with the Seminoles concerning the Treaty of Moultrie Creek and its duration (Cohen 1836; Potter 1836; Davis 1929; Mahon 1985:92).

On this day, Thompson finally lost his patience with the Seminole leaders. When Micanopy reiterated that he did not sign the Treaty of Payne's Landing, Thompson openly called him a liar. When the chief stood by his claim, Thompson produced the Treaty and showed the leaders Micanopy's name and mark. The two men quarreled over this issue for the rest of the convention, neither modifying their positions (Cohen 1836; Potter 1836; Davis 1929; Mahon 1985:92; Covington 1993:74).

Thompson spoke to the leaders about the Treaties of Payne's Landing and Fort Gibson with "excited feeling," again stating that the Seminoles were bound by these treaties to remove to the West. After lecturing at some length on this issue, he told them that if they were somehow allowed to stay in Florida, they would be reduced to a state of hunger and poverty. Additionally, he told them that all laws of the state, including laws that would not permit American Indians to testify in court, would be applied to the Seminoles (Cohen 1836; Potter 1836; Davis 1929).

During Thompson's long and passionate lecture to the leaders on this day, Osceola attempted to convince Micanopy to speak out with more conviction against removal by whispering exhortations in his ear. Osceola's frustration with the chief and Thompson's lecture finally got the better of him when the agent stated that no more annuities would be paid to the Seminoles. Osceola retorted that he did not care if he ever received any more of the white man's money. Thompson did his best to ignore Osceola and continued on with his lecture.

When Thompson finished, Osceola rose and gave what many have called the "Give me liberty or give me death" declaration of his people (Cohen 1836; Potter 1836; Davis 1929; Mahon 1985:92; Covington 1993:74-75; Laumer 1995:135-137):

The sentiments of the nation have been expressed. There is little more to be said. The people in council have agreed. By their chiefs they have uttered. It is well; it is truth, and must not be broken. When I make up my mind, I act. If I speak, what I say I will do. Speak or no speak, what I resolve that will I execute. The nation has consulted; have declared; they should perform. What should be, shall be. There remains nothing worth words. If the hail rattles, let the flowers be crushed.

The stately oak of the forest will lift its head to the sky and the storm, towering and unscathed (Cohen 1836).

It is clear that Osceola meant this as a warning not only to his American antagonists but also to what he perceived to be the weak-hearted "flowers" of his own people. Thompson ended the council in disgust shortly after this outburst.

A few months later in December 1834, Thompson again held a council at Fort King in an attempt to convince the Seminoles to remove. He explained that he expected them to move to designated ports of embarkation, sell their cattle and horses, and board the ships peacefully. If they did not comply, troops would be used against them (Covington 1993:75). Thompson was quite pleased with the way this council went, as evidenced by a letter he wrote to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War:

After the business was disposed of Powell (referring to Osceola's birth name), a bold man and a determined young chief who has been perhaps more violently opposed to removal than any other, made some remarks in council, evidently under excited feelings. I at once entered into a very forceful conversation with him in which I expressed my regret that a chief who had acted so manly and correctly in all other matters should have acted so unwisely in regard to the Treaty of Payne's Landing. He replied that he looked to the Camp Moultrie treaty as the one in force. Osceola said that as Thompson had to obey the President, so he, Osceola, was bound to obey the chiefs over him. I then asked him if any act of mine had shown any unkindness or want of friendship toward him or his people. He with emphasis replied, "I know that you are my friend, friend to my people..." The result was that we closed with the utmost good feelings and I have never seen Powell and the other chiefs so cheerful and in such a fine humor at the close of a discussion upon the subject of removal (Cubberly 1927:146-147).

Now General and central commander of the U.S. forces in Florida, Duncan L. Clinch was not as optimistic as Thompson. In a letter written at Fort King in January 1835, he opined:

... The more I see of this Tribe of Indians, the more fully am I convinced that they have not the least intention of fulfilling their treaty stipulations, unless compelled to do so by a stronger force than mere words... if a sufficient military force, to overawe them, is not sent into the Nation, they will not be removed, & the whole frontier may be laid waste by a combination of the Indians, Indian Negroes, & the Negroes on the plantations (Carter 1960:99-101).

Thompson arranged another meeting with the Seminoles at Fort King in March 1835. In preparation for the meeting, he and General Clinch ordered a special platform constructed outside of the stockade to seat Seminole and U.S. dignitaries during the council. Sensing the potential for future conflict, General Clinch also requested additional troops and cannons be sent to Fort King from Fort Brooke.

During the March proceedings with the Seminoles, Thompson read a message from President Jackson to the 150 chiefs and warriors present:

...The game has disappeared from your country, your people are poor and hungry...The tract you ceded will soon be surveyed and sold and immediately occupied by a white population...You have no right to stay...I have directed the commanding officer to remove you by force...

The message was signed “your friend A. Jackson” (Steele 1986:7). But before the council could conclude, the newly constructed platform upon which the meeting was being held collapsed. After the confusion cleared, Jumper, again the speaker for the Seminole delegation, thanked Thompson for the message from the President, and then stated there were too many Seminole chiefs absent from the current meeting for the tribal delegation to make official comments. Therefore, he asked for and was granted another month to gather a more representative tribal council at Fort King for a full discussion (Mahon 1985:95; Hunt and Piatek 1991:90-91).

Fort King and the Prelude to War

Over the course of the next month, many Seminoles arrived at Fort King hoping to collect another annuity. By the time of the next council, which began on April 22, approximately 1,500 Seminoles were camped in the vicinity of the fort. Osceola seems to have been the main topic of conversation among the Americans present. One visitor noted that:

...the first question asked by those who had come to be present at the talk was, ‘How is Powel – on which side is he?’ To this we received for answer – ‘O he is one of the opposition; but he is fast coming round. He has given us much trouble – restless, turbulent, dangerous – he has been busy with his people, dissuading them against the treaty – and thus sowing the seeds of discord where his influence, - for, though young, and a sub-chief merely, he is manifestly a rising man among them – if exerted on our side would greatly facilitate our views. But he has cooled down latterly and we have great hopes of him now (Laumer 1995:137).

Although the Seminoles did receive another annuity at this council, Thompson, clearly disturbed by the ammunition purchased with last year’s stipend,

prohibited the sale of powder and lead to the Seminoles. This apparently infuriated Osceola and he reportedly confronted Thompson with the following outburst:

I will make the white man red with blood; and then blacken him in the sun and rain, where the wolf shall smell his bones, and the buzzard live upon his flesh (Sprague 1964:86; Porter 1996:34).

Despite this confrontation, it seems that Jumper did most of the speaking for the Seminoles at this council. He opened with a two-hour speech against removal. Again, Thompson reacted angrily. With tempers flaring on both sides, General Clinch eventually assured the Seminole delegation that he was prepared to use his troops if the Seminoles did not agree to abide by the Treaty of Payne’s Landing. Eventually, 16 Seminole leaders, including 8 chiefs and 8 “sub-chiefs,” signed an acknowledgement that the Treaty was valid. Other important leaders, including Micanopy, Jumper, Holata Mico, Arpeika (Sam Jones), and Coa Hadjo refused to sign or were not present (Sprague 1964:84; Mahon 1985:95-96; Wickman 1991:32).

A few months later, Osceola let Thompson know exactly how he felt about removing west. Storming into the agent’s office, he used “violent” and “insulting” language against Thompson, told him that he despised his authority, described him as an intruder on the Indian lands, and made it clear that he would force him to leave them. Thompson immediately consulted with the officers stationed at the fort. They all agreed that such insolence could not go unpunished and had soldiers seize Osceola before he could leave the fort’s vicinity. Arrested, handcuffed, and imprisoned in the fort’s guardhouse, Osceola spent the earliest portion of his captivity in an almost constant fury.

Patricia Wickman, noted researcher on the life of Osceola, considers this confrontation with Wiley Thompson to be the first event in the “climactic phase” of Osceola’s life (1991:33). Although Thompson did not realize it at the time, Osceola’s resulting imprisonment infuriated the Seminoles so completely that they would use it as a rallying cry against him personally and the U.S. Military in general. (Wickman 1991:xxv).

After several days, Osceola calmed to the point that he could have a reasonable discussion with Thompson. He apologized to the Agent, agreed to behave better in the future, and promised to sign the removal agreement if released. Thompson, having good reason to suspect his sincerity, said that he needed more proof. Osceola promised he would return in 10 days with his followers to sign the acknowledgement. He was released and fulfilled his promise on the appointed day.

When he returned, however, Thompson and Clinch were not yet ready for the Seminole removal to begin

and Osceola and his band were allowed to go back to their home. In the coming months, Thompson employed Osceola in various tasks, including the apprehension of Seminoles who raided American settlements. Eventually, the Agent was so convinced of Osceola's conversion that he presented him with a custom-built rifle (Cubberly 1927:146; Mahon 1985:96; Wickman 1991:33-36; Laumer 1995:123-124).

More evidence of Osceola's apparent conversion was displayed in August 1835. He and 24 other Seminole leaders requested a council at Fort King in order to work out the details of the planned removal. At this council, Holata Emathla was selected to speak for the Seminole delegation. He requested a Seminole reservation in Indian Territory separate from the Creeks. He also requested that Thompson be designated their agent in their new western home. General Clinch, Agent Thompson, and Lieutenant Joseph W. Harris endorsed this plan and sent a letter of support to Secretary of War Lewis Cass (Covington 1993:74).

Although Thompson seemed optimistic about a largely peaceful removal following Osceola's conversion, General Clinch remained apprehensive. In October 1835, he wrote that a number of Seminole leaders still refused to consent to removal and requested additional troops in case the use of force became necessary. He also stated suspicions that Seminole forces, including Black Seminoles, were in communication with enslaved African Americans on plantations in Florida (Carter 1960:182-184).

Indeed, Black Seminoles were known to be particularly opposed to removal because they felt certain it would result in slavery for their ranks under Creek masters in Indian Territory or on plantations in the South. Because of their resolve to avoid such enslavement, some contemporary scholars have argued that Black Seminoles "were the determining factor in the Seminoles' opposition to removal (Porter 1996:33)" (Klos 1995:150).

Clinch's fears were justified as Abraham, an important Black Seminole and advisor to Micanopy was in contact with enslaved African Americans and recruited many of them to join forces with the Seminoles if war came. John Caesar, another important Black Seminole associated with King Philip, principal leader of the St. Johns River Seminoles, similarly recruited enslaved African Americans who had run away and free African Americans at plantations near St. Augustine.

Any hopes that Thompson or others harbored for a peaceful removal by the Seminoles were surely shattered in November 1835 with the killing of Charley Emathla. Although he had spoken out against removal at several Fort King councils, Emathla never appeared to want to fight. By November, he was fully prepared to comply with Thompson and Clinch. Thus, he brought

his cattle to Fort King for the promised reimbursement due to him under the conditions of the Treaty of Payne's Landing. However, he was intercepted on his return home by Osceola and several followers. After a brief argument, Osceola shot him. In order to drive home the point made earlier concerning the white man's money, Osceola did not take any of Emathla's reimbursement. Instead, he scattered it over and next to Emathla's body (Carter 1960; Mahon 1985:100-101).

