

# The State of Florida

## The Florida Indians: 1954-1961

By James W. Covington

The decade between 1950 and 1960 was a most memorable one for the Seminole Indians of Florida. These ten years saw the filing of the \$40,000,000 lawsuit before the Indian Claims Commission, organization of the tribe living on the reservations into a self-governing unit under the terms of the Wheeler-Howard Act, the organization of the Miccosukee group and subsequent demand to be recognized as a separate entity and finally, some belated State of Florida assistance to the Indians.<sup>1</sup> It is the object of this paper to examine the efforts of the State of Florida and its governor Leroy Collins to assist the Indians during this time.

Although there had been several futile nineteenth century attempts to fund state reservations or schools, it was not until 1917 that the legislature created a 99,200 acre reservation in Monroe County. Due to its elevation of thirteen inches above sea level, the land had limited value for raising cattle or agriculture, but had possibilities as a game preserve. The state provided no funds for the upkeep of the reservation and state officials hoped that the federal government would acquire the land.<sup>2</sup> In 1947 when the Everglades National Park was created, the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund were authorized to exchange land in the Indian reservation for other sites. Consequently, 104,000 acres were acquired in Palm Beach and Broward counties for the reservation. One unforeseen feature of the second tract was that in 1955 Humble Oil Company leased much of it to explore for oil, paying in return fees which amounted to \$32,414.86 by 1956.

---

James Covington, Dana Professor of History at the University of Tampa, has the distinction of having more articles published in **Tequesta** than any other person. He is currently writing a book exploring the complete history of the Florida Seminole Indians.

In 1946 congress created the Indian Claims Commission by which tribes could establish claims against the United States government and receive restitution for illegal or unfair actions by the government against the several tribes including the Seminoles. In August, 1950, a committee of twelve reservation Indians engaged the services of John C. Jackson and Roger Waybright, attorneys from Jacksonville, to represent them in a suit for \$50,000,000 in claims against the United States government. This lawsuit would be a most complicated one and so far unrewarding for various teams of lawyers would enter and leave the picture. The Oklahoma Seminoles would dispute the claim, perhaps 1/3 of the Florida Seminoles or 400 persons wanted land and not money, but by 1984 not a single Indian had received either land or money.

Most of the portion that did not want money but land organized themselves into a group that became known as the Miccosukee Indians. These Indians, governed by a general council which was first headed by medicine man Ingraham Billie and later by Buffalo Tiger, hired an attorney and began making moves that would demonstrate to the federal and state governments and the white community that the non-reservation Indians wanted other areas of participation that were entirely different than those desired by the reservation Indians in Florida.

The next crisis that loomed on the scene of federal-Florida-Seminole relations was the attempt to terminate all federal responsibility for Indian welfare. Spurred by the Hoover Commission Report of 1947 which advocated the cessation of federal aid to the Indians and recommended that the federal services be turned over to the states, congress adopted in 1953 House Concurrent Resolution 108, which stated that tribes in several states, including Florida, should be severed from their federal relationship.<sup>3</sup> The Seminole Indian Association, Friends of the Seminoles and other groups including the Indians fought the measure until the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and a congressional committee decided not to end federal assistance to the Seminoles.<sup>4</sup>

In Washington on March 1, 1954, an event took place which would cause lasting headaches among federal and state officials for the next several years. In a petition written on buckskin and decorated with egret feathers, and delivered to a representative of President Dwight Eisenhower, the General Council of the Miccosukee Indians protested that the claim filed by the reservation Indians with the Indian Claims Commission had been filed without the consent of the Miccosukees and that

the President should send a representative to talk to the Indians. This petition was signed by ten Indians and translated by Buffalo Tiger. A copy was sent to acting Governor Charley E. Johns of Florida but both Johns and Eisenhower did not respond.<sup>5</sup> By September 17, 1954, the Miccosukee attorney Morton Silver filed a motion with the Indian Claims Commission to squash the claim of the reservation Indians.

