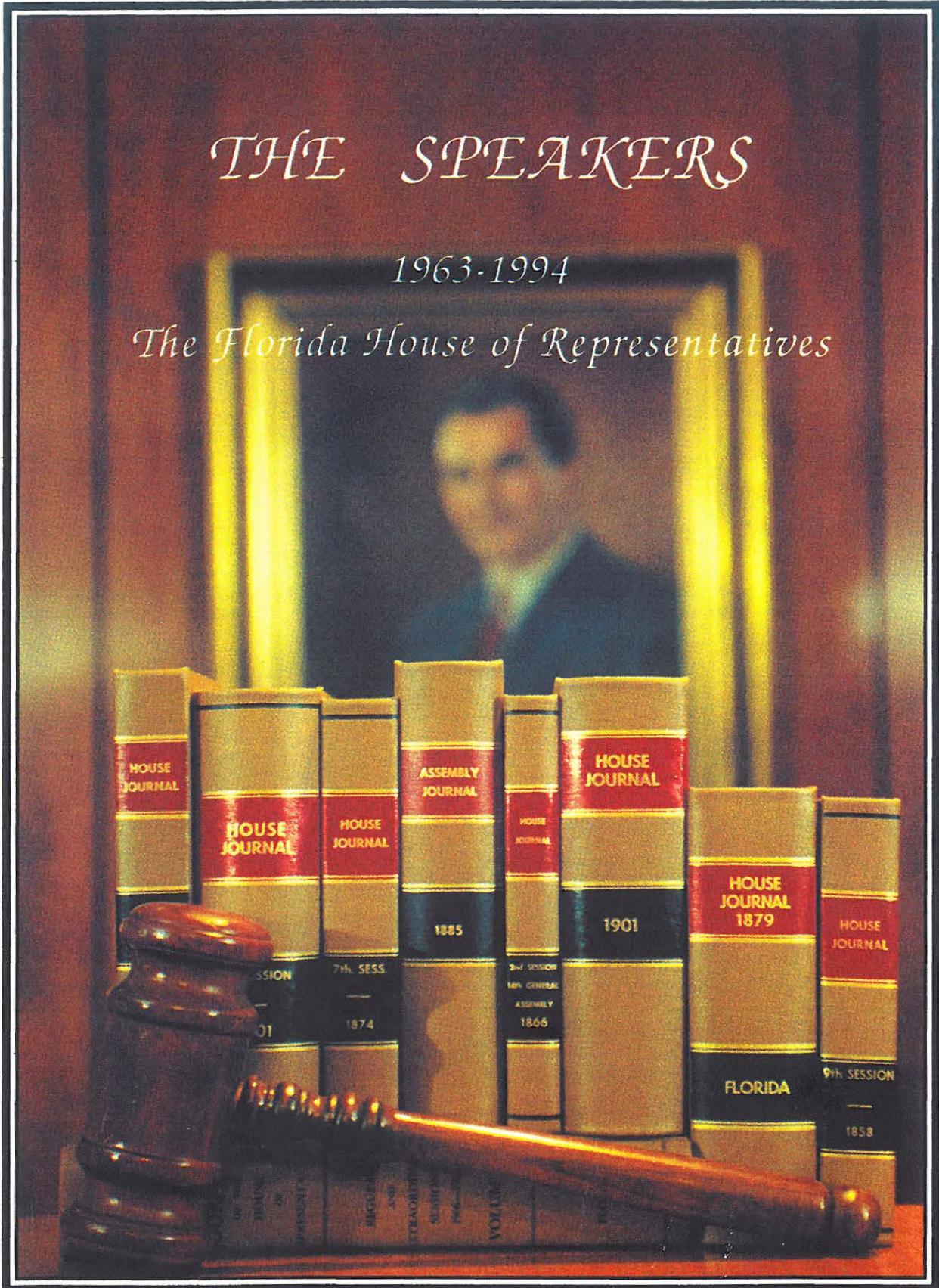


THE SPEAKERS

1963-1994

The Florida House of Representatives



Compiled and Published by

Authority of HR 1431

(1986)

Produced by

Allen Morris, Historian

Florida House of Representatives

Acknowledgments

**C. J. Beaty, First Assistant Clerk, House of Representatives
Responsible for format and text**

**Donn Dughi responsible for photographs
(unless otherwise specified)**

**In history I love only anecdotes
and among anecdotes I prefer those where I think
that I can distinguish a true picture of the
customs and characters of any given period . . .**

Prosper Merimee
Chronique du regne de Charles IX

December 1994

The Speakers

1963 - 1994

The Florida House of Representatives

Compiled by

Allen Morris

Clerk-*emeritus* of the Florida
House of Representatives

PREFACE

The roster of officers of the Territory of Florida gained an officer between its sixteenth and seventeenth sessions. That officer was a "Speaker" who served as presiding officer of the newly created House of Representatives. He was Edward L. Drake, a Whig from Escambia County. He had served as a member of the old Legislative Council in 1828, 1831 and 1838, and in the new bicameral Legislative Council in 1839 as Speaker. He served one session as Speaker.

A knowledgeable person has described the office of Speaker of the Florida House as being "uniquely powerful."

Some idea of the responsibilities of the Speaker may be gained from the fact that there are 483 occurrences, or mentions, of "Speaker" in the 1993 Florida Statutes. These occurrences appear in 353 Sections of the Statutes.

From the moment that a Speaker refers bills to committees, with their life or death power, to the indirect authority through his Rules chairman, the Speaker can determine what business will be brought before the House.

The Speaker's role has grown from being a presiding officer to managing a large and complex institution. The House has grown in complexity, diversity and size in the last 30 years, paralleling Florida's growth. The growth has occurred without an accompanying change in the basic organizational structure of the House.

The Speaker's span of control is very broad. His control crosses boundaries of party affiliation and is spread thinly over many offices. Another dimension is the Speaker's responsibility for legislative and administrative functions. These dimensions can lend themselves to a complex, inefficient and ineffective organization. Speakers have attempted to solve the span-of-control issue by increasing the number of second-line executives in their offices and delegating responsibility to them.

Perhaps the power to refer bills to committee may be the single most significant power of a Speaker. If he has an agenda, he can staff the committees to match his bills.

Speakers must consider carefully the makeup of committees; their decisions may well determine the public and colleague acceptance of their administration. A measure could be taken of the Speaker's strengths. Elected through the political process, he must give preference to the desires of his supporters. He must search out those with the talent adequate to chair a committee, while also taking geographical representation into consideration. Other factors enter his decision making, and when appointments have been made, the Speaker, by showing his hand, has surrendered a portion of his clout. An example of how that power was exercised occurred during 1965 when E. C. Rowell was Speaker. Rowell was committed to Representative George G. Stone as his successor. Before each Democratic Member learned his committee assignments, Rowell called him into his office and asked whether he intended to vote for Stone in the Democratic caucus. Stone was present at some, if not all, of the confrontations. "I laid the limb on them," Rowell recalled. Stone won the nomination, but was killed in an automobile accident before election.

The Speaker's authority is particularly important when the end of the session nears and the fate of significant bills may hang on conference committee actions. The Speaker approves half of each conference committee membership.

Visible exercises of discretionary power, beyond the reference of bills, are: the assignment of desirable offices, the acquisition of such equipment as computers and the unchallenged authority to hire and fire any employee of the House.

Under the leadership of the Speaker, today's House has developed into institutionalized partisanship, with Majority and Minority leaders overseeing teams of whips.

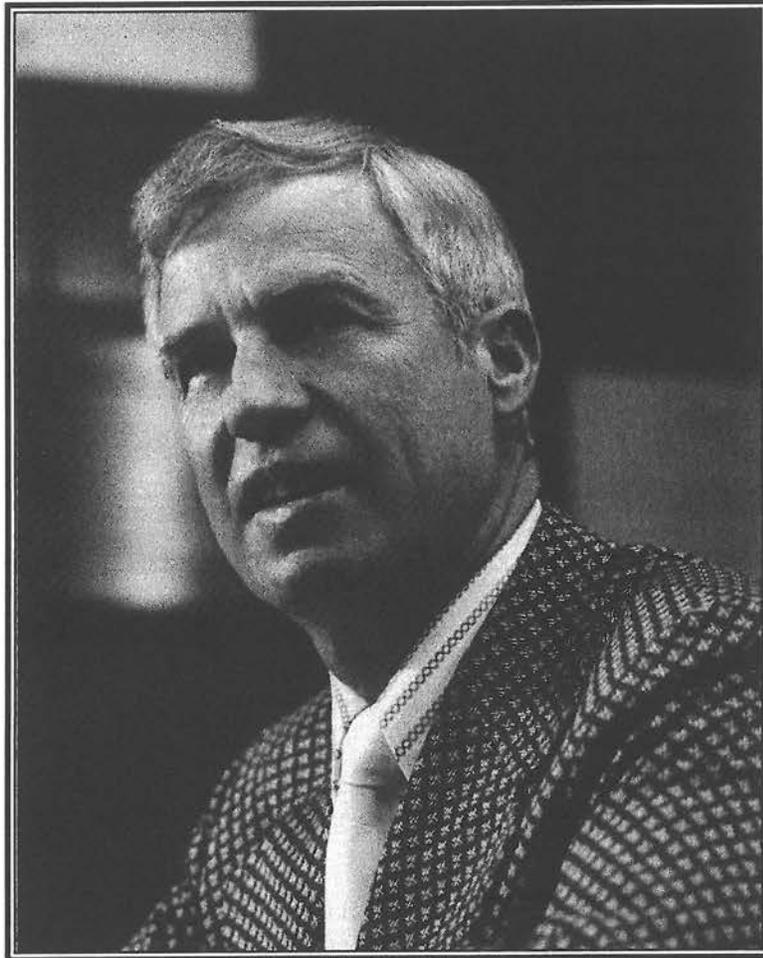
The Chair is the symbol of parliamentary government. Hundreds of years of parliaments, congresses and legislatures, in Florida and around the world, protect the Chair. This sanctity clothes the occupant of the Chair.

Speakers make many rulings in the course of an annual session and some of these may be questionable because they are given in the heat of debate. Florida's House has reduced the chances of the presiding officer going astray by creating the position of Parliamentarian. The Speaker will take the counsel of the Parliamentarian before making a ruling. The Parliamentarian (a Member) either joins the Speaker on the rostrum or occupies a front-row seat so that, in either case, the Parliamentarian is handy to the Speaker.

No appeal to a ruling has been successful in this century. The strength of rulings has been enforced by the fact that no appeal may be withdrawn. The Member, appealing the Chair's ruling, has the embarrassment of sitting there as his colleagues vote unanimously against his judgment. Yet the moment a Member appeals a ruling, rather than suggest the Chair reconsider, the presiding officer steps down and another takes his place. It is a moment of high drama with the result being the upholding of the Chair. Usually, instead of a more drastic action, it is suggested that the Speaker "revisit" his ruling overnight. This saves face for all concerned.

There are Speakers who regard their legislative service as akin to a holy duty. Among those who could be identified as possessing that belief are Ralph Haben, E. C. Rowell and Mallory Horne. Their sentiments were shared by former Chief Judge of the First District Court of Appeals Wallace E. Sturgis, also a former Senate President. He once told an audience: "I think of Marion County, and I know you think of your own county, in the same way as the citizens of ancient Athens. When meeting a person on the street, they greeted him by saying, 'Hail, I am a citizen of no mean city.' I feel that way about my county and my state. I am a citizen of no mean state, no mean county or of no mean city."

{Some findings were drawn from the Florida House of Representatives' report, *Florida House Operations Evaluation Project*.}



Mallory E. Horne
Speaker, 1963

THE SPEAKERS

MALLORY E. HORNE

One Florida lawmaker has earned the right to wear the badges of leadership of both houses—the red lapel rose symbolizing the Speakership of the House (1962-1963) and the yellow rose symbolizing the Presidency of the Senate (1973-1974).

That lawmaker was President Mallory E. Horne and Speaker Mallory E. Horne—yes, the same person. Never in this century had this occurred.

The Florida Speaker is uniquely powerful for several important reasons, as Mallory Horne points out. “He serves as presiding officer and majority leader. He is expected to be objectively judicial and follow the rules of procedure.

“Human nature drives a Speaker to occasionally permit an issue to sway the call from the Chair in favor of his or her bias on an issue.

“It is, however, in his power to appoint committees, appoint and condition the appointment of committees of conference and, therefore, almost solely determine the conference outcome on major issues, and approve ‘perks’ of all kinds that compound power.

“Through all of this a Speaker has the ways and means to cause his or her majority to reach the preferred consensus.”



Mallory E. Horne in 1949.

Florida’s Speaker possesses a generally overlooked power of training the man or woman who will succeed in the Chair. This pressure hones the future Speaker’s skills of leadership.

The roots of Mallory E. Horne go deep in the farmlands of North Florida with the blending of generations of Scotch, Irish and English ancestry. He was born in Tavares on April 17, 1925; but the family moved from place to place until the father settled into a permanent job in Tallahassee. Mallory’s father was a civil engineer and also served as the Grand Master of Masons in Florida.

Mallory describes his mother as “a devout lady who had been both teacher and social worker. She never spoke unkindly of anyone.” Mallory was the third child of Cleveland and Clifford Horne.

Mallory was driven by a strong desire to excel. He was the youngest Eagle Scout in the history of his scout council. He was an aviation cadet at 18 years of age. He married at 19. He flew in the Air Force Reserve to earn extra money. At the University of Florida, he was selected class president and Chancellor of the Honor Court. In time, he was an associate in the highly

regarded Tallahassee firm of former Governor Millard F. Caldwell. Caldwell welcomed Mallory to the firm with this greeting, "I'm going to pay you a hundred dollars a month. If, at the end of six months, you aren't worth that, I'll fire you."

Some Speakers preside as though they are teaching class. They enjoy teaching and sharing with their class—the Members of the House. Mallory Horne was one of the teachers. Speaker Horne relished presiding so much that he recruited outsiders—a political writer and an appellate judge as lieutenants for the rewriting of the *Rules of the Florida House of Representatives*.

The Florida Legislature, in the mid-sixties, held only a part-time claim on the life of a Member, so Horne formed a Tallahassee company named Killlearn Properties.

Near the end of his term as Speaker, Horne startled the House by introducing a bill abolishing the seat he had held in the Leon delegation. There had been a bitter and continuing battle over reapportionment of the Legislature. Horne thought that giving up his seat would restore good statesmanship. "It wasn't good enough, but it did end my political career—forever, I thought.



Senate President Mallory E. Horne in conference with Senator Wilson Carraway.

"Our local Senator retired and, almost without thought, I quickly and eagerly climbed back into the political arena. My 1965 campaign began in one county but was switched by Federal Court edict to a district of 24 counties stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico." In his first Senate session, Horne was thrown into the same seat but in a nine-county district. "Three campaigns in less than a year made me question my desire for such service."

Anyone interested in Florida government in the 1970s would do well to read Mallory Horne's book, *Indicted*. Some quotes: "I was one of four or five who spent eight to ten years trying to

reorganize Florida's executive branch. That created a lot of hostility for people in high and powerful positions who did not want to rock the boat. Florida had so many boards, commissions and departments, it was difficult for people to know where the responsibility was reposed.

"Even with the power of the Speakership of the House, I had not been able to pass an executive reorganization plan, but I did introduce a bill to create a study commission composed of legislators and businesspeople. Everyone recognized that we needed a new framework for the executive branch. So, the first order of business for me in the Senate was to stir this political pot called executive reorganization. That meant constitutional revision, so the two became linked, hand-in-glove. Six of us were on a conference committee for the longest period of time in Florida's history. We rewrote, in effect, an executive reorganization plan with a streamlined 25 departments.

"There was always some place to go every night, some parade to watch every Saturday or some trip out of town. With my pilot training, I was able to keep a tremendous schedule by flying. It seemed I was always on the run, going to the airport, dragging a twin-engine airplane out of the hangar, most of the time flying alone to all sorts of places to all kinds of political or business things, flying back home, usually late at night. In looking back, those memories characterize a life lived at too fast a pace."

A mystifying stretch of federal prosecution followed which reduced the prosperous law firm, atop the prestigious Barnett Bank Building, to a crippled and struggling, three-man firm in a scant few months. Before the shrinkage was over, the firm was reduced to one client.



Mallory E. Horne takes the oath of office administered by Supreme Court Justice Millard F. Caldwell on November 9, 1962.

Horne turned his life inside out in his book, *Indicted*: "The move next door [to the home of his wife's mother] cannot be left so simply said. With the last box loaded for moving, I turned in the dimming light of sunset for one last touch of this place I had dubbed 'Cypress Slough.' Grateful to be alone during this moment, I walked first to the long dock winding from one giant cypress to another.

"Out on the end, I sat and enjoyed the noisy 'goodnight' of the day creatures meeting the anxious wake-up calls of the night creatures. The giant blue herons squawked loudly as they skirmished for their roost, bothered noticeably by interference from smaller fowl.

"Memories of happier times here in the solitude of Lake Iamonia flushed my mind. I remembered the giant birds, herons and storks walking the shallow water in quest of fish and frogs that abound. Quaint and brilliantly-colored birds danced atop the lily pads. The silence of each night was broken by the melodious hooting of owls.

"All, man and creature alike, respectfully gave way to the king of Lake Iamonia, the giant alligator. They cruised the lake by day and night for food and shook the lake with springtime bellows punctuating an interest in sex and marking their claim of territory. Its cypress-studded waters worked a tranquilizing charm on everyone who could be still and gaze upon its majesty. Here, at this spot, I had come for twenty-five years to 'de-people' and to unscramble my life.

"As darkness pushed, I ambled back for a final walk through our home. Even with some of the furniture gone, it was warm and seemed somehow to understand what I was doing there. This place, known for years in Florida as the 'Little Senate' came alive with its personal function. I could almost hear the laughter and stories again now. Candidates for president of the United States, governors, U. S. senators, Cabinet officers and countless legislators had enjoyed the privacy of this house."



Senate President Mallory Horne poses with his official Senate portrait at the end of his administration. Horne is the only legislator who has his portrait in both Chambers.

Six weeks of trial was climaxed by a verdict of "not guilty." The trial was on charges that he flew his twin-engine airplane on seven trips to the Cayman Islands, loaded it with marijuana and distributed it in Florida. Other charges related to the laundering of the proceeds of those flights. According to Mallory, "Oddly, not one witness or one document was offered to substantiate that I or my airplane had ever been to the Caymans. My trial cost me my home, my car and used all of my accounts for retirement. In total, I lost about half a million dollars. I have only now recovered."

He is serving now as head of a small State agency.

THE SPEAKERS

E. C. ROWELL

Some legislators regarded E. C. Rowell as a crusty Rules Chairman or Speaker but others found him kindly. One of those who found him approachable described Rowell as like an M&M candy—hard on the outside, soft on the inside. Rowell served one term as Speaker (1965) and two terms as Rules Chairman (1967, 1969-70).

As Chairman of Rules in 1969, Rowell said with relish, “They call me the mean, wicked, evil old man.” One reporter said, “He looked the part, relaxing in the office he occupied as Chairman of Rules—hair slicked back, flat brown expressionless eyes, light glinting off a jeweled ring as he rolled a cigar between manicured fingers.” “But I have a lot of friends out there,” [Rowell] said, gesturing toward the House Chamber.” The reporter continued, “Suddenly the mean old man had vanished and in his place there sat a kindly, chuckling country gentleman. E. C. Rowell is playing himself, the longest running and one of the best acts in the Capitol.”

There is a fine line, in any case, between politics and acting; both arts consist largely of illusion. “And politics is E. C.’s game,” wrote George Kennedy for the *St. Petersburg Times-Miami Herald Service*. “The name of the game in politics is power, the pursuit of power.”

That had been Rowell’s fascination for 14 years, the mechanics of legislating rather than the substance. He elected parliamentary maneuver over floor debate. He was a master of the rules. “I don’t drink. I don’t go to parties. I’m in my hotel room studying the next day’s calendar. I do my homework.” The Rules Chairman is the one whose committee decides whose bills get to the floor, “. . .and if you make the old man mad at you,” said a Hillsborough Representative, “he’ll bottle up everything you propose.” Rowell, the Rules Chairman that year, referred to them as “dissidents.”

“Take the first day of session,” recalled reporter Scott DeGarmo, “when the Chamber was bursting with flowers and everything was very decorous and the early business was mainly ceremonial, E. C. got up to make a routine motion, one supposed to go off without a hitch, and of course nobody objected—except this one Representative Featherstone who got up and argued with E. C. about the rules. Someone up in the pressbox yawned and said, “I see Featherstone is committing suicide *early* this year.”

Even back in England in 1942, where Rowell was a U.S. Air Force sergeant, he was an operator, “a promoter,” he calls it. He got the idea Princess Elizabeth (now the Queen), when she turned 18, ought to invite his flight crew to Buckingham Palace and christen a big, new B-17 and call it the Rose of York. And he swung it. A sergeant! “The Queen and King and Queen Mother all were there, and the men from Scotland Yard. I can’t remember all the dignitaries.”

During the war, Rowell’s flight crew always had steak and chickens. They never turned out for reveille, except for one token soldier. Then Rowell married a girl from England he met when she



Presence of the cigar signals the fact that Speaker Rowell is not on the rostrum. “They call me the mean, wicked, evil old man.” But others label him “a kindly, chuckling, country gentleman.”

was out “strolling in the park” with her father. She was Marjorie Aylott of Bedford, England. They had two daughters, Barbara and Diane.

After the war, it was hard times for Rowell. Those times were so bad he wouldn't talk about it on the record. He was proud of his comeback.

He went into the bottled gas business and then into the loan business. He made investments, bought cattle and bolstered up his farming interests. He acquired 100 acres in Wildwood and another 250 acres in Webster. “I'm convinced a man in this world can do anything he wants to if he sets his mind in the right direction, and I'm a living example,” he told the *St. Petersburg Times* reporter, Scott DeGarmo.

In his district, he had constituents who kept him in office for 14 years. “That,” he told DeGarmo, “makes a man feel good, makes him want to be very greedy where his district is concerned. It makes him want to look out for the citrus, phosphate and trucking, and for the railroad interests that center there, and for the cattle, farming and wholesale grocery people.”



Supreme Court Justice Stephen C. O'Connell administers the oath of office to Speaker E. C. Rowell.

Take the fight to put a severance tax on phosphate. “That's an industry I represent,” said Rowell in 1970, “and as long as I do, I'm not about to let anything happen to them.” And then he said, “I've got a pretty basic philosophy. My friends don't make mistakes.”

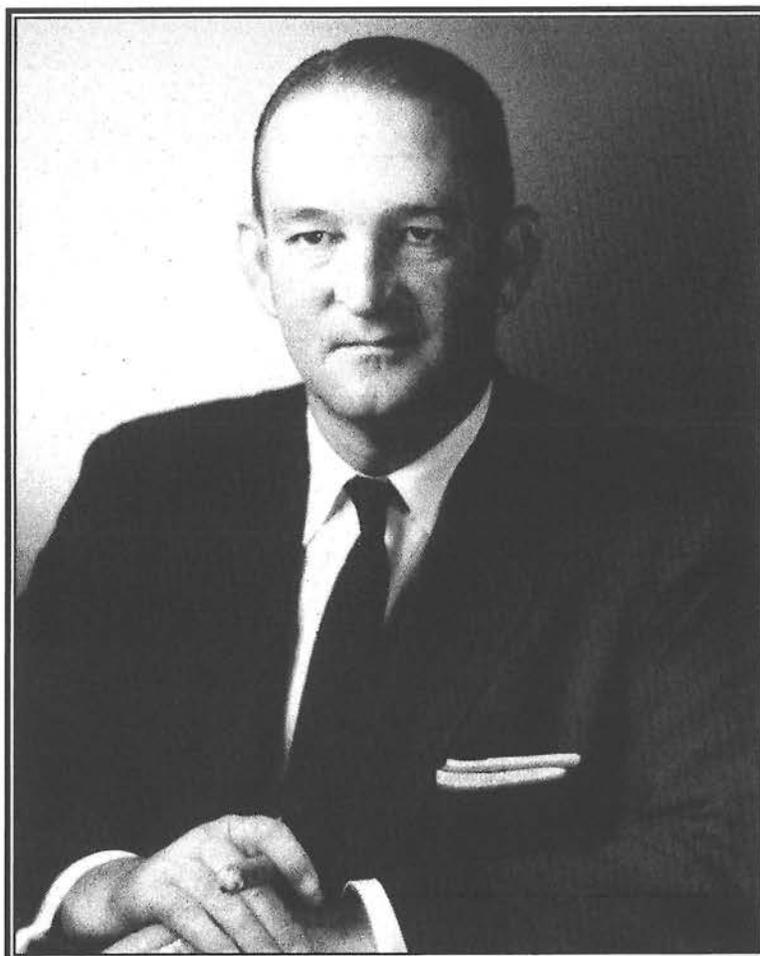
He liked to see his friends make it. Guys like Walter Law, the bankers' lobbyist, who was young, personable, very likeable. “I took Walter under my wing,” says Rowell. And Walter said, “When I came to Tallahassee, I was just as green as grass, like a babe in the woods. But if you're lucky enough to find people that will look after you and keep you out of trouble, then you're fortunate. And you don't get the rules of the game up here out of a textbook. I used E. C. as my text. I mean, anybody can come to Tallahassee, but if you don't know the right manners you're not invited to sit down. And to sit down at that

great American barbecue, to feast on power, influence, prestige, to be able even to dish it out—ahh, that is the American dream, making it.”

Rowell had a particularly difficult race for the Speakership. He was running most of the time, not against any other person, but against the intangible of what change reapportionment would make in the House. He couldn't know for many months, by way of example, just what would constitute a mathematical majority. He wound up with 87 pledges of the 109 Democrats.

The victory was especially gratifying for Rowell, for it represented a tangible achievement in his efforts to wipe out the 15 years of his life which he regards now as having been thrown away in purposeless living. He disappointed his father, who wanted him to complete his University of Florida studies to become a lawyer, and he was, by his own estimate, “a rough fellow.”

There's no doubt about it, Rowell probably shepherded more legislation to passage than any other man in Florida history. He did so without being identified by name with much of that legislation—for example, the enabling legislation for the Calder horse racetrack.



E. C. Rowell
Speaker, 1965

There were issues that stirred him. He was a crony and legislative supporter of former Governor Haydon Burns. But he was not a rubber stamp for Burns. The Governor sent a sheaf of bills to the Speaker for introduction and support. "I took eight and that left three or four that I didn't like. The Governor called and said, 'Mr. Speaker, you SOB, what's wrong with those other bills?' I told him I just was not going to pass them. He told me I would. I told him he could go ahead and try to pass them. I asked him if he would rather bat 100 percent. He asked, 'What did you say I could do with the other bills?' I told him again what I had said, and he said, 'Consider it done.'"



Leaders of the Miccosukee tribe honor the Speaker with a tribal jacket, which E. C. wore as he presided.

Speaker Rowell was a stickler for behavior in the House. He was in his office listening to proceedings in the House Chamber on his "squawk box" when one Member made critical comments to another. "I rushed to his side, pointed a finger in his face and said, 'We just don't talk that way in the House.' He replied, 'Brevard County elected me and I will say what I want to.' So I shook a finger in his face again and told him I was going up to the rostrum and would give him ten minutes to apologize or I would appoint a special committee to escort him to the Rules room and explain the rules to him, and I would get him to understand."