Osceola's execution of Charley Emathla may have been the first real demonstration of his power and influence among the Seminole people (Weisman 1989:127; Wickman 1991:33). Certainly Emathla's execution sent a clear signal to other Seminoles who shared his desire to acquiesce to American demands. It was also an undeniable announcement of what, for a brief period at least, was to be a new order among the Seminoles, an order where leadership could be earned through actions and demonstrated ability rather than by heredity.

The Eruption of Open Conflict

Thompson and Clinch had made it clear to the Seminoles at Fort King that the United States fully expected them to remove west of the Mississippi and that force would be used against them if necessary. Seminole leaders initially voiced strong opposition to removal but by the middle of 1835, appeared much more willing to acquiesce. The killing of Emathla, however, inspired the more militant Seminole leaders to action.

Osceola and his followers staged several raids in the Alachua area in December 1835. In one of these raids, he personally led approximately 80 warriors in a successful ambush of a military baggage train on the road to Micanopy. A few days later, military scouts located the Seminoles in a hammock called Black Point. In the ensuing Battle of Black Point, soldiers broke up the camp and retrieved some of the stolen possessions (Mahon 1985:101; DeBary, personal communication with Pepe in 2001). These Alachua raids were probably the first military engagements Osceola had ever taken part in and served notice to both Seminoles and whites that he had developed a solid following among Seminole warriors despite his inexperience in combat (Weisman 1989:127; Wickman 1991:xxi).

Around Christmastime, King Philip and John Caesar led the Seminoles and Black Seminoles from the St. Johns area on raids against nearby plantations. Over the course of two days, they destroyed five of them and sent local settlers fleeing in panic to coastal towns like St. Augustine. John Caesar's earlier efforts to recruit local enslaved African Americans paid large dividends in these campaigns, with hundreds joining the Seminole cause (Mahon 1985:102; Porter 1996:39). On

December 22, Governor Richard Call sent a letter from near Micanopy to President Jackson stating:

The whole country between the Suwannee and the St. Johns Rivers for the distance of fifty miles above the Indian boundary [the northern boundary of the main Seminole Reservation] is abandoned, the frontier inhabitants shut up in a few miserable stockade forts and the Indians traversing the country at will, burning and destroying wherever they appear. Before my arrival a number of skirmishes had taken place in which the Indians were invariably successful (Carter 1960:216).

Start of the Second Seminole War, Rise of Osceola, and Destruction of the First Fort King

Despite these skirmishes, most researchers consider December 28, 1835 to be the starting point of the Second Seminole War. On this day, the Seminoles coordinated and launched bold attacks on two separate targets.

One attack focused on a party of slightly more than 100 soldiers on their way from Fort Brooke to Fort King. A Seminole force of more than 180 Seminole and Black Seminole warriors, led by Micanopy, Jumper, and Halpatter Tustenuggee (Alligator), ambushed them at a point where the road passed through a pine flatwood. Black Seminoles played an important role in this battle, fighting with great furor and then systematically killing the wounded. Only two soldiers survived the attack, which quickly became known as Dade's Massacre. The site of this event is known today as the Dade Battlefield (Mahon 1985:105-106; Steele 1986; Laumer 1995; Porter 1996:41-43).

While this battle was ending, Osceola and a small party of warriors ambushed Agent Thompson and Lieutenant Constantine Smith as they took an afternoon walk outside the palisade of Fort King. The two died instantly, with Thompson receiving 14 musket ball wounds and his scalp taken as a trophy. Osceola's men also attacked and killed Erastus Rogers, the sutler, and several others in his store located outside the fort's picket work. The officers inside Fort King, believing that the fort itself was under attack, secured the stockade gates not realizing that Thompson and Smith were lying dead outside. By the time troops ventured out, the Seminoles had disappeared (Mahon 1985:103-104).

That night, Osceola met in the Wahoo Swamp with the victorious warriors from Dade's battle. According to Alligator, Thompson's scalp was placed on a pole and "speeches were addressed by the most humorous of the company to the scalp of General Thompson, imitating his gestures and manner of talking to them in council (Sprague 1964:91)."

The following remarks made sometime later by Alligator make it clear that, contrary to Thompson's assessments, Osceola and most of his countrymen had never warmed to the idea of removal. Further, Thompson's imprisonment of Osceola at Fort King and Thompson's attitude toward their people had certainly not been forgotten nor forgiven.:

We had been preparing for this [Dade's ambush and the murder of Wiley Thompson] more than a year. Though promises had been made to assemble on the 1st of January, it was not to leave the country, but to fight for it. In council, it was determined to strike a decided blow about this time. Our agent at Fort King had put irons on our men, and said we must go. Osceola said he was his friend, he would see to him (Sprague 1964:90).

If not known before, the simultaneous attacks on Dade's party and the killing of Thompson made it clear that the Seminoles would not be removed without a fight. Seminole intentions were especially apparent to President Jackson, who would deal with the Seminoles through military action rather than threats for the rest of his administration.

The Seminoles gained the upper hand during the early months of the war. Osceola had command of a large contingent of Seminole and Black Seminole warriors in a stronghold the military referred to as the Cove of the Withlacoochee. Just three days after the killing of Agent Thompson, a military force led by General Clinch ventured into the Cove and was ambushed by a Seminole force of approximately 250 warriors, including 30 Black Seminoles. Osceola led the Seminole in what came to be known as the First Battle of the Withlacoochee. Although Clinch's troops were eventually able to drive off Osceola's men, the heavy casualties they suffered coupled with their dwindling supplies forced a strategic retreat from the Cove. The Seminoles regarded this as a great victory, even though their leader was wounded in the arm or hand during the battle (Mahon 1985:108-112; Weisman 1989:127; Wickman 1991:33, 38-39).

In March 1836, General Edmund P. Gaines attempted to strike against the Seminoles in the Cove of the Withlacoochee. Like Clinch, he quickly found himself surrounded, this time by more than 1,000 Seminole and Black Seminole warriors. Gaines and his troops took refuge in a hastily constructed log breastwork he named Camp Izard in honor of the first officer to be shot in the battle.

Osceola and the rest of the Seminoles laid siege on Camp Izard for more than a week. During the siege, John Caesar took it upon himself to ask for a council with Gaines and proposed that since justice had already been served upon Agent Thompson at Fort King, Osceola would be satisfied to end the hostilities as long

as the Seminoles were allowed to remain in Florida. Seminole leaders proposed that the Withlacoochee River become the new northern boundary for their reservation.

General Gaines replied that he would present it to the proper authorities but before the meeting could conclude, U.S. reinforcements led by General Clinch arrived. Gaines turned over his command to Clinch, and boasted that he had just negotiated an end to the hostilities. However, Gaines' negotiations with Osceola and the other Seminole leaders were not recognized as binding by the U.S. and hostilities continued (Mahon 1985:147-150; Weisman 1989:98-99; Wickman 1991:43).

Within weeks, General Scott was leading another military force into the Cove of the Withlacoochee. In what may have been Osceola's last great action as an important Seminole leader, he led an attack against Scott's troops on March 31, 1836, killing two soldiers and wounding an additional thirteen (Mahon 1985:152; Weisman 1989:99,127).

Following Scott's campaign in the Cove of the Withlacoochee, the Seminoles broke into smaller bands led by individual leaders who operated somewhat independently from each other. Thus, Osceola could no longer take part in military actions or councils that involved a thousand warriors and other important leaders. Left to his own with at most 250 warriors, Osceola spent much of the rest of 1836 in the Alachua area. On June 9, he led a force of 150 to 250 warriors against Fort Defiance near Micanopy, but was eventually repulsed. On July 19, he led an attack on a military wagon train headed for the fort. This ambush became known as the Battle of Welika Pond and resulted in five soldiers killed and six wounded.

On August 7, 1836, Fort Drane, established on General Clinch's plantation in what is now northwestern Marion County, was abandoned by the military because of rampant disease (likely malaria) among the troops stationed there. Osceola and his band quickly moved in. For the next two months, they feasted on the 12,000 bushels of corn and sugar cane that had been left in Clinch's fields by the evacuating troops. On August 21, Osceola's band was attacked at the fort by a force of more than 100 troops but succeeded in repelling them. However, on October 1, Osceola abandoned Fort Drane when he learned that Florida Governor Richard Keith Call was leading a force several hundred strong his way. Although Osceola had enjoyed the crops at Fort Drane, he may also have contracted the illness there (likely the same malaria that initially caused the military to abandon the site) which would eventually claim his life.

Seminole antagonism and a wave of sickness led to the virtual abandonment of Florida's interior by the U.S. military and American civilians in 1836. Dade's Massacre and many other raids on troops in route to Fort King demonstrated that the fort was becoming more and more difficult to supply and reinforce. Considered redundant with Fort Drane, Fort King was abandoned in May 1836. Two months later, a group of Seminole warriors destroyed the empty structures by setting them afire (Mahon 1985:173; Hunt and Piatek 1991:11).

The New Fort King and Capture of Osceola

Early military success came at significant cost to the Seminoles. The number of casualties suffered during two years of war, malnutrition, sickness, and the need to break into ever smaller bands to elude detection and capture greatly reduced the Seminole's ability to carry on a vigorous resistance. When the Americans re-engaged the Seminoles in early 1837, they found them much weakened.

Federal troops reoccupied the Fort King site in April 1837 and immediately began construction of a new fortification (Ott 1967:35). Built on the same hill as the earlier fort (GARI 1991; Hellman and Prentice, 2000), the new structure included a square shaped stockade with two diagonally placed blockhouses and a two story barracks (Figure 3). Like its predecessor, the new Fort King would play a featured role in the war against the Seminoles.

Shortly after the new fort was established, a group of Seminole envoys met there to discuss peace with the new military commander in Florida, Major General Thomas S. Jesup. Jesup told the Seminoles that there could be no further discussion unless they agreed to remove to the West and that when ready they could contact him while carrying white flags of truce for protection (Covington 1993:91).

Several weeks later, Jesup met a number of Seminole leaders representing Micanopy who had gathered along the St. Johns near Fort Mellon (near present-day Sanford) to arrange for removal. Osceola also brought in his people. Once there, they seemingly cooperated with the military's efforts to gather the rest of the Seminoles together in one place by organizing a traditional ball game. Things were so cordial that Osceola even lodged one night with Colonel William Harney in his officer's tent.