Johns and Eisenhower did not answer the petition that was sent to them, for federal and State of Florida officials could not understand that perhaps one-third of the Seminoles did not want money awarded as a result of past wrongs committed by the federal government but an award of land. In addition, it was not understood that a considerable portion of the tribe followed procedures established in a traditional manner for the past one hundred or more years by the Council and to the officials the Miccosukees were a small band of renegades.

In 1954 Leroy Collins was elected to fill the vacancy left in the governor's chair by the death of Dan McCarthy in 1953. During this term and following a full term to which he was elected in 1956, Collins created an image of progressive leadership and concern for minorities. In 1957 Collins requested the legislature to appoint a committee on race relations to help preserve harmony and improve black living conditions, but the lawmakers did not follow his advice. Thus judging from his record as a moderate administrator who tried to improve the condition of minority groups, Collins was expected to render full support to the Seminole Indian cause.

On December 20, 1955, a delegation of reservation Indians accompanied by their agent Kenneth Marmon appeared before the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions (Florida Cabinet), which was custodian of the state Indian reservation oil revenue, requesting the oil funds be released to the Indians. They needed the money for indigent Indians, clothing for sick children and the end of unsanitary conditions.<sup>6</sup> Former Governor Millard Caldwell and, at that time an attorney for the Miccosukees, noted that he did not object to the proposal but did not want the Indians to state what they were going to do with the money. Governor Collins believed that the Indians should use the money to their best advantage. Finally, Fred C. Elliott, Engineer and Secretary of the Internal Improvement Fund Trustees, and one person from the Attorney-General's office were appointed to contact the Miccosukee group and get their opinion on the matter.<sup>7</sup> It would soon become apparent to the white officials that the Miccosukees wanted land and not money.

In March, 1956, a delegation from Washington headed by Com-

missioner of Indian Affairs Glenn Emmons appeared in Tallahassee before the Board of State Institutions and Internal Improvement Fund Trustees to discuss Indian affairs in Florida. They noted a need to enroll Indian children in the public schools and believed that the Miccosukees would cooperate if they were given a perpetual hunting and fishing reserve. At the conclusion of Emmons' presentation, the two state boards directed Elliott to confer with federal and state officials and submit a plan in response.<sup>8</sup>

By March 29, 1957, Elliott submitted his report and recommendations. He believed that the acquisition on an exclusive land use basis of Area Number Three of the Water Conservation Area of the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District, comprising from 150,000 to 200,000 acres, would be most useful for the Indians. Included in the proposal was the acquisition of four or five camp sites near the Big Cypress Swamp. In addition, Elliott proposed the provision for federal Indian schools that would stress Indian culture but lead to the admission of students in the state system.<sup>9</sup> Elliott also recommended the establishment of local rule for the Indians in which minor offenses could be settled by an Indian tribunal. Finally he recommended that a branch office of the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions be established to handle the oil funds, the state reservation affairs and other Indian matters.

It took some time to ascertain the feelings of the various groups of Indians and to formulate an Indian policy for the State of Florida. Finally in a meeting of the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions on October 16, 1956, business committees from the three federal reservations proposed that the \$32,414 in the oil and gas fund be spent to purchase 1420 acres of land.<sup>10</sup> In response, Fred Elliott proposed that a branch office be established and an advisory committee be formed to guide office affairs. Several weeks after, on October 30, 1956, a special committee composed of Ray Green - Comptroller Chairman, Richard Erwin - Attorney General and J. Edwin Larsen - Treasurer, hired Colonel Max Denton as Florida Commissioner of Indian Affairs at a salary of \$400 a month. Denton would assume his position on November 1, 1956 (operating from Elliott's office or another site), and make a study of all laws pertaining to the Florida Indians.<sup>11</sup> The State of Florida was in the Indian business.