"I went up to the rostrum and took the gavel in my hand. I kept looking at my watch and then to him. He got to fidgeting. After about seven minutes, I looked at him and again at my watch. He asked for time to speak on 'personal privilege.' After being recognized, he apologized profusely to the offended Member and to the House."

Speaker Rowell knew when to be tough. His Rules Chairman liked to have his own way too much, in the Speaker's opinion. "He came to my office," said the Speaker, "and submitted his resignation. I grabbed him by the tie and told him I had given him the privilege of being Rules Chairman. He had got his way. Now that the going was tough, with the end of the session nearing, I was not going to accept his resignation. If necessary, I would announce to the House why he was quitting. I then put his resignation in the drawer of my desk and told him to, 'get out of here and do your job.'"

An inveterate cigar smoker, Rowell would not smoke when in the Chair, nor would he allow anyone else to do so.

E. C. Rowell of Wildwood came to the Chair of the 1965 House without ever having presided. Therefore, his ability as Speaker came as a surprise to many. He possessed unequalled skill in sensing the mood of the House either by limiting or extending debate. He was responsible for the first state funding of vocational/technical schools. He also brought the House into the computer age. A book about his Speakership, entitled *E. C., Mr. Speaker, E. C. Rowell*, is a must for any serious student of state government.

Speaking of the book, Rowell said, "The question is going to come up about the 'E. C.' That is my name. That's all the name I've got. It doesn't stand for anything. My father's middle name was Cleveland and my mother's name was Edna, and I just got E. C. and that's all I've ever been called. That's the way my birth certificate reads. I've had to answer a thousand times when I was in the Army that this was an 'initials only' deal. I would certainly not advise anyone to give a child initials only because they've got to answer all their lives that they don't have any real names, just initials."

Mallory E. Horne was Speaker of the House at the sessions of 1962 and 1963, and President of the Senate for the sessions of 1973 and 1974. He could pass judgment on E. C. Rowell's talent as a parliamentarian: "His designation as Speaker caught him by surprise and whipped him into a frenzy. For example, he knew nothing of the rules of procedure but could not stand the idea of being a flop on the rostrum, so I tutored him at his request. I would have him memorize five chapters of the rule book. Then, at night and behind locked doors, Sergeant at Arms Ballentine, a few young men in his office and I would simulate floor debate and 'points of order' and inquiry. He became a power and a very good presiding officer.



Speaker Rowell has his gavel poised to cut off debate he regards as needless.

"As his loudly-expressed challenges and threats became more and more successful, E. C. used that approach more and more. It changed his personality forever, for it served the purpose of elevating his self-esteem. He basked in the glory of his station and wore the robe of greatness with a pomp that gave him a feeling of 'well done.'

"E. C. prevailed to an uncommon degree. The House he served was in tumult, having two years earlier begun its changes upward from 95 Members. He did not face pockets of well-organized opposition manned by strong-willed experts in the art of parliamentary maneuvering. This opened the door to his approach to power—if in doubt, assume it."

When Rowell was Speaker, George Stallings of Jacksonville was part of his inner circle. They would meet most mornings to plan the events of the day. Unfortunately, George had failed to attend the meeting on the morning in question and, therefore,

was unaware of a bill in which Speaker Rowell was interested. When this particular bill was taken up, George read it briefly, decided he didn't like it and moved that it be laid upon the table. Speaker Rowell had relinquished the Chair and was patrolling the floor to make sure that things came out all right. When he heard George's motion, he jammed his cigar in his mouth and stormed down the center aisle like a destroyer under full steam. George was on the front row and Speaker Rowell whipped around in front of him, jammed his finger under George's nose and, in a voice that reverberated through the Chamber, yelled, "No, no!"

George was stunned for a moment, but then he lifted his microphone and said, "Mr. Speaker, now that it has been explained to me, I withdraw my motion."

A young lawyer learned a lesson from Rowell, then Chairman of the Rules Committee, during the 1967 session. He was Tracy Danese and he was in Tallahassee for the legislative session on loan to the Duval County delegation. Danese remembers, "One of my chores was to help keep the Duval delegation abreast of the status of pay raises for local officials which were making their way through the process in the main appropriations bill. Accordingly, I took a gallery seat in the first row just above and to the side of the Duval delegation's seats on the House floor. Anticipating efforts by ill-informed partisans of other officials to squander the funds intended for Duval officials, I was ready to render instant advice and counsel.

"As the amendatory process unfolded, I was able to use a casual nod of the head to the Duval freshmen on the floor. Then, with a quickening tempo of amendments, unfriendly to the deserving officials of Duval County, hand signals became necessary. Soon, my gyrations approximated a complete loss of motor control. A non-Duval Member was paying sustained attention to my antics. I assumed he was impressed with either my physical dexterity or the good job I was

obviously doing for my masters, the Duval delegation and the officials back home, including, incidentally, my own boss. In the midst of the confusion for which I was primarily responsible, a more senior member of the delegation, Representative George Stallings, came to the floor. After a hurried conference with the non-Duval Member who was paying such close attention to my good work, they both pointed emphatically at me and motioned to the Chamber doors. This was the usual signal to 'let's talk.' I was about to make the acquaintance of a 'kindly gentleman' from Sumter County. Arriving at the Chamber door, Representative Stallings and E. C. were waiting for me. George quickly explained the confusion pertaining to the amendments and asked me to write the correct figures for the pay raises on a sheet of paper, which he placed in his pocket without looking at it. Then, he explained how necessary rules were to the legislative process, and everyone, even lawyers, were expected to obey them. Still unaware of what I had done to evoke this lecture, I slowly figured it had something to do with E. C.'s silent presence. Standing there, expressionless, with his arms folded and staring me straight in the face, he was truly the most inscrutable man I had ever encountered.

"After what seemed endless minutes, but was actually a few seconds, the Chairman interrupted George. Still without expression, he said, 'Son, we don't allow hand signals from the gallery, not even from smart lawyers like yourself. It confuses those Members thinking on the floor.' I thought I detected just a trace of disdain in his reference to lawyers, but I was pleased to know that he considered me a smart one. He continued, 'George has convinced me that I don't need to have the Sergeant remove you from the gallery. And since he has explained the process to you, I don't need to talk to your delegation chairman about you. But, if you ever break this House's rules in my face again, you won't set foot in this Capitol until after I've gone; and I intend for that to be a while.' Then, almost as a footnote to the conversation, he added, 'George and I will get the amendments straightened out so that bunch of rogues you call local officials will get their raises, although they probably don't deserve them.'

"With that, he left us. George glanced at the paper I had given him, asked me to be sure the numbers were correct and followed E. C. back into the Chamber. A few minutes later, in a quick colloquy between George and E. C. on the floor, the Duval County pay raises were finally, and properly, embedded in the appropriations bill. That was how a not-so-smart lawyer learned to respect the legislative process. To this day, I don't even wave to a Member in the hallway. E. C. might be watching!"

The requirement of the 1885 Constitution that bills must be read in full before the vote on final passage lent itself to obstructionism. This was used in 1967 when Representative Ray Osborne insisted upon the reading of the General Appropriations Bill. The reading clerks labored and the Chairman of the Committee on Rules & Calendar, former Speaker Rowell, who was presiding, instructed the Sergeant at Arms to keep all Members in the Chamber, even using "seat belts, if necessary." Osborne, noting the distress of some of his colleagues who were reluctant to ask permission publicly to leave the Chamber, finally relented.

During the years of legislative anguish over reapportionment, one plan caused more division in the House of Representatives than any other. That plan, in June 1965, was fractional voting. Each of the 67 counties could have at least one representative but some would be able to cast fractions of a vote, down to one-tenth. The plan appealed to the Members from many rural counties because it would have preserved their seats in the House.

The opposition came from Speaker Rowell, who had been regarded by the small-county Members as one of their own, for Sumter County would have been merged with other counties under any other arrangement. Rowell argued that computing votes under the fractional system would be beyond imagination, but Rowell's friends persisted. "Little county people who had always been close and dear to me wouldn't speak to me," Rowell said. "This went on for a week or ten days.

You talk about lonesome, heart-rending times, that was it when my friends turned their backs on me. But I stood my ground. I spoke against it. We defeated it.”

In subsequent reapportionments, Sumter County was first grouped with Citrus, Hernando and Marion counties and next with Polk. Sumter then had a population of 11,869 while Polk had 207,008. But Rowell won each time.

When Speaker Rowell was awakened at noon on a Sunday during the 1965 session, he did not recognize his wife. “I was a complete blank,” recalled Rowell. “I didn’t know anything about being Speaker of the House. I didn’t know who I was.” That incident occurred after the exhausting weeks of preparation for the organization of the House and just following the Speaker’s Ball.

A physician gave Rowell an injection which put him back to sleep until that evening. When he awoke then, he had regained his memory. The physician insisted Rowell enter a hospital for some days of complete rest, but the Speaker refused. Instead, he convened the House each morning, had the roll call and prayer, and then turned over the gavel to someone else and returned to his office. He did this for several days, until the doctor felt he again had the strength to cope with a full day in the Chair.



Starnes Picture Service

A rarity, E. C. is amused. Also a rarity, E. C. wearing a bow tie.

“No one ever knew the difference,” said Rowell. “I never let it be known because it could have caused chaotic conditions. The newspapers would have insisted I resign from the Legislature or at least step down as Speaker. It shows a load a Speaker must carry. After it was over, the doctor told me that it was the same as battle fatigue.”

When Rowell was Speaker in 1965, the Committee on Rules & Calendar adopted a rule relating to conflict of interest which the Speaker regarded as, in his words, “window dressing. “He was on the rostrum when Representative Donald H. Reed, Jr., the Minority Leader, addressed the Chair to request a ruling on a possible conflict. “Reed was just grandstanding,” said Rowell afterwards. “When he got through, I rapped the gavel and said, ‘The Chair rules the lawyers will read the *Canon of Ethics* and we laymen will read the *Bible*. Take up the next amendment.”

The first House use of a computer came in September 1964, under the aegis of Speaker Rowell. It tracked bill status for the 1965 session using manual coding and punched card input. Florida’s legislative usage was the second in the nation, Kansas being the first.

This IBM installation enabled the Clerk of the House to do away with the cumbersome, oversized ledgers which, for practical reasons, were always a day behind in bill status, even though the clerk who was responsible for posting stayed until midnight or later. Members, staff, and the public followed bills through these ledgers. Some 200 copies of a bill status book are now printed overnight. Additionally, there are over 50 bill-status terminals throughout the legislative buildings, providing up-to-the-minute information.

In 1967, the Florida Legislature was the first to utilize real-time, on-line communications for a bill history and information retrieval system. This was followed in 1973 with the Legislature

acquiring its own computer. Previously, the House shared an executive branch mainframe with eight State agencies. Remote status terminals have been used in Tampa, Jacksonville and Orlando, as well as executive branch offices in Tallahassee.



Holding the line on the proposed billion dollar budget in 1965 is the responsibility of these legislators: Senate President James E. (Nick) Connor (left), House Speaker E. C. Rowell (center) and House Appropriations Chairman J. J. Griffin, Jr.

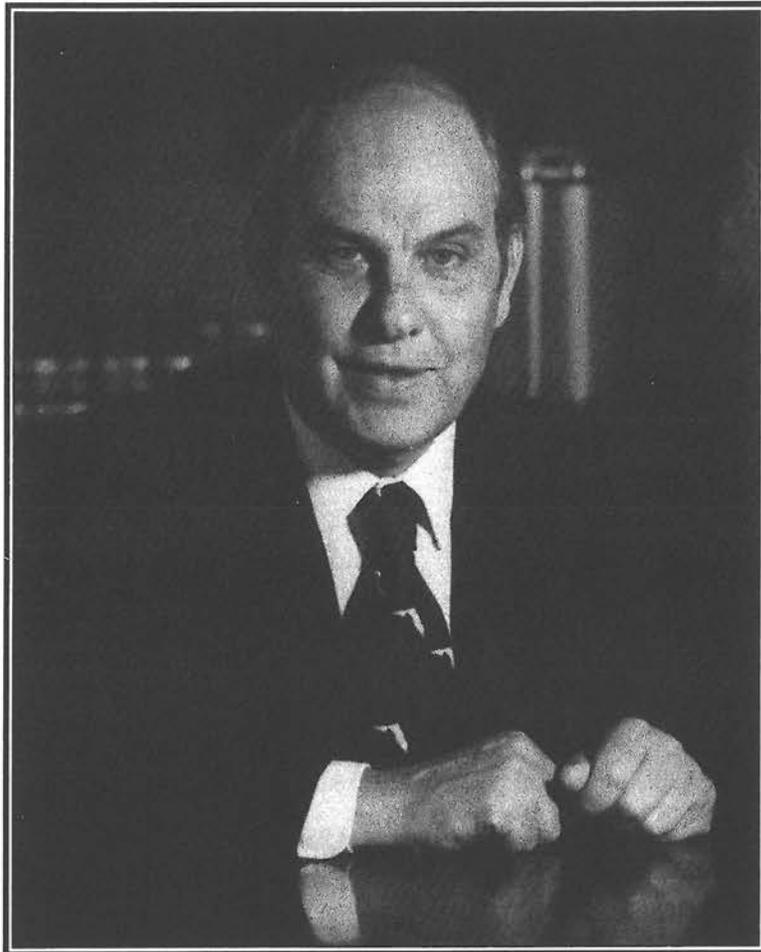
When Representative Marshall S. Harris became Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in 1970, he used the computer for an instant check on witnesses who might be tempted to misstate figures. Harris would pass a note to a staffer seated behind him at the committee table, and before a witness would leave, figures might come back contradicting the sums he had given the committee. Not many were embarrassed before all learned to be careful. The General Appropriations Bill went on the computer in 1972.

The House completed, in 1991, the program of computerization commenced by Speaker Rowell. The final phase saw the installation on Members' desks in the Chamber of terminals which would enable Members to call up, among other information, the text of pending amendments. Terminals link Member district offices statewide with Tallahassee.

On the occasion of leaving the Speakership, E. C. Rowell was asked by Lucy Morgan of the *St. Petersburg Times* whether he would miss the power and the glory of the Speakership.

"No," responded Rowell, "but I'm going to miss the maneuverings."

E. C. Rowell died September 14, 1992.



Ralph D. Turlington
Speaker, 1967

THE SPEAKERS

RALPH DONALD TURLINGTON

The 1960s was a period of tumult in Speakership politics.

The Democratic Speaker-designate was killed in a motor vehicle accident. The succession changed drastically.

The Republicans mustered sufficient membership (7 in 1961 to 1968, 39 in 1969) to become a factor, even though not enough to capture the Speakership.

Republican Leader Don Reed offered 33 pledges to Turlington, Democrat seeking the nomination for Speaker. The GOP pledges were never used nor revealed, but served as a psychological lift for Turlington.

Reapportionment, court-ordered, made drastic changes in representation. For example, Dade membership in the House went from three in 1961 to 22 in 1967.

The chairmanship of the House Committee on Appropriations is regarded as the plum among the appointments available to the Speaker-designate. The Member announced by Turlington was defeated and a successor had to be selected.

The office of the Auditor General long was a key to state government possessed by the Governor. Governor Kirk and his lieutenants realized this—so did Speaker Turlington and his lieutenants. They passed a bill transferring the Auditor's office from the Executive Department to the Legislative. The Governor's people, in a sense, laughed because they thought the Governor would have the last word with his veto.

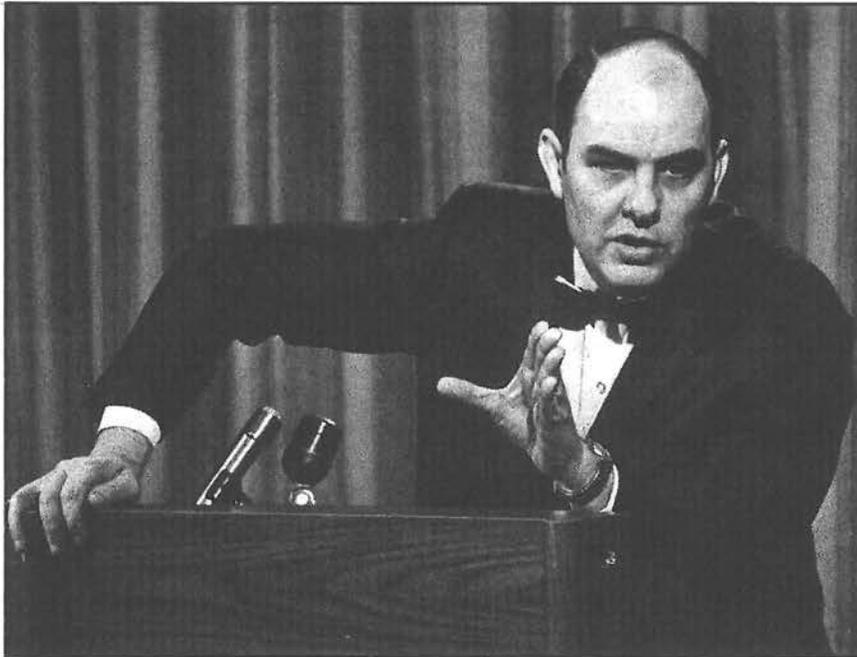
Vetoed bills are returned to the house of the Legislature where the bill originated. Ordinarily, a veto message is transmitted to the Speaker for reference to the appropriate committee for review and advice on whether the House should override the Governor's veto. In this instance, the Clerk was instructed not to advise anyone that he possessed the veto message and bill, thus precluding the opportunity of the House to override the veto. In a few days, a representative of Governor Kirk asked the Clerk for the return of the bill and veto message. As no formal action was taken in receiving and transmitting the veto, the Governor's recall rescinded his prior action and he allowed the bill to become law.

Speaker Turlington believes the drama was manipulated by Representative Lou Wolfson of Miami. However, the result was the Auditor and his staff worked one day as an element of the Executive Department and the next as a part of the Legislative Department. "But," recalls Turlington, "I've never seen one where all of a sudden the auditors were working one day for the Executive Department and the next moment they were working for the Legislative Department. They were sitting at the same desks and with the same telephone numbers."

The mechanics of the coup were never publicized.

Counties regarded as traditionally Democratic switched sides to become Republican, or Democratic incumbents seeking another term were unseated by newcomer Democrats. The complexion of the House changed.

Representative Turlington thought there was going to be a big function for him in Broward County. "I wound up with two Broward pledges, both of whom lost in the November election. I had been figuring I was going to sweep Broward and he (Robert T. Mann) just cleaned my clock."



Representative Turlington holds a conference at the Florida Press Center.

Those were some of the examples of change which left the political pundits in a dither.

Thirty-three Republican pledges influenced the election of a Democratic candidate for Speaker of the 1967 House of Representatives. The Democratic aspirant was Ralph D. Turlington, who explained, "The (GOP) pledges were never used, but made a big difference to me.

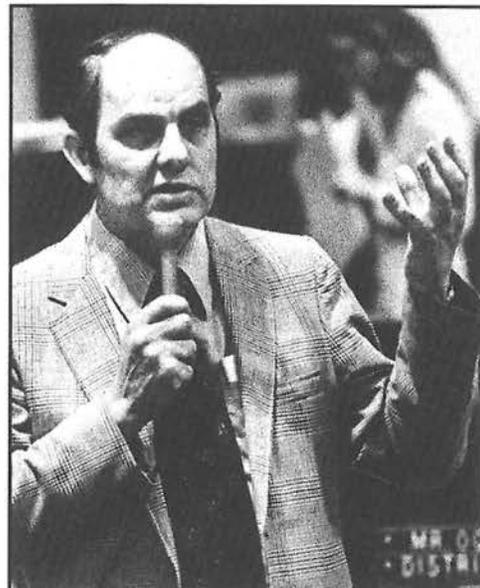
"I didn't start running for Speaker until about the first of March, 1966, due to the fact that George Stone, the Speaker-designate, lost his life in an automobile accident.

"I was encouraged to run, actually, by a Chamber of Commerce or business group in Gainesville. It didn't take long to persuade me. When they learned that George had lost his life, they felt, because of my length of service—16 years—it was time for me to make a move if I intended to."

Turlington's opponent, Robert T. Mann, "already had a large number of pledges and, since I got into the race late, I had no pledges starting off.

"The Republican Leader was Donald H. Reed, Jr., and he brought me 33 Republican pledges. For a long time, those Republican pledges represented more pledges than I had anywhere.

"Bob Mann had, or was thought to have, more pledges in places where Republicans were likely to be elected. He had Democratic pledges in some of those Republican counties. Bob wanted us to agree to settle the race based on Democratic nominees, regardless of whether or not they were elected to the Legislature.



Representative Ralph Turlington, in his favorite custom as a lawmaker, debating a bill from the floor of the House Chamber.

Having Republican pledges would give me some leverage if selection of a Speaker got down to a November election rather than a caucus choice. The November election would see some of the caucus nominees eliminated.”

Dade County was an enigma with 129 candidates running countywide for 22 seats. Turlington had the leadership support in Dade County of Murray Dubbin, Jess Yarborough and Lou Wolfson. Bob Mann had Dick Pettigrew, another of Dade’s heavy hitters. Turlington said Pettigrew’s choice disappointed him.

“Well, when you run for Speaker,” remembered Turlington, “the biggest thing your supporters want to know is ‘Are you going to win?’ If you’re not going to win, even though they think highly of you and all that, they are not going to pledge to you because people want to be with the Speaker, particularly for committee appointments.

“If you will remember, 1966 and 1967 were the reapportionment years of all reapportionment years. I knew candidates for the House were sure to ask, ‘Well, how many pledges do you have?’ I also knew Bob would be talking about how many pledges he had; therefore, I would be at a great disadvantage. So I never gave anybody a specific number of pledges that I had not received but indicated that I had a large number—33 was the base of that number.

“When discussing those votes, my procedure would be to say, ‘Well, let’s start with Pensacola. That’s a good, logical place.’ The reason that I wanted to start with Pensacola was because I had all three pledges from Pensacola. I would then hope that the questioner would become bored with the conversation and want to talk about something else.

“The other thing was, of course, that it was ultimately the Members’ votes that counted, regardless of party. Voting for Speaker could be on a nonpartisan basis—it’s just who gets the most votes of the Members.

“What actually got us on a unified basis was when we had our appropriation bill vetoed and we failed to override Governor Claude Kirk’s veto. We then passed the Governor’s budget exactly as he had gone on television and asked for. We then could say that we had cooperated the best of any Legislature in the history of the State of Florida. No governor had ever had his budget approved exactly as he had asked for it. When Kirk would complain, we would just say, ‘We’ve passed the budget exactly as you asked for it.’ Who could have possibly had any better cooperation?

“The Governor had been creating the impression that the Legislature was thwarting him. He said he couldn’t do anything and it was all the Legislature’s fault. We did keep it a secret, however, and waited until after the veto failed to be overridden; and within an hour and a half, we had the budget, exactly as he had asked for it, on the floor reported from the Rules Committee for consideration.



Turlington clenches his fists as he says he wants the truth no matter whom it hurts or embarrasses. Turlington was responding to a charge of vote selling in the House.

“Don Reed, Minority Leader at the time, could see what was coming because they knew that the Kirk budget was a phony and, until then, we were never able to make that point with the public. The Governor then denied that it was his budget and I got a CPA firm to examine the budget and send us a letter saying it was the budget that had been recommended by the Governor.”

Turlington is regarded as the father of the lottery. “My purpose in support for the lottery was the same as my purpose in supporting other revenue sources. I concluded that the lottery was something that was coming and, from my perspective, getting some advantage for education and leverage for funding from it for education would be advantageous. Initially, we used an estimate of some 300 million dollars, but I knew that it would raise a lot more than that. I found that people thought 300 million was a lot of money—just as much as 400 or 500 million dollars.



Taking advantage of a throng gathered for another purpose, Commissioner Turlington has petitions signed for authorizing a lottery in Florida.

“Reubin Askew taught me that once you set a figure, stay with it, because when you start changing it you lose credibility.

“One of the reasons we didn’t get a larger education boost from the lottery was because of the failure of the services tax to pass along with the lottery.” The services tax was first passed and then repealed.

Turlington’s labors as a legislator from 1950 to 1974 (including eight terms as a member of the Committee on Appropriations and the Speakership in 1967) were followed by a span from 1974 to 1987 as Commissioner of Education. He had been a tenured professor at the University of Florida and spent years as an insurance broker.

When he left the office of Commissioner of Education, he likely felt he had earned respite on the tennis courts, however strenuous the games were. Colleagues would agree Turlington had won many of his legislative engagements, similarly, by strategy. He was known to colleagues and newsmen as “Br’er Rabbit” after the cabbage patch character in Joel Chandler Harris’ *Uncle Remus Stories*.

There was, for example, the time Turlington responded to an urgent cry from the Speaker to help defeat a "bad bill."

"Ralph stood up," recalls Bill Mansfield, then of *The Miami Herald*, "and started talking. He talked about motherhood, traditions of the Florida Legislature, the need for debate. He talked for 27 minutes without ever knowing what was in the 'bad' bill. The delay enabled the Speaker to round up enough votes for its defeat."

No other legislator had so familiarized himself with the complexities of the financing and operation of the many state and county retirement plans. His interests were not confined to one area of government, however, and he had a wide range of governmental concerns, playing an especially vital role in the fields of education and state appropriations.

One of the Legislature's most effective members in floor debate, Turlington was noted both for his keen wit and for his piercing and successful speeches on questions being considered by the House. His amendments to bills to which he was opposed were noted for the manner in which they drew the issue to a head and clearly defined the problem under consideration.

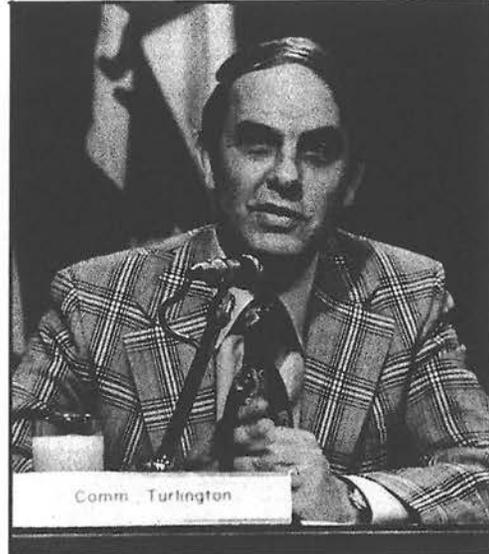
Representative Turlington's colleagues in the House of Representatives recognized his unique talent as an outstanding legislator both in debate and in committee. Voting by secret ballot, legislators declared Representative Turlington to be the "Second Most Valuable Member of the 1965 Legislature." He finished first among House Members as the "Most Effective Member in Debate" and second in the "Most Effective Member in Committee" categories.

He was also chosen to serve as a member of the Committee on Education-Higher Learning, the Committee on Rules & Calendar and the Committee on State Institutions.

He attended the University of Florida where he earned B.A. and B.S. degrees; and Harvard University, where he earned his M.B.A. degree in 1942. Taking an active part in civic affairs, he is a member of the Exchange Club, Elks, American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars. He served in the U.S. Army during World War II and the Korean War.

Turlington was born in Gainesville on October 5, 1920, the son of Dr. and Mrs. J. E. Turlington. Dr. Turlington was chairman of the Agricultural Economics Department of the University of Florida and his mother taught elementary school in Alachua County and served as librarian at the University of Florida. He is married to the former Ann Gellerstedt of Atlanta, Georgia. The Turlingtons have two children, Ralph Donald Turlington, Jr., and Katherine Wright Turlington.