In early June, however, Osceola and several other Seminole leaders once again reaffirmed their resistance to removal by traveling across the Florida peninsula to Fort Brooke liberating, and in some cases, kidnapping, the large group of Seminoles at the emigration camp

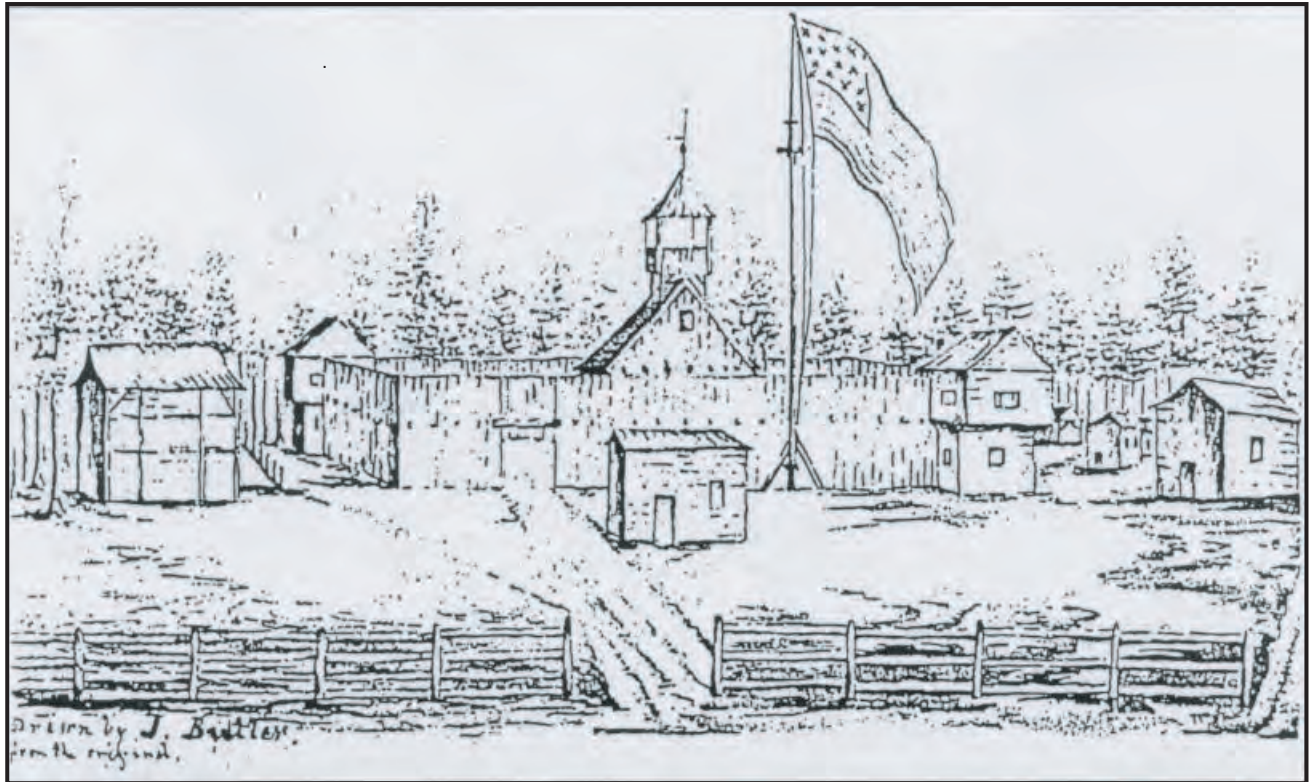


Figure 3. 1839 Sketch of Fort King by Lt. John T. Sprague

there. Many in the military believed that Osceola had never planned to emigrate, but was only stalling and trying to secure free food for himself and his people at Fort Mellon before resuming hostilities (Sprague 1964:178; Francke 1977:24; Mahon 1985:200-204; Weisman 1989:128; Wickman 1991:44).

Osceola's actions had a profound impact on General Jesup. From this point on, Jesup was resolved to use whatever methods he deemed necessary to end the war. To this end, he enlisted American Indians, such as Delawares and Shawnees, whom he knew would not only be willing to fight the Seminoles, but also to enslave their women and children. He dealt ruthlessly with captured Seminoles, often threatening to hang them if they did not provide information on the whereabouts of their allies and sending out messengers to family members stating that if they did not surrender, their captive brothers, fathers, or sons would be executed. But Jesup's most infamous and effective tactic was to capture Seminoles under flags of truce or

in similar situations where they thought they were assured safety (Mahon 1985:204-216).

One of the earliest to be captured in this way was Osceola. In October 1837, he and Coa Hadjo had sent word that they were in the vicinity of St. Augustine and were willing to meet in a conference with the military. Jesup sent explicit orders to General Joseph M. Hernandez that authorized the capture of the warriors at the planned parley. Hernandez met with them at their camp approximately a mile from Fort Peyton. The camp was well marked with a large white flag flying over it. During the parley, Coa Hadjo clearly stated that the Seminoles at the camp were not turning themselves in to the military, which they knew would mean deportation, but rather, wanted to sue for peace. Hernandez had with him a captive Seminole leader named Blue Snake. He called on the leader for support. But Blue Snake flatly stated that his understanding was that this meeting was to involve negotiations, not capture. This was clearly not Hernandez's intention, for

at this instant he called on his troops to capture the entire camp. It is quite possible that Osceola knew beforehand that he would not be allowed to leave this meeting. By this point though, he had grown discouraged about the Seminoles' chances to remain in Florida. He had also seen his support among his people dwindle and was suffering greatly from the progression of his illness (Mahon 1985:214-216; Wickman 1991:xxiv, 45-46).

Osceola was initially made a prisoner at Fort Peyton. He was soon transferred to Fort Marion, the transformed Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine. Here, he was allowed to send out a runner to call in his family and small band of followers. On December 31, 1837, Osceola and his family were transferred to Fort Moultrie, South Carolina. There, he enjoyed a brief period as a celebrity and posed for the famous portraits of himself made by George Catlin.

Osceola succumbed to his illness and died at Fort Moultrie on January 30, 1838. He was buried on the fort grounds the next day.

End of the Second Seminole War and Post-War Fort King

Early in the summer of 1839, Major General Alexander Macomb, the Commanding General (highest ranking general) of the U.S. Army held an important council with the Seminoles at Fort King to discuss a new reservation for them, "on the west side of the Peninsula below Pease Creek [now Peace River]" (Carter 1960:604-605). The new Florida commander, Brigadier General Zachary Taylor, had suggested this plan to Macomb as the only possible way to end hostilities. In anticipation of the meeting with the Seminoles, a special council house was constructed just to the west of the fort.

The council began on May 18 with much pomp and circumstance and lasted two days. The two main Seminole leaders in attendance were Chitto Tustenuggee and Halleck Tustenuggee. The women and children in their bands were nearly naked, with only grain sacks for clothing. Macomb gave enough presents of calico and cotton to clothe them. In the face of such kindness and apparently tired of fighting, Chitto and Halleck heartily agreed to Macomb's plan and said they would induce their people to remove to the new reservation.

Macomb was so pleased with his results that he issued a general proclamation on May 20 stating that the war was at an end. Shortly afterwards, President Jackson declared the reservation to be Seminole Indian Territory (White 1956; Carter 1960:608-610; Mahon 1985:256-258).

Unfortunately but predictably, Macomb's optimism was unfounded. The citizens of Florida immediately and furiously attacked his agreement and vowed to kill Seminoles wherever they were found. For their part, many Seminoles were unaware of the agreement or did not consider themselves bound by it on the grounds that the two Seminole leaders in attendance could not speak for the rest of the tribe. Thus, the war continued (Mahon 1985:257-263).

The next major event at Fort King occurred on March 28, 1840. On this day, Captain Gabriel J. Rains led 16 men from the fort on a scouting mission. Not far from the fort, a group of almost 100 Seminole warriors ambushed the troops, killing two of them and wounding one more. As the battle progressed, Rains recognized that his men would soon be surrounded. In order to escape, he ordered a charge of 12 men back to Fort King. Rains was badly wounded in this maneuver, but with several of his men carrying him, he was able to get his troops back to safety. Rains' wounds were so severe that he was not expected to live. Surprisingly, Rains did recover, although it took two months before he was healthy enough to write a formal report of the incident. Newspapers in Florida called his actions at Fort King the most gallant of the war, and Rains was eventually brevetted to the rank of major (Mahon 1985:275).

In May 1840, General Walker Keith Armistead was appointed as the new Florida commander. He immediately established Fort King as the headquarters of the Army of the South and stationed 900 troops there. In November, Armistead held a council at the fort with the Seminole leaders Tiger Tail and Halleck Tustenuggee. Also in attendance was a delegation of Seminoles who had recently visited the land set aside for the Seminoles west of the Mississippi. These Seminoles gave a favorable report of Arkansas, and Armistead tried to use this to convince Halleck and Tiger Tail on the merits of removal. To sweeten the deal, he offered each of them \$5,000 if they would surrender themselves and their bands for the purpose. The chiefs asked for two weeks to discuss the matter. During this time, they and their accompanying warriors collected supplies and liquor offered to them as rations and gifts. After two weeks, they decamped without agreeing to Armistead's offer and Armistead ordered the conflict resumed (Carter 1962:228; Mahon 1985:281-282).

Approximately two years later, on April 19, 1842, Halleck's band was located and attacked near Lake Ahapopka by the new Florida military commander, Colonel William Jenkins Worth. According to Mahon, this battle was probably the last skirmish of the war that could be considered a battle. Although most of Halleck's warriors escaped death or capture, much of their supplies were lost.

Without supplies to carry on the struggle, Halleck showed up with two of his wives and children at Worth's camp 10 days later seeking a conference. After a few days of negotiating, Halleck and his family accompanied Worth back to Fort King. Under orders from Worth, Colonel Garland gathered the remainder of Halleck's followers under the ruse of a feast with a great deal of liquor. After three days, most of Halleck's band had arrived for the promised festivities.

At some point during the planned festivities, troops surrounded and captured the Seminoles without a fight. Halleck was so overcome with rage and surprise that he fainted. The total captured included 43 warriors, 37 women, and 34 children. At the time, this accounted for more than a third of the total Seminole population believed to be left in Florida. Worth gave Halleck \$1,000 and used him to contact the rest of the tribe, urging that they move into the reservation south of the Peace River (Mahon 1985:308-309).

In August 1842, the Second Seminole War was declared terminated by the U.S. government and the last troops were withdrawn from Fort King in March 1843. In 1844, Fort King was designated the county seat of the newly formed Marion County. Small log buildings adjacent to the fort were used for residences, a new post office, a Methodist mission, and a general store. The two-story cupola-topped barracks became Marion County's first courthouse. In February 1846, the Fort King Military Reservation was opened for private land claims and sales. Shortly thereafter, the fort's lumber and glass windows were removed and used as building supplies during the construction of Ocala, the new seat of Marion County (Ott 1967:36-39).

CHAPTER ONE: PURPOSE AND NEED FOR STUDY

Chapter Overview

Chapter One describes why and how the Fort King Special Resource Study was conducted. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of study limitations, future considerations, and legislative processes.

Purpose and Need for Study

New areas are typically added to the National Park System by an Act of Congress. However, before Congress decides to create a new park it needs to know whether the area's resources meet established criteria for designation. The NPS is often tasked by Congress to evaluate potential new areas for compliance with these criteria and document its findings in a SRS.

Congress directed the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a SRS for the Fort King site in Public Law 106-113 Appendix C §326. In response, the NPS Southeast Regional Office (SERO) performed a preliminary reconnaissance study of the site to determine if a full SRS should be undertaken. The reconnaissance study consisted of two parallel investigations.

A thorough review of Fort King's historical and archeological record was conducted by the NPS Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC). SEAC confirmed in its final report (Hellman and Prentice, 2000) that the archeological remains of Fort King were present at the site and that, in its opinion, Fort King potentially qualified for designation as a NHL.

Concurrently, an assessment of Fort King's sociopolitical and geographic characteristics by the SERO Division of Planning and Compliance (SERO-PC) concluded that the site did not contain operational or management obstacles severe enough to disqualify it from further study.