The appointment of Denton alarmed both the federal Indian officials and several organizations supporting Indians. On the surface, the move seemed rather rash because funds supporting the office were taken from the oil and gas fund. Kenneth Marmon, Superintendent

of the Seminole Agency at Dania wrote to Collins inquiring into the status of the office and the source of funding. In reply, Collins noted that the \$5,196 operating funds for the Indian office were borrowed from the oil and gas lease fund and would be repaid from general revenue effective June 30, 1957.<sup>12</sup> Budget director Harry Smith clarified the duties of the office to Denton: starting January 15, 1957, he would make monthly reports to the cabinet, but he need not appear in person unless requested.<sup>13</sup>

By April 8, 1957, Denton, having learned a few facts concerning the Florida Indians, was ready for a conference with federal officials in Washington. Represented on the federal side were Glenn L. Emmons, Commissioner, Indian Affairs, W. Barton Greenwood, Deputy Commissioner, and eight other high officials. General topics discussed and agreed upon included the following:

1. It was agreed that the Seminole Indians of Florida should be organized under a constitution and charter as soon as possible, but there was no mention of the Miccosukees.

2. The current law and order status for state, civil and criminal jurisdiction was most satisfactory.

3. Director Denton should bring up the matter of more land for the Indians before the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions.

4. Tribunal monies held in trust by federal and state governments could not be given to the Indians until some type of governing body was organized by the Indians.<sup>14</sup>

Next, Denton met with representatives of some of the off-reservation Indians at Everglades and with the Miccosukees at Jimmie Tiger's camp on the Tamiami Trail. In the Everglades meeting attended by Ingraham Billie, Sam Jones and a few others representing the traditional group, items of discussion included: land, homesites, grants of money and school attendance. Another meeting was scheduled six or eight weeks later. Next came the May 1 meeting with the Miccosukees at Jimmie Tiger's camp, which was attended by 50 to 75 adults. They requested that Area No. Three of the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District be assigned to the tribe and paid for from their claim pending against the United States government. In addition they agreed to prepare a constitution and by-laws to be approved by their people and, thus, to establish a governing body. Denton endorsed the proposal.<sup>15</sup>

On July 30, 1957, the Everglades Miccosukee General Council presented their constitution to the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions for approval. At the meeting Buffalo Tiger pointed out

that of the 355 Indians living away from the reservation, 201 had signed the constitution. Indian attorneys Millard Caldwell and Dr. John Miller explained phases of the constitution. The cabinet was assured that it was an agreement similar to municipal charters. O. B. White, attorney for the reservation Indians, pointed out some objectionable features to the constitution and alleged that it had no legal effect. Finally, Collins noted that the two groups could not be unified at this time and that approval of the constitution would not "detract from or deny recognition of the reservation group and their constitution." The motion to recognize the Miccosukee Council as the Miccosukee governing body was unanimously adopted.<sup>16</sup>

As soon as the Miccosukee constitution had been approved, it seemed that assignment of Area Three or 202,000 acres of land to the Indians would come next. Accordingly a meeting was held at Miami Shores on July 27, 1957, and attended by 86 white sportsmen, and several Miccosukees and their attorney, Morton Silver. The Indians were questioned on their possible use of the land and their refusal to allow others hunting and fishing rights. Silver allegedly remarked, "Give us the land and after we have it we will sit down and negotiate your hunting and fishing privileges." The white audience laughed. Silver pointed out that the Indians wanted exclusive use of 100,000 acres and would permit the whites to hunt and fish in the remainder. The sportsmen voted to hire an attorney and send a committee to the governor to protest the allocation of land to the Indians. They pointed out that 5,012 licenses had been sold for hunting and fishing in the Everglades but only 400 Indians were involved in the issue.