Turlington comes to the Capitol to pick up newspaper clippings, particularly those on educational news. "I've kept my reading quite current on, particularly, educational issues; but, mainly, public affairs issues. I guess if you ask how I spend the greatest part of my time, my answer would be following news accounts."



Commissioner of Education Ralph D. Turlington on the occasion of his first meeting as a member of the Cabinet.

The *Journal of the House* for January 11, 1967, recited this charge by Speaker Turlington to Members:

I would now ask that this House set about its endeavors consistent with these objectives that I have just outlined, knowing full well that we have a sense of pride in our work and a real dedication to our work and with a real feeling so that when our terms in office are over we can look back and say, 'I was a Member of the Florida Legislature and I did my part to provide the best government possible for the people of this great state.'



Turlington on the mound! Representative Ralph Turlington as the starting pitcher for the House at the final game of the 1970 session.



Frederick H. Schultz
Speaker, 1969-1970

THE SPEAKERS

FREDERICK HENRY SCHULTZ

Two young legislators, so new that they had never cast a vote, sat in their room at a St. Augustine motel, away from the hurly-burly of other Members clustered elsewhere for the start that morning in 1966 of the caucus to ratify the Democratic choice of Speaker for the 1967 session of the Florida House of Representatives.

The freshmen, John L. Ryals and Guy Spicola, both of Hillsborough County, had no awareness of the important role they would shortly play.

There was a knock at their door and Representative Frederick H. Schultz of Duval entered. Schultz, a rare type of politico, was a Princeton educated investor and the inheritor of a Jacksonville fortune. He was a candidate for Speaker of the 1969 House. Moments later there was another rap at the Ryals-Spicola door and their fellow Hillsborough legislator, Terrell Sessums, entered with Representative Richard A. Pettigrew of Dade in tow. Pettigrew also was a candidate for the 1969 Speakership.

In those days, candidacies for Speaker were often settled by a showdown of the written pledges collected by the aspirants so that Democrats presented a united front at the public vote. The Republicans had not progressed to nominating a candidate of their own for Speaker but voted for the Democratic choice at the organization session. The Democratic choice was formally made at the caucuses; one at the preceding session and another after the primaries which returned the Democratic membership of the House. Hence, that year's June Democratic caucus.

So someone in the Ryals-Spicola room, now crowded, suggested there be a showdown. Schultz, stretched out on one bed, agreed; and Sessums, who thought he knew something Schultz did not, assented on behalf of Pettigrew, who was stretched out on the other bed.

Another candidate for the '69 Speakership, Representative Robert T. Mann of Hillsborough, had minutes before withdrawn and this may have caused the Sessums-Pettigrew team to feel momentum was rolling their way.

"I'll Never Forget You"

As John Ryals remembered: "Mr. Pettigrew says: 'I have the votes.' Mr. Schultz says: 'I have the votes.' And Mr. Sessums says: 'Let's count them.' And they started counting. 'Mr. So-and-So is pledged to Mr. Pettigrew. And Mr. So-and-So is pledged to Mr. Schultz.' And they went right down the line until, all of a sudden, Mr. Pettigrew says: 'I win because I've got all of the Hillsborough delegation.' Mr. Schultz says: 'I'm not sure you have all nine members of the Hillsborough delegation.' Mr. Pettigrew says: 'Yes, I do. Here is Mann's pledge; he just conceded and gave me his pledge. So here they are right down the line.'

"But he had only seven: he didn't have nine. Do you know the two he didn't have? Mr. Ryals and Mr. Spicola. And the tally was tied at 37 to 37. All of a sudden everyone looked at me, and I felt like the most lonely man in the world. Mr. Sessums said: 'Who are you going to vote for?' And I said, 'I cast my vote for Mr. Schultz.' And Mr. Spicola said, 'I cast my vote for Mr. Schultz.'"

"Mr. Schultz told us, 'I'll never forget you.' And Mr. Pettigrew said, 'I'll never forget you either.' But I had the feeling Mr. Pettigrew meant something other than Mr. Schultz."

During the Schultz tenure, Ryals was a member of three significant committees, General Legislation, House Administration and Rules, and enjoyed free access to the Speaker's Office.

Spicola was Vice Chairman of Finance & Taxation and a member of Rules & Calendar and Governmental Efficiency. Two years later, when Pettigrew became Speaker, Ryals was dropped from Rules and from General Legislation. Spicola had left the House.

When Fred Schultz became Speaker in November 1968, he found himself the leader of a sapling among the three branches of Florida's state government. Schultz had enjoyed an opportunity denied his predecessors. The Constitution ratified by the electors in November 1968 changed the holding of the regular sessions of the Legislature from every other year to every year. This gave the incumbent Speaker two sessions to use the power of the office to cause the enactment of his program.

Two years later, when Schultz left the Chair, the House of Representatives was the envy of legislatures of other states, with delegations sent here to observe Florida's miracles.

The Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University produced a book, *Strengthening the Florida Legislature*. The Citizens Conference on State Legislatures ranked Florida first in the nation for independence after a 14-month study was completed in 1971 by the nonpartisan, privately-funded Citizens Conference.

The overall basis for rating by the Conference was the degree to which legislatures "function effectively, account to the public for their actions, gather and use information, avoid undue influence and represent the interest of their people."

"Independence," the category in which Florida stood first, was measured by the Conference in these terms: independence of the legislative from state's executive branch, capability for legislative review and audit of administrative agencies, excellence of legislative procedures, regulation of special-interest groups and lobbyists, control of conflicts of interest, frequency and duration of sessions and compensation of Members.

Florida's Legislature also was ranked among the top eight in three of four other categories. These categories were "functional" for utilization of its time, office space, number of committees, and procedures; "accountable" for adequacy of information necessary for lawmaking, public access to voting records and actual deliberations and leadership selection and constraints; and "informed" for staff resources and amount of time devoted to legislative process.

Reader's Digest was among the publications which saluted Florida's progress.

In 1969, Schultz also received the Louis Brownlow Prize given jointly by the Council of State Governments and the American Association of Public Administration for the best published writing in the United States on the subject of state government.

Schultz' Background

What manner of man was Frederick Henry Schultz? He was born in Jacksonville on January 16, 1929. He attended two preparatory schools, Bolles and Lawrenceville, and then entered Princeton University, receiving a bachelor's degree there in 1952. He attended the University of Florida Law School for two years (1954-1956) but dropped out without earning a degree. He had learned enough of the law to help him in the management of the fortune collected by his father, Clifford G. Schultz. His father had diversified business interests, chief among which had been the founding of Greyhound Corporation. His father died a year and a half after the father-son partnership was formed.

Meanwhile, Fred Schultz had served as an artillery officer with the Army in Korea, earning a Bronze Star. Because of his military bearing, close-cropped hair and deep voice, Schultz was known behind his back among staff as "the Prussian." Actually, he had quite seriously consid-

ered, while in Korea, making a career of the Army. Major General Ralph Cooper, whose aide Schultz was, exerted a considerable influence on the future Speaker's life.

Schultz usually is described as an investor, but more precisely he is an entrepreneur supplying risk capital for firms who also look to him for organization, financing and management policies.

When he first came to the House in 1963, he was Chairman of the Board of Florida Wire and Cable Company, Platt Pontiac of Jacksonville and Florida Bonded Pools Inc. He also was a Director of Barnett First National Bank of Jacksonville, American National Bank of Winter Haven, American National Bank of Cypress Gardens, Canada Dry Bottling Company of Florida, American Heritage Life Insurance Company and United States Finance Company.



Florida Photographic Collection

By fortuitous circumstance, the Chairs in the Senate and House were occupied by Duval County legislators, Senate President John E. Mathews and Speaker Frederick H. Schultz. Not only were Mathews and Schultz from the same county but they were personal friends, so the leaders of the two houses enjoyed an unusually harmonious relationship.

Member of the "Thank God, It's Thursday Club"

An early measure of Fred Schultz could be had from his experience at Princeton, as related by Ann Waldron in a Princeton fund-raising publication. This is what Mrs. Waldron wrote:

"Frederick H. Schultz was, he said, a poor undergraduate. 'I was in training to be the playboy of the western world. I was a very active member of the "Thank God, It's Thursday Club"—we didn't even wait until Friday. I was on every kind of probation you can get on.'

"In fact, Schultz takes pleasure in telling people, at the end of his junior year, 'the University dispensed with my presence.'

"Somewhat shaken, Schultz went to see Dean Godolphin every day for a month, asking how to get back in. Finally, Godolphin told him that an alumnus named Mike Lynch owned a silver mine in Ontario and that if Schultz could work there and get a good recommendation from the mine manager, Princeton would take him back in. 'He warned me that I was the seventh one to try it and that nobody had done it yet,' Schultz said. 'It was reunion week and I went to see Lynch and he said no, he wouldn't hire me, he'd had enough of spoiled kids. I was pretty dejected, but my fiancée, a little Irish girl named Nancy Reilly, went tripping over to see that tough old Irishman, Mike Lynch, and she persuaded him to give me a job.'"

"A Spoiled Kid"

Off Schultz went to Ontario. "I had to take a letter from the University saying that I was a 'spoiled kid,' and present it to the mine manager," Schultz said, "and when I got there I saw why the six others hadn't made it. They put me in a kind of coventry for a month and nobody spoke to me. I got up at 4:00 a.m. and collected garbage and dug with a pick and shovel, but after a month they accepted me and I came to like it."



Florida Photographic Collection

Speaker Frederick H. Schultz relishes a moment of glory with his family. Left to right: Frederick H. Schultz, Jr., John R. Schultz, Frederick H. Schultz, Catherine G. Schultz, Chief Justice B. K. Roberts, who had just administered the oath of office to the new Speaker, Clifford G. Schultz II and Mrs. Schultz.

Schultz graduated from Princeton in 1952 with a degree in history and has very fond memories of his college years, although, as he says he, "didn't take full advantage of all the opportunities." He and the "little Irish girl," Nancy Jane Reilly of New Orleans, were wed in 1951 and they have four adult children. Tracy Danese, now Vice President of the Florida Power and Light Company, but then Schultz' attorney as Speaker, recalls the ceremonial day when a legislator inquired of four-year-old John Schultz who his father was. "My Dad's 'portant, he's the Squeaker."

Schultz' first foray into politics came in 1960 when he was appointed to the Jacksonville Expressway Authority by Governor Farris Bryant. Schultz had campaigned for Bryant. In 1963, reapportionment opened additional seats in the Duval delegation in the House. Schultz ran and won.

An issue of the 1963 legislative session was the submission to the people for ratification of a constitutional amendment authorizing bonds for higher education. Although a first-termer, Schultz was cast in a leadership role because of his financial knowledge.

An Obligation to Society

The Florida Times-Union for July 1968 quoted Schultz as saying he entered politics because he felt business people in particular owed an obligation to society. "There is a greater responsibility in business than just making profits."

He said government, business and labor were no longer fields apart. "If we are to progress, we must work together and build a continuing viable structure." In 1989, Schultz still felt that way. "Unless businesspeople are involved in public service, it will be hard for capitalism to survive."

Schultz had always been interested in education, and this interest became almost a mania following his withdrawal from the House after Governor Reubin O'D. Askew named him to chair a Citizens' Committee on Education that conducted a massive two-year study of education in Florida, public and private, from kindergarten through graduate school. "We made 104 recommendations and the Legislature adopted 91 of them," Schultz said.

Schultz later became Chairman of the Florida Education Council, the Florida Institute of Education and a board member of the National Institute of Education. In 1992, the Florida Legislature voted to name the College of Education and Human Services at the University of North Florida in his honor.

From 1979 to 1982, Schultz was a member and Vice Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. This was a period of economic turmoil and several books written about that era commented on the importance of the close relationship between Schultz and Chairman Paul A. Volcker.

As Speaker of the first House to meet in annual sessions after a long run of every-other-year sessions, Schultz had the opportunity to remain in charge long enough to get things done. His predecessors served only 60 days and then went home. They were unable to spend money out of session until 1955 when the Legislature authorized itself by law to hire a small staff. Also a plus for Schultz was the Legislature organizing itself in November instead of April. This resulted from a constitutional amendment requiring the early election of the Speaker and President and the appointments and pre-session meetings of committees. In a sense, the House worked year-round for the first time.

Before Schultz, the Legislature had a rather incestuous relationship with the Executive and Judicial branches. The Speaker's secretary was on loan from a Justice of the Supreme Court. The Clerk of the House was borrowed from the State Development Commission (now the Department of Commerce). The Secretary of the Senate was on loan from the State Treasurer.

Committee staff directors, significantly including those of the Appropriations Committees in the House and Senate, were on loan—and so on through the ranks.

The Most Innovative Body

Speaker Schultz, addressing the House at the organization session, said, "The House can and should be the most innovative and responsive body in the history of the state." Schultz saw to it that the House met the challenge.

In Speaker Schultz' opening-day speech to the House he outlined four major goals. Here is a listing of those goals and what was achieved:

1. **Reform of the legislative process and procedures.** Schultz wanted to move from a part-time, crisis-oriented body to one of standing committees and prefiled legislation. The additional work required on the part of each Member to carry out duties on a year-round basis made an increase in pay necessary.

He worked on the Rules in order to strengthen the committee system and at the same time make the process more responsive to the will of the Members.

2. **Re-organization of the Executive Branch.** At that point in time, there were more than 120 departments, boards and bureaus. Both Richard Pettigrew of Dade and Speaker Schultz had the vision of overcoming the many entrenched interests to emerge with less than 20 entities which would be more efficient and effective. It took both Pettigrew and Schultz to accomplish the goal. Pettigrew worked full time in chairing the committee and Schultz cracked the whip when it was necessary to get the votes.

3. **Revision of the appropriation process.** Before there were standing committees, the Appropriations Committee had met right after the opening of the session and begun to pass out minor bills containing appropriations. By the time the major appropriations bill was considered, millions of dollars had already been committed and the House was locked into a problem of cutting important services or raising taxes. The Speaker instructed the Appropriations Committee to hold all appropriations bills until the major one had been voted out. In addition, he required each bill requiring an appropriation to carry a fiscal note stating in dollars the estimated present and future financial implications.

4. **Major progress in equalizing education funding between counties.** Florida has some counties which have a high level of real property but not many students. Other counties are pupil rich and property poor. Schultz felt that it was critical that the State change the formula for allocating education money to the counties in order to allow the total money spent per pupil in each county to be more equal. Although this was a complex process, Schultz made major strides.

Speaker Schultz' insistence that the Members should be paid more to compensate for the added time required of the new House produced the first clash of the 1969 regular session. Governor Claude R. Kirk's policy of politics by confrontation shortly saw the Governor in conflict with both Republican and Democratic Members.

Confrontation With Kirk

House Bill 795 was filed by Carey Matthews of Dade, the Democratic or Majority Leader of the House, and Donald H. Reed, Jr., of Palm Beach, the Republican or Minority Leader. Speaker Schultz arranged this joint sponsorship as a symbol of the non-partisan nature of the proposal.

Until the ratification of the Constitution of 1968, legislators were paid \$10 a day for each day of a session. Thus, a legislator received \$600 for the 60-day every-other-year regular session. This constitutional ceiling was omitted in the rewriting of the Constitution in 1968. Omission meant the Legislature could, by majority vote, at any time, prescribe the compensation of its Members.

Amended downward in the Committee on Appropriations from \$13,500 to \$12,000 a year, the Matthews-Reed proposal passed the House by a vote of 68 to 31 and the Senate, 30 to 17. Interestingly, two future Governors voted against the increase—Senator Reubin O'D. Askew of Pensacola and Representative Bob Graham of Miami.

Long afterwards, Senator Askew explained his vote against the pay raise. "I thought it was excessive and that it would undermine the credibility of the Legislature. Also, that it would change the character of the Legislature, making it appear to be more like a full-time job in the eyes of the public.

"I felt the increased time demands required, because of annual legislative sessions, were going to make it much more difficult for a lot of good people to serve in the Legislature and the increase in pay would compound the problem.

"With the increase of pay, the public had a right to demand even more time from a legislator. Generally, I felt we would continue to get good people to serve in the Legislature but would lose, possibly, the services of some really outstanding people who would love the chance to be a legislator but simply could not be able to give the time demanded nor would they be able to live primarily on the legislative pay.

"Serving in the Legislature," concluded Askew, "should be viewed more as a public service than a political job."

Before the votes were taken, the Republican Leaders—Don Reed in the House and Bill Young (Pinellas County) in the Senate—assured their colleagues that they had been given to understand the Governor would not veto the salary bill. Governor Kirk responded by denying he had promised not to veto, adding in a press statement:

"I do not make deals with legislators, nor do I prejudge legislation. I do not approve of legislators making deals in my name, and should they ever again be tempted to use this office as a tool to further their own projects, let them also be reminded of what happened to them on this occasion."

The Governor requested the opportunity to address the Legislature in a joint session. At this session, the Governor inflamed legislators by language such as: "To most, it appears that the Legislature passed, with almost indecent haste and no attention to public feeling, an overwhelming pay raise for its membership." This, the Governor said, appeared to many of the public "as nothing less than a betrayal of the public trust and a raid upon the public purse."

He also told the assembled legislators that "the people" wanted to know "why the Legislature can enact laws affecting one business or one industry after another while some of the Members who propose and vote for these bills may hold positions in private life that enable them to profit by their passage."

When the veto message was read in the House, Speaker Schultz moved "that HB 795 pass, the veto of the Governor to the contrary notwithstanding"—the age-old parliamentary language. Before the question was put to a vote, the Speaker said, in part:

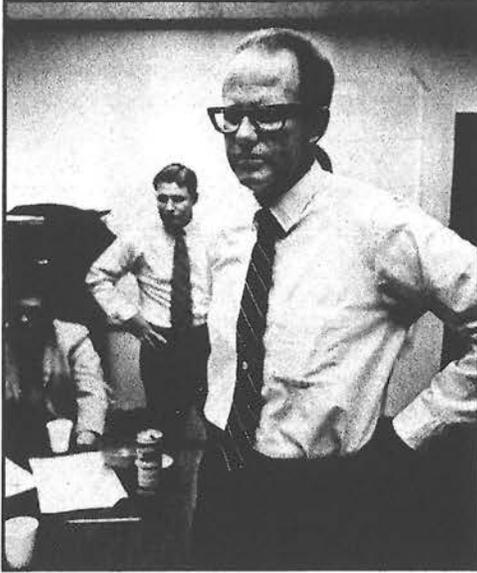
Ladies and gentlemen of the House, in November when we came together, I think we recognized that we were a Legislature with a mission. The state had passed a new Constitution, and with that surge ahead from the people, we came together to institute a new and modernized legislative process. We recognized the need for the reorganization of the executive branch of our government. The standing committees, as they began meeting, began to generate in the Members a feeling of great satisfaction in the work that they were doing. As we continued forward and entered this regular session of the Legislature, and as the Members began to see the fruits of their work, I began to detect a greater feeling of pride in this body than at any time since I have served. It was a great feeling of pride that we were working together for the first time as a House of Representatives, that we recognized the differences between us but that we also recognized the necessity to move forward together.

As part of the legislative modernization, we saw, or some of us at least saw, that if we were going to ask the membership to devote this greatly increased time to the duties of this body, that perhaps some more adequate compensation was necessary. There were those of us who felt that the money that would be saved by not being in regular session for such extensive lengths of time, the efficiency to be gained in government, and other things, would many times over cover what additional cost there might be in increased compensation for the Members. But in spite of what each of us felt individually, this House and the Senate of Florida made a collective judgment to pass a bill containing a salary increase. We did not pass such a bill thinking that it was politically popular. I don't think there is a single person in this House who felt that it would be politically popular. What we were trying to do, whether we voted for or against, was to be right and to be responsible.

Yesterday, the Governor of this state came into this Chamber and questioned not only the collective judgment of the Members, but their intentions and their integrity as well. The issue of adequate compensation for legislators was never an important one. Not a single Member of this body would ever have put it first on their list of what they considered to be an important task for this Legislature. But because of the particular actions and the speech of the Governor yesterday, the issue has now paled into insignificance. The issue is no longer compensation for legislators; the issue is clearly that the Governor of this state questioned the integrity of every man and woman on the floor of this House. Further than that, he said, "I am the king; I am the lord of the six million subjects of this state, and what do we need a Legislature for?" He clearly challenged the independence of the legislative branch of government in this state. . . .

I did not ask a single Member of this House to vote for the salary bill when it came to this floor. I have rarely asked, on a personal basis for the vote of the Members. I do so today. I ask you, in spite of whatever feelings you may have on the question of increased compensation for legislators, which is not at issue in this vote. I ask you to remember that you are with this vote setting the tenor and tone of the Legislature of the State of Florida for years to come. This may be the most vital issue that you will ever have to vote on in this body. I ask you for your unanimous vote to override the Governor's veto. Mr. Speaker, I call for the question.

The vote in the House to override the veto was 88 to 20, 16 more than the necessary two-thirds, and in the Senate, 30 to 17, 5 more than required. (Again, future Governors Askew and Graham voted to uphold Governor Kirk's veto).



Florida Photographic Collection

A moment of despair at Schultz' headquarters on the night returns from the election for the United States Senate showed the Speaker trailing.



But the despair did not last, as shown in this photograph where Representative John Crider, of Jacksonville presents the Speaker with a "lame duck" sign. This occurred at a special session the next month after the Senate election in September 1970.

Reed's Apology

Minority Leader Reed told the lawmakers, "I want to offer an apology to every Member of this House who took my word for the word of the man downstairs [Governor Kirk] that what just happened would not occur. I just wish to extend my apology to all for relying on that. There is nothing more I can say."

The Florida Times-Union of Jacksonville, in reporting the debate, said: "Representatives repeatedly referred to pressure from certain newspapers to defeat the salary boost and Matthews talked derogatorily of 'high priced editorial people who live like kings and talk about other people like wretches.'

"You'll be criticized," he continued, "but none of the editors would be willing to leave their executive washrooms and come up here and trade seats with you."

Senator Lawton M. Chiles of Polk, Chairman of the Senate Ways and Means Committee, was quoted by the *Times-Union* as saying, "Under the new Constitution and other measures, the legislative branch has a more commanding position and more responsibility over the everyday functioning of state government."

Chiles said, "Soon legislators would be enacting an annual budget and handling a billion dollars of taxpayers' funds. What corporation is going to handle a billion dollars and not pay its people?"

Editorially, the *Times-Union* said:

Where the governor went awry in his speech was in failing to recognize that many of the men seated before him were serving the state at enormous sacrifice and have been doing so over a long period of time.

The *Tampa Tribune* opined:

Governor Kirk swung his veto pen yesterday as a sharp weapon against his political foes but almost decapitated the Republican legislative leadership in the process.

The pay raise incident was a very important contributor to the Speaker's success in other areas. If Governor Kirk had won the battle, the Legislature could not have asserted itself as an equal partner in government.

Effect on Political Futures

Many Members of the Legislature, including Speaker Schultz as a candidate for the United States Senate, either lost political races in 1970 or suffered diminished support, in partial reaction to the pay raise. Few pro-raise legislators were unaware of the likely political consequences but voted as they did, believing it was vital to the future of the Legislature.

In the 1970 Democratic primary for the United States Senate seat being vacated by Senator Spessard L. Holland, Schultz ran third with 175,745 votes. Former Governor Farris Bryant topped the field of five aspirants, receiving 240,222 votes, followed by State Senator Lawton M. Chiles with 188,300. Behind Schultz were Alcee Hastings, 91,948, and State Representative Joel T. Daves III, 33,939. In the second primary, Bryant picked up 6,989, for a total of 247,211, while Chiles increased his total to 474,420, a gain of 286,120.

There were political observers who felt the pay raise kept Schultz out of the run-off. Long before the first primary, David Cook, an editor of the editorial page of the *Tallahassee Democrat*, had reminded his readers of Schultz' leadership in that issue. He viewed Schultz' chances for a higher office "are about as bright as the inside of a bat cave at midnight." He based this prediction, in part, on Schultz having engineered, what in Cook's opinion, was one of the state's greatest political fiascoes, "the single-minded raising of legislative pay over the veto of Governor Claude Kirk."

The Political Fall-Out

Speaker Schultz' defeat in his try for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate fell into the pattern of legislative presiding officers being rebuffed by the voters if the President or Speaker sought nomination immediately for Governor or Senator, without intervening years.

Although it must be speculative as to the influence of the pay raise upon candidacy of incumbents, some observations can be drawn from the results of the 1970 elections for the House of Representatives.

The 1968 general election saw 77 Democrats and 42 Republicans elected to the 119-seat House. Two years later, after the pay raise, the Democrats had won 81 seats and the Republicans 38, a loss by the Republicans of four seats. Of the incumbents who ran for reelection to the House, 82 percent were successful. That meant 60 Democrats and 24 Republicans.

Perhaps a significant figure was that of the Members of the pay-raise House who felt they could seek reelection—66 Democrats and 37 Republicans. Of those incumbents, 60 Democrats and 24 Republicans were reelected, or overall, 84 survived, a percentage of 82.

Balancing the results of incumbents who faced the people in 1970 against the fate of incumbents in succeeding elections, it might be said that the pay raise had no significant effect. Perhaps the intervening regular session had tempered the electorate's earlier presumed reaction to the pay raise. Or, perhaps, that feeling never existed to the degree some observers believed.

As a sidelight, an abnormal number (17) of House Members felt it necessary to have explanations of their vote published in the *Journal*.

It is unusual for a Speaker to be able to accomplish all of his major goals. Much of Schultz' success could be attributed to the fact the House had so many able young men as a result of reapportionment. It could be said that no Speaker has had as many able, energetic young legislators as Schultz had during this period. Writers in after years often referred to the Schultz House as the "golden" era.

There was a handful who were truly exceptional. Early, on Schultz realized they could either cause a lot of trouble or be a tremendous asset. He called them in one at a time, determined their major area of interest, and then loaded them up with work. As a result, major areas of legislation were being taken care of while the Speaker was able to concentrate on the overriding goals. Although this technique of getting capable people and creating an environment in which they can be productive is a useful one in almost any leadership role, it was particularly productive for the Legislature at that period. There were so many new faces who had been motivated to run for the House because of the possibility for change. These Members had the intelligence and desire to tackle major legislation. He was fortunate to be at the right place at the right time to take advantage of this situation.

Demands on Speakers

Schultz' first session as Speaker was physically very demanding. "I tried to run the House from the Chair and also provide leadership on the major issues. As a result, I lost more than ten pounds. Three days before the session was over, the doctors wanted to hospitalize me but I insisted on being able to finish the session; so, for three days they gave me shots, vitamin pills and a combination of orange juice and honey. It did the job for three days but when the session was over, I collapsed on Lou Wolfson's couch and couldn't get up for quite a few hours." Wolfson, a Dade Member, had an over-size well-furnished office adjacent to the House Chamber.

Schultz' experience with the physical demands of the Chair was shared with his two immediate predecessors, Ralph D. Turlington of Alachua and E. C. Rowell of Sumter.

Turlington had an Army cot placed in the Speaker's Office so he could unobtrusively retreat for rest breaks.

On the Sunday after the Speaker's Ball, Rowell remained in bed while his family went to church. He was asleep when Mrs. Rowell awakened him. She was shocked when he did not know her or who he was. A physician was called, and he encouraged Rowell to go back to sleep until the evening.