Based partly on SEAC's findings and partly on the extraordinary quality of existing documentation about the site's archeological resources, a formal nomination for NHL designation was prepared by the NPS National Historic Landmarks Program in Washington D.C. and a full SRS was initiated by SERO-PC in 2001. The Fort King site was designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior in February 2004.

This report summarizes NPS findings from its preliminary investigations and, in combination with additional analysis, provides a comprehensive assessment of the Fort King site as a potential addition to the National Park System.

Study Methodology

By law (Public Law 91-383 §8 as amended by §303 of the National Parks Omnibus Management Act (Public Law 105-391)) and NPS Policy (Management Policies 2001§1.2 NPS) potential new units of the National Park System must possess nationally significant resources, be a suitable addition to the system, be a feasible addition to the system, and require direct NPS management or administration instead of alternative protection by other agencies or the private sector. A six step study methodology was used to determine if the Fort King site satisfied the required conditions:

- Step 1: Compare site resources with established standards for national significance, suitability, and feasibility
- Step 2: Document public opinion and ideas about managing the site
- Step 3: Develop a range of management alternatives
- Step 4: Identify potential environmental consequences associated with the range of alternatives
- Step 5: Prepare and distribute a Draft SRS and Environmental Impact Statement (DSRS/EIS)
- Step 6: Prepare and distribute a Final SRS and EIS (FSRS/EIS)

Step 1: Determination of National Significance, Suitability, and Feasibility

Regardless of economic considerations or other factors, to be eligible for designation potential new areas must be nationally significant, a suitable addition to the National Park System, and feasible to manage and operate.

To be considered nationally significant, an area must satisfy all four of the following standards:

- The area must be an outstanding example of a particular type of resource and
- The area must possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our nation's heritage and
- The area must offer superlative opportunities for recreation, for public use and enjoyment, or for scientific study and
- The area must retain a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of the resource

To be suitable as a new unit, an area must represent a natural or cultural theme or type of recreational resource that is not already adequately represented in the National Park System or is not comparably represented or protected for public enjoyment by another land managing entity.

To be feasible as a new unit, an area's natural systems and/or historic settings must be of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure long-term protection of the resources and to accommodate public use. It must have potential for efficient administration at reasonable cost. Important feasibility factors include landownership, acquisition costs, access, threats to the resource, and staff or development requirements.

A complete discussion of national significance, suitability, and feasibility is presented in Chapter Two of this document.

Step 2: Assessment of Public Opinion and Ideas about Managing the Site

Information about the broad range of potential ideas, goals, and objectives that future visitors, park neighbors, local and state government agencies, regional residents, and the general public would like to see achieved at Fort King was gathered in a process called "scoping." Scoping occurred continuously throughout the planning process. A summary of stakeholder ideas and concerns is presented in Chapter Two.

Step 3: Development of Management Alternatives

As might be expected, some of the desires, future visions, and development ideas expressed by stakeholders were mutually compatible and others were not. Working in conjunction with its many planning partners, the planning team drew upon the full range of stakeholder input to formulate a range of management alternatives, each reflecting a unique combination of site development, historic interpretation, management responsibility, and cost variables. When considered together, the range of ideas is intended to express the broad diversity of public comments and suggestions received during scoping. A complete description of each alternative is included in Chapter Three.

Step 4: Analysis of Potential Environmental Consequences Associated with the Management Alternatives

Special Resource Studies are required by NPS Policy (§4.4 NPS DO-12) to include an environmental impact statement (EIS). Potential environmental impacts associated with the three alternatives and the No Action alternative are described and analyzed in Chapter Five.

Step 5: Preparation and Distribution of a Draft SRS and EIS

As part of the overall effort to encourage public involvement in the decision making process, solicitation of public comment on Draft SRSs is required by the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). Comments are considered a critical aid in helping the NPS refine and reshape, if necessary, its recommendations so that they best represent existing and potential future conditions at the site.

A DSRS/EIS was prepared and distributed on October 30, 2005. Public comment on the document was solicited through January 30, 2006. During this 60-day formal comment period, the NPS conducted public consultations in the Ocala area with all of its major planning partners and park stakeholders.

Step 6: Preparation and Distribution of a Final SRS and EIS

All public concerns about the draft plan were analyzed and substantive recommendations considered for inclusion in the final document. A more detailed discussion about how public comments were addressed and the broader effort of public involvement and consultation is presented in Chapter 6, Consultation and Coordination.

This document is the FSRS/EIS. The NPS will wait 30-days after publication of a Notice of Availability by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency before signing a Record of Decision (ROD). When the ROD is signed and published in the Federal Register, the document will be forwarded to Congress for its future use and information.

Study Limitations and Recommendations

A SRS serves as one of many reference sources for members of Congress, the NPS, and other persons interested in the potential designation of an area as a new unit of the National Park System. The reader should be aware that the recommendations or analysis contained in a SRS do not guarantee the future funding, support, or any subsequent action by Congress, the Department of the Interior, or the NPS. Because a SRS is not a decision making document, it does not identify a preferred NPS course of action. However, NPS Policy (§4.4 NPS DO-12) requires that each SRS include an EIS and identify an environmentally preferred alternative (§2.7D NPS DO-12).

The environmentally preferred alternative is determined by applying criteria set forth in NEPA, as guided by direction from the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ). The CEQ has stated that the environmentally

preferred alternative is the alternative that will promote the national environmental policy as expressed in NEPA, Section 101. This includes alternatives that:

- Fulfill the responsibilities of each generation as trustee of the environment for succeeding generations
- Assure for all generations safe, healthful, productive, and esthetically and culturally pleasing surroundings
- Attain the widest range of beneficial uses of the environment without degradation, risk of health or safety, or other undesirable and unintended consequences
- Preserve important historic, cultural, and natural aspects of our national heritage and maintain, wherever possible, an environment that supports diversity and variety of individual choice
- Achieve a balance between population and resource use that will permit high standards of living and a wide sharing of life's amenities
- Enhance the quality of renewable resources and approach the maximum attainable recycling of depletable resources

In addition, the 1998 Omnibus Parks Management Act (Public Law 105-391 §303) mandates that each SRS identify the alternative or combination of alternatives which would, in the professional judgment of the Director of the National Park Service, be "most effective and efficient" in protecting significant resources and providing for public enjoyment.

Cost Feasibility and Cost Estimates

Many projects that are technically possible to accomplish may not be feasible in light of current budgetary constraints and other NPS priorities. This is especially likely where acquisition and development costs are high, the resource may lose its significant values before acquisition by the NPS, or other protection action is possible.

Preliminary cost estimates are provided for each alternative for comparison purposes using conceptual-type (Class "C") estimates for FY 2004. Costs indicated include allowances for personnel, design and construction, long term operating and maintenance, and other contingencies. It is highly recommended that a more comprehensive cost estimate be prepared prior to initiating any of the proposed planning, design, or construction recommendations proposed in this study.

Future Considerations

During scoping, many non-federal stakeholders requested that the SRS include a synopsis of the legislative process typically used to create a new national park. Persons interested in a more detailed discussion of this subject are encouraged to read the

publication "How Our Laws Are Made" by Charles W. Johnson (Johnson, 2000).

Congressional Legislation

Legislation to create new parks may be introduced in either the House of Representatives or the Senate. Once introduced, a new bill is assigned to the Committee having jurisdiction over the area affected by the measure. If introduced in the House, national parks legislation is generally referred to the Resources Committee Subcommittee on National Parks. Park legislation introduced in the Senate is referred to the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, Subcommittee on National Parks.

The most intense discussions about a proposed new park generally occur during committee action. Public hearings are sometimes conducted so committee members can hear witnesses representing various viewpoints on the measure. The Secretary of the Interior may be asked to present the position of the Department or the National Park Service on the bill to the committee during public hearings.

After hearings are completed, members of the committee study the information and viewpoints presented in detail. Amendments may be offered and committee members vote to accept or reject these changes. At the conclusion of deliberations, a vote of the committee members is taken to determine what action to take. The committee can decide to report (which means endorse or recommend) the bill for consideration by the full House, with or without amendment, or table it (which means no further action will occur). Congressional committees may table a bill for a variety of reasons including, but certainly not limited to, the legislative priorities of committee members or because the bill is not supported by the administration.

Generally, if the committee feels another agency or organization is better suited to manage the site or alternative preservation actions can recognize and protect important resources outside of the National Park System, the proposed bill is not supported. Likewise, the committee may not support a bill over concerns for higher priority government-wide obligations or sensitivity to adding additional management responsibilities to the NPS at a time of limited funding or personnel shortages.

Consideration by the full House or Senate can be a simple or complex operation depending on how much discussion is necessary and the numbers of amendments Members wish to consider.

When all debate is concluded, the full House or Senate is ready to vote on the final bill. After a bill has passed in the House, it goes to the Senate (or vice versa for a bill originating in the Senate) for consideration. A bill

must pass both the Senate and House of Representatives in the same language before it can be presented to the President for signature.

If the Senate changes the language of the bill, it must be returned to the House for concurrence or additional changes. This back-and-forth negotiation may be conducted by a conference committee that includes both House and Senate Members. The goal of a conference committee is to resolve any differences and report (resubmit) an identical measure back to both bodies for a vote.

After a bill has been passed in identical form by both the House and Senate, it is sent to the President who may sign the measure into law, veto and return it to Congress, let it become law without a signature, or at the end of a session, pocket-veto it. If the bill becomes law, a new park is authorized. The language in the new law is often referred to as the park's enabling legislation. Enabling legislation defines the purpose of the park and may specify any standards, limits, or actions that Congress wants taken related to planning, land acquisition, resource management, park operations, and/or funding.

Presidential Proclamation

Under the 1906 Antiquities Act, the president has the authority to designate national monuments on land currently under federal jurisdiction. President Theodore Roosevelt made the first use of this in 1906 to declare Devil's Tower in Wyoming a national monument. It was more recently used by President Jimmy Carter in 1979 to declare 11 new national monuments in Alaska and to expand two others. In 1980, President Carter rescinded his proclamation after Congress passed legislation creating new park areas in Alaska. Over the years, nearly 100 National Park System units were added as national monuments by presidential proclamation. Many of these units have since been re-designated by Congress as national parks or national historical parks or otherwise incorporated into the system.

CHAPTER TWO: EVALUATION OF NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE, SUITABILITY, AND FEASIBILITY

Chapter Overview

Proposals for new parks are carefully analyzed in a SRS to ensure only the most outstanding resources are considered for addition to the National Park System. In Chapter Two, the Fort King site is evaluated for potential national significance, suitability, and feasibility using criteria established by law and NPS policy. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of costs, phasing, and partnership opportunities.

Evaluation of National Significance

National Historic Landmark Designation

NHL designation serves as official recognition by the federal government of the national significance of a historic property. To be eligible for designation, an area must meet at least one of six “Specific Criteria of National Significance” contained in 36 CFR Part 65.

Fort King was designated a NHL in 2004 by the Secretary of the Interior. The site qualified for designation based on Criterion 1, 2, and 6.

- Criterion 1: association with events that made a significant contribution to and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained. The quality of the property to convey and interpret its meaning must be of a high order and relate to national themes rather than state or local themes.
- Criterion 2: association of the property importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States. Again, the person associated to the property must be of a high order and relate to national themes rather than state or local themes.
- Criterion 6: developed specifically to recognize archeological sites, sites qualifying under this criterion must yield or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites should be expected to yield data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

Statement of National Significance

For the purposes of this study, the following discussion of criteria for national significance serves as the statement of national significance for the Fort King site.