Despite the opposition, Denton pressed ahead to acquire Area Number Three for the Miccosukees. In a letter to Richard Erwin, Attorney-General, he desired to know the legal ramifications that would arise in the acquisition of property by eminent domain for the Indians. In reply, Erwin pointed out that the taking must be for a public purpose but the use could be public even though it would be enjoyed by a small number of people.<sup>18</sup>

More facts were disclosed in a letter from B. F. Hyde, Jr., Executive Director of the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District and custodian of Area Three. According to Hyde, 19,320 acres were owned by private interests, 1,960 acres owned in fee by his group, 15,360 by State Board of Education and the remaining portion owned by trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund. Hyde did not object to Indian hunting and fishing rights, public hunting seasons and exclusive frog gigging but noted that his organization had authority to flood the

area. In addition, if grazing, cattle raising and agricultural activities were fostered in the area, extensive changes would be required, including construction of canals, dikes and pumping stations.<sup>19</sup> By December 16, 1957, Denton and Van H. Ferguson, Director, Trustees Internal Improvement Fund, submitted a proposal to Collins recommending the assignment of 138,430 acres in Area Three to the Seminole Indians of Florida for the protection of "their native religion, customs, tradition and economy in their native habitat."<sup>20</sup> At this point it seemed that the Indians would be given some rights exclusive to the involved land.

The plan submitted by Denton and Ferguson to Collins and the cabinet was sent to Attorney General Richard Erwin for review. Erwin found no legal authority by which the trustees of the State Improvement Fund could place state land in trust for the Indians or to designate land for the exclusive use of a particular class. To remedy the situation, Erwin suggested that a public hearing be held so that proper authority might be determined. If some doubt concerning proper approval of the Denton-Ferguson plan remained, the Florida legislature should grant such authority.<sup>21</sup> Erwin issued a strong statement on May 22, 1958. If the state conceded that the Indians had a right to the land, Erwin reasoned, "Florida would admit that the monetary debt owed to the Indians was for much more than the acreage actually being sought."<sup>22</sup>

One important factor in Erwin's decision was the agreement signed between Attorney Morton Silver and the Everglades Miccosukees. In the agreement signed on March 30, 1958, Silver would receive a reasonable fee from the awards of money or land that the council would receive from the federal or state governments. As a result Silver would have a lien on these benefits and such a lien could not be recognized by the State of Florida.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, after receiving the advice of Erwin, the State of Florida applied brakes to the efforts to give land to the Indians.

In 1956 a split had taken place between the various elements that composed the off-reservation Seminoles. The off-reservation Indians headed by Ingraham Billy had hired Morton Silver in 1952. In 1955 he was joined by George Miller and Millard Caldwell. By 1956 Ingraham Billy and the so-called traditionalists broke away from the lawyers claiming that all the lawyers wanted was money, leaving Buffalo Tiger and some others being represented by Silver. According to the Indians, "the reason is that he [Silver] refused to do what we wanted to do. He wants to do what he likes instead of what we want. Mr. Silver wants to get a title of land to which we do not believe in."<sup>24</sup> In reply, Fred Elliott explained that Silver had no official connection with the trustees of the

Internal Improvement Fund and that the board's dealings would be directly with the Indians or with a representative selected by them and certified by the board.<sup>25</sup> It seemed that officials of the State of Florida were doing their best to avoid contact with Silver. Finally Silver and George Miller wrote letters to President Dwight Eisenhower and Governor Collins offering to negotiate the dispute between the Indians of Florida and the federal and state governments.<sup>26</sup> Included with the offer was a 60 day ultimatum in which the Indians threatened to take the matter to an appropriate international forum if it was not settled by November 20, 1958. In reply, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Emmons pointed out that the United States government had responsibility only towards those Indians who lived on the federal reservations. Just because the Miccosukees claimed certain rights, such rights were not recognized by the federal government.<sup>27</sup> The State of Florida did not take action within the requested time frame.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the tough stand taken by both federal and state officials, a negotiating session was held in Washington, D.C., on November 10, 1958, at the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Included within the group holding the discussion were Buffalo Tiger and his two attorneys, State of Florida Indian Agent Max Denton, the attorney for the reservation Indians, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Emmons and several reporters. The Indians and their attorney claimed that the State of Florida was equally liable with the United States government for robbing the Indians of their land and not paying for it. Denton, in response, reviewed historical evidence specifying that the treaties signed with the Indians had been negotiated before Florida had become a state.<sup>29</sup> Emmons concluded the meeting with an offer that he would use his influence to get the state to grant the Indians the use of the land.