The doctor wanted Rowell to enter the hospital, but the Speaker refused. "Instead, I went to the Capitol every legislative morning, called the House to order, turned the gavel over to somebody else and went back to my office and stayed there. I regained my strength after two or three days. The physician said it was the same as battle fatigue. I was just worn out."

Speaker Peter Tomasello, Jr., of Okeechobee, suffered a nervous breakdown during the 1939 session.

Message to Future Speakers

After leaving the House, Schultz left these thoughts on the Speakership as a legacy for those who would follow:

Perhaps the most important concept is understanding that the role of Speaker is that of a manager rather than a legislator. In some cases it might actually be a



Speaker Schultz enjoys a friendly rivalry with Minority Leader Don Reed, even to the unveiling of Schultz' official "portrait," switched from another of a Speaker of yesteryear.

drawback if an outstanding legislator is elected Speaker. Management is the art of accomplishing things through other people. It is, therefore, vital that the Speaker not become too involved in the details of legislation. It is vital that he delegate authority and responsibility.

Secondly, the Speaker must ensure that his staff does not insulate him from the line officers who are the Members of the House. Competent staff is critical to the new, more sophisticated legislative process, but in order to be successful, the Speaker must retain close contact with the Members so that they can respond to this leadership and he can accurately gauge the pulse of the legislative body. Every Speaker should have a team that he meets with regularly in order to give direction to the activities of the House. Staff should be an integral part of that team. Staff activities are varied and essential but they must not be allowed to interpose themselves between the Speaker and the Members.

Thirdly, the Speaker is the only one who can pinpoint, articulate and relentlessly strive for the major goals of a legislative session. His is the only real overview. He should choose goals which are important to him, not as a legislator, but as responses to the major problems of the state. He should request others to assume the responsibility for taking care of the constituency which elected him to his seat in the House of Representatives. He must assume a statewide view. Further, he must exercise great care in choosing only the type and number of goals which appear to be feasible at that point in time. He should choose those ideas whose time has come. He cannot choose too many, else the thrust of the session and his leadership tend to be dissipated. He must not lose sight of these goals. Others will be concerned with the myriad details of the session. He should not interfere to any great degree with this activity, but should constantly keep before him those major goals which he has put forth.

And, finally, he must drive toward those goals in an almost ruthless fashion. It is usually better for any leader to use a positive approach by giving the other Members major tasks with maximum support and abundant praise when they are successful. Occasionally, however, the Speaker must assert his power. The IOUs have to be collected and the arms twisted. This can be done only a few times and the Speaker must save the iron fist for that critical moment when a major goal can be achieved.

Two Prolific Sessions

While the pay raise for legislators occupied much attention among Members and the media, the two regular sessions with Schultz as Speaker produced noteworthy legislation.

1969 Highlights

The 1969 session highlights saw the enactment, along with the pay bill, of governmental reorganization with some 150 agencies merged into 22 departments, home rule for cities and counties, reorganization and streamlining of welfare laws, the funding of Medicaid and the strengthening of control of oil and mineral leases.

1970 Highlights

The 1970 regular session was notable for the number of revenue proposals which the Legislature had the opportunity to pass, but did not. Left on House and Senate calendars were bills to increase the sales tax from four to five cents, add a penny to the gasoline tax, increase the corporation tax and enact a "resort tax" on hotel and motel rooms.

If those taxes were abandoned for the moment, these bills did pass: packages of insurance reforms and consumer protection laws, the outlawing of racial discrimination by hotels, restaurants and other public facilities, state fundings for schools (described as the first "realistic" tightening enforcement of the "who got, who gave it" political contributions law) and the requirement that public officeholders resign one position before seeking another office with an overlapping term.



Richard A. Pettigrew
Speaker, 1971-1972

THE SPEAKERS

RICHARD ALLEN PETTIGREW

Nothing came easily to Dick Pettigrew but he persevered. His lasting monument as a Member of the House was the merging of some 150 state executive agencies into 25.

From the Speakership in 1971 and 1972, Pettigrew went on to the State Senate and then to the White House as one of Jimmy Carter's three "Assistants to the President."

In the showdown with Frederick H. Schultz for the Speakership, Pettigrew had fallen two votes short. While Pettigrew viewed this as a loss, actually he was freed to concentrate upon the governmental reorganization, his number-one objective as a lawmaker. In later years, Pettigrew conceded he might not have been able to manage the office of Speaker and at the same time to persuade a majority of the Members of the House and Senate to pass the reorganization bill. [The Speakership came two years later.] Meanwhile, Schultz, by his wholehearted support of Pettigrew's crusade, chanced being ousted from the Speakership.

The reorganization agitated Cabinet officers, who in turn stirred up House Members primarily from the rural counties, so that there were very real threats to depose Schultz as Speaker and Pettigrew as Speaker-designate. Schultz had to assuage the House rural caucus by appointing a number of its members to the Organization Conference Committee.

Similarly, in the Senate, a majority of opponents had been appointed to the Conference Committee. This necessitated Pettigrew working with non-Conference Committee Senators behind the back of the Committee.

Pettigrew negotiated compromises with the help of Senator Wilbur Boyd, for education, Senator Mallory E. Horne, for personnel, and Senator Louis de la Parte for health and rehabilitative issues. Also, Pettigrew had to agree with Senators to split off government housekeeping functions from the proposed Department of Administration and create a Department of General Services as a separate Governor/Cabinet agency. Nevertheless, key functional realignments of the Pettigrew plan were preserved and planning and budgeting were effectively placed under the Governor.

For once, the "Iron Triangle" had been beaten. This is the grouping of special interest lobbyists, legislators and bureaucrats who stoutly oppose change.

Claude R. Kirk, Jr., a Republican, was Governor and this assured Pettigrew the strong support of Republicans in the House for the substantial enhancement of the powers of the Chief Executive, somewhat to the consternation of many Democrats.

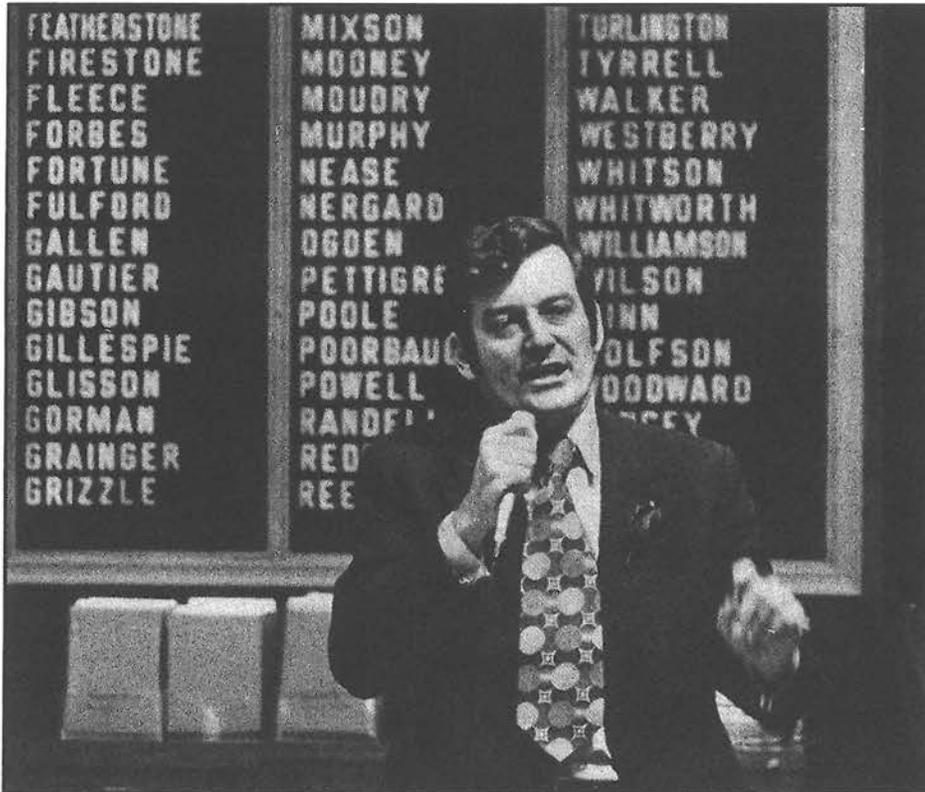
Pettigrew was both a believer in the strong Governor and a strong opponent of the Cabinet system. He created a coalition of urban Democrats and Republicans in support of the executive reorganization bill. The bill moved substantial powers away from the Cabinet and into the office of the Governor. It was a particularly difficult time to promote a stronger Chief Executive since Claude Kirk was the first post-Reconstruction Republican Governor and was opposed generally by the six Democrats serving on the elected Cabinet.

Pettigrew argued that Kirk was a one-term Governor (which he turned out to be) and was certain to be replaced by a Democrat in 1970. Nevertheless, the Democratic Representatives from rural counties were strongly resistant in the main to the reforms Pettigrew proposed. The situation was complicated by the fact that Governor Kirk vetoed the legislative pay raise at the same time the reorganization bill was up for a vote for movement out of the Committee on

Governmental Reorganization and Efficiency and onto the floor. The bill was delayed until the veto of the pay bill had been overridden. Needless to say, Governor Kirk was exceedingly unpopular among legislators of both parties and the notion that it was a bad idea to strengthen his powers was a difficult one to overcome.

After the bill reached the floor, Pettigrew was seated at the front of the Chamber managing the bill and coping with the numerous hostile amendments proposed by those who favored the Cabinet system.

When most proposals were beaten back by the coalition, a majority of the Democrats left the Chamber in protest. This group also threatened to unseat Speaker Schultz. The threat possessed such vitality as to cause the Speaker to promise that certain pro-Cabinet Members would be appointed to the Conference Committee to resolve the differences between the pro-Cabinet Senate bill and the pro-Governor House bill. Ultimately, most of the House positions were upheld, largely through behind-the-scenes negotiations fashioned by Pettigrew with Senators not on the conference committees but with the ears of conferees.



Speaker Pettigrew argues unsuccessfully for a House of 80 to 100 Members, but the Members voted for 120.

Other Major Legislation

After Pettigrew became Speaker, he set the stage for major fiscal legislation by replacing Representative James H. Sweeny, Jr., of DeLand, as Chairman of the Committee on Finance & Taxation. Sweeny had been the Chairman since 1959. The Speaker felt Sweeny was personally opposed to the corporate income tax and also too close to the industry lobbyists who would be seeking exemptions or other favored treatment along with killing the bill outright. This was a

difficult measure to pass since it was a constitutional amendment with a special ratifying election requiring 90 affirmative votes.

Speaker Pettigrew named former Speaker Ralph D. Turlington as Chairman in Sweeny's place and recruited the gifted Arthur J. England, Jr., afterwards Justice of the Supreme Court, as Special Counsel with responsibility for the Corporate Income Tax. Eventually, England served as a *de facto* counsel not only to the House but to the Senate. As a result, the Legislature wound up with not only a constitutional provision but a package of implementing legislation. The House also closed various sales tax loopholes and enacted some property tax reforms.

Reaction to the aborted pre-election coalition came with the Askew-Pettigrew efforts to round up the extraordinary vote to put the corporate income tax on the special election ballot. It took a while for Pettigrew to forgive the Minority Leader, Donald H. Reed, Jr., Boca Raton, for the coalition scheming to unseat him before he took the Chair.

There came the moment when the Speaker closed the debate on passage of the constitutional amendment. "I'm kinda tired today," commenced Pettigrew, haltingly, "and I continue to be very proud of this House." Then the tears came and he was unable to continue. He was applauded by Democrats and Republicans alike.

Twin victories were won that day, wrote Martin Dyckman of the *St. Petersburg Times*. Askew's tax was one. The other was the personal reconciliation of two dynamic leaders who belonged to opposing parties but shared common ideas about how government should be run.

At a testimonial in 1988 for Reed, who was suffering from a critical heart problem, Pettigrew told Reed's friends and neighbors of Palm Beach County: "Don Reed, we want you to know your place in Florida's history is established. We respect you. We love you and thank God all Floridians can join in this tribute to you tonight."

Article V, the Judicial Article of the Constitution, had twice failed before being resurrected in the Pettigrew term. The Speaker brought in Janet Reno, afterwards State Attorney for Dade County, to be the Staff Director for the Judiciary Committee with the special responsibility for getting Article V passed by the people. She ultimately served as a vital link with Senator Dempsey J. Barron, who was handling Article V for the Senate. It had turned out that neither Talbot "Sandy" D'Alemberte, the House Committee Chairman, nor Speaker Pettigrew could work with Senator Barron. Miss Reno had both the capacity and the talent to do so. The result was a far-reaching judicial reorganization and the necessary implementing legislation.

The House undertook passage of the landmark state planning and land-use regulation legislation, the first of its kind in the nation. Also passed was a vital environmental act, initiating a Water Resources Act that for the first time stopped the unrestrained use of groundwater. The House passed a bond program to enable the state to acquire recreational and environmentally sensitive lands. Other significant legislation enacted at the Pettigrew sessions included major funding for education, aid to dependent children, revision of the distribution of race track revenue, "no fault" divorce and insurance reform, legislative apportionment and Rules modernization.

Who Was Pettigrew?

Richard Allen Pettigrew was born in Charleston, West Virginia, on June 10, 1930. The family moved to Jacksonville that year. There was government in his heritage. A grandfather, Robert P. Overton, had been a Member of the Tennessee House of Representatives, and another forebear, James Lewis Pettigrew, had been a State Senator and Attorney General of South Carolina.

Politics forced his father out of his job as a public school teacher in Duval County. He found temporary employment in a shipyard during World War II. The family was of modest means and this, against the background of political corruption in Jacksonville at the time, caused Dick Pettigrew to get involved in political service. Originally, he had thought of being a medical missionary.

At the University of Florida, he worked in the cafeteria for his food and as a dormitory counselor for his lodging. He studied government and logic, and through campus politics met his future wife, Ann Moorhead of Charleston, South Carolina. As a second semester freshman, he won a seat on the Student Senate, finishing eighth in a race for nine seats. In the seventh place was Terrell Sessums of Tampa, who succeeded Pettigrew as Speaker years later.

The next obstacle Dick had to conquer was the objection of Ann's father to their marriage. "He liked me but loved her too much; he saw how poor I was," once explained Dick. Father finally relented and died just before the wedding. Dick was in the Air Force at the time of the wedding. Ann recalled that Dick refused to wear his uniform to the ceremony and instead wore the college suit he had been given. (Pettigrew served in the Air Force as a photo intelligence and radar officer in Korea and Japan. He left the service as a Captain.)

"When we knelt at the altar, he remembered there was a hole in the sole of a shoe and he quickly tucked his foot beneath the other." Ann was a woman of the kind that stands behind a successful man. In a reception line she might be overheard quietly prompting Pettigrew about the oncoming person, "This is Ben Jones, his wife is Barbara, they have two children." That is only one way that Ann Pettigrew helped her husband.



As a State Senator in 1974, Dick Pettigrew announced his candidacy for the U.S. Senate. He made the announcement from the podium of the Florida Senate.

The Pettigrews have two adult children, Jill, in 1989 a staff attorney for the Second District Court of Appeals, and Grady, with the Southeast Bank training program.

Unable to find a place in the Jacksonville law community, he went on to Miami and the firm of Walton, Lantaff, Schroeder, Adkins and Carson. William C. Lantaff was a former Member of the Florida House of Representatives and then a Congressman. When reapportionment opened additional seats in the Legislature for Dade County, Pettigrew persuaded the firm, and this was not difficult since Lantaff had done just this, that service as a legislator would be of invaluable assistance. Pettigrew won in a field of 27 candidates. He came to Tallahassee as a member of Dade's star-studded delegation of the 1960s. This included Murray H. Dubbin, Marshall S. Harris, Talbot "Sandy" D'Alemberte, D. Robert "Bob" Graham, George Firestone, Earl Faircloth, Gerald Lewis, Kenneth M. Myers, Maxine E. Baker and Robert C. Hartnett.

But even this turned out to have a hurdle. The Florida Bar ruled a legislator could not belong to a firm which lobbied, even though the legislator/lawyer abstained from voting on any matter involving the firm. Pettigrew had done this when Lantaff lobbied for the Hialeah Race Course. But the Bar prevailed and Pettigrew left the firm and the wealth it represented.

Pursuit Of The Speakership

The narrowness of Pettigrew's defeat for designation as the Democratic nominee as Speaker in 1966 (two pledges) encouraged him to again seek the office. There was, on April 18, 1969, the usual Democratic early caucus during the session nearly two years preceding the term at which the next Speaker would serve. A motion was adopted at that caucus for a unanimous vote to be recorded for Pettigrew.

It may be interesting to know that former Speaker Ralph D. Turlington of Gainesville, in nominating Pettigrew, identified himself as "a person that does not entirely agree with all of Dick Pettigrew's views. . . ." But Representative Murray H. Dubbin of Miami, in seconding remarks, said those who knew Dick Pettigrew "realize he is one of the truly creative political thinkers of our time in our state . . . a man who is vested with intelligence and a great courage of honorable conviction."

In view of what happened later, it is noteworthy that former Speaker E. C. Rowell of Wildwood moved the casting of the unanimous vote. Earlier, as Speaker of the 1965 session, Rowell unintentionally had introduced Pettigrew to reform of the Executive Department by appointing him to the Constitutional Revision Commission. This gave Pettigrew an education in the Governor-Cabinet system of state government. Pettigrew, as a member of that Commission, proposed the ceiling of 25 on the number of state departments to eliminate some 150 or more agencies with independent status. Rowell subsequently became the implacable foe of that formula, which ultimately was written into the Constitution.

But the casting of the unanimous ballot did not mean everyone was content. As already noted, there were threats to unseat Schultz and Pettigrew. The next test of strength came at the Democratic pre-general election caucus. This was held at the Carillon Hotel at Miami Beach on October 4, 1970. This may have been the first Democratic caucus at which funds were collected and allocated by the Speaker-designate to Democratic candidates who supported him. The Speaker's Fund was a direct result of the threat posed by a coalition of Democratic and Republican opponents. In later years, Pettigrew observed the Speaker's Fund had become increasingly controversial, as the money being placed in the fund had dramatically swollen.

As Pettigrew was preparing for whatever eventually might present itself at the Miami Beach caucus, Representative Miley L. Miers, a Tallahassee dentist, was making a round of the state, sometimes in an airplane piloted by Representative William D. Gorman, Winter Park Republican, with meetings set up by the Republican leader, Reed. James H. Sweeny, Jr., of

DeLand, a Democrat, had been urged to oppose Pettigrew at the Miami Beach caucus but declined and instead announced he would support Miers. That may have been the first public announcement of Miers' candidacy. The final tally showed Miers short of seven Republican votes. Meanwhile, some of the pro-Cabinet Democratic pledges were flaking off. Miers later claimed those Democrats were succumbing to Pettigrew promises of favorable committee assignments. Pettigrew said he held to a determination, with one exception, not to make any promise appointments. That one exception was of Representative Howell Lancaster, Trenton Democrat, to be Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture. Lancaster was at the heart of the coalition, and his defection undoubtedly encouraged others.

Neither Pettigrew nor Miers ever knew exactly how many votes the coalition possessed. "Obviously," Pettigrew said, "I knew there were a number of Members who were double-pledged, both to me and, secretly, to the coalition. My prior experience in running against Fred Schultz for the Speakership had convinced me that there will always be a number of Members who double-pledge in any Speaker's race. Many people in a legislative body cannot resist the pressures to play both sides. Others cannot face a candidate and just say no" Miers said much the same. He added, the coalition pledges, in writing, were placed in escrow. If the coalition were successful, the pledges would be made public; otherwise, they would be destroyed. "That way," he said, "nobody would get hurt."



Speaker Pettigrew reaches for his gavel as Vice President Spiro Agnew looks for a place to place his written text before addressing the Florida House of Representatives during the 1970-72 session.

Pettigrew learned during the evening before the Miami Beach caucus that the opposition had collapsed. There were 118 Democratic nominees but 83 would actually serve because Republican nominees would be successful. When the roll was called, there were 25 absentees, most of whom could be interpreted as anti-Pettigrew Democrats. Representative Ray Mattox of Winter Haven, who for a time had been an announced candidate for Speaker, was present and announced himself as "abstaining"; all the others voted "Pettigrew." At the subsequent organization session, 80 Democrats voted for Pettigrew and 27 Republicans for their party's candidate, Reed. Other than the nominees, who did not vote for themselves, there were no abstentions from either Pettigrew or Reed.

In his speech of acceptance at the organization session, Pettigrew sought to heal the past breaches by commencing:

To those of you who have had other preferences from time to time, I now call upon you in the best interest of the institution which we both serve, to give your cooperation to me as Speaker of the House.

I have suffered defeats before and know their pain. If we have the grace to be good winners and good losers, we can succeed in bringing about a just and honorable settlement of our disputes. Long after the time men forget why we disagreed, what we do, over the next two years, will affect our society and the lives of our people—throughout the 1970s and beyond. Let us join hands and let our best impulses reign.

The Speaker's Office As The Center Of Power

During the Pettigrew administration, the Speaker's suite was shifted from the east end of the House wing to the west. The double-decking of that wing had made possible the sizeable expansion of the Speaker's suite to accommodate the enlarged staff.

The Pettigrew staff included Eugene E. Stearns, as Chief of Staff, James H. Minter, Jr., Robert M. Rhodes and briefly, Ted Phelps. All were within a few doors of the Speaker. Arthur J. England, Jr., was an extended member of the Speaker's staff as tax counsel to the House. England's office was in the Finance & Taxation Committee's suite. In contrast, Pettigrew's predecessor, Speaker Frederick H. Schultz, had to rely upon two aides, Tracy Danese and Claude R. Wingate, both housed remotely from the Speaker.

Danese occupied space half a building and a story away. Wingate doubled as the Sergeant at Arms but served more importantly as Speaker Schultz' ears and eyes, particularly among the Members after the daily sessions. As Sergeant, Wingate, a former Member from Nassau County, had his office just outside the House Chamber. Wingate served Schultz also as personnel officer.

The Capitol suite of Speaker Pettigrew exuded a warmth then rare for the year-and-a-half occupancy of legislative offices. There were paintings by Karl Zerbe on the walls and an open door for those wishing to see the Speaker. And the Speaker's personal secretary, Robin Crusoe, might that day be urging support of the National Foster Children's Fund.

The expansion of staff and the new proximity of the staff to the Speaker were significant developments in the metamorphosis of the Speaker's Office as a center of power.

Ted Phelps left the Pettigrew staff before the first regular session because he was "not of a mind to deal with the nitty-gritty" of the office. He had been Pettigrew's Staff Director for the monumental Executive Department reorganization. He put together the first Speaker's Fund, which

served to nourish the campaigns of Pettigrew supporters among candidates for the House. In 1989, he was organizing the gubernatorial campaign of Congressman Bill Nelson.

Gene Stearns is a classic example of how a staffer can balance political realities and program development. While Pettigrew's Chief of Staff, Stearns, without public notice, wrote Reubin Askew's first inaugural address and one or more of the early Askew legislative messages. Stearns was primarily responsible for the fair share tax plan which figured so importantly in the Askew campaign. By 1989, Stearns headed a Miami firm of 55 lawyers.

After The Speakership

Stepping down from the Chair with the completion of his term, Pettigrew was elected to the State Senate, unseating a four-term Senator who previously had served three terms in the House and was then President-designate of the Senate.

He ran in 1974 for the U.S. Senate, finishing third with 146,728 votes. He trailed Bill Gunter, Orlando, and the ultimate Democratic nominee, Richard "Dick" Stone, the Secretary of State. Pettigrew tried again in 1980, finishing fourth with 108,154 votes but behind Stone, Gunter and Kenneth "Buddy" McKay.

During Jimmy Carter's successful campaign for the Presidency, he committed himself to reorganizing the Federal bureaucracy. Looking for the best person, President Carter selected Pettigrew. He felt the Miamian was probably unique, as Tom Fiedler of *The Miami Herald* observed, in having these qualifications: (1) he had actually reorganized a government, (2) he was a Democrat, (3) he understood the political nature of government and (4) he had supported Carter.

After three hard years, Pettigrew decided to return to Miami. He conceded that he left the bureaucracy pretty much as he found it. Even more telling of Pettigrew's estimate of success by anyone, opines *The Herald's* Fiedler, he recommended that his job be abolished. Instead of major reductions in the bureaucracy, the Pettigrew years saw the creation of two new Departments, Energy and Education.

Back home, Pettigrew became Chairman of the Dade County Democratic Executive Committee. After a drumfire of criticism over the party's failures in local political contests, Pettigrew quit with seven months left of his term. In 1990-1991 he served on Governor Chiles' Growth Management Task Force.

Speaker Pettigrew As Seen By Co-workers

Ted Phelps, who was Pettigrew's reorganization staff director, recalled in 1989: "Dick was driven by a burning sense of idealism . . . a sense of higher purpose. He did things because they were the right thing to do.

"Well, if you agreed with Dick's purposes, he was an easy person to admire, but if you didn't, he was equally easy to resent as someone who came across as terribly self-righteous. In the final analysis, Dick's idealism was both his greatest strength and his greatest weakness."

Robert M. Rhodes served as counsel to the Speaker. Rhodes brought to his responsibilities the professionalism of having served in similar nonpartisan tasks in California and Washington, D.C., before being drafted for Florida by Speaker Pettigrew.

Rhodes, now an international lawyer based in Tallahassee, in 1989 reviewed the Pettigrew Speakership:

Dick was an inquisitive and tenacious legislator with a broad appreciation of Florida government developed and refined by his experience as chairman of the committee that engineered effective reorganization of Florida's Executive Department.

He had a deep appreciation for the role of the Legislature as an independent body and as a policy shaper—certainly working in conjunction with the Governor, but, when necessary, keeping a respectable distance. He surrounded himself with capable committee chairmen and was not reluctant to call upon non-legislators for expert and nationally recognized input. Dick's committee chairmen and other advisors did not necessarily share his political philosophies, but he sought their input, and, I believe, ultimately molded a consensus founded on common goals, devotion to the legislative process, and a love of the House as an institution.

Because of the recognized competence of his advisors, he delegated substantial responsibility to them, and in their daily meetings they bonded and became known as the "Tunafish Gang." Dick would meet with these advisors in his office every day at noon and share tins of tuna fish with a spray of lemon or lime. Due to the ability and effectiveness of these people, Dick was able to retain a sense of objectivity and balance, and became a well-respected presiding officer.

Dick's administration was characterized by debate on the merits of the issues. He de-emphasized political muscle employed for personal political gains, yet shared a deep personal concern for the individual Members. I believe his caring was felt by the Members, who developed a protective feeling for him, and, in doing so, for the institution.

He really wanted to do it all in his two years, and he understood his time was short. He advocated changing the tradition of passing the Speakership every two years, and believed a reelectable Speaker would strengthen the institution. His Speakership will be noted for idealism, activism, fairness and integrity.

Relations With The Senate President And Governor

Pettigrew felt the choice of Jerry Thomas of Riviera Beach as Senate President would be a plus in joining with Pettigrew in meeting the challenges of the day. "Instead," wrote Pettigrew in later years, "he resisted proper funding of state needs, was penurious and extremely difficult to deal with on almost every reform issue."

Another early disappointment was the new Governor, Reubin O'D. Askew, who had been elected for the corporate income tax.

"Surprisingly," wrote Pettigrew in later years, "it turned out that he really had no other program in mind that we could determine. . . . We developed a total legislative agenda which we persuaded Reubin to adopt. In his address to the Legislature at the 1971 regular session, he laid out a full legislative agenda, almost every bit of which had been supplied by us. On the other hand, Reubin was a stalwart in working the Senate and moving that agenda through the Senate and we were pleased to give him credit for having a wonderful program for the State of Florida."