Criterion 1, association with broad, national patterns or themes of United States History

Under Criterion 1, the Fort King site demonstrates strong associations with the origins and progress of the Second Seminole War, part of the broader themes of Indian Removal and Jacksonian Democracy, Manifest Destiny, and Westward Expansion. In 1820, 125,000 American Indians were living east of the Mississippi. Under the auspices of the Indian Removal Act, President Andrew Jackson and his predecessors removed most of them to lands west of the Mississippi over the course of the next several decades. Most of the American Indian groups affected by the Indian Removal Act protested vehemently, but under enormous pressure, eventually agreed to remove peacefully. A few tribes used force to resist removal. By 1844, the Native population living east of the Mississippi was reduced to 30,000, almost all of which were living in undeveloped areas adjacent to Lake Superior (Rogin 1975:4).

Although most American Indians affected by the Indian Removal Act eventually removed peacefully, there were a few exceptions. For instance, Black Hawk led approximately 2,000 people of the Fox and Sac in an attempt to reoccupy their traditional lands in northern Illinois. After a short but bitter war the Fox and Sac people were forced to retreat west of the Mississippi in compliance with the Indian Removal Act. Once there, they were slaughtered by their Sioux enemies (Wallace 1970).

Of all the tribes affected by the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the Seminoles put up the fiercest resistance. The Second Seminole War was the longest Indian war in U.S. history (Hunt and Piatek 1989:1). In fact, the only U.S. military conflict that lasted longer was the Vietnam War (Brown 1983:454). The Second Seminole War was also the most expensive Indian war, costing the government and American settlers an estimated \$30 to \$40 million in expense and property damage. American deaths numbered 1,466 regulars, 55 militiamen, and almost 100 civilians. Most of these deaths, especially for the combatants, were the result of disease and other hardships rather than wounds suffered in battle. In the end, more than 4,000 Seminoles and Black Seminoles were removed west of the Mississippi with approximately 600 Seminoles strategically retreating to the wetland areas of southern Florida.

Fort King was central to the origins of the Second Seminole War. It initially served as an important military post on the edge of the Seminole Reservation

to provide protection and security to the inhabitants of Florida. When, under Jackson's presidency, the U.S. policy concerning the Seminoles changed from one of containment to one of removal, Fort King served as a council site to work out the details. At these councils, the Seminoles expressed their opposition to removal. Osceola's eventual killing of Seminole removal Agent Wiley Thompson at Fort King is one of the two attacks that mark the beginning of the war. The fort played an important role throughout most of this conflict eventually serving as headquarters for the Army of the South in 1840. The capture of Halleck Tustenuggee at Fort King in 1842, after the Seminole leader accepted what he thought was a friendly invitation, is representative of the treachery employed by Florida commanders late in the war to achieve the goal of removal. In contrast, Fort King was also the site of an important council late in the war between Major General Alexander Macomb and Seminole leaders that resulted in a new reservation for the Seminoles. When Colonel Worth eventually declared the Second Seminole War over in 1842, he informed the few Seminoles remaining in Florida that they must remain within the bounds of this new reservation (Mahon 1985; Covington 1993:72).

Criterion 2, important association with persons nationally significant in United States History

Under Criterion 2, the Fort King site is strongly associated with the "productive life" (see Glossary for definition) of the famous American Indian leader, Osceola. During Agent Thompson's removal councils at Fort King, Osceola first came to be noticed by Americans as a force with which to be reckoned. It is also in these councils that Osceola, after trying to operate behind the scenes, finally assumed more of a leadership role among his own people. Thompson's imprisonment of Osceola at Fort King was an insult to the Seminoles that Alligator, the Tallahassee chief, later cited as one of the main grievances that led to open conflict with the U.S. military. Finally, Osceola's killing of Agent Thompson outside of Fort King was one of two simultaneous attacks that marked the beginning of the Second Seminole War, a "crossing of the Rubicon" for the Seminoles in their dealings with the U.S. government. After this attack and the simultaneous destruction of Dade's troops on their way to Fort King, retaliation and forced removal efforts by the U.S. were inevitable and Osceola's name became known throughout the nation as a leader of the Seminole resistance.

At Fort King, the three most populous races of the nation at the time spoke to each other in unmistakable terms. Here, the dominant Anglo American population made clear its view of American Indians: they were expected to turn over their lands for American "progress" and the good of the nation. If they did not,

any means necessary would be used against them. The Seminoles and Black Seminoles must be removed to eliminate a safe haven for enslaved escaped slaves and inspiration for insurrection among the still enslaved African American population in the South.

The Seminole Indians' attitude towards U.S. removal plans was reiterated many times: they were not willing to leave their homes. Although ignored in the initial councils at Fort King, the Seminoles made their voices heard through the killing of Agent Thompson at the Fort and during the ensuing Second Seminole War. Black Seminoles, by fighting American soldiers, made clear they did not want to be enslaved by whites again.

Criterion 6, the potential to provide information of major scientific importance about this area of the United States and about the events that took place at Fort King.

Under Criterion 6, research on the military component of the Fort King site has the potential to yield important information on the design details of both Fort Kings. The identification of architectural and structural details such as post holes and nails provide important information about the orientation of the fort and its associated structures. Archeological information provides ample evidence of the landscape, layout, and configuration of Fort King during its period of significance. Combined with the landscape details still present at the site today, it is possible not only to envision the layout of the fort during its period of national significance, but also to identify specific locations essential for conveying the national significance of the site.

Other archeological information such as evidence of the burning of the fort and specific location information with regard to nationally significant events which occurred here can be gathered and ultimately heighten the ability of the fort site to convey its national significance. For instance, the identification of postholes in relation to other features may help identify the location of the sutler's store where Osceola is said to have killed Agent Thompson, or the fort's guardhouse where a violently furious Osceola was imprisoned after confronting Thompson and adamantly rejected his demand that the Seminole leave Florida – actions which made Osceola a nationally recognized figure and were direct catalysts for the war.

Compared to other Second Seminole War sites, Fort King contains the greatest wealth of intact subsurface features and artifacts presently documented (Hellmann and Prentice 2000:58). It has long been recognized that the archeological record can provide important information about cultural interaction and exchange. At Fort King we find a unique situation in which European Americans, African Americans and American Indians not only interacted at council sites, but lived and

worked in close proximity for a number of years. It has been noted that the Seminole Agency and Fort King were established well before the Second Seminole War, thus, this area had long been a location where these diverse groups interacted. Some of the broader nationally significant research questions identified by Hellmann and Prentice (2000:78, 79) include the following:

- As a major frontier fort and base of operations during the Second Seminole War, how were the lives of troops and officers stationed there similar to or different from more remote, smaller outposts?
- What was the nature and to what extent did the occupants at Fort King interact with the Seminoles, Black Seminoles, and escaped enslaved Africans and African Americans during the prewar years (1820s) and during the period of the fort's national significance? At what levels can we understand cultural interaction and exchange between these groups? At what level can we understand acculturation between these groups?
- To what extent did those stationed at Fort King, both before and during the Second Seminole War, rely on locally available foods (e.g., gardening, hunting, and fishing) compared to government issued rations?
- Since the preservation of floral remains at open-air archeological sites is commonly limited to carbonized (burned) materials, did the burning of the first Fort King in 1836 preserve a wealth of floral evidence not normally recovered at unburned sites?
- What medical prescriptions were employed during the time leading up to the abandonment of the fort in 1836 due to epidemic disease, and was frontier medicine different from standard medical practices at the time?
- Are the patterns of architectural nail use identified by Ellis at Fort King similar to those found at other forts, and are they appreciably different from nail patterns found at contemporary domestic sites?
- Is the historic ceramic assemblage present at the site in any way different from contemporary domestic assemblages, and if so, what might account for the differences?
- Presumably, a military installation would exhibit an artifactual assemblage dominated by items and patterns reflecting male-related behaviors. Do patterns of male-related behaviors exhibited at Fort King find analogs at contemporary non-military, domestic sites in the region?

National Historic Landmarks Criterion Exception 3 is applicable to the Fort King site. Under this Exception,

the site of a building or structure no longer standing would qualify if the person or event associated with it is of superior importance in the nation's history and the association is consequential. Although ample archaeological evidence has been collected to identify the site as the actual location of Fort King, no above ground remnants of the fort are visible. However, as documented in this nomination, Fort King has highly significant associations with the Second Seminole War, the longest, most deadly and costly conflict associated with Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act. Further, the site of Fort King is also strongly associated with Osceola, one of the major figures in American Indian history.

Regional Significance

Archaeological investigations (Piatek 1995b:103; Piatek 1995c:180; Ellis 1995:60; GARI 1998:31) have indicated the presence of several precontact American Indian components at the Fort King site: a Late Archaic period (ca. 2300–500 BC) component, a Cades Pond Weeden Island-related (ca. AD 100–600) component, and an Alachua (AD 600–1700) component. These resources are significant at the state level. Important research questions that can be addressed in future research on the precontact components of the Fort King site include the transition from foraging to horticulture and/or agriculture between the Archaic and Cades Pond periods. Also, because the Fort King site is located at the margins of several archaeological culture areas, further research at the site could help determine to which of these cultures, if any, the formative material culture at the Fort King site belongs. Finally, the repeated occupations of the Fort King site from the Archaic through the formative period can offer important insight into how precontact societies adapted to the changing environment at the Fort King site (Hellmann and Prentice 2000:79).

Archaeological investigations have also identified regionally significant structural and artifactual features most likely related to the early post-military use of the Fort King site as the seat of Marion County (GARI 1999). Important themes related to this context that apply to the Fort King site include politics and settlement. The post-military component of the Fort King site has sufficient integrity to retain meaningful association among artifacts and natural features and thus has the potential to provide important information about the establishment, early settlement, and expansion of Marion County and the City of Ocala at the local and state levels of significance.

NPS Assessment of National Significance

The Fort King site meets the criterion of national significance established for consideration as a new unit of the national park system.

Evaluation of Suitability

An area that is nationally significant must also meet criteria for suitability to qualify as a potential addition to the national park system. To be determined suitable, Fort King must represent a natural or cultural theme or type of recreational resource that is not already adequately represented in the national park system or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by another land-managing agency. The following discussion compares Fort King with similar properties within the national park system, other National Historic Landmark sites associated with the same themes, sites in Florida related to the Second Seminole War, and sites related to the life of Osceola.

Interpretive Themes

Interpretive themes serve as the basis for developing appropriate visitor programs and exhibits at a national park. Under the Revisions of the National Park Service's Thematic Framework (1996), Fort King is associated with the following interpretive themes and theme topics:

Theme I. Peopling Places

- Migration from Outside and Within
- Community and Neighborhood
- Ethnic Homelands
- Encounters, Conflicts, and Colonization

Theme IV. Shaping the Political Landscape

- Governmental Institutions
- Military Institutions and Activities
- Political Ideas, Cultures, and Theories

Theme VIII. Changing Role of the United States in the World Economy

- Expansionism and Imperialism
- Immigration and emigration policies

Comparison of Similar Areas by Interpretive Theme and Theme Sub-topics

Service-wide interpretive themes and theme topics provide a framework that connects interpretation at all National Park System units directly to the overarching mission of the NPS. Theme sub-topics link specific interpretation programs at individual parks to that framework.