In their next move, Silver and the general council tried to settle the matter of the liens and the lawyers' fees. Silver wrote a letter to the general council, which in turn was forwarded to Governor Collins, stating that he had no intention of placing a lien on their land for payment of fees or making the State of Florida responsible for such fees.<sup>30</sup> The Indians noted in their supporting letter that Collins had not met with them, but had made a public announcement concerning the lawyers' fees interfering with the land transaction.

On November 7, 1958, Governor Leroy Collins appointed a committee composed of William Baggs, John Pennekamp, Louis Capron, Harold Vann and Chairman Grady Crawford to study the problems of the Florida Seminoles. The group held meetings on December 4, 12, 13, 1958, and January 23, 1969, with various federal, state and private in-



dividuals that could furnish information. No Miccosukees were met by the committee. In a report submitted February 16, 1959, to Governor Collins, the committee found that the United States government only defined the Seminoles as Indians residing on federal reservations in Florida. Since all dealings with the Indian tribes were on the federal level, no tribe had a legitimate claim against a state. Because the Everglades Miccosukee tribe of Seminole Indians had a pending claim against the state "it would be impracticable" the committee wrote, "or impossible for the state to make any grants, gifts or leases of land to the Indians." Furthermore, they concluded, "the Everglades Miccosukee Tribe does not intend to live on the land sought from the state but intends to lease or use the land for profitable transactions. However," they added, "the State of Florida should acquire all land now occupied by Indian villages sited along the Tamiami Trail, plus adjacent land used for agricultural purposes and land used by the Indians to insure privacy in their Green Corn Dances. Finally," they suggested, "Indian monies held in trust by the state should be made available for medical care for the Indians and in making small loans to the Indians at moderate interest rates."<sup>31</sup>

The reaction of the Executive Council of the Miccosukee Seminole Nation to the work of the committee was an interesting contrast. In a letter dated February 10, 1959, the council noted Collins had expressed a great interest in the Indians and had wanted to protect them from the lawyers.<sup>32</sup> Yet, Caldwell had shifted from the Miccosukee side and was working for the Seminole tribe. The council, therefore, wanted him removed from the legal team. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Emmons had announced on television that the land claims were the responsibility of the State of Florida and by this statement seemed to have washed his hands of the land matter. In a second letter several weeks later, the council complained that the committee had been invited to meet with the council but it had not taken advantage of the opportunity.<sup>33</sup> Thus, members of the council wondered how the so-called fact finding committee could make a final report without talking to some Indians who wanted the land.

Acting on the recommendation of the committee, the cabinet voted not to make the large land transaction, but offered some concessions to the Seminoles. The cabinet rejected the bid of the Indians for the 200,000 acres, but agreed to acquire from private owners and to place all of the needed 18-20 camp sites under state control. In addition the committee voted to release the \$75,000 held in trust for all Seminoles for use by individual Indians. Max Denton was instructed to work out a

plan for the acquisition of the campsites, help disperse the money from the trust fund and to "encourage the Miccosukees to accept white schools, medical care and modern life."<sup>34</sup>

At this point, the Miccosukee general council could do little to protest the action of the cabinet for the council had expended virtually every weapon in its arsenal. But white friends of the Indians were able to reverse the tide of battle. President Evelyn Harvey and the Miccosukee Seminole Indian Association circulated a petition supporting the land claim which would be sent to the Florida legislature, the cabinet, Governor Collins and Congress. An open meeting was held in May at the Hialeah City Hall at which three members of the Governor's committee were questioned by the Indians, their attorney and white friends.<sup>35</sup> A salient point was the fact that the Indians had not yet seen the full committee report and had not been consulted in its preparation. As a result of the mounting pressure, in June the Florida legislature voted to set aside 143,400 acres of Everglades land for Indian use.