Nevertheless, Pettigrew opined that Askew was truly one of Florida's finest Governors. "He is a person of great integrity and political courage."

Some noteworthy legislative accomplishments during Pettigrew's Speakership were "no fault" auto insurance and the Baker Act (protecting the rights of the mentally ill).

Farewell To The House

On April 7, 1972, the last day of an administration that stretched over two regular legislative sessions and six special sessions, Richard Pettigrew said goodbye to the House in these words:

I am certain that the people of Florida and future generations and the historians who will examine your record, will say of you: 'They heard the people—and they answered. They saw what was wrong—and they righted it. They dared to be great—and they were.'



T. Terrell Sessums
Speaker, 1973-1974

THE SPEAKERS

THOMAS TERRELL SESSUMS

Terrell Sessums could be called the "Education Speaker." The Florida Education Act of 1973 was one of a number of school laws enacted in that session intended to assure every child, wherever the child may live, an equal opportunity for a quality education.

So much of an educational nature flowed through the House Committee on Education and the Speaker's Office that the Speaker's suite came to be known as "Sessumsee Street."

Dr. Roger Nichols, who served as staff director for Sessums and later as Deputy Commissioner of Education, described him as a most meticulous and detailed person. "He read every bill in which he was interested—usually education—and would make detailed notes on the margin for staff to react to."

Two major education initiatives which have profoundly affected public education were Sessums initiatives, asserts Dr. Nichols. First was the accountability movement, pioneered in Florida, which required every school child to be regularly tested. Next, there was the rewriting of the formula for funding public schools.

And there were such spin-offs of Sessums' broad interest in education as the Florida Student Loan and Florida Student Assistance Grant programs.

Speaker Sessums was so engrossed in the school legislation that when, after *sine die* adjournment, he discovered a key provision had been omitted from an education bill, he explored whether the withholding of his signature could nullify the act.

Sessums' tenacity was legendary. Those who thought the Speaker believed he could nullify the law soon learned he was in dead earnest. It is not remembered who summoned Sessums to the Mansion where Governor Reubin O'D. Askew assured Sessums, "Only the Governor can veto a bill, a Speaker cannot."

So Sessums reluctantly signed the bill after obtaining a multi-page legal opinion from House counsel and a lay statement from the Clerk of the House reciting the facts of the midnight passage of the law on the last day of the session. This statement the Speaker had affixed to the original bill in the Office of the Secretary of State. House counsel gave the Speaker an opinion advising that the Speaker and the President of the Senate signed acts attesting to their passage. The counsel declared this to be a ministerial act which the court could coerce these officers to do without passing on the nature of the law.

The reluctant signing of the Florida Educational Finance Act was typical of the Speaker's unorthodox approach to a number of educational problems of the day.

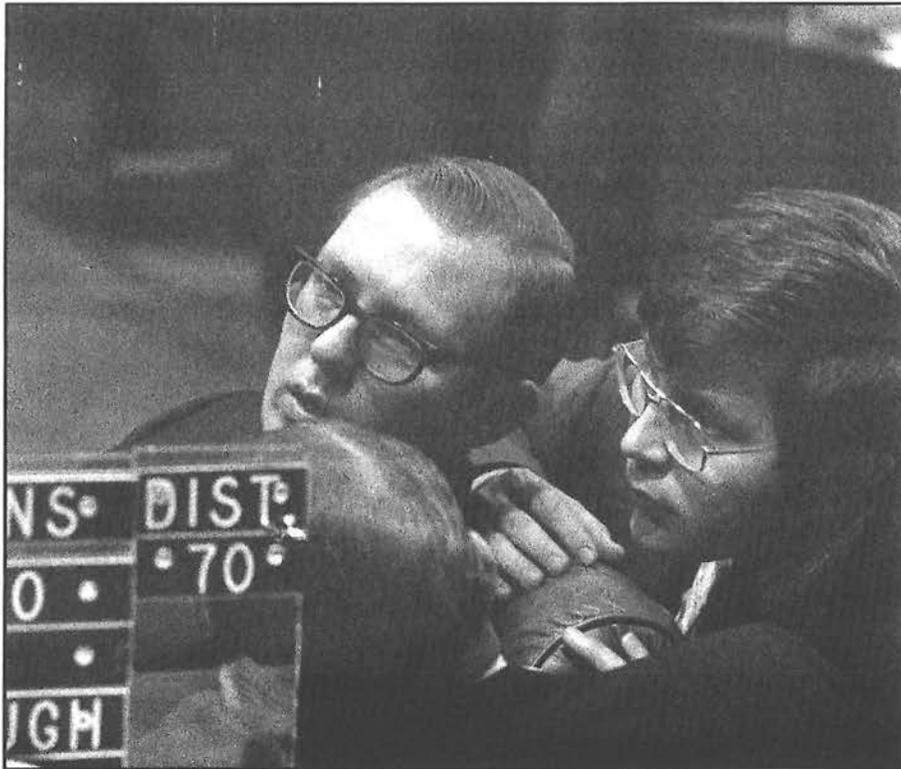
The following year, during debate on the General Appropriations Act, the issue of equalized school financing erupted again. Chairman Marshall Harris (D-Dade) of the Appropriations Committee and Chairman Murray Dubbin (D-Dade) of the Committee on Rules & Calendar resisted the Speaker's approach to equalizing educational funding.

The Speaker adjourned consideration of the General Appropriations Bill. A nose-count of the House Members showed Dubbin had 80 of the 120 Members for his proposal. Chairman Ralph Turlington (D-Alachua) of the Finance & Taxation Committee fashioned an amendment which saved the Speaker's face and Dubbin's bill.

Sessums acted again when the Florida Supreme Court held unconstitutional a ratio study ordered by the Legislature to calculate the level of ad valorem assessment in each county to determine whether a county was paying its full share of local effort. When the Supreme Court held the ratio study invalid, Speaker Sessums recessed the House for two days. New legislation was drafted to pass constitutional muster.

Another example of Speaker Sessums' refusal to go along was shown in the 1971 Appropriations Conference Committee. During 28 days the conferees had adhered to the positions of their houses. Finally, Senator David Lane (R-Broward) broke ranks and voted with the House conferees. Whereupon, Sessums switched sides and voted with the Senate, thereby maintaining the stalemate. A compromise amendment was drafted.

Terrell Sessums came to the Speakership through a fortuitous circumstance—his only opponent was defeated for reelection in the Democratic primary. The remaining time was too short for anyone to mount a campaign.



Speaker Sessums discusses upcoming legislation on the floor of the House.

Thomas Terrell Sessums was born June 11, 1930, at Daytona Beach. He used "Terrell" instead of the "T" for Thomas because there were five Thomases in his second grade classroom. Too, his

father was Thomas but was called "Tom." Consequently, to reduce confusion in the classroom and at home, family and friends started calling him by his middle name, Terrell.

One of his early American ancestors, Isaac Sessums, served as a delegate from Edgecombe County, North Carolina, for the Halifax Resolves, a civil constitution for an independent state prior to the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. Isaac Sessums subsequently served as a colonel in the Revolutionary War and later as a State Senator. The State of North Carolina contributed a mantel from his family home, near Tarborough, to the North Carolina room at Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C.

Terrell Sessums' first foray into politics was as a candidate at the University of Florida for what nowadays is called the Student Senate, but then was known as the Executive Council. Elected with Sessums was another future Speaker, Richard A. Pettigrew (D-Dade).

"As a college student," related Sessums recently, "I had decided that I wanted to be actively involved in the civic and political process. So I undertook to prepare myself to be able to do that by participating in student government at the University of Florida and by becoming a political science major with minors in economics and history; and I undertook to keep up with what was happening in state politics."

He served as student body president and for several years in the Air Force. When he returned to civilian life, he enrolled at the university as a law student.

"During the time I was student body president, Estes Kefauver was one of the first Democratic Presidential contenders to become actively involved in primary-type campaigning." Senator Kefauver had been the roommate and fraternity brother of a Sessums uncle at the University of Tennessee. When Kefauver visited the University of Florida campus, Sessums introduced him to several student organizations to make speeches.

"But I learned almost immediately that Adlai Stevenson's campaign manager was a Chicago lawyer by the name of Stephen Mitchell, who was a second cousin. My mother's family let me know that. I was asked to serve as a member of the national Students for Stevenson, and did."

After law school, Sessums went to Tampa to enter the practice of law. One of his classmates invited him to help in the campaign that State Representative Sam Gibbons was waging to become State Senator, which he did by putting on bumper strips, making a \$25 campaign contribution and doing a few other chores. "After Sam was elected, he called me one day and asked if I could take a leave of absence from my law firm to work for him in Tallahassee as his legislative assistant. I did."

He found much needed to be done to make Florida's state government more responsive to the urban populated areas. "I felt with the passage of time that these areas had been left out of effective participation in the governmental process."

The reapportionment of 1963 provided three additional seats for Hillsborough County. Sessums was elected to one.



Speaker Sessums and President Horne survey the gallery as they await the calling to order of the 1973 joint session called for the purpose of hearing the Governor's annual message to the Legislature. Note: each is wearing a presiding officer's red rose, once the badge of office.

Sessums learned in his first two terms that the Speaker had much to do with what happened in the House. "I had the misfortune of being on the wrong side in the election of the Speaker, so Lou de la Parte (D-Hillsborough) and I saw plenty of movies, having much free time and no real heavy committee responsibilities."



Speaker Sessums, in a rare moment, leaves the Chair to speak from his district seat as a Member of the House.

In 1968, Sessums learned that Representative Ken Smith (D-Taylor) was already campaigning for Speaker, commencing with Escambia County and working his way east, "and if I didn't get started in a hurry, it would be too late."

"So I took advantage of word processing to send each Member of the House a personal letter to let them know I thought it was too early but understood a race had started and I had decided to become a candidate. Then I took to the road.

"I believe Ken and I pretty well came close to a draw. I figured I had one or two more pledges than Ken. I knew there were probably three or four people who were resolutely declining to give pledges. I felt one Member, and perhaps two, had already given each of us a pledge.

"I met with Ken and suggested that immediately after the general election we meet at the Holiday Inn at Crystal River and we would put all our pledges on the table. We would tear up the double pledges. If he had more than me, I would second his nomination and if I had more than him, I would trust him to second my nomination. And I felt that Ken had, in essence, agreed.

"I then undertook to make sure I had friends in all of the House campaigns and particularly those with open seats. When the qualifying was over, 22 of the Members pledged to me did not have opposition in either the Democratic primaries or general election. I felt very comfortable that my situation would certainly improve with the general election.

"It never dawned on me that Ken had any difficulty in his own primary. I had been very careful to steer my people away from messing with his primary and I think he had done the same for me. I was without primary opposition. Anyway, within 36 hours of the time Ken was defeated at home, I had gotten pledges from almost all of the people who had pledged to him."

Meantime, Sessums, wary of coalition, assured the Republican Members that if he were elected, he would see to it the Minority Leader would give them fair committee assignments.

Along with replacing the Minimum Foundation Program, the Sessums years saw enacted a state growth plan, environmental legislation and financial disclosure. Of unpleasant memory were the inquiries into the conduct of two Cabinet officers and two Supreme Court Justices.

Sessums often thought of what former Speaker E. C. Rowell once told him:

A campaign for Speaker is like trying to drive a heavily loaded semi-tractor trailer truck up a steep hill. You just keep wondering whether you are going to make it. And when you finally get to the top of the hill, and have been elected Speaker, and go over the crest and start down the other side of this steep hill, you discover you don't have any brakes.



Outgoing Speaker Terrell Sessums tries out his rocking chair—a gift from fellow Members—at the end of the 1974 session.

Sessums had problems with Marshall Harris (D-Dade). It had been Sessums' intention to appoint James Redman (D-Hillsborough) Chairman of Appropriations but was persuaded a Speaker with a program might need the 22 votes of the Dade-Monroe delegation. The same logic suggested to Sessums that it would be advisable to have a friendly Chairman of the Rules Committee, Murray Dubbin.

Yet there were collisions. Harris kept his committee in session until late in the night. He was said to have placed at the end of the agenda, usually around 11:00, those bills he did not favor, figuring rightly that some sponsors would weary and abandon their bills. When Sessums came to the rostrum the next morning, he leaned over to the Clerk of the House and said, "Prepare a rule that no committee may remain in session after 10:00 save by consent of the Speaker." This was done and that rule remains.

That was only one of a number of complaints the Speaker had about his Appropriations Chairman. "Well Marshall, who was one of the most able and energetic Members of the House, came very close to being the ex-Chairman. In fact, I advised a couple of our colleagues to talk to Marshall and tell him something needed to be done and if he was not able or willing to do it, then I would give him another assignment. And I had a new chairman ready to go. Marshall

fastened his safety belt and we got done what needed to be done. I am glad that we agreed more often than we disagreed, since he was as strong-willed as I.”

Sessums’ relations with the minority were arms-length but friendly. Donald H. Reed, Jr., of Boca Raton, the Minority Leader during the Sessums Speakership, remembers the Speaker as a serious person: “Terrell was not a barrel of laughs.” Sessums agreed Reed’s assessment probably was a correct one. “However, my friends will confirm that I do have a modest sense of humor in my private and personal life. As a matter of fact, I have had to exercise some restraint because I found some people actually believe some of my ‘tall tales.’”

On The Personal Side

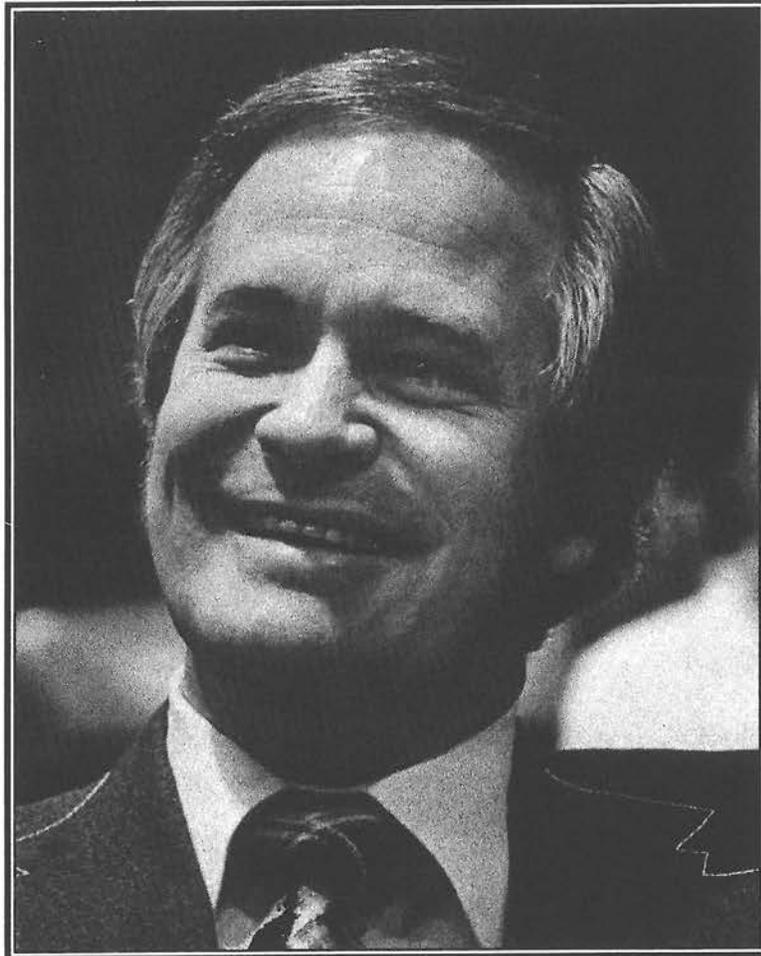
Terrell Sessums and Neva Ann Steeves were married in Jacksonville on August 16, 1958. They were students at the University of Florida at the time they met—Neva in the College of Education; Terrell in the College of Law. They have three children: Tom (Thomas Terrell, Jr.), Richard H. and Sandra Sessums Moneyham.

Sessums is a managing partner in the Florida law firm of Macfarlane, Ferguson, Allison & Kelly, with offices in Tampa, Clearwater and Tallahassee. He was a member of the Board of Regents, 1979-1988. He has received honorary degrees from Florida Southern College, Flagler College and Rollins College. He was a member of Alpha Tau Omega, social fraternity; Phi Alpha Delta, legal and Phi Eta Sigma, scholastic. Recreational interests include walking, reading, sailing and tennis.

As a legislator, Sessums served as Chairman of the House Ad Valorem Tax Committee, Speaker pro tempore, Chairman of the House Education Committee, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Appropriations, and a member of the Governor’s Citizens Committee on Education and the Southern Regional Education Board (S.R.E.B.).

At six feet, two and one-half inches, Speaker Sessums possessed the psychological advantage of being able to look down upon most of the Members of the House.

In charging the Members of the House of Representatives for the second half of their term in 1974, Speaker Sessums said: “If you want to leave your mark on the Florida your children and theirs will inhabit, this is the way. For this is where it begins.”



Donald L. Tucker
Speaker, 1975-1978

THE SPEAKERS

DONALD LeGRAND TUCKER

Don Tucker, in his own words:

"I've been called everything from a 'questionable character' to, in the Miami Herald's writer's words, 'a provincial agrarian.' I looked that up; it means a 'redneck.'"

—Donald L. Tucker, candidate for Speaker, addressing the Tiger Bay Club at Miami, November 19, 1972.

"I do not think it is the role of the Speaker to dictate to the House the legislation they will enact, and I do not intend to do so. My suggestions are just that—suggestions."

—Excerpts from remarks of Speaker Tucker to the House at the organization session of November 19, 1974.

"I don't know. I'm no expert on this stuff; I'm just up here trying to preside. So don't ask me these questions, just vote. We're on final passage."

—Dismissal by Speaker Tucker of technical questions on the occasion of the impeachment of Thomas D. O'Malley as State Treasurer in July 1975.

"What I'm getting at is, we have positions authorized for the House Majority Office and the Speaker's Office that total 11 positions; there are 11 positions authorized for the Minority Office. We don't need that and we're not going to have it. The Minority Office will have a secretary and an aide; the Majority Office will have a secretary and an aide. Those employees of the Legislature working in those offices will be given the opportunity to work elsewhere in the House and be assimilated into the full system. Employees of the Legislature will work for everybody. Now this may not set well with some of you, and I'm sorry, but that's the way it's going to be."

—Excerpt from remarks by Speaker Tucker on the occasion of commencement of his second term on November 16, 1976.

". . . We've had introduced this year almost 4000 bills in this House. Now, we've got a state of 8 1/2 million people and a budget of about 5 billion dollars. We have 160 members of the Legislature, and it's a pretty sad state of affairs if our laws in this state are so bad that it requires 4000 bills to improve on them every year so we can continue the operation of the government. Now think a minute about that. That's ridiculous. Ninety percent of what we passed didn't have to be passed; none of it has to be passed except the appropriations bill to finance state government."

"You can say all you want to, and you can throw all the stones you want to throw at the Senate—and about half of them are yo-yos—but that doesn't change the fact that we have to act responsibly in this state."



"Who says I'm mean?" asks Speaker Tucker as he displays a medieval weapon instead of the gavel.

—Remarks by Speaker Tucker on the occasion of presentation to the House of the Conference Committee Report on the General Appropriations Bill, June 4, 1976.

"I'm going to tell you what we're going to follow in the last week of the session. Now last year I gave in to the desires of those who had a lot of bills they wanted to rush through. That is the most irresponsible thing we ever do in this Legislature—the last week when we pass a rash of bills without proper consideration. Now I'm going to tell you that this year if you can't get your bills through these committees, and chairmen, if you can't move the legislation out, they're not going to move any faster during the last week than they're moving now, and I'm not going to relinquish the Chair to anybody else to move them faster. We're going to slow down and if you've got them all sitting in committee or on the Calendar when we adjourn sine die, then that's tough. We're going to follow that procedure because we're not going to pass any more trashy legislation out of this House."

—Remarks to the House by Speaker Tucker on April 8, 1977, as the 1977 session was beginning.



As part of the celebration of the Zellwood Sweet Corn Festival, Speaker Don Tucker takes a bite from the cob being held by Representative Toni Jennings, as Representative Fran Carlton laughs.

"I've been investigated by, I think, every investigative bureau that they have in Florida. All this time, as my local editor said, I have been battle-scarred but unconquered. I answer to a much higher authority than the people of Florida. With everything that I do, I believe that God watches and sees my conduct. And while I've done things in my life that I'm not particularly proud of, I've never done anything that would betray the trust the people have placed in me or that you've placed in me in my elective office.

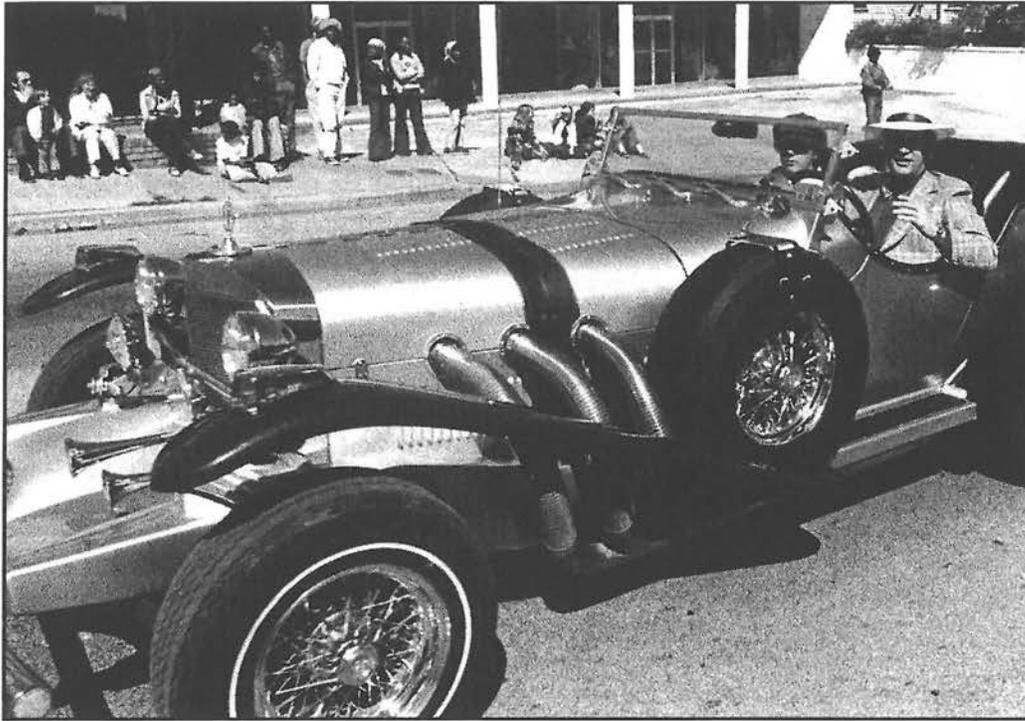
". . . I love you all very much. You're in my prayers and thoughts constantly, every one of you. I mean that sincerely. I don't have any animosity against any of you. Sometimes I seem abrupt. Sometimes I'm caustic. Sometimes I insult you. Sometimes I'm, you know, the nastiest guy in the world to you, but I love you."

—Remarks on May 12, 1977, by Speaker Tucker to the House on occasion of his appointment by President Carter to the Civil Aeronautics Board.

"The reason I was elected Speaker the second time was because there were two things I never asked a man to do. First, I never asked a man to vote against his conscience. Second, I never asked a man to vote against his reelection."

—Speaker Tucker to Speaker-designate J. Hyatt Brown, *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 4, 1978.

Don Tucker's wife, Joan, says his mother gave him the middle name LeGrand, because she knew even at birth that he would achieve greatness. He was born July 25, 1935, in Tallahassee.



The Speaker shows off his pride, Excalibur, in Springtime Tallahassee's parade.

He got off on the fast track. In his high school at Crawfordville, he was elected class president, selected by the American Legion post to serve in Boys' State and, thereafter, was elected Governor of Boys' State. He was named chairman of the National Youth Safety Council for Florida. Meanwhile, he had served as Student Body President and captain of the football team. He went on to Brigham Young University, where he was elected to the Freshman Council.

At the end of his freshman year at Brigham Young, he served for two years as a missionary for the Mormon Church (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints) in the northwestern states. He enrolled in the Law School at the University of Florida after serving in the Army. After admission to the Bar, he opened offices in Crawfordville and Tallahassee.

The political urge surfaced when the reapportioned Legislature in 1966 opened up a seat representing Franklin, Wakulla and Jefferson Counties. (His father, Luther C. Tucker, had been a Senator from 1949 until 1951 and from 1961 to 1963, representing Wakulla County. Father and son missed by two years sitting concurrently in the Legislature.)

Before the qualifying period closed, another reapportionment saw Tucker in a new district that coupled two Representatives in a district consisting of Leon, Wakulla and Franklin Counties. Being without Republican opposition in the general election, he was elected. He decided to run for Speaker in 1972 and was elected to serve at the 1974 regular session.

"I was not a reluctant candidate but I didn't suggest my running. I think Dick Clark [of Dade County] suggested 'why don't you run. Let's put together a coalition with you for Speaker and John Ryals [of Hillsborough County] for Speaker pro tempore, running in tandem.'" This was the first linking of candidacies in House history.

"We thought we could draw from the urban areas because of John's involvement. I felt I could do well in North and West Florida. And the next day Dick [Clark] went out and got 25 pledges.



House Speaker Donald L. Tucker and Senate President Dempsey J. Barron were friendly antagonists as they urged the differing points of view of their memberships.

"It was always my feeling that the Speaker pro tempore should be someone who would, in fact, be able to step into the role of Speaker in the event the Speaker was unable to continue his elected term. The continuity that one would expect from persons of like mind would have been there in the presence of John Ryals. Because the Office of House Administration logically could be an extension of the Speaker's Office, I felt that making Ryals chairman of that committee would permit the Speaker's Office to be aware of what was going on in the administration of the House."

The House concurred in this thinking by choosing Ryals to succeed Tucker should Tucker resign to become a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) in his second term. Tucker was appointed by President Jimmy Carter but the Senate never acted upon the appointment, despite the persuasive influence of Senators Lawton M. Chiles and Richard Stone and of Governor Reubin O'D. Askew. So Ryals never had the opportunity to serve as Speaker.

Tucker's hometown editor, Malcolm B. Johnson, once wrote: "His candor and direct pursuit of what he wants may be part of the trouble he has had from those who keep looking for something devious in politicians."

Editor Johnson, writing in "I Declare" of the *Tallahassee Democrat* of May 9, 1977, said Tucker almost lost his seat in the House at the 1976 election to a Republican new to elective politics who had parlayed the background of suspicion with attacks for the purchase of an \$8,000 desk for the Speaker's office in the new Capitol.

"That was a bum rap, directed by a hostile press unfairly against the Speaker," wrote Johnson.

"In the first place, the desk didn't cost \$8,000—only half that—and a few dollars less than a desk for the Senate President's office which never was criticized."

There wasn't any question about the cost of the two desks since Tucker bought both desks, identical except for color. "Dempsey Barron, the incoming President of the Senate, told me, 'why don't you go ahead and pick ours out too. Whatever you buy, buy for us.' And he told me what colors the Senate wanted. That was the only difference. And so I did."