Sub-topics Related to Themes I and VIII: Indian Removal, Jacksonian Democracy, Manifest Destiny, and Westward Expansion

Several National Historic Landmarks are associated with themes related to Indian Removal, Jacksonian Democracy, Manifest Destiny, and Westward Expansion. Among these are New Echota, Hiram Masonic Lodge No. 7, the Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty

site, and Fort Mitchell. However, none of these are related to the Seminoles.

New Echota, located in Georgia, was the site of the Cherokee Nation capital. In New Echota, the Cherokees displayed more of the trappings of "civilization" than many of their American neighbors. Like the Seminoles, not all Cherokee acquiesced to removal. However, under enormous pressure from American settlers, and with Jackson's administration set firmly against them, most eventually conceded to move west. While there was considerable will among some Cherokee to put up an active resistance, the resistance effort did not manifest itself in widespread military engagements as occurred in the Second Seminole War.

Hiram Masonic Lodge No. 7 and the site of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek are both locations where southeastern Indian tribes signed important removal treaties. At Hiram Masonic Lodge No. 7 in Franklin, Tennessee, Chickasaw leaders signed the Franklin Treaty (Levy and McKithan 1973). A similar treaty was signed by Choctaw leaders at Dancing Rabbit Creek, in present-day Macon, Mississippi (Elliot and Barnes 1995).

Fort Mitchell, a National Historic Landmark located in present-day Phenix City, Alabama, was initially established in 1813 during the First Creek War. After the defeat of the Creeks by General Andrew Jackson, the fort was used by the military in attempts to protect the Creeks from American settlers. During the Indian Removal of the 1830s, Fort Mitchell was used to hold Creeks before they were removed west (McKithan and Barnes 1989). The Lower Creeks of Alabama and Georgia also put up some resistance in May 1836. Although the Treaty of Washington gave the Creeks the explicit right to stay on their lands if they so chose, American land speculators had been buying and moving onto their property since the treaty was signed. When they conducted a few reprisals against these technically illegal acts, General Jesup was called in. He captured most of the remaining Creeks, manacled them together, and sent them west of the Mississippi (Foreman 1953).

Sub-topics Related to Themes I and IV: Second Seminole War

The various aspects of the Second Seminole War represented by Fort King help set it apart from these sites in other states that also are associated with the period of U.S. Indian Removal. One of the main distinctions is that Fort King represents not only the U.S. government's Indian Removal policies, as seen through treaties or forts, but also native resistance to those policies.

There are several unregistered, National Register, and National Historic Landmark sites associated with the

Second Seminole War in Florida (Figures 4a and 4b). Forts Cooper, Foster, and Pierce all saw limited action during the war and are listed in the National Register of Historic Places (Hellmann and Prentice 2000:64-66, 77), however the Fort King site has a higher level of integrity and documentation.

Dade Battlefield and the Okeechobee Battlefield, site of the Battle of Okeechobee, are both National Historic Landmarks. Although these battlefields have relatively good integrity, they represent a different property type associated with the Second Seminole War. Unlike battlefields which often represent a single isolated event, field fortifications of the Second Seminole War were established to implement the conditions of treaties and support Indian removal by serving as a collection point for Indians and their cattle, as headquarters for military operations, and as a recognized location for negotiations between the government and various Indian bands and their leaders.

Additionally, field fortifications such as Fort King opened the inland territory to white settlement that had previously been confined to coastal areas. Military roads built to supply Fort King and other installations facilitated the movement of people through the territory. In addition to their rudimentary construction, this is a unique characteristic that only inland forts share (Hellmann and Prentice 2000:31, 69, 75).

Fort Brooke, established on Tampa Bay before the war began, was instrumental throughout the war's course as a supply point and garrison for many troops who saw action in the conflict. Its connection to Fort King via the Fort King Road allowed the two forts to be used in conjunction with each other as bases of operation and logistic centers. These two forts are considered by most researchers to be the sites most central to the origins and progress of the Second Seminole War (Hunt and Piatek 1991:1). Fort Brooke was also the point of embarkation for those Seminoles and Black Seminoles who were captured or surrendered during the war and were shipped west. Although evaluated as eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places (Austin 1993:132), the Fort Brooke Reservation is now completely covered by development in downtown Tampa and is not currently on the National Register of Historic Places.

Fort King is still undeveloped and readily accessible to the public and future researchers. The fort certainly played a more pivotal role than any of the less active forts established during the conflict, such as Forts Cooper, Foster, and Pierce (Hellmann and Prentice 2000:59-69) and represents a greater variety of aspects of the war than do any of the Second Seminole War battlefields.

Sub-topics Related to Themes IV and VIII: Osceola

Fort King is intimately associated with Osceola, perhaps one of the most famous American Indian leaders in history. The most important events of the productive period (see Glossary for definition) of his life have been described as the several raids in the Alachua area before the official beginning of the Second Seminole War, the killing of Charley Emathla, the killing of Seminole Agent Wiley Thompson at Fort King, the First Battle of the Withlacoochee, the siege of Camp Izard, and an unnamed battle on March 31, 1836 with General Winfield Scott (Weisman 1989:127; Wickman 1991:33).

The raids led by Osceola and his followers in the Alachua area just prior to full warfare are for the most part undocumented archaeologically. Probable evidence for one of the biggest battles, the Battle of Black Point, has been collected by Earl DeBary but a state site number has not yet been obtained (DeBary, personal communication 2001). The location of the site of Charley Emathla's killing will probably never be known precisely. The possible site of the First Battle of the Withlacoochee has been given the state site number, 8CI125, but has not received much professional archaeological inquiry (Weisman, personal communication 2001). The site of the siege of Camp Izard has been given the site number, 8MR2476. The battle with General Scott on March 31, 1836 has not yet been located and has received very little attention (Weisman, personal communication, 2001). It should also be noted that during these events, Osceola most likely made his permanent home at a site known as Powell's Town in the Cove of the Withlacoochee. The site of this village has received serious archaeological scrutiny from Dr. Brent Weisman (1989) and has been given the number 8CI198, however, the site has been covered by major development.

The location of Osceola's capture under a flag of truce near Fort Peyton is currently a matter of conjecture (Knetsch, personal communication 2001). The place of Osceola's imprisonment in Florida, Fort Marion, otherwise known as the Castillo de San Marcos, is listed as a National Monument but in association with themes that are unrelated to his imprisonment or the Second Seminole War. Finally, Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, the location of Osceola's grave, is a National Monument as well, although mainly for its association with themes unrelated to the Second Seminole War. Certainly, this site is not associated with the productive period of Osceola's life

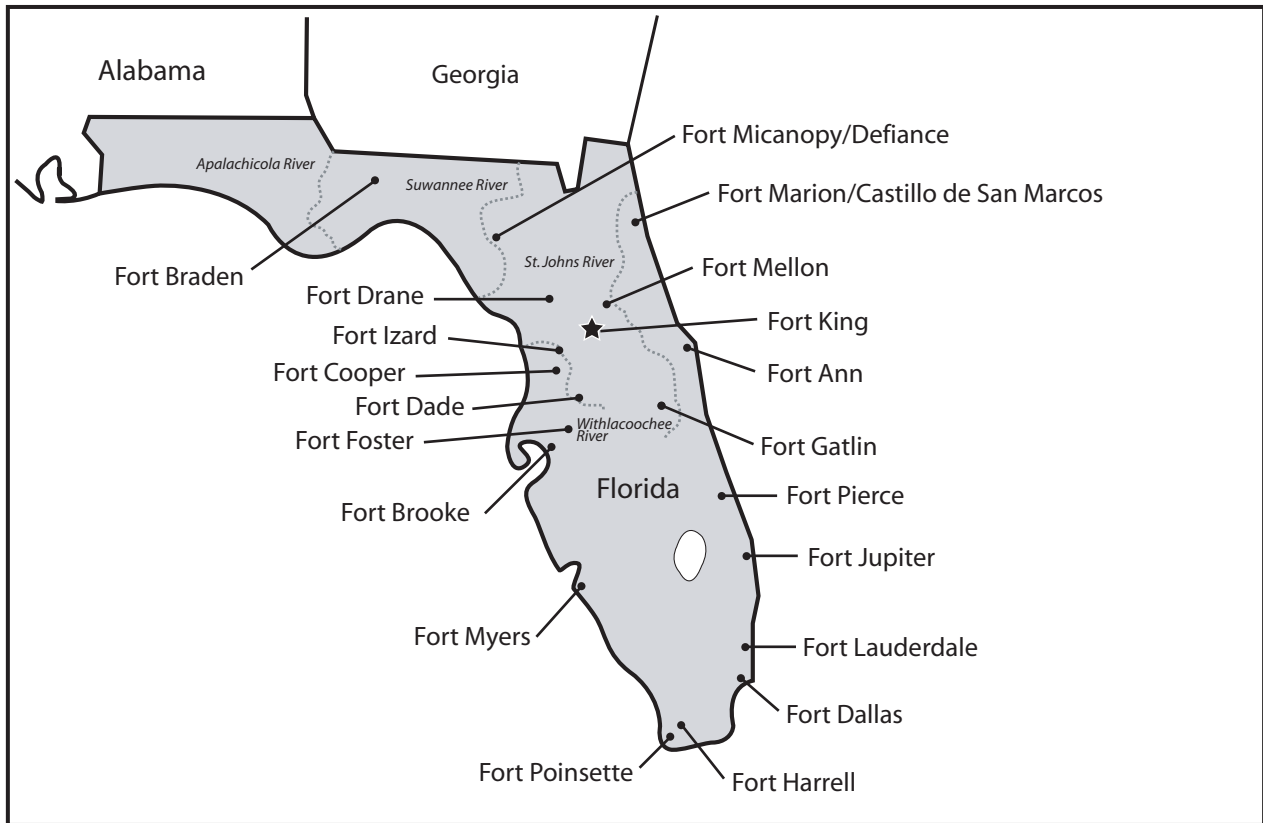


Figure 4a. Historical Locations of Other Second Seminole War Forts in Florida

Site Name	Current Ownership	Location	Documented Condition	National Register Status
Fort Ann	Public	Merritt Island NWR	Some evidence of fort still visible	Eligible
Fort Braden	Private	Near Tallahassee	Plowed, planted in pines	Eligible
Fort Brooke	Public, Private	Downtown Tampa	Paved Over	Eligible
Fort Cooper	Public	State Park near Inverness	Heavily damaged, few subsurface features	Listed
Fort Dallas	Unknown	Miami	Unknown	Unevaluated
Fort Foster	Public	State Historic Site near Zephyrhills	Mostly preserved, but few documented subsurface features	Listed
Fort Gatlin	Private	Orlando	Residential area	Unevaluated
Fort Harrell	Public	Big Cypress Natl. Preserve	Exact location unknown	Unevaluated
Fort Izard	Public	SW FL Management Dist.	Some agriculture, mostly preserved	Eligible
Fort King	Public, Private	Ocala Suburbs	Plowed, But Mostly Preserved	Listed
Fort Lauderdale	Unknown	Fort Lauderdale	Unknown	Unevaluated
Fort Mellon	Unknown	Sanford	Unknown	Unevaluated
Fort Myers	Unknown	Fort Myers	Unknown	Unevaluated
Fort Pierce	Public/Private	Fort Pierce	Mostly undeveloped	Listed
Fort Poinsett	Public	Everglades NP	Exact location unknown	Unevaluated

Figure 4b. Condition of Select Second Seminole War Forts in Florida

A comparison of sites associated with Osceola indicates that Fort King best reflects the place where he first gained recognition from the U.S. government, the U.S. military, and his own people as an important Seminole leader. It was also at Fort King that Osceola assassinated Wiley Thompson, the Seminole Indian Agent; an act that helped trigger the Second Seminole War and brought him national fame and notoriety.