Although there had been little or no official communication between the reservation or official Seminole tribe and those living away from the reservations, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Emmons was able to arrange a meeting in Miami at which most of the Florida Indians were represented. On November 15, 1959, members of the Board of Directors of the Seminole Tribe of Florida and the Miccosukee Tribal Council met at the Everglades Hotel. The only Indians not represented at the session were those living in the area near Naples known as the "Traditional Indians." Without much heated discussion and a firm desire to settle a serious problem displayed by all, it was resolved that the reservation Indians would assert full control on the Federal reservations leaving the Miccosukees in control of all activities on the Area Three 143,620 acres.<sup>36</sup> Such control of the area by the Miccosukee council was in variance with a proposal submitted by Max Denton and Van Ferguson, Director, Trustees Internal Improvement Fund, who wanted the Tribal Council of the Seminole Tribes to have direct jurisdiction over the land.

Evidence that Governor Collins was not swayed by the action of the legislature was disclosed at a hearing of the Seminole Indian problems by the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions held on November 17 in Tallahassee. Present at the meeting were leaders of the two Indian groups, Bureau of Indian Affairs officials and white friends of the Indians including Robert Mitchell, Bertram Scott and Mrs. Evelyn Harvey. First, Emmons pledged that the Office of Indian Affairs would offer technical assistance but that the United States government did not want

to create any more federal reservations at this time. Collins replied that he did not think anything could be settled in the meeting because all types of legal questions could arise concerning land and the state was limited in action. Miccosukee Howard Osceola pointed out that the Indians had no claim against Florida, but both Indian groups had agreed that the state Indian land would be managed by the Miccosukees. Collins questioned the Indians as to possible use of the land and brought out the fact that little research on land had been done by the Indians. "In the first place," he concluded, "we haven't any legal authority to convey this land or set it up in any irrevocable trust . . . we do not have the authority to control the use of it and we can grant certain license and use and privileges."<sup>37</sup> Collins, refusing to abide by the decision of the November 15 meeting referred the matter back to the citizen's committee for further study. By April 5, 1960, the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions voted to make available 143,620 acres in Flood Control Area Three to all the Indians for traditional use. Yet, because some of the necessary paper work was not completed, the Attorney-General ruled that it was not binding.<sup>38</sup> Although the land remains under full control by the State of Florida today, the Indians have been granted a few privileges in the area. The release of surplus water from flood storage lands to the north make it difficult for even the deer and other wild life to survive during the rainy season.

When Leroy Collins left the office of the governor on January 3, 1961, he had achieved some limited success in assisting the Indians. The problems in dealing with the Miccosukee group and their attorneys, who could place liens upon land and initiate lawsuits against the state, forced the state officials who really wanted to help the Indians into a situation which prevented any affirmative action that benefitted the Miccosukee Council. Although denied use of the 143,000 acres, in the 1960's the federal government would recognize the Miccosukees as a separate group. They would also be given use of some land by the National Park Service and the State of Florida, and have a separate school system and cultural center. Finally, in 1970, they began a contract relationship with the Bureau of Indian Affairs by which the government gave them funds to pay for the schools and self-government. When their attorney, F. Bobo Dean, initiated a lawsuit for the involved land, the State of Florida and the Indians agreed to a settlement of \$975,000 for the land claim, 265,800 acres with hunting, fishing and living privileges, and 76,800 acres for a federal reservation, when approved by Congress.

## NOTES

1. For a brief view of the Seminole post Indian Wars period see Harry A. Kersey, Jr. "Those Left Behind: The Seminole Indians of Florida," in Walter L. Williams ed. *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era* (Athens, 1979) 174-192.

2. For an excellent description and evaluation of the state reservation see Roy Nash "A Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida," Senate Document 314, 71 Congress, Session 3, (Washington, 1931), 57-59.