The only question asked by Tucker of the House Sergeant at Arms who had accompanied him to Chicago's Merchandise Mart was, "Are we within our budget?" Actually, as it turned out, the "House came in some \$260,000 under budget for all our purchases. And I didn't even know what the desk cost. I was scalded by the press for the purchase of the desk for the Speaker's office but nothing was ever mentioned by the press that the Senate President had an identical desk except for color. Since I bought both, I was aware of the unfairness of the criticism being directed solely at me."

A Tucker-newsman public collision revolved about a single sheet of paper which had been run through a House copier.

The Speaker observed a *Miami Herald* reporter using the copier in a reception area of the leadership suite and went at once to the rostrum to inform the House he had detected the reporter “stealing from the state.”

Tucker had been the focus of the reporter’s articles about the Speaker getting loans from a Miami bank interested in legislation. The Speaker described the reporter as a “scumsucker.”

The reporter acknowledged using the copier but said this was a common practice and offered a check for five cents in reimbursement to the House. Speaker pro tempore Ryals refused the tendered check, stating “We feel” the reporter has broken the law, “that’s why we’re giving it to the sheriff. . . . Yes, we’re very serious.”

Before the sheriff was involved, Speaker Tucker attempted to have the House Committee on Standards and Conduct subpoena the reporter, but Chairman Tom McPherson (D-Broward) refused to subpoena the reporter except by written request of the Speaker. Tucker told McPherson to forget the matter as he was turning his complaint over to the Sheriff of Leon County, Raymond Hamlin. There the public exchange ended.

Editorially, *The Herald* viewed the Tucker-reporter exchange at distant Tallahassee coolly, regarding it as an “uncharacteristic act of pettiness and spite which we hope he [Tucker] will reconsider when the strain of the 1976 session subsides.”

Interestingly, *The Herald*, in an editorial appearing shortly after Tucker left the Speakership, inquired, “Where is Don Tucker now that we need him?”

Tucker enjoyed being Speaker. That is why he ran for the second term. “Had I the financial means to remain in public office, I would have run for another term and I think I would have been elected. I think the Members liked me as Speaker because they considered me to be fair, which I believe I was.” He was reelected, by secret ballot, by a vote of 56 to 29. He was the only Speaker to be elected to a consecutive term since Cary A. Hardee, who served at the regular sessions of 1915 and 1917 and went on to become Governor.

Tucker traveled the Panhandle on behalf of Governor Askew’s corporate income tax. He introduced bills to increase workers’ and employment compensation. He also sponsored a statewide water resources management act, collective bargaining for public employees, majority rights for 18-year-olds, and elimination of sovereign immunity.

Each Speaker has the opportunity to leave an impression upon the proceedings of the House. With two terms, Tucker had better than twice the opportunity, since in the second term he had complete familiarity with the mechanics.



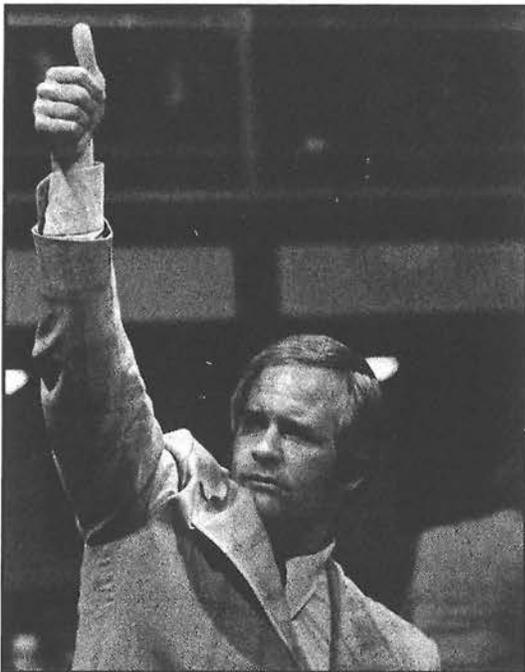
Speaker Don Tucker keeps with tradition as he prepares to perform the sine die ceremony by himself from the podium of the House of Representatives.

Under Tucker, these procedural changes were instituted:

1. The Constitution requires three readings of the bill titles on three separate days, unless waived by a two-thirds vote. The House had fallen into the habit of waiving the separate day for the third reading.

Tucker reinstated the constitutional policy of laying bills over until the next legislative day for third reading. This gave time to review what had been done by amendment on second reading. The Bill Drafting Service reviewed bills after second reading and the volume of technical amendments adopted on third reading evidenced the wisdom of the layover, since these corrective amendments otherwise would have to be made in the Senate and the bill returned to the House for concurrence, with a delay of two or more days.

The Tucker practice of "rolling over" bills for third reading on the next legislative day remains.



Don Tucker shows which way he wants his followers to vote as he signals "thumbs up" from the Chamber.

2. Until Tucker arranged otherwise, the minority could use a ploy to embarrass the majority, say, by offering an amendment to the general appropriations bill to raise the salary of all of the law enforcement officers of the state by \$200 a month.

"There wouldn't be sufficient money for that," explains Tucker. "Then they would have a roll call on their amendment and this would force the majority party to vote against the pay raise to uphold the Appropriations Committee. So one day I came up with an idea, that if you're going to add money to the appropriations bill, you had to take it from somewhere within the bill. I did that. The state budget is like a pie. You can move around inside the circle but you can't go outside the circle. So, if you are going to give money to the Highway Patrol, for instance, you will have to take it from children, or from the teachers, or from somebody else, because we have just so much money to deal with.

"I thought that was the best thing I did, because that made the appropriations process responsible."

The Tucker method has lasted.

3. Impressed by a study of Florida's Legislature which Speaker Fred Schultz had commissioned from the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University, Tucker held the number of House committees at 22 but limited the number of committee assignments for a Member to three.

He also adopted Speaker Schultz' policy of putting all committee chairmen on the Committee on Rules & Calendar. Tucker commented, "It made good sense because it is ridiculous for a fellow who has chaired a committee to then go before Rules to plead to

get the bills on the agenda that had gone through the committee process in his or her committee.”

Speaker Tucker’s management skill resulted in the 1975 regular session finishing up in 59 of the 60 days allotted by the Constitution. Available records indicate this may have been the only time the Legislature completed its tasks ahead of time.

4. One failure resulted from opposition of Senate leadership. The House had proposed that all bills reported favorably by all committees of reference and passed by the House should, if not considered by the Senate, be carried over in Calendar status from the first regular session of a biennium to the second session, thus reducing paperwork and other duplication.

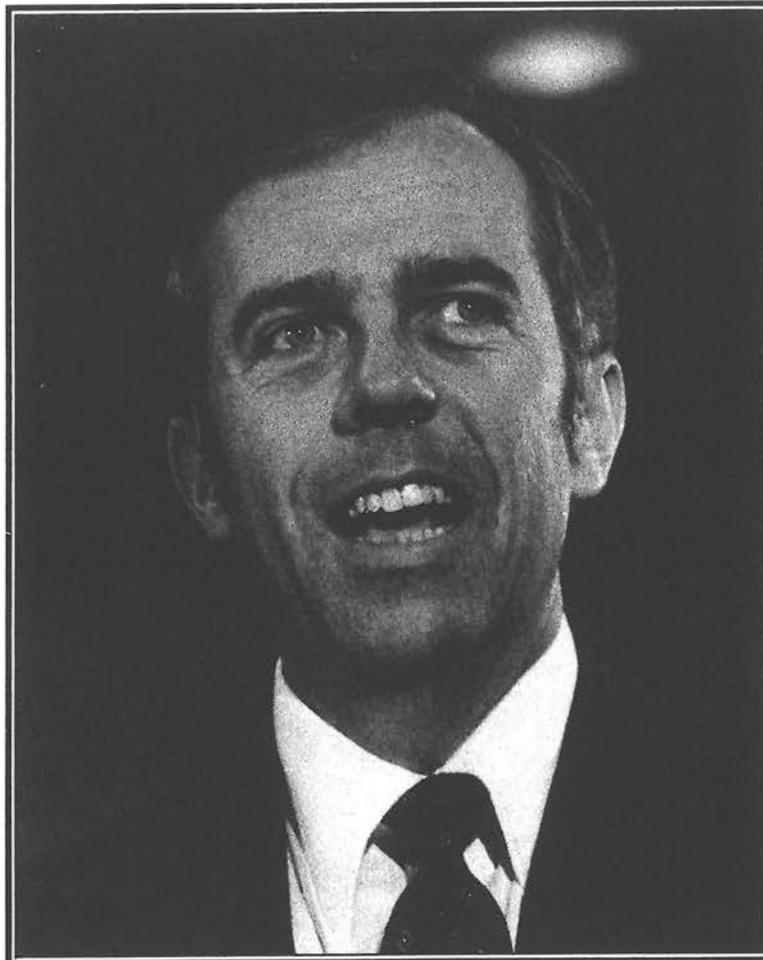
Tucker felt his relations as Speaker with Members and staff were good. “I always tried to be fair with staff. I used to meet with them and try to let them understand what their role was supposed to be. They were not there to make policy, but to help the Legislature implement policy. Whether or not they respected the Member, they should respect the people who sent him. Because he or she—the Member—was an elected official, and if staff wanted to make policy, they should run themselves. And I still feel that way.

“As a lobbyist, I find some staff have become a little taken with their position and think they are the policymakers rather than the Members.”

There are fairly recent Speakers who will walk unrecognized through the Chamber. Don Tucker has not been one of these. Leonine in appearance and build, Tucker stands out from the throng of lobbyists crowding the rotunda during sessions.

What’s more, there is a life-size portrait in the hall at the House end of the rotunda which separates the House and Senate. This painting is in addition to the standard head-and-shoulders portrait among the gallery of past Speakers on the walls of the House Chamber. Plying his trade of being a lobbyist, he has earned one of the largest fees—reputedly \$500,000—from a single client.

So it seems to modify what Tucker’s Majority Leader, Dick Clark, (D-Dade) said when J. Hyatt Brown (D-Volusia) was designated to succeed Tucker. Clark said it was like a spigot had been opened in Tucker’s leg to allow his power to gush out.



J. Hyatt Brown
Speaker, 1979-1980

THE SPEAKERS

JAMES HYATT BROWN

A gateway to the parking basement of the Capitol is controlled to swing shut when each vehicle breaks a light beam.

For James Hyatt Brown, the “each vehicle” was a challenge. Following another automobile whose driver had opened the gate, Speaker Brown jammed his car ahead in that brief moment before the gate swung shut. He scared the daylight out of a passenger.

When the passenger consulted an analyst, describing the incident but without naming the driver, he was advised this indicated, at the very least, a “positive attitude.”

It was this “positive” attitude that caused the Legislature to pass 54 of the bills on Speaker Brown’s agenda, a score no other Speaker had achieved in the Legislature’s 134 years.

How was this accomplished? Speaker Brown explained: “We spent the better part of the two years while I was Speaker-designate with little groups of people who had been doing research independently of each other and none knew exactly what the other group was doing. Our idea was to look at each area, the jurisdictional area, for which the House had committees and determine if there was anything that either needed to be done or undone.

“As we identified what needed to be done or undone, then a game plan was designed. Some of that had to be done during the two years I was Speaker-designate and some during the first year that I was Speaker.”

Hyatt Brown, the well-to-do senior executive of a large multi-county insurance firm with headquarters at Daytona Beach, ran for the House in 1972 after what seems now to have been a spur-of-the-moment decision. A vacancy occurred when a House Member from Volusia County ran for the Senate.

Brown was active in seeking a responsible person to be a candidate but without success. Meanwhile, two aspirants had announced their candidacy and raised money. Someone at a table at a Kiwanis meeting, a man Brown had urged to run, challenged him: “Why don’t you run?” Brown replied, “Gosh, you must think I have rocks in my head.”

On the way back to his insurance office, Brown thought, “Wonder what it would be like to run?” Brown reached home that evening around 8:30. “I was tired. Everybody had been yakking and jerking about what seemed a thousand and one different things. I mentioned it to Cici [his wife] and she thought it was a good idea. ‘But,’ I said, ‘I’m too tired. Everyone else is already out front. I don’t think I will do it.’ The next morning I got up and the birds were singing and the sky was blue. I drove by the office of a friend who was the president of a radio station and asked his opinion. He said he would



Speaker Hyatt Brown wears a Seaboard Coastline Railroad hat as the Legislature honored the company for its part in development of the state.

support me, and he thought I could win. Then, I talked to Sam Bell, at that time a private attorney, who said he would be glad to support me. And so, about an hour later, I announced." Less than 24 hours had passed.

It may be inferred from his activities that Brown decided in his first year as a House Member to make a run for the Speakership.

In his positive way, Brown figured he would devote a minimum of eight years to being a legislator. The highest he could reach would be as Speaker, and the advantage would be "if I did not get elected Speaker—and the chances for that would be long—I would only have to spend four years. Because when you run for Speaker and lose, you leave the House. The reason I ran for Speaker was because that seemed to be as far as it would be possible to go without being in politics full time."

Speaker Don Tucker had agreed he would call a caucus for the designation of a Speaker whenever a majority of the Democratic Members of the House would petition him to do so. Neither Brown nor Tucker expressed any sense of urgency, however, but Brown and his team swung into forced-draught action immediately because Brown felt delay would operate to the advantage of his opponent, Edmond M. "Ed" Fortune of Pace. Brown was concerned that delay would result in erosion of Brown's block of verbal commitments.

Brown, as a candidate, felt it imperative that the period for a nominating caucus for Speaker be changed. This period was the month of January, with the giving of pledges prohibited before September 15 prior to the caucus. These dates had been agreed upon at a caucus on May 24, 1976.

Brown felt the Speaker-designate should have a more reasonable period to use the implied authority the designate would have to organize for the two years and two regular sessions in which he would lead the House.

Thus, the caucus sought by Brown had two purposes: (1) to eliminate the January and any other date for a nominating caucus and (2) to make possible his immediate election. Some of his lieutenants felt there was already an erosion of support which might accelerate during the long period until January.

Brown had a bank of four telephones in his Tallahassee residence. He also had lists of the addresses and telephone numbers of the Democratic Members. In rapid succession, the Members not already reached were called and told, if they favored a caucus, a Member would be coming to take them to Brown's residence to sign a petition for a caucus.

The *St. Petersburg Times* said it was no coincidence that Brown kept on the wall of his Capitol office the story of the Israeli commando assault on the airport at Entebbe to free 200 hostages of a skyjacking.

Brown had begun the day with a pre-emptive strike that left his opponents shattered and powerless to prevent his seizure of control of the House. Days afterwards, some of Brown's lieutenants spoke of the "Raid on Entebbe," when they meant the Tallahassee coup.

Representative Robert McKnight of Miami said, "It was almost kind of comical, all of us in sneakers and dungarees, spread out all over town gathering names in the middle of the night." McKnight, one of Brown's first and strongest supporters, said Brown picked that Monday for the coup because many opponents would be just returning from the Easter weekend and looking forward to Representative Gene Hodges' "red neck" outing that evening.



Speaker Hyatt Brown (left) turns over the gavel to his successor, Representative Ralph Haben, as future Speaker Tom Gustafson applauds in the background.

Some time Monday morning, Brown told his closest supporters—Representatives Barry Kutun, Miami; Lee Moffitt, Tampa; Ralph Haben, Palmetto; Samuel P. Bell III, Daytona Beach; George Sheldon, Tampa and McKnight—that they were to begin spreading the word in the House of his petition drive an hour before the House’s scheduled 4:00 p.m. adjournment. Each was given a slip of paper with three or more names of Representatives they were to contact.

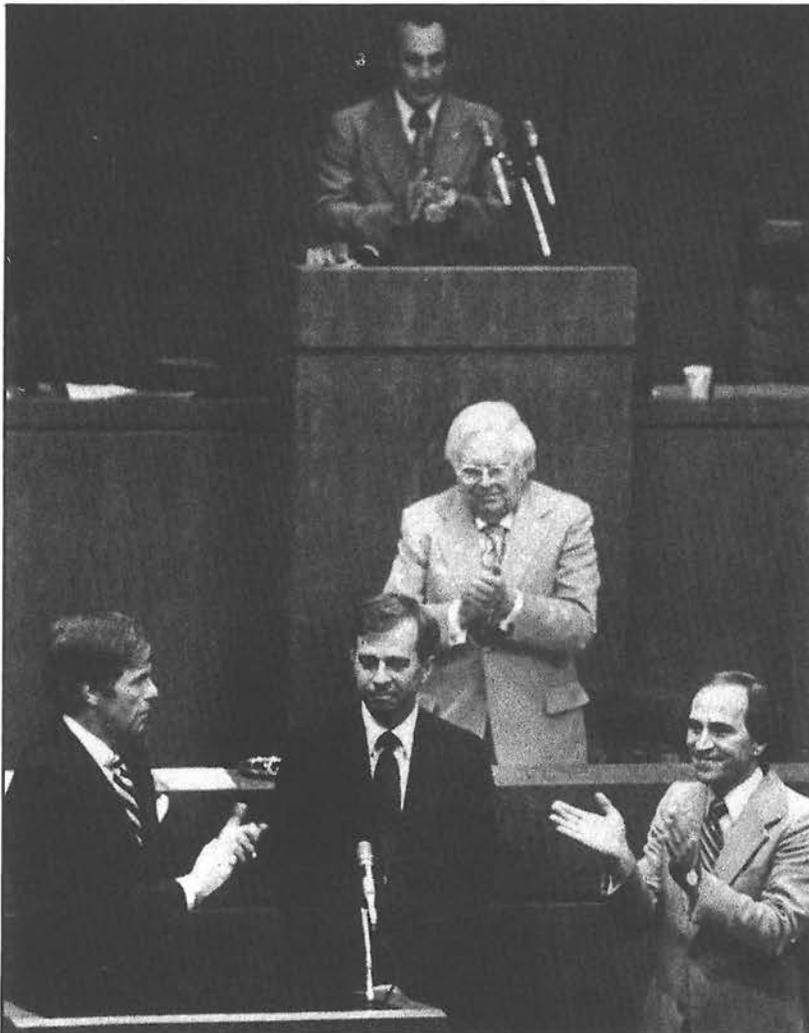
For a few tense moments, the plans went off the rails. The House sped through its business toward what appeared to be an early adjournment. The timing was off. McKnight said, “All of us were making these crazy, inane amendments to the utter amazement of the dumbfounded sponsors of the cat-and-dog bills being acted upon.” But, as Hyatt Brown so often said during his Speakership, “it’ll all work out.” And it did.

By early evening of that day, 61 signatures—well over a majority of 47—had been obtained. Speaker Tucker was invited out of the “red neck” party that was in progress at the former residence of Governor John W. Martin. In a motel room across the road from the Martin estate, Tucker was presented with the petition. He said he would call the caucus, as he had promised to do whenever a majority wanted one.

By employing the petition for the caucus, which in turn could call for an election for Speaker and Speaker pro tempore, Brown had circumvented the caucus rule forbidding the solicitation of written pledges before September 15 for a caucus during January.

In opening the caucus on April 12, 1977, the next day after presentation of the petition, Speaker Tucker had some bitter remarks for those Democratic Members who were returning the caucus rules to those that prevailed until May 24, 1976. "I want to tell you to start with that none of my remarks are going to be directed, or intended to be directed, towards Hyatt Brown, except complimentary ones, because I admire Hyatt Brown. He's a loyal and dedicated Member of this House and will be an excellent Speaker." Speaker Tucker also praised Brown's opponent, Edmond M. "Ed" Fortune, "the best Chairman of Appropriations that I have seen in my decade of service in this House." "But," said the Speaker, "I feel kind of like a virgin who has been manipulated by a gigolo."

In the long debate over the rescinding of the 1976 Rules, Representative Eric Smith of Jacksonville opined, "It was the shifting of the majority control of the House rather than the new rule that was galling some of those arguing for the retention of the old rule."



Speaker Hyatt Brown (center) gets a standing ovation from staff and fellow legislators at the end of his administration. With Brown are incoming Speaker Ralph Haben (left), future Speaker Lee Moffitt (right) and House Clerk Allen Morris. Presiding at the podium is Representative Gene Hodges.

With the floor finally open for designating a Speaker, Representative Ralph H. Haben, Jr., of Palmetto, saluted Brown as having “set the pace and tone for future Speakers of this august body that will be difficult and, I submit to you, virtually impossible to match.

“Each of us,” continued Haben, “has had the opportunity and the occasion to observe this man on a man-to-man basis and I think that’s the important thing—on a man-to-man basis. He has taken his candidacy to you, each one of you individually, as a Member of the House of Representatives.

“How many times has Hyatt Brown crossed, criss-crossed and double backed in the State of Florida? This is his desire—to have this House responsive to us, the collective Membership. He has campaigned to win; no doubt about that. Countless days began in Northwest Florida at 5:00 a.m., in Orlando at noon and terminated in Miami at midnight.”

After further remarks by Representative Samuel P. Bell III, of Daytona Beach, the motion for the unanimous ballot for Brown was made by his former opponent, Edmond M. “Ed” Fortune of Pace. There were 91 yeas and no nays.

When Hyatt Brown and his wife, Cici, and son, Powell, were escorted to the rostrum, Speaker Tucker described the Speaker-designate as “the most tenacious guy I’ve ever met.” He expressed the hope the House would rally behind his successor. Brown opened with this comment:

“As I have traveled down the roadway of life, there are a number of situations, occurrences, that remain indelibly impressed in my memory. Some have been the top of the mountain; some have been the depths of the valley. I remember in 1953, in the tenth grade, I played junior varsity basketball. One night at a game against Sanford I scored two points in the wrong basket. I remember it well. My friends will never let me forget!

“The last three years, and particularly the events of the last two or three months, of the last week, of last night, of today, of now, stand second only to my marriage to Cici as the top of the mountain, and I am indebted to each and every one of you who have allowed me this honor. I can assure you that I’ll carry that trust in a manner that you will never, never ever, regret.”

Cici’s nickname was derived from Cynthia Constance. Her maiden name was Rodriguez and she lived in North Hampton, Massachusetts. The young lady then being squired by Brown possibly made a mistake by bringing Cici to her Florida home during a scholastic holiday. The Browns have three sons, James Powell, 21 in 1989; Hyatt Kellim, 17 and Preston Barrett, 16.

The new Speaker-designate surrounded himself with a “brain trust” of mostly young technicians. One of those afterwards said she believed there were three factors which provided the basis of the success of the Brown administration.

“First, the nature of the Florida Legislature and its leaders, second, the personality and ability of the Speaker and his key leadership, and, finally, the development by the leadership of a legislative program and a systematic and careful plan for its enactment.”

The associate continued: “Soon after the close of the 1978 session, Speaker-designate Brown invited all of the incumbent Democrats to attend a two-day issues seminar in Daytona Beach. Prior to the two-day session, the staff directors of the various committees were asked to identify key issues which they and their members felt warranted legislative attention in the coming year.

“At the Daytona meeting, members broke up into work groups, covering issues such as elections, education, health and rehabilitative services. Free-flowing discussion and identification of problem areas were encouraged. Out of this meeting came a 69-page list of issues which provided the basis for staff research during the transition summer.”

All of the activities of the summer preceded Brown's actual assumption of power and depended on the largess of Speaker Tucker. Brown would not be Speaker until November.

Ringmaster for the Brown staff was Samuel P. Bell III, of Volusia, who had been designated Majority Leader with a vote on each committee. Staff members (with their occupations in 1989) were Bill Ryan, Executive Director for Speaker Tom Gustafson; Ash Williams, Assistant Comptroller; John B. Phelps III, Clerk of the House; Marjorie Turnbull, County Commissioner for Leon County; Patsy Palmer (Mrs. Talbot "Sandy" D'Alemberte) an executive for Knight-Ridder Newspapers; Bruce McDonald, in private law practice in Pensacola and Fort Walton Beach; and Ann Abbott, Assistant Executive Director for Speaker Gustafson.

The Brown pattern for a pre-session Democratic Member gathering away from the Capitol was followed by Lee Moffitt of Tampa, Speaker in 1983-1984, at the Withlacoochee State Forest and for all Members by Tom Gustafson of Fort Lauderdale, Speaker in 1989, at a resort in the unincorporated area of Broward County.

Brown moved his family to Tallahassee in January before the 1979 regular session. A series of meetings determined priority legislation before the session. During the session, Speaker Brown furthered his program by holding a strategy session each morning at 7:00 a.m. to review what would be on the floor that day. In keeping with the spirit of the Sunshine Amendment to the Constitution, these meetings were open to all, including the press, although the early hour deterred major attendance on the part of reporters.

"You will have people constantly calling you. So if it was an issue or matter I didn't think was all that important, I would schedule an appointment for 6:30 or 7:00 in the morning. That would apply in Daytona or Tallahassee. And that would eliminate about 75 percent of the people who called. Anyone willing to come at 6:30 or 7:00, had a genuine problem and you had better look after it. So the timing eliminated the wheat from the chaff."

Hyatt Brown had intended the Speakership would be the end of his personal interest in political office, and by 1989 nothing had caused him to change his mind, but he avoids a categorical statement of future intentions because "you probably will find you have to eat your words." But he may continue to be involved in statewide races.

His brother, A. Worley Brown, his elder by 10 years once yearned to be Florida's State Treasurer. He was Chairman of the Industrial Commission during the administration of Governor Farris Bryant. But a family business in Atlanta demanded his full attention and then, after a time, Parkinson's Disease clearly shut the door on major political office for Worley Brown.

Hyatt Brown said he was overwhelmed when first he came to the House by colleagues "who would get up and talk about the issues without notes and I thought, 'My gosh, how am I ever going to do this?' The next year I heard the same people talking about the same thing. And then I realized they said the same thing every time. The issues don't change, only the faces and the names."

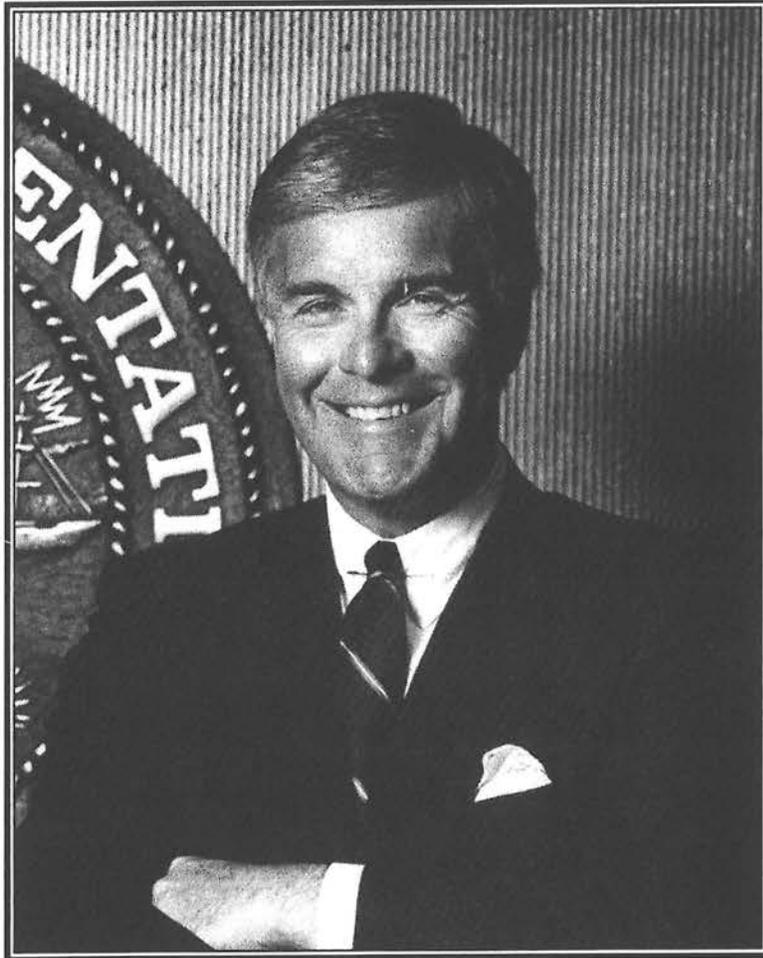


Speaker J. Hyatt Brown switches gavels after fracturing one with a lusty blow while attempting to gain the attention of the House. The head of the broken gavel shot with projectile force between the Clerk and the Assistant Clerk. Brown holds a replacement gavel along with the pieces of the demolished gavel.

After his legislative service, Hyatt Brown reflected in 1989 what those years had meant to him as an individual. "I left with the feeling that two things had occurred in the eight years. Number one: I had gotten the best education I have ever gotten. Number two: even though the pressure in the Legislature is intense, and I both enjoy and thrive on that, it is not debilitating like the pressure in business.

"What I was doing was a little bit like being in college—a lot of hard work but a lot of fun. You come in contact with a lot of people who you make very close and lasting personal friendships with. That's what I came out with."

The Brown years saw passage of laws relating to a broad range of subjects. Included were: changing the Public Service Commission from elective to appointive; enactment of the first Tourist Development Tax; PRIME, for Progress in Middle Childhood Education; Hospital Cost Containment; PECO, for Public Education Capital Outlay; and PEPC, for Postsecondary Education Planning Commission. Also, there were laws to combat sclerosis, particularly as the disease affects children; CARL, for Conservation and Recreation Lands, authorizing the acquisition of environmentally endangered land, and FIDLER, for Florida Diagnosis Learning Resource System, a program for exceptional children.



Ralph H. Haben, Jr.
Speaker, 1981-1982

THE SPEAKERS

RALPH HARRIS HABEN, JR.

"Let the good times roll."

Ralph Haben drove to the Capitol in a long, black sedan with those words emblazoned on its sides.

The kid from Palmetto "let the good times roll" for the years of his service in the House of Representatives, from November 1972 until November 1982. He served as Speaker at the sessions of 1981 and 1982. His attitude toward life—"let the good times roll"—remains now. He is among the foremost of Tallahassee's legislative lobbyists. His longtime legislative aide, Monica Lassater, now a lobbyist [not for the Haben firm], says Haben has never gotten outwardly angry to her knowledge. While serious about the problems of clients, Haben remains his happy-go-lucky self, Ms. Lassater says.

When they thought about him, some colleagues of Ralph Haben in the House likely regarded him as a leprechaun, given to playing jokes.

An example: During the 1974 session, Haben enlisted Representative William "Bill" Birchfield to give Representative C. William "Bill" Nelson lessons in defensive debating.

Haben and Birchfield would scan the Special Order Calendar for a bill sponsored by Nelson that would be considered by the House that day. Haben sat in one area of the House Chamber, Birchfield in another. They would enlist a third Member from still another part of the Chamber.

This seating spread gave the appearance of a groundswell of opposition to Nelson's bill as the three would pepper him with hostile questions. Finally, they would allow the bill to come to a unanimous favorable vote, with the absence of dissent leaving Nelson puzzled.

Bill Nelson was the target of another prank. Haben, Speaker J. Hyatt Brown, Representative Sam Bell and Marjorie Turnbull, a Brown staffer, were to be joined by Nelson at Le Lion D'Or, a costly Washington restaurant. Haben and Bell ordered the most expensive item on the menu, an \$80 rack of lamb. Others did not equal the tastes of Haben and Bell but they did the best they could.

As the hours passed without Nelson's appearance, Haben called for the chef. First the waiter, then the captain, finally the maitre d' came to the table to find out why Haben wanted the chef. Haben wouldn't say, just persisted. Nothing else satisfying the customer, out came the chef. Haben shook his hand and said, "I just want to tell you that you cooked up a fine mess of vit-tles."



"Not yet, fellows," reports Speaker Ralph Haben to members of the press waiting for a report from a closed-door meeting of representatives of the House, Senate and the Governor on the general appropriations bill.



Speaker Ralph Haben presides over the House wearing a "Montana Moose Hunters" hat. Haben, fond of telling Members he would move to Montana and open a hush-puppy stand, wore the hat during some frivolity on the floor.

Long after dinner had been consumed, Nelson appeared and was handed the check for \$600. For once Nelson momentarily lost his cool and, auditing the check, demanded to know who had ordered the \$80 rack.

Haben was Speaker of the 1981 and 1982 regular sessions. As presiding officer of a traditionally noisy body, Haben employed some tricks new to the Florida Legislature to obtain quiet. Instead of relying on the gavel, he would speak in an unknown tongue. The House would quiet almost immediately because even the most talkative Member was afraid he might be missing something of possible importance to him. On other occasions, Haben would speak Spanish. Or he might borrow a Steve Martin comic routine: "... they would take these cute little kittens, and they'd juggle 'em for money."

A typical time occurred when the House was in semi-recess, waiting for a bill to come over from the Senate. Haben arose from his Rules desk at the front of the Chamber and began a rambling monologue. Legislators and "galleryites" alike tried to grasp his meaning. Then they realized there wasn't any meaning. It was double-talk, sentences and words strung together, reported Randolph Pendleton of the *Florida Times Union*, but meaning nothing.

The bill arrived from the Senate and Chairman Haben took his seat.

After a similar performance at the commencement of a legislative year, a freshman, Dexter Lehtinen, publicly voiced his opinion of Haben. "At first, we [freshmen] thought we were in a circus ring, but I concluded that he didn't have a mental problem. I found he can understand serious topics, such as the exclusionary rule, and that he can be serious."

Haben is a happy fellow. As Gary Moore once wrote: "Happy Face' was the name Haben had given to himself—making fun, with his customary exuberant irony, of his own apparently inexhaustible good moods, of the way those good moods looked frivolous, of the way other people were attracted, and at the same time mystified, by his do-anything-say-anything style."

Representative J. J. "Toby" Holland, who succeeded to Haben's seat in the House from Manatee and Hardee Counties, has known Haben since Ralph was twelve years old. Holland was not surprised at Haben's decision to put out his shingle as a lobbyist in Tallahassee. "Ralph didn't really care about the nuts and bolts of practicing law in a small community," said Holland. "Someone writing a will or doing a real estate deal, Ralph wasn't of that nature," Holland said. "He really enjoyed the hustle and bustle of government. Ralph is doing what he likes best."

Haben described to Chris Downey, of the *Bradenton Herald*, the lobbyist's task as he sees it:

When a bill is introduced, it is referred to a committee of substance. You have to look at the makeup of that committee and see what the bill's prospects are.

If it goes to a "bad committee," one where a majority of Members do not agree with your position, you better have another piece of legislation on the same subject in another committee so you will still be alive somewhere.

Bills go from one committee to another and must be dogged by the lobbyist. So much of it is timing and that is why it takes so many people so long to understand.

To a newsman who puzzled why the Legislature waited until the last hours to enact important, if controversial, legislation, Haben once explained, "that's the only way to do it, you see, because when you really get them tired, you can do what's right and they don't have to worry about the politics of it."

Ralph Harris Haben, Jr., was born November 25, 1941, in Atlanta, Georgia. His family moved to Florida in 1946 and Haben was raised in Palmetto. He graduated from Palmetto High School, where he was a 185-pound tackle on the football team, played baseball and threw the shotput, "but not very far."

A friend came home from college wearing the enticing uniform of a Citadel Cadet. Haben declared, "I've got to have one of those." But the lure of military uniforms lasted only a year. He returned to the St. Petersburg Junior College, then the University of Florida, next Stetson Law School, and finally Cumberland Law School at Birmingham, Alabama. He didn't finish at Stetson because he believed a professor had taken a dislike to him and would flunk him. He couldn't avoid taking that professor's class.

Returning to Florida with his law diploma from Cumberland, he had the chance to clerk for Senator Wilbur Boyd in the unfinished balance of a legislative term at Tallahassee. The zeal to become a legislator was further stimulated during his clerkship in the law office of Jerome Pratt, who was a Member of the House. Haben served as Assistant State Attorney in 1969 and as Municipal Judge for Palmetto and Anna Maria in 1970-1972. When a vacancy occurred for Manatee and Hardee Counties in the House, Haben ran for the seat and won with the support of Toby Holland, already a Palmetto powerbroker.

His career in the House was in the fast lane because of an affiliation he made with J. Hyatt Brown, a Volusia County legislator who had decided to run for Speaker of the 1979-1980 House. Brown won and it became known generally that Haben would be Chairman of the prestigious Committee on Rules & Calendar. This committee, and usually its chairman, determines what bills will reach the floor. Haben brought a refreshing reform there by pledging that any bill which reached the Special Order Calendar would remain there until reached by the House. Until Haben, a bill might earn its way to the top of the Special Order Calendar only to appear the next day near the bottom or dropped entirely. The Special Order Calendar was subject to manipulation.

The chairmanship of the Committee on Rules & Calendar also placed Haben in a position to advance to the Speakership, which he did, but not without a campaign. Haben collected the winning pledges in a third of the time and at far less cost than the \$50,000 Brown had expended two years earlier. Haben once explained the difference:

"In one day, starting with Sam Mitchell at Vernon in the Panhandle and ending the next morning in Miami, over a 24-hour period I got something like 30 pledges. I flew my airplane and was able to see a lot of people in a hurry. Remember this, I was perceived as one of the two closest people to the incoming Speaker. So I had a little political perception traveling with me that Hyatt never had."

Haben continued: "Hyatt was a guy who took on the establishment. He stayed on the road for two years. I don't know how many hotels he stayed in. He drove all over the state. I'll bet his fuel bill was \$5,000 or \$6,000, just his gasoline. He didn't have the luxury of seeing three or four people at a time. He might have to go on Monday to Jacksonville, back to Jacksonville on Wednesday to see another one, then over to Orlando, then back home to Daytona, then over to

Tampa. He wouldn't fly. He said, 'I'll be better driving and thinking and planning my next stop during drive time.'

"My theory was different. My theory was, 'I'm going to blitz them with the airplane.' I could go from point A to point B in an hour. It worked for me. I spent something like \$11,000."

Haben's opponent was Representative Frank Mann, of Fort Myers. Mann was quoted by Haben as explaining, "Ralph, I know I can't beat you but I feel like I need to run."

"I said, 'Frank, if you know you can't beat me, why are you going to put both of us through this?' Mann replied: 'Well, these people really want me to run and I told them I would and I feel committed to do it.' I said, 'Boy, that's going to cost me.'"

Haben figures in a number of House stories that have become legends. One was the pitting of Haben against his close friend, Representative Lee Moffitt, of Tampa. Moffitt had introduced an amendment to the general appropriations bill which, if adopted, would have struck the money for an airplane for the use of the Department of Commerce in soliciting industry for the state. Haben claimed recognition ostensibly as a proponent of the Moffitt amendment. He said:

We can have a Greyhound bus pick the prospects up at the Alabama line in West Florida and drive them all through the Panhandle and they can decide if they have seen what they like. If they don't, then they can take an eight-hour bus trip down to Miami. You see, it's very difficult to get up here and argue that we need an airplane.



Speaker Haben thanks Representative Carrie Meek as he takes over the podium. Haben put Representative Meek in charge but when things got hectic Carrie said, "Will the Speaker return to the podium, and quickly!"

Even Moffitt joined in the laughter as this amendment was shouted down.

Haben suggests that the term "leadership" applies to different people at different times, although the chairmen of the Committees on Rules & Calendar and Appropriations remain always within the circle of leadership. In a taxing session, the chairman of Finance & Taxation would be included. In years when big banking and insurance were up, the chairman of the Committee on Commerce would be added to the leadership circle. In most Speakership administrations, the Majority Leader had program responsibility. Most Speakers reach an accommodation with the Minority (Republican) Leader.

Haben said, as if speaking to the Minority Leader, "I can control you but it's going to waste a lot of effort and time. That's not a

good way to do business." So Haben continues, to the Minority Leader, "I want you to go along with me on certain things and you can pretty much make your own selections to the Special Order Calendar. So each side can get along with the other to the benefit of both."

Local bills, though far fewer in number now than some years ago, still can kill a Member politically. Ralph Haben agrees. "You can vote for or against some tax and you can pretty much get away with it," Haben was quoted as saying in the *Gainesville Sun*, "but you'll lose your seat in the Legislature if you get on the wrong side of a local bill."

A number of significant factors have reduced the number of local bills—142 in 1990 versus 2,082 in 1961: a limited home rule for cities and counties, single-member districts and pre-session delegation caucuses. But those that remain may be ticking time bombs.

On the other hand, Haben believed, single-member districts reduced the constituency of Members. Then, if you represented a good portion of, say, Dade County, you had to explain why you had been a Member for two or three sessions and did not have an important-sounding chairmanship. Now, if you send letters home, speak at forums, and do those related public relations things, it isn't as important as it once was to get in early on the selection of a Speaker.

Haben often said as Speaker that there was only one bill which the Legislature had to pass. That was the general appropriations bill. But Haben, nevertheless, vigorously supported the product of his committees. The morale of the committee members demanded this. Haben supported single-member districts and passage of the fifth cent of the sales tax.

Haben dropped out of the House when he completed his stint as Speaker. He took with him an \$8,000,000 appropriation for an auditorium at Palmetto. He insisted the structure not bear his name. However, the street in front of the auditorium was named for him.

Haben was the central figure of an incident during the 1980 session, when he was Chairman of the Rules Committee, which he then described as "the most embarrassing moment of my entire life."

Responsible for that moment was Representative Joseph M. Gersten, of Miami. Gersten arranged for two comely young women, dressed in medieval costume, to present a stuffed suckling pig on a garnished platter to Haben at his desk on the front row center of the House Chamber during a session.

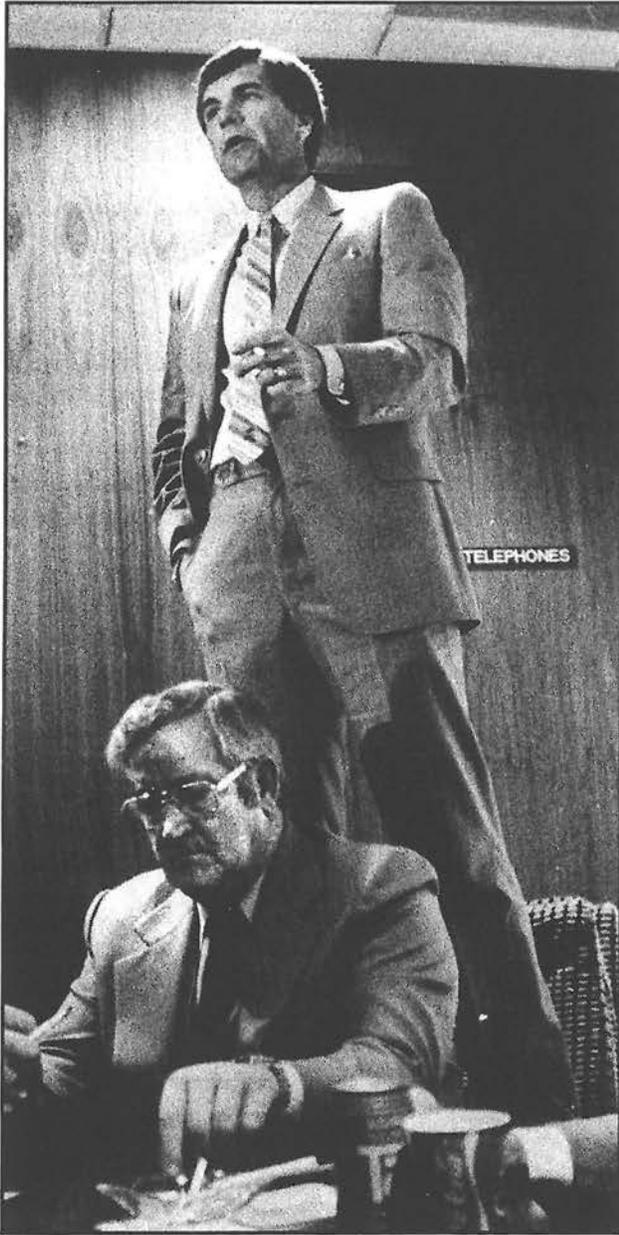
Gersten regarded the presentation as a tribute, in "true acknowledgement to Mr. Haben for bringing home the bacon." This afterwards was regarded as a reference to a pending appropriation for a civic center in Palmetto, although Gersten may not have been aware of the money, but sought only to flatter Haben on his prospective ascension to the Speakership.

Haben was not amused, although the rest of the House Members were. He felt the presentation jeopardized the appropriation which he had labored to put through the House and Senate with a minimum of attention. After clearing the Legislature, Haben's civic center escaped the Governor's veto and now stands as its community's pride and joy.

In 1980, Gersten was chairman of a major committee and member of three other prestigious committees, including the Committee on Rules &



The most embarrassing moment of his life, reported Ralph Haben, who thought this public attention might cost the \$8 million earmarked for Haben's civic center.



Already tall, Speaker Haben needed even more height to command the attention of Democrats in quick caucus in the House lounge.

With the completion of his obligations as Speaker, Haben ran against Comptroller Gerald "Jerry" Lewis. Lewis won, with 761,585 votes to Haben's 378,230. Haben said his vote-seeking days were behind him.

Calendar. When Haben became Speaker that November, Gersten was chairman of nothing and his prestigious committees were only memories.

There chanced to be a mid-term election in 1981 to fill a Dade Senate seat. Gersten ran and won.

After the expiration of the two-year prohibition enforced upon former Members of the House and Senate, Haben opened a private law practice in Tallahassee with Bruce Culpepper which enjoys a lucrative lobby clientele. His biggest coup was the legislative grant of \$33,000,000 for a baseball stadium at St. Petersburg for which no team had been signed. Haben's fee never has been made public, but likely it was on a par with former Speaker Donald L. Tucker's \$500,000 spread over five years. Tucker was paid for his success in negotiating a greyhound dog track permit.

For the regular session of 1990, Haben, Culpepper, Nancy Black Stewart and Karl R. Adams represented 29 lobby clients, ranging from Alamo Rent-a-Car, the Cable TV Association, *St. Petersburg Times*, British Petroleum America and Prudential Bache to psychiatric and other private hospitals.

Haben has been married and divorced twice. His post-divorce relationship with each has been pleasant. When he ran for Comptroller, his first wife Gail campaigned for him. She has described him as "a very warm and family-oriented man" with "directness and honesty" as his chief traits. His second wife, Debbie, was equally charming. To all, former wives and women generally, he is debonair and gracious.

Once a chain smoker, Haben has given up cigarettes. He still runs each morning, once fourteen miles but routinely five.

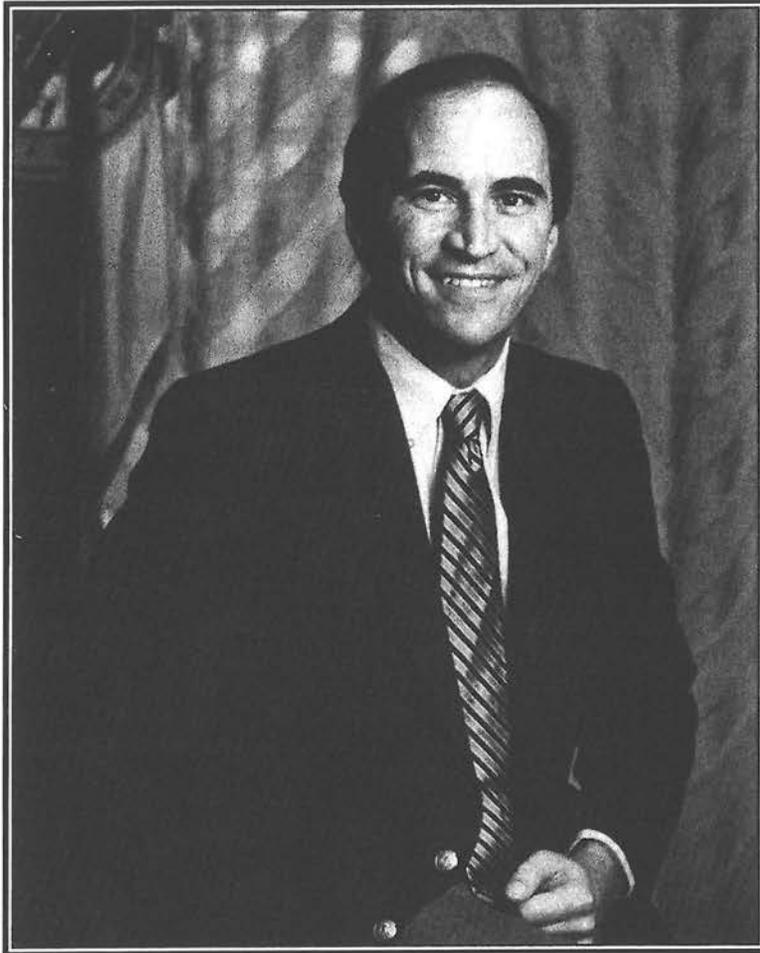


Speaker Haben catches up on his bill signing during the morning session of the Florida House of Representatives with the help of Administrative Assistant Ann Abbott.

In April 1990, Haben was back in the newspapers, but for a non-legislative reason. While Haben and Culpepper were scuba diving in the Gulf, his fishing boat sank, leaving them adrift separately, for four to seven hours.

“See, what did I tell you,” said one legislator, upon reading of Haben’s ordeal in the Gulf, “he can’t walk on water.” “Yeah, but he can tread water, hour after hour,” replied another.

Haben’s philosophy perhaps was stated in “Haben’s Law,” his contribution to Allen Morris’s *The Language and Lore of Lawmaking in Florida*: “It’s important to be right, but it’s more important to be important, and even more important to be important and right.”



H. Lee Moffitt
Speaker, 1983-1984

THE SPEAKERS

HOUSTON LEE MOFFITT

Even before he came to the House, H. Lee Moffitt was known to intimates as “Mother Moffitt.”

Speaker Ralph H. Haben, Jr. once gave an example of Speaker Moffitt’s caring: “I catch a cold, right? Just a common cold. Well, he decided I needed to take vitamins. So he goes out and buys me vitamins. Not only that, but he comes over every morning to see if I’ve taken them.”

That solicitous attitude may explain why there is a cancer research institute and hospital at the University of South Florida instead of the kind of bouquet that the House usually hands its departing leaders—a civic center or a theater, for example.

The *New York Times* found the story of Lee Moffitt and the Moffitt Cancer Center and Research Institute to be of such national interest that the newspaper spread the account across eight columns at the top of a page on December 9, 1986. Some excerpts:

“In the mid-1970s, Joseph Lumia, a prominent young accountant and civic leader here [Tampa], developed cancer and slowly and painfully began to die. He was the close friend and campaign treasurer for a state Representative from Tampa named H. Lee Moffitt. ‘I saw the anguish and deterioration and the pain he endured,’ Mr. Moffitt said. ‘It hit me very hard.’

“Then George Edgecomb, a young attorney, the first black judge in this county [Hillsborough], and a friend of Mr. Moffitt’s from Big Brother work developed cancer and began to die. Then the young woman who was Mr. Moffitt’s legislative aide, a gospel-singing Baptist from Mississippi, developed cancer and began to die. All three of them died, and Mr. Moffitt became possessed of the feeling that something had to be done.”

The Damoclean sword of cancer was suspended over Moffitt himself at age 30. A knot developed on a knee over a period of time. Moffitt thought at first it was a cyst. A biopsy revealed it was malignant. It was taken out by surgery, as was everything near it.

Although it wasn’t life threatening, Moffitt stresses, he admits it was “scary.” “When you’re in your 20s or 30s, you think you’re immortal. I’d never had anyone close to me die. For the first time, it made me realize that if you’ve got things you want to do, you’d better get on with your life.”

Moffitt’s opportunity to do something with his life came when Terrell Sessums, who was Speaker, dropped out of the Legislature, opening a Tampa slot in the House. Moffitt ran. His first try at establishing a cancer center failed when then Governor Bob Graham vetoed the enabling act. As Speaker-apparent two years later, Moffitt was in a better position of influence.



H. Lee Moffitt stands in front of the institution which bears his name.

House Bill 4-D, of a special session in 1982 when his good friend Ralph Haben was Speaker, passed upon introduction by Chairman Herbert Morgan of the Committee on Appropriations.

Herbert Morgan recalls that a unique funding apparatus was devised, with the cooperation of the Appropriation Committee's then Staff Director, Anthony Carvalho, which dedicated the proceeds of the cigarette tax for three years—\$75 million—to the planning, construction and equipping of the center. Among other features, the plan spared Moffitt the political necessity of defending a “turkey” for each of the years of the Moffitt tenure as Speaker.

While other legislators might regard the center as a Tampa “turkey,” Moffitt looked upon the center as a statewide asset, for Floridians threatened by cancer then had to choose from only three major cancer research and treatment centers in the country: Roswell Park Memorial Institute in Buffalo, N.Y., Sloan-Kettering in Manhattan and M.D. Anderson in Houston. In the late 1970s, 11 percent of the patients at M.D. Anderson were Floridians.



Speaker-elect Lee Moffitt stands behind the podium with his family, wife Karen and daughter Jennifer Leigh, as he waits to give his acceptance speech.

Groundbreaking ceremonies for the \$54 million, 162-bed facility occurred in January 1983. Construction was completed in 1986. The cancer center was dedicated on October 18, 1986, and opened for patients on October 27, 1986. Moffitt opposed the naming of the center for him but, in his absence from the Chamber, the authorization was slipped into a pending measure.

The importance of the Moffitt Center was highlighted in the 1990 statement by Richard C. Karl, M.D., the center's Medical Director:

“Given the sad fact that Florida has one of the highest cancer rates in the country, Lee's leadership, imagination and commitment is of real importance. Moffitt Cancer Center has the potential to be a national resource.”

The apple of Lee Moffitt's eye is his daughter, Jennifer Leigh Moffitt. His affection for her may well be the reason for his concern about children generally. Instead of the traditional Speaker's Ball, financed by the Tallahassee Chamber of Commerce and other civic bodies, Moffitt entertained handicapped children.

Lee Moffitt was born November 10, 1941, in Tampa, the son of a ship welder and of a Holiday Inn innkeeper. He earned his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of South Florida in 1964. The Damon and Pythias team of Ralph Haben and Lee Moffitt first developed at the Stetson Law School at St. Petersburg.

Haben had escaped involvement in campus politics until his senior year when a group persuaded him to allow his name to be used on a slate. One of the other names on the slate, he learned, was that of Lee Moffitt. A meeting was arranged between the two candidates. “I came wheeling around at Stetson. I had a brand new car and thought I was fairly neat. And I remember seeing this guy. He had on white socks and nerdy glasses. I thought to myself, I don't know why people think this guy is so sharp. He'll never win.

"We went to breakfast at a little restaurant on St. Petersburg Beach; after we talked a while, I found I liked him. One thing led to another and we started going to dinner and studying together."