Sub-topics Related to Theme I: Seminole, Black Seminole, and Maroon Communities in Florida

Weak Spanish control in Florida (1565-1764 and 1783-1818) and an expanding slavery-based plantation system in the Carolinas and Georgia provided opportunities for African Americans to settle in Florida. The Spanish offered freedom to escaped slaves fleeing to Florida, and communities of free blacks were established under Spanish authority. The site of one of these, Fort Mose, north of St. Augustine, is a National Historic Landmark.

Some escaped African American slaves established villages that were affiliated with Seminole villages, in a relationship sometimes described as vassalage or slavery. This relationship is not currently well documented or fully understood by contemporary scholars.

Still other escaped slaves established independent communities, known as maroon communities, encountered little colonial government oversight and enjoyed peaceful relations with Seminoles and Black Seminoles (Riordan 1996). Historical manuscripts, 19th century histories, census data and maps from 1828 through 1875 for the area around Fort King as well as oral histories of elderly African Americans living 1980-1985, support the notion that some contemporary Marion County African Americans are descendants of maroons, and freed slaves (Clinch 1835-1838; U.S. Territorial Census 1840; U.S. Census Bureau 1850, 1860, 1870; Giddings 1858; Florida Bureau of census 1865, 1885; Ley, 1879; Brown 1983-1984). The role, if any, of such maroons in the Seminole Wars has yet to be uncovered.

It is important to note that understanding the relationships between Indians, Blacks, and Whites in Florida is thought to be equally centered on learning more about community dynamics as well as interactions between individuals. Indeed, the nature of the historic ties between the different communities living in central Florida during the early 1800s is manifested deeply in the self-identities of many descendent contemporary communities in Florida, Oklahoma, and beyond.

The Fort King site differs significantly from community sites such as Fort Mose because it reflects a place where

the three most populace races of the nation lived and interacted in close proximity for a long period of time. Fort King offers a most unique opportunity to interpret the shifting alliances and conflicts that developed between communities whose ancestral origins can be traced back to three different continents.

Comparison by quality of site resources

Only three structures associated with Second Seminole War military use, including the Fort Shannon Officers Barracks in Palatka, the Clark-Chalker House in Middleburg, and the Burnsed Blockhouse in Baker County, can be seen today in Florida. None of these sites are related to Osceola and none of them played as important a role in the history of the Second Seminole War and the issue of Indian Removal as did Fort King. Other sites associated with the Second Seminole War in Florida, such as Forts Brooke, Cooper, Foster, and Pierce are all similar to Fort King in that none have original above ground components that are visible. However, none of these sites played as important a role in the history of the Second Seminole War and Indian Removal as did Fort King, and none are related to the productive life of Osceola.

NPS Assessment of Suitability

Although the setting of the Fort King site has been compromised somewhat by non-contributing resources, some important elements are still in place. Enough of these elements, the hill upon which the site is located, the nearby source of freshwater, the surrounding woods, are present to allow the site to convey its association with the Second Seminole War and Osceola to a viewer.

The Fort King site possesses integrity of location, association, setting, design, materials and workmanship. No other federal, state, regional, or local parks match the rich, diverse, and complex cultural resource base existing at Fort King. Fort King is considered a suitable addition to the National Park System.

Evaluation of Feasibility

An area that is nationally significant and meets suitability criteria must also meet feasibility criteria to qualify as a potential addition to the National Park System. To be considered feasible, an area's natural systems or historic settings must be of sufficient size and shape to ensure long-term protection of resources and accommodate public use. The area must also have potential for efficient administration at a reasonable cost.

The SRS examined feasibility in a three step process:

- Step 1: Document the range of stakeholder ideas and recommendations about future site development and management options
- Step 2: Assess sociopolitical and geographic characteristics of the site and surrounding community
- Step 3: Develop and analyze potential management alternatives that could be implemented at the site

Step 1: Summary of Stakeholder Ideas and Concerns

The NPS collected and analyzed stakeholder ideas, recommendations, and concerns in a process called “scoping.” As might be expected, some of the thoughts shared during scoping were mutually compatible and others were not. The following paragraphs summarize the range of stakeholder input collected. For easier cross-referencing, stakeholder ideas and concerns have been grouped into five categories which will be carried forward as an organizing element in the environmental impact analysis presented in Chapters Four and Five.

- Cultural Resources
- Natural Resources
- Visitor Experience
- Facilities, Operations, and Administration
- Socioeconomic Conditions

Cultural Resources

The following comments reflect some the main thoughts and concerns of stakeholders about the care and interpretation of cultural resources at Fort King:

- The park should promote continued research and learning about the Seminole War among historians and other scholars.
- Interpretive programs will be the most important activity at the site. Guided and self-guided interpretive activities should be available.
- American Indian history cannot be interpreted without close consultation with the tribes.
- It is particularly important to make this resource available to school kids.
- Interpretive programs must be unbiased. Need to insure that the interpretive programs are accurate and true. Political correctness should not obscure the facts of history.
- The Fort King story is important to African Americans as well as American Indians. Need to ensure this story is told and African American scholars and community members are consulted.
- The DAR site is an important part of the site’s history. Need to involve the DAR and interpret that site with the rest.

- Will more archeological research be done on the site? What will happen to any artifacts found?
- Need to protect existing artifacts from unauthorized digging.
- Many people would like to donate or loan artifacts that have already been collected at the site. The park should have a place to store and display them.
- Would like to see the cultural landscape of the site reflect some of the important historic characteristics from the Seminole War period.
- Site should look like soldiers are living there. Would like to see a fort reconstructed somewhere on the site.
- Interpreters in period dress would be very appropriate and popular at the site. There are many existing living history groups who could help provide this service to visitors.

Natural Resources

The following comments reflect some the main thoughts and concerns of stakeholders about natural resources at Fort King:

- This is the largest wooded area in the neighborhood, don’t cut the trees.
- Don’t over-develop the site. Keep as many trees and other vegetation as possible.
- Lots of suburban wildlife lives in these woods... songbirds, owls, and hawks have been seen there.

Visitor Experience

The following comments reflect some the main thoughts and concerns of stakeholders about what people might do and see at the site:

- A good interpretive trail system would help people understand the fort’s layout and use.
- Both indoor and outdoor exhibits should be provided.
- Programs at the park need to focus on the good and bad history of the site. Themes like Indian removal and the Black Seminoles should not be ignored because they embarrass some groups of people.
- Guided interpretive programs would help people better understand the complex history of the site.
- A visitor center and bookstore would provide year around orientation and more information than would be provided by trails only.
- The park should talk about local history too.
- The ability to accommodate school programs is essential. Interpretive experience should be as dynamic and interactive as possible.
- Would like to see an active archeological investigation or demonstration on the site.

Perhaps this could be undertaken with student or volunteers under the supervision of a professional archeologist or university professor.

- Living history demonstrations would be very popular.
- There are lots of local people with an interest in the history of the site who would help put on programs and special events.
- It would be important to me to use the park as a resource for encouraging more historical research about the fort and the Second Seminole War.
- Will there be opportunities for recreational walking on the site?
- Be sure to integrate the DAR site into your plans. The DAR has played an important part in preserving the fort's history and worked hard to preserve it for over 40 years.
- Would it be possible to create a stepping back in time visitor experience? A reconstructed fort would be a good addition in this scenario.

Facilities, Operations, and Administration

The following comments reflect some the main thoughts and concerns of stakeholders about potential facilities and management operations at Fort King:

Facilities

- Would like to have an on-site visitor center.
- Can the McCall's house be converted into a visitor center?
- Can the fort's outline be shown on the landscape?
- A reproduction fort would be educational and a benefit to the site.
- Can the existing structures be removed? They are too near the historic fort site.
- Entrance to park should only be from East Fort King Street. Other entrances would add too many cars to surrounding neighborhood streets.
- Need to include a restroom facility and parking area in your development scheme.
- Does the park need museum storage and artifact curatorial capability?

Operations

- Park should be able to accommodate enough people and vehicles for small festivals and other special events.
- Need a visitor center that is big enough to show a short film and a have a small bookstore.
- Indoor classrooms space is important if you are going to have school kids on site.
- The weather is very hot in the summer – often near 100 degrees in the afternoon. Need to include a place to get out of the sun in summer. A site without air conditioned space would be a

safety concern for elderly visitors and small children.

- Help stop illegal artifact hunting on the site.
- Park development should not cause noise and view impacts on park neighbors.
- Keep park visitor traffic off of neighborhood streets.
- Park should be closed in evening so neighbors won't be disturbed when they are home.

Administration

- There will be better chance of consistent funding if NPS manages the site.
- The NPS should manage the site because it has a higher jurisdiction and status than local or county governments.
- The NPS should manage the site because they already employ people with the technical skills necessary to do a professional job.
- Management decisions should be made in close partnership with local people and Indian tribes.
- A park managed by local governments will be subject to the vagaries of local politics.
- Management decisions at the park should be made by local people. The less Federal government involvement the better.
- I am afraid the Federal government will condemn my property for a future park expansion.

Socioeconomic Conditions

The following comments reflect stakeholder thoughts and concerns about benefits to local and regional economies:

- A NPS unit would bring more recognition and a larger advantage in marketing and advertising for tourism related businesses and partnerships.
- Local businesses like gas stations and restaurants would benefit from visitation at the site.
- Local property values might go up if the park was developed and managed well.
- A NPS unit stands the best chance of enticing visitors to exit the interstate and visit Ocala.

Step 2: Summary of Sociopolitical and Geographic Characteristics

Size, Configuration, and Access

The 37-acre National Historic Landmark Tract is of sufficient size and configuration to ensure adequate resource protection and to interpret those resource values to future visitors. The site is close to the central business district of Ocala and is directly accessible by road. The site is easily reached using public transportation and is located within bicycling distance of one of the area's largest community park sites.

Land Ownership

The Fort King site is owned and operated under the combined jurisdiction of the City of Ocala and Marion County governments. The DAR tract is privately owned but managed for public use by the City of Ocala through a cooperative agreement. The City of Ocala and Marion County are willing to donate their respective properties to the NPS for use as a National Park. Deed restrictions prevent the DAR from transferring fee simple property ownership to the NPS but the organization would be interested in negotiating an agreement with the NPS that protects and interprets the site. Resource protection would be enhanced by the future acquisition of one adjacent private property. Potential future enabling legislation limiting the NPS's land acquisition authority to donation or willing seller-willing buyer transactions would not adversely affect the agency's ability to protect and interpret site resources.