3. Arrell M. Gibson, *The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present*, Lexington, Mass., 1980), 551.

4. Robert Mitchell, Seminole Indians Association of Florida to Governor Daniel McCarty, August 31, 1953, Administrative Correspondence, Governor Dan McCarty and Acting Governor Charley Johns, 1953-54. Box 26, Register 102, Series 569, Florida State Archives, hereafter cited as M and J, FSA; Mrs. N. R. Johnson, Friends of the Seminoles to Charley Johns, November 9, 1953, M and J, FSA; *Termination of Federal Supervision Over Certain Tribes of Indians, Joint Hearing Before the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs*, 83rd Congress, second session, on S.2747 and H. R. 7321, Part 8, Seminole Indians, Florida (Washington, 1954), *passim*.

5. Morton Silver to Charley Johns, June 10, 1954, M and J, FSA.

6. Minutes of Board of Commissioner of State Institutions, December 20, 1955 hereafter cited as Minutes.

7. *Ibid.*

8. March 20, 1956, Minutes.

9. Report to the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions and to the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund, May 29, 1956. Governor Leroy Collins, Administrative Correspondence 1955-56, Register 102, Box 19, Series 776-A Florida State Archives, hereafter cited as Collins Correspondence.

10. October 16, 1956, Minutes.

11. October 30, 1956, Report of Director of Committee, Minutes. At the same time Denton was being appointed, Bertram D. Scott, executive director of the Seminole Indian Association of Florida nominated Fred Montsdeoca for the position. Montsdeoca, who had nearly twenty years of experience in dealing with the Indians, would have probably been a better choice. Bertram D. Scott to Governor Leroy Collins, October 30, 1956.

12. Collins to Marmon, December 21, 1956, Collins Correspondence.

13. Harry Smith to Denton, December 18, 1956, Collins Correspondence.

14. Denton to Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, no date, Collins Correspondence.

15. Denton to Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, July 19, 1957, Collins Correspondence; the reservation Indians had adopted a constitution in August, 1957.

16. Minutes, Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, July 30, 1957, Collins Correspondence.

17. Minutes of Protest Meeting, July 27, 1957, signed by C. E. McLane, Director, Airboat Association of Florida, Collins Correspondence.

18. Erwin to Denton, November 1, 1957, Collins Correspondence.

19. Hyde to Van Ferguson, Director, Trustees Internal Improvement Fund, November 14, 1957, Collins Correspondence.

20. Denton and Ferguson to Collins, December 16, 1957, Collins Correspondence.

21. Don Livingstone to Collins, November 6, 1958, Collins Correspondence.

22. LaVerne Madigan, "A Most Independent People — A Field Report on Indians in Florida," *Indian Affairs* (April, 1959), 5.
23. Annex K, Miccosukee Papers, National Anthropological Library, Smithsonian Institution.
24. Ingraham Billie *et al* to Collins, October 25, 1956, Collins Correspondence.
25. Elliott to Ingraham Billie *et al*, November 7, 1956, Collins Correspondence.
26. Executive Council Miccosukee Indians to Eisenhower, September 20, 1958, Distribution of Seminole Judgement Funds, Hearing before the United States Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, S 2000 and S 2188 95th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington, 1979), 205-26.
27. Emmons to Howard Osceola, October 17, 1958, 58-14773 Bureau of Indian Affairs, Box 286, File 163050 Record Group 75, Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland.
28. Livingstone to Collins, November 6, 1958, Collins Correspondence.
29. Denton to Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, November 20, 1958, Collins Correspondence.
30. Silver to Executive Council, November 10, 1958, Collins Correspondence.
31. Chairman Grady L. Crawford to Collins, February 16, 1959, Collins Correspondence.
32. Executive Council to Collins, February 10, 1959, Collins Correspondence.
33. Executive Council to Collins, February 23, 1959, Collins Correspondence.
34. *Tampa Tribune*, March 5, 1959; *Miami Herald*, March 5, 1955.
35. *Hialeah-Miami Springs Journal*, May 21, 1959.
36. Minutes of Special Board of Directors Meeting, Everglades Hotel, Miami, Florida, November 15, 1959, B/A, SM.
37. Typed version, tape transcription of meeting held November 17, 1959, Collins Correspondence.
38. *Tampa Tribune*, July 31, 1977.