A knee smashed in a high school motorcycle accident kept Moffitt off the basketball court at that time. He became president of the Key Club. Later, at college, he was a co-founder of Alpha Tau Omega at the University of South Florida. He held so many part-time jobs during his days at the University of South Florida and the University of Florida, that he began to accumulate a sheaf of W-2 forms. "I held jobs in every department at Sears other than ladies' lingerie." He entered Stetson Law School where students were discouraged from holding part-time jobs. His employment as a motel telephone switchboard operator resulted in his transfer to Cumberland Law School at Birmingham, Alabama. Another reason for his leaving was a dislike of the grading system of a professor he would have had if he remained at Stetson. He was followed to Birmingham by Ralph Haben.

Contrary to belief, the two were never roommates. As Haben puts it, "Often if you get two very good friends and they live together, all of a sudden they're not happy with one another. Lee and I literally made a commitment to one another way back in law school that we would never live together. We might live side by side in a duplex but we would never occupy the same premises because we're too good of friends. And so we never have."

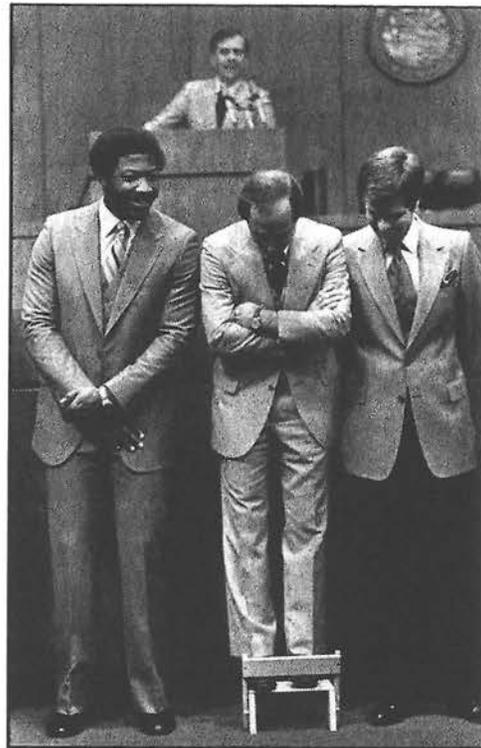
At Cumberland, the two young and hungry students from Florida found employment at Birmingham's Prohibition Lounge, a place with peanut shells on the floor and go-go girls on the stage. Moffitt, at five feet eight inches and 132 pounds, was a bartender; Haben, at six feet and 190 pounds, was a bouncer. What Moffitt saw at the Prohibition Lounge caused him to abstain from alcoholic beverages from then until now.

Moffitt once asked an irate customer to join him outside. They returned in about 20 minutes, with the customer now docile and friendly. He became a regular customer.

Haben said, "Lee never had any problems with his size. He was so damn diplomatic he could quiet any hostile situation."

Their Doctors of Jurisprudence attained, Moffitt and Haben returned to Florida. The Legislature was in extended session and several Senators needed short-term aides. Moffitt was employed by Senator Louis de la Parte of Tampa and Haben by Senator Wilbur Boyd of Palmetto. Moffitt says that brush with politics resulted in his being snake-bitten by affection for the Legislature.

Moffitt afterwards recalled his experience during that extended session: "With two mentors who were not typical backroom politicians but were issue-oriented, it is no surprise that my impres-



A footstool was provided so Representative H. Lee Moffitt could stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the big boys, football star Leroy Selman (left) and Representative Ralph Haben (right). In the background, Speaker J. Hyatt Brown finds the scene in the House Chamber amusing. Selman was honored by the House.

sion of Florida politics was so favorable. That's why I decided to run for the Legislature when the opportunity presented itself."

Moffitt commenced a general practice of law in Tampa, showing himself to the community through activity in organizations such as the Big Brothers and the United Fund of the day. Opportunity for a legislative seat offered itself when Terrell Sessums dropped out of the House of Representatives after having served as Speaker in 1973-74.

Linda Goldstein, in the *St. Petersburg Times*, quoted Moffitt as describing the difference between his legislative staff work and that of being a legislator: "Everything I had done before was make-believe in comparison, an exercise that wasn't real. When you get up there [in Tallahassee], every vote that you make has an impact on people. It became serious business."

Campaigning had been hard work but Moffitt found he liked people. "Campaigning is a humbling experience, asking people to help. Also, it was amazing how many people did help.

"I knew a lot of people, and I was gratified by the support I got from the community. I'm a product of this community—born here, went to school, practiced law."

As a freshman, Moffitt "was fortunate, because I aligned myself obviously with Ralph [who had been elected from his hometown of Palmetto two years before, in 1972] but also with a fellow by the name of Hyatt Brown [who preceded Haben as Speaker]. I became very good friends with Hyatt, too. We all worked very closely together. It proved to be a very good coalition."

Moffitt's address to the Members at the convening of the regular session of 1983 ran 3,500 words. "I went back and read all the organizational speeches from the past years of Speakers, and generally the Speakers talked about specific issues. I decided that rather than do that, I'd take a step back and look at the statewide picture."

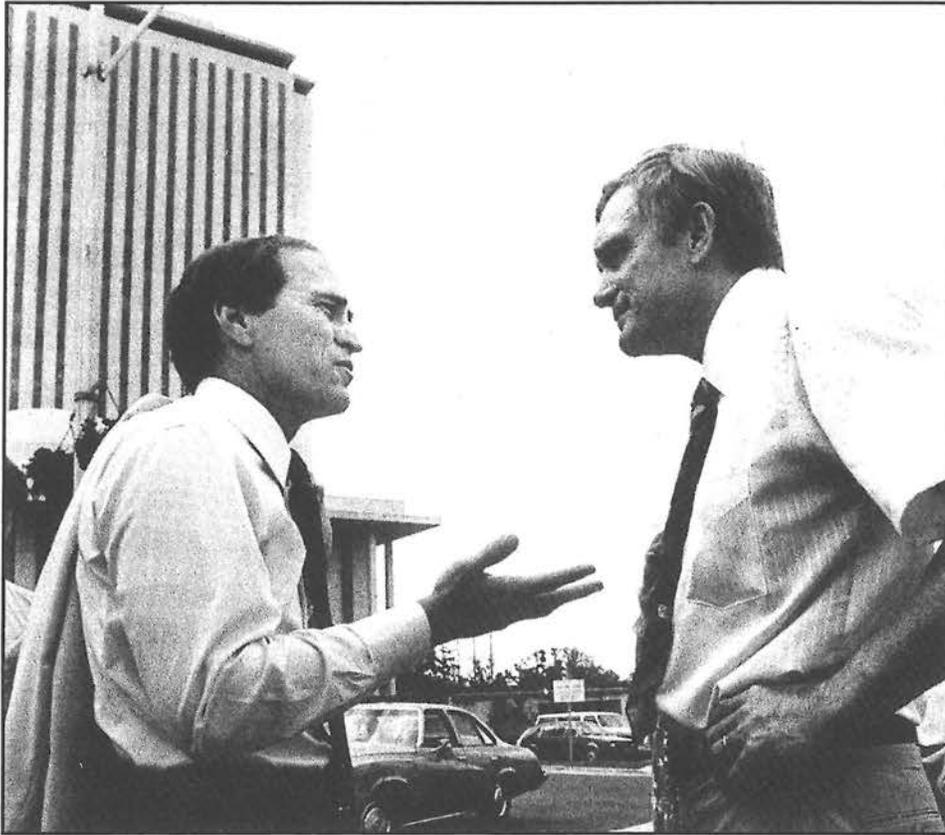
Moffitt resolved that there were two broad areas on which to focus: "The question of managing our growth and of protecting the legacy of our children."

By way of preparing the Members for the session, Moffitt had a two-day retreat for Democratic House incumbents at the Withlacoochee Environmental Center, purposely away from distractions. Among those broad issues were: growth management, transportation funding, protection of groundwater, control of hazardous wastes, correction reform, educational enhancement, wetlands protection and control of health costs. Much of that agenda was passed in Moffitt's first year. Some of the issues are alive today.

Single-member districts are identified with Moffitt because he chaired the House committee. When Speaker Haben appointed Moffitt, the Chairman favored continuance of multi-member districts. But Moffitt wanted to hear from the public. "I said we'd be neutral until we had the public hearings around the state."

After 21 hearings from Key West to Pensacola, Moffitt was convinced the public wanted single-member districts. That's what the public got. Only 19 people testified for multi-member districts. "Had I not supported single-member districts, the whole thing would have been a farce. It wouldn't have been fair."

Moffitt, as apportionment chair, had not only to convince his committee and the House but his opposite number in the Senate, the redoubtable Dempsey J. Barron. The lasting obstacle was whether Senators with two years remaining should serve out their terms. Moffitt insisted all Senate seats should be filled by election. The Supreme Court found for Moffitt.



With the state Capitol in the background, U.S. Senator Lawton Chiles (right) stops to listen to the comments of House Speaker-elect Lee Moffitt. Chiles was ending his 200 mile walk to kick off his campaign.

Barron thought he could take the measure of Moffitt. An example of that campaign—he dropped in one evening at Moffitt’s apartment. Moffitt offered Barron a drink. Barron is quoted as saying, “I’ll have whatever you’re drinking.” It was herbal tea.

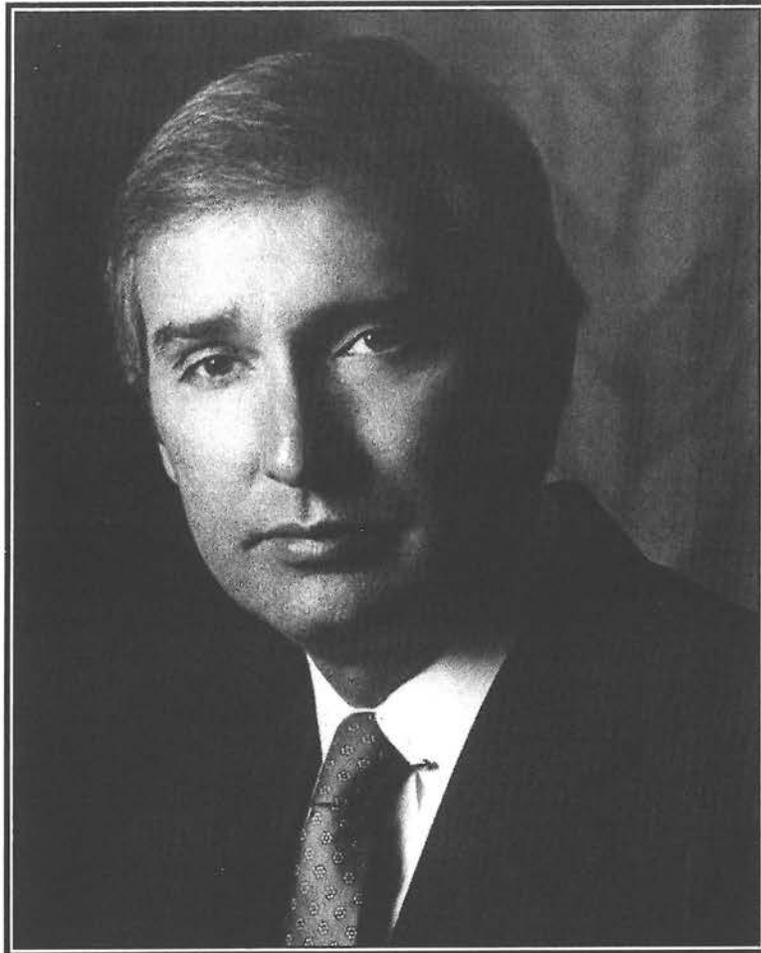
Samuel P. Bell was voted, in secret ballot, the most respected Member of the 1987-1988 House and was in line for the 1991-1992 regular session Speakership when he was defeated for reelection to the House. Thus qualified, this is Bell’s informed judgment of Moffitt:

Lee is a person who values friendship and is loyal to those he counts as friends and is willing to overlook their shortcomings. He is compassionate. He is smart. He is quick. He has a great sense of humor and is always great company. The character of the Florida Legislature was changed by Lee’s steadfast leadership on apportionment after the 1980 census. Single-member districts broadened the representative nature of both Chambers. Florida is a better place because Lee Moffitt served.

Lee Moffitt was the third in an unbroken line of kindred Speakers commencing with J. Hyatt Brown, of Daytona Beach, and thus was known as the Brown Dynasty. Brown was succeeded by Ralph H. Haben, Jr., of Palmetto, Lee Moffitt, of Tampa, and James Harold Thompson, of Gretna.

A knowledgeable insider of the administrations of those Speakers offered these one-word capsules of the dynasty’s Speakers:

Brown—respected, Haben—charismatic, Moffitt—solicitous and Thompson—studious.



James Harold Thompson
Speaker, 1985-1986

THE SPEAKERS

JAMES HAROLD THOMPSON

The shadow of the 22-story Florida Capitol almost seems to touch the nearby office of James Harold Thompson.

With that icon of Florida government so near, Thompson could be excused for yearning to once again, in six or eight years, share the helm of State government. Thompson was Speaker for the two years from November 1984. He has not encouraged talk of running for political office beyond saying that if he ran it would not be for the Legislature.

He concedes that he has thought of running for Governor, Attorney General, Commissioner of Agriculture or Comptroller; but, "Really, I ought not exclude any statewide office . . . nothing is forever."

Thompson was elected the Speaker of the first House composed of Members elected from single-member districts. He lived almost all his days in Gadsden County's community of Gretna (population in 1980, 1,448). Gretna is pronounced "gritty" for the character of the soil. Thompson once was said to possess "true grit."

With a smile, James Harold (as he is generally known) will tell you, "I bet I'm one of the few Members of the Legislature who can plow a mule." He is an accomplished quail hunter. He is a harmonica player of some renown. He plays periodically with friends, and occasionally at gatherings. One such gathering was an annual meeting of the Silver-haired Legislature.



Speaker Thompson follows a vote with Chairman Samuel P. Bell III of the Committee on Appropriations.

For the site of the House caucus to designate him as 97th Speaker, Thompson chose an old wooden schoolhouse at Gretna. This had appealed to his strong sense of family history because of the community activities centered there for 80-plus years. "This is part of my heritage," explained Thompson, whose family has lived in Gadsden County since the early 1800s.

Ironically, in view of the family background of six generations in Gadsden County, James Harold was born in Mobile, Alabama, on November 18, 1944. His father had moved the family there during World War II because the Mobile shipyard needed skilled carpenters.

The press frequently spoke of James Harold as "Lincolnesque." He stands six feet, two inches tall, and weighs 175 pounds. He speaks softly but effectively. Fellow Members of the House voted him five times as "Most Effective in Debate." Ralph Haben, Speaker in 1980-1982, said he had seen "only five people turn votes on nothing but floor debate alone. James Harold was one of those people."

Michael Ollove of *The Miami Herald* once described such an occasion: "The conservative brethren of the Florida House strode into the Chamber some years ago as piously as if it were a Sunday morning, confident that they had enough votes to restore public school prayer."

They did, but couldn't hold on to them. The reason—they lacked the support of one of their own, Representative James Harold Thompson.



Speaker pro tempore Elaine Gordon displays a Susan B. Anthony gavel presented her by Speaker Thompson. The gavel, from the Smithsonian Collection, is a duplicate of the one used by Susan B. Anthony while presiding over the first International Women's Conference.

A country lawyer and Sunday school teacher, Thompson rose on the House floor that day and, like a kindly father, instructed the Members in American democracy. "There's a little church over here about 30 miles . . . and I've been there every Sunday morning for about 35 years," began Thompson, a 38-year-old Presbyterian, in his lilting drawl, "but I was also raised in school with the idea that the reason we have this very country right here is because people were escaping religious persecution." The school prayer bill, he warned the House, was on "thin and shaky" constitutional grounds.

He convinced them. Instead of ordering prayer, the House passed a face-saving compromise allowing schools to have a moment of silence.

Thompson's more moderate colleagues value his powers of persuasion. His support was essential to former Representative Hyatt Brown (D-Daytona Beach) who launched a campaign to capture the Speakership in 1978. Brown coveted Thompson's support because it guaranteed many more North Florida commitments.

Thompson's support also was essential to Haben (D-Palmetto) who was fighting for a sales tax increase to fight crime. Thompson was important not only because of his standing among conservatives, but also to ensure support from South Floridians reluctant to raise taxes in an election year. "If James Harold bought it, you knew you had a good opportunity of winning," Haben said afterwards. "It kind of makes a Dade Member nervous when he sees a North Florida conservative vote for a tax. There's no place to hide."

To allay fears in South Florida after he assured himself the Speakership, Thompson picked as his running mate Representative Elaine Gordon (D-North Miami). One of the House's most liberal Members, she led the unsuccessful attempts to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, which Thompson voted against.

No one doubts Thompson's conservative instincts. He was raised in tobacco-rich Gadsden County, whose county seat of Quincy is the picture of an old South community with beautiful high-columned homes and towering magnolias. But Thompson was not part of the county's landed wealth. His family was as poor as their black neighbors who worked in the fields.

He grew up on a farm where his family raised enough crops and cattle to feed themselves. His father was a carpenter. His mother cleaned eggs at a packing house. The three children worked at odd jobs and in tobacco fields from childhood.

Thompson always lugged books home. His reading helped spark what seemed then to be an unreasonable ambition. "I had sort of an unadmitted desire to be a lawyer," Thompson says. "I don't know how I thought I would do it."

He did it because Florida State University was only 30 miles away in Tallahassee. By the time he graduated, the university was opening its law school and he became a first-class student. He arose at dawn to weigh tobacco at one of the warehouses and then drove a beat-up, secondhand Volkswagen Karmannhia to law school. He graduated, with honors, from the FSU College of Law in 1969. Florida State University and the 1993 Florida Legislature recently paid tribute to Thompson by voting to name the new law school village green the James Harold Thompson Village Green.

James Harold Thompson has inherited the spiritual values of rural Florida. He had known hard work as a child, in the tobacco fields. He has a consuming passion for reading, for learning. This was a trait of the Thompson family. For example, his older sister taught him to read on the third-grade level before he started the first grade. Also, she gave him money when he went to nearby Florida State University for all his college years. He graduated with honors from FSU's law school. His wife, Carolyn, has carried forward the tradition of support. His wife is the former Carolyn J. Messer of Bonifay. They met in the senior class at Florida State University. The Thompsons have two sons, James Alexander and Jason Harold, and a daughter, Lee Anne. Mrs. Thompson taught school during the first years of their marriage.



Speaker Thompson and his family, presented to the House from the rostrum after Thompson was elected Speaker.

His reverence for the past may be found in James Harold's restoration of the century-old home of his great-grandparents, a three-room Florida Cracker home in which six daughters and one son were raised. This is not the present Thompson residence but is maintained as a family shrine.

He travels from Gretna each working day to his office in Tallahassee. He may some day move to Tallahassee, although he is not enthusiastic about doing so. Presently, he drives home each evening to his home on the 65-acre farm that has been in his family for four generations. He likely will keep that home even in the unlikely event of the family moving to Tallahassee.

He cherishes a rural background which keeps him close to the earth and the people he likes. "In a rural setting, you don't enjoy anonymity. When you go to the big town's supermarket you don't have to stop and talk to people because you don't know anybody. In the rural setting (Quincy) it

takes a long time to work your way through the supermarket because there are so many friends and acquaintances. You have an obligation to chat with the people." Many of those people will want to talk about government because they know Thompson remains close friends with the people in government.

Thompson feels that whether or not he runs again for any political office, he will always be beholden to those who sent him to the Legislature for 12 years. So, as he says, he doesn't enjoy the anonymity of the urban environment.

After leaving the Florida Legislature, Thompson went into the full-time practice of law, first in Quincy, then in Tallahassee. About three years ago, Thompson joined the Tallahassee firm of Ausley, McMullen, McGehee, Carothers & Proctor. While Thompson regards himself as primarily a lawyer rather than a lobbyist, his knowledge of Florida government makes him a natural in heading the firm's growing government relations section.



Speaker Thompson recognizes the outstanding energies of Senator Roberta Fox (left) and Representative Elaine Gordon in passing the day care legislation. There was a big smile for Fox and a pat on the back for Gordon.

Even though Thompson is no longer an elected public official, he continues to find time to serve the citizens of the state of Florida whenever called upon. He served as Chairman of the Third Environmental Land Management Study Commission which, guided by Thompson's patient hand, drafted landmark legislation balancing environmental and economic concerns into a comprehensive growth management plan for Florida's future. Recently Thompson was appointed by the Cabinet to serve on the Power Plant Siting Act Task Force, which will be drafting legislation which could have significant impact on determining Florida's future energy needs.

An incident involving advice given him in 1974 by Governor Reubin O'D. Askew has lodged in Thompson's memory. An effective way Askew had to deal with the first-term Members was to have the new lawmakers out to the mansion for lunch to talk to each on a person-to-person basis.

“When he got to me, he said, ‘James Harold, don’t worry about the fact you are kind of Southern and you’ve got those double names that bore everybody to death. You may feel that you’re a little out of place here. Just remember that in the House of Representatives the Members will accept you for what you are. Your success here will be measured only by what you are and what you do and not where you come from or how you talk and, fortunately for all of us, not your skin color or whether you are a man or woman.’”

There is a tendency to believe former legislators benefit from friendships made among the men and women still in the Legislature, and Thompson often found that former legislators/leaders, like Miami’s Murray Dubbin of past years, possessed the advantage of coming before committees with their knowledge and reputation preceding them.

Thompson entered the House at the organization session of November 1974. This proved to be a moment of good fortune, for J. Hyatt Brown had just decided to seek the Speakership. Thompson pledged, and thereby joined, the Brown inner circle. He gained a committee chairmanship and a seat on the Committee on Appropriations. He was the last of the so-called Hyatt Brown Dynasty of Speakers.

This dynasty produced the following Speakers: J. Hyatt Brown of Daytona Beach, regular sessions of 1979-1980; Ralph H. Haben, Jr., Palmetto, 1981-1982; H. Lee Moffitt, Tampa, 1983-1984; James Harold Thompson, Gretna, 1985-1986.

Jon Mills of Gainesville often is identified as a member of the Brown Dynasty, but he missed the opportunity to join the original Brown group by two years. Samuel P. Bell III was in leadership from 1974 through 1988, and in line for the Speakership, but failed to be reelected at home in 1988.



A conference at the summit by Speaker Thompson with his son, James Alexander, who was serving as a page.

“Contrary to what one might expect,” once explained Sam Bell, “James Harold was a strong supporter of civil rights. His relationship with the black community was personal and warm. He did more than any Speaker in recent history to encourage black employment in government.”

From his own experiences, Bell offered this example of Thompson's strong will. Bell was the prime sponsor of the motor vehicle restraint bill. “James Harold felt this requirement was an unjustified extension of government involvement into the lives of individuals. He argued strongly against having to place his child in a restraint in his pickup truck. On the eve of his becoming Speaker, I was forced into a head-on debate with James Harold on the floor of the House of Representatives concerning this bill.

“When the final vote was taken, James Harold lost by one vote. He then raised a point of order that his button had not registered his vote. In order to avoid a fight, I agreed to have the board reopened and the vote recast. James Harold lost again by three votes. Such a loss might have caused him to bear resentment. Instead, he was gracious in defeat and seemingly bore no grudge.

“To test his good will, I continued to send James Harold clips of cases where children's lives were saved by the child restraint law. He received these clips in silence for some time. Finally, one day, he called, begging forgiveness and pleading for me to quit sending him child restraint clip-pings.”

James Harold usually seems solemn of mien but so long as Claude Pepper lived, the House could be assured of one hearty laughter session. Pepper was once a Florida House Member and for many years he returned to the House for ceremonial visits.



Speaker Thompson caught by camera in a moment of exuberance as the Speaker and the House honor Florida State University's football coach, Bobby Bowden, after a winning season.

The House learned that James Harold could mimic Pepper's soft rasp, and he did not take much urging to entertain the House with an imitation of Pepper speaking on some legislative matter. Pepper, who was usually present, quite obviously enjoyed the Thompson performances.

Yet, Thompson had humor in an understated way. On the next to last day of a session, James Harold settled down the House by saying: "Let's everybody sit down and be quiet and just take it easy. What's happening here is that it's next to the last day and you all are anxious to get home. I went home last night, you see, and had to take the garbage out and all that stuff, so I'm not so frantic as you are. When everybody gets as calm as me, we will proceed."

On another occasion, when a Member caused laughter at the Speaker's expense, he told the perpetrator and the House, "You know you are in violation of Rule 15.7-AO 35 (an imaginary Rule), which says nobody can be more witty than the Speaker at any given moment."

James Harold Thompson hopes his two years as Speaker will be remembered for the passage of the Comprehensive Planning Act. "I think elements of it will be controversial for a long time. But I think it was proper for our state to make some hard decisions about the design of the future and that would be one of those things.



A remembrance presented by his colleagues on the last days of the 1986 session depicted a statue known as "The Country Lawyer." Speaker Thompson was known by his fellow Members as "The Country Lawyer of the Florida House."

"A second aspect of it probably won't be remembered by others unless I remind them; we set in motion the plan for funding the future needs of our state. We sunsetted the exemptions on the sales tax which the next Legislature implemented as a services tax and which was mishandled and bungled. I think if you had the same players in office in the Legislature and in the Governor's Office, you would have seen a very responsible approach to that and the future fund-

ing needs would have been planned. So I would like for it to be remembered that we established a very clear plan to address the future financial needs of Florida without doing it on a piecemeal, session-by-session approach which had been done the entire time I had been in office.”

Thompson's third view of past legislation which is unfinished concerns public financing of political campaigns. “I think the state is ready for that. Our state could be the model for that among the states.”

The former Speaker's biggest disappointment during his years in the House was his failure of impact on education. Much was accomplished in such areas as funding of education generally, but he doubts whether the children are getting a good, basic education. “I came through a rural school system, very rural, and yet I look around today at a much better financed system throughout our state and I don't see that the young people are getting the basic education that I was able to get in that more backward system. And that frustrates me. I don't feel that I made the contribution that I should have.”

Sam Bell summed up James Harold Thompson's administration as “one which will be remembered as a warm, homey and classic time in the history of the Florida House of Representatives.”



Jon L. Mills
Speaker, 1987-1988

THE SPEAKERS

JON LESTER MILLS

"We are in the land of unintended consequences," observed Jon L. Mills in addressing the House as a Member shortly before becoming its Speaker.

Yet Speaker Mills had every reason to expect to have an enjoyable term, especially by reason of the strength of the leadership team: Sam Bell, Bud Gardner, T. K. Wetherell, Carl Carpenter, Jack Tobin and Sid Martin among them.

The Speakership may well be the "best job in the state," opined Mills in a conversation held a year after he had left office. "It's a collegial body; you have been chosen by the people who know you best.

"The challenge is to keep all those people, people you like and know personally, going in the same direction along an agenda you have set.

"Keep in mind that, unlike, say, the Governor, who is the boss of his team, the Speaker is only the first among equals. Besides that, you know that to do the right thing in some cases is going to have something other than a positive impact upon friends."

For Jon Mills, among the "unintended consequences" of his administration: the removal of Carl Carpenter as Chairman of Rules & Calendar for involving Republicans in the Democratic Speakership contest, the reversal of the passage of the services tax, the publicity surrounding the \$47,000 legal settlement to an aggrieved committee employee and defeat for Congressman after the Speakership.

On the other side of the ledger of legislative pluses and minuses that should be credited to Mills: prime sponsorship of the growth management bill, the privacy amendment to the State Constitution, reorganization of the juvenile justice system, funded math, science and computer courses, a progressive groundwater and hazardous-waste protection package and strong child abuse and neglect laws.

Republican Governor Martinez produced several unforeseen results. In