Threats to Resource

The majority of the site is in public ownership. There are no major threats to the resource at this time and the site is adequately maintained, monitored, and protected by a combination of law enforcement and the City of Ocala's comprehensive zoning and subdivision regulations.

Public Interest and Support

- **Congressional Support:** Congressmen Cliff Stearns and Ric Keller strongly support the protection and interpretation of the Fort King site.
- **City and County Governments:** The City of Ocala and Marion County Governments have worked in partnership with a variety of stakeholders to acquire and protect the Fort King site from incompatible nearby development. Both local governments have expressed a willingness to donate their properties to the NPS should the site be designated a unit of the National Park System.
- **State Government:** The Florida Division of Recreation and Parks, the Florida State Historic Preservation Office, the Florida Secretary of State, and the Florida Governors Council on Indian Affairs favor the protection and interpretation of Fort King and support incorporation of the site into the National Park System.
- **American Indian Tribal Governments:** Federally recognized tribal governments, most notably the Seminole Tribe of Florida and the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma have worked in close partnership with the City of Ocala and Marion County Governments to acquire and protect Fort King. The primary interest of tribal governments

is to secure a recognized consultation role in matters related to the interpretation of American Indian history at the site. All tribes engaged in the scoping and alternative development phases of the SRS generally support incorporating the site into the National Park System. A list of federally recognized American Indian tribes consulted on this project appears in Chapter Six.

- **Park Neighbors:** The main concerns of park neighbors are preventing excessive automobile traffic on neighborhood streets, reducing visual and sound impacts from potential park activities and development, and the protection of personal property rights. Park neighbors are generally supportive of an NPS presence at the site provided public entrance and exit occurs only on SE Fort King Street, appropriate setbacks and buffering are maintained between future park development and neighboring properties, and enabling legislation for a future park includes language guaranteeing future property or easement acquisition by the NPS would occur only on a willing seller-willing buyer basis without the exercise of eminent domain.
- **Interest Groups and other stakeholders:** The interest of certain groups and individuals include concerns about natural and cultural resource preservation, ability to participate in the development of future interpretative programs, and economic benefits. Generally, regional and local interest groups such as historic preservation associations, African American heritage scholars, state recognized and independent American Indian groups, and local businesses support creating a park at the site provided they are afforded an appropriate level of opportunity to participate in future operational and development decisions.

Budgetary Feasibility

Many projects that are technically possible to accomplish may not be feasible in light of current budgetary constraints and other NPS priorities. This is especially likely where acquisition and development costs are high, the resource may lose its significant values before acquisition by the NPS, or other protection action is possible.

The stewardship responsibilities of the NPS have grown significantly in both size and complexity since 1916 when the NPS managed about 38 national parks and monuments, all located west of the Mississippi River. Today the NPS manages 388 parks and other designated units covering 88 million acres of land throughout the United States and its territories.

In 1916, the parks under the management of the NPS received about 360,000 visitors. By 1963, visitation

had reached 100 million; and between 1963 and 1976, visitation double to 200 million. Last year, visitation at national park units was about 277 million.

The funding priorities of the NPS reflect its strong commitment to taking better care of existing parks. Most notably, the NPS has established goals of reducing its long standing maintenance backlog, strengthening law enforcement, improving visitor safety programs, and enhancing resource management. Using modest increases in its operating budget, the NPS has made significant progress towards achieving these goals by increasing investments in park infrastructure and changing the way we manage our facilities. None-the-less, much remains to be done.

Step 3: Development and Assessment of Management Alternatives

Working in conjunction with its many planning partners, the NPS drew upon this broad range of input to develop three potential action management alternatives and a No Action alternative for the site. Each alternative is intended to represent a unique combination of the various visitor experiences, management actions, site development, and funding scenarios recommended by stakeholders.

Alternatives considered but rejected

Three management alternatives and two potential design concepts were formulated early in the planning process, evaluated, and subsequently rejected from further consideration by the NPS. The principle reasons for their rejection are described below:

Management by the National Park Service

The NPS must ensure that the day-to-day operational needs of existing parks are met. In order to do more with available resources, the NPS must carefully weigh increasing its stewardship responsibilities so that the future demand for funds does not grow faster than the available monies. Therefore, in light of current budgetary constraints and other priorities, management of the site by the NPS was eliminated as a potential alternative.

National Heritage Area

A National Heritage Area (NHA) is a place designated by Congress where natural, cultural, historic, and recreational resources combine to form a cohesive nationally distinctive landscape arising from patterns of human activity shaped by geography. While the 37-acre Fort King site would not qualify under the existing criteria by itself, a consortium of many Second Seminole sites throughout Florida was explored. After further investigation, the alternative was abandoned because of the perceived difficulty in organizing and managing a partnership among the myriad of potential government, tribal, and private partners/owners of the

other sites and the fact that most of those sites are relatively undocumented either historically or archeologically. No stakeholder support developed during the public involvement process to pursue the alternative beyond the initial investigation.

Florida State Park or State Historic Site

Upon consulting with the Florida Park Service, this alternative was eliminated after the state agency determined its commitment to other high priority park projects coupled with the development, operations, and management resources involved with establishing a new unit was prohibitive. No public support developed during the public involvement process to pursue the alternative beyond this initial determination.

Off-site Visitor Center

The potential for creating an off-site visitor center was explored in both Alternatives C and D. The design concept was abandoned in Alternative C because it was thought not compatible with the “slow development and pay-as-you-go” premise of the alternative. The concept was abandoned in Alternative D because of stakeholder resistance to the government acquisition of additional private property and cost considerations. Should existing conditions change or new opportunities arise, the possibility of an off-site visitor center could be revisited in a follow-up study.

Reconstructed Fort Stockade

A small but enthusiastic group of local stakeholders desires to replicate one of two historic fort stockade structures upon the site. At face value, such an action appears to have merit because it would provide visitors with a strong visual link to the historic landscape and a sense of the site’s historic character. This document analyzes the potential of a reconstructed stockade from the NPS perspective.

In the parlance of NPS terminology, replicating the stockade at Fort King would be called a reconstruction. NPS management policies permit reconstruction in National Park Units only if:

- It is essential for public understanding of the cultural associations of a park established for that purpose.
- The structure can be built at full scale on the original site with minimum conjecture, that is, produce a new structure identical in form, features, and detail to the historic structure that no longer exists.
- Significant archeological resources will be preserved in situ or their research values will be realized through data recovery.

Upon applying the above criteria to a potential reconstruction at the Fort King site, it was determined

that the NPS would not likely support such a proposal for the following reasons:

- Numerous alternative and effective methods of interpreting the fort could be used to convey the site's significance to potential park visitors
- A lack of sufficient documentation regarding the fort's design and construction materials
- Potential damage to archeological resources

Action and No Action Alternatives

Alternative A

Alternative A is the No Action alternative and describes a future condition which might reasonably result from the continuation of current management practices. Under Alternative A, the Fort King site would remain predominantly undeveloped, public access would be restricted, and the site's archeological resources would be protected and preserved in an undisturbed condition.

Alternative B

Alternative B highlights the site's archeological resources by preserving and interpreting them in-situ. The alternative takes a conservative approach to site development that favors a simple and low cost implementation strategy.

Alternative C

Alternative C highlights a combination of archeological and historic themes. Existing site infrastructure is used as a base to quickly and efficiently provide public access and interpretive services. The alternative favors a development strategy that builds upon a modest initial investment and can be expanded over time as additional funding and resources are secured.

Alternative D

Alternative D highlights Fort King's strong association with nationally significant historical events and interpretive themes. The alternative takes an ambitious approach to site development. Its initial investment in cultural landscape rehabilitation and contemporary visitor service infrastructure is intended to quickly establish the name recognition and credibility necessary to attract higher profile partners and compete for private and public financing.

A detailed discussion of management alternatives is presented in Chapter Three.

NPS Assessment of Feasibility

The historic and natural settings of Fort King are of sufficient size and shape to ensure long-term protection of resources and accommodate public use. However, the NPS has determined that associated development and operational costs make the creation of a National

Park System Unit at Fort King unfeasible in light of current budgetary constraints and other NPS priorities.

Cost Estimates and Funding Sources

Cost estimates are included in the discussion of alternative management concepts (Chapter Three) as a comparison tool. In general, costs were determined using NPS conceptual-type (Class "C") estimates for Fiscal Year 2004. Development and long term operating costs are provided. Development costs include allowances for design, project supervision, installation/construction, and contingencies. Annual operating costs include estimates for maintenance, minor repairs, utilities, and staffing.

Hypothetical phasing plans are also provided for each alternative to show one way that proposed future site development and interpretive programs could be implemented. Phasing plans are intended to reflect the unique growth and development philosophy of each alternative.

Opportunities for Federal Funding

The NPS manages a number of grant and technical assistance programs to help its non-federal partners conserve, protect, and interpret our Nation's historical, cultural, and recreational resources.

Save America's Treasures

The Federal Save America's Treasures Grants are administered by the National Park Service in partnership with the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Institute of Museum and Library Services and the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

Grants are available for preservation and/or conservation work on nationally significant intellectual and cultural artifacts and nationally significant historic structures and sites. Intellectual and cultural artifacts include artifacts, collections, documents, sculpture, and works of art. Historic structures and sites include historic districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects. Grants are awarded through a competitive process.

Preserve America

The Preserve America initiative encourages and supports community efforts to preserve and enjoy priceless cultural and natural heritage. The goals of the initiative include a greater shared knowledge about the Nation's past, strengthened regional identities and local pride, increased local participation in preserving the country's cultural and natural heritage assets, and support for the economic vitality of our communities.

Administered by the NPS in partnership with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Preserve America grants support planning, development, implementation, or enhancement of innovative activities and programs in heritage tourism, adaptive reuse, and "living history" educational programs that may be usefully replicated across the country. Heritage tourism initiatives, promotion and marketing programs, and interpretive/educational initiatives are the types of activities that are encouraged by these grants.

National Park Service Affiliated Areas and other Congressional Appropriations

Designation as a National Park Service Affiliated Area would allow Fort King to receive special recognition and federal assistance beyond what is normally afforded a National Historic Landmark. The terms and conditions of any federal assistance would be established by Congress in the site's enabling legislation. Federal funds for Affiliated Areas are normally provided as a match to leverage additional non-federal contributions.

National Park Service Technical Assistance

Requests for technical assistance not specified by Congress are normally considered by the NPS in light of competing priorities in other NPS units. NPS assistance and training could be provided through the National Historic Landmark Program; the Rivers, Trails and Conservation Assistance Program; the American Battlefield Protection Program; the NPS Southeast Regional Office; the Southeast Archeological Center; or other programs.

Non-Federal Partnerships and Cost Sharing Opportunities

Operational and maintenance costs could be partially offset by:

- Donations or grants from state and local government, corporate, and/or tribal entities.
- The use of community volunteers and student interns to reduce labor costs
- Technical and maintenance support from City and/or County government agencies. In particular, landscape maintenance, security, and fire protection services could be substantially enhanced by partnerships between the park and local government agencies.
- Volunteer scholar and student led research activities related to archeology, African and American Indian ethnohistory, and ethnobotanical studies.
- User fees or entry fees to help offset operational expenses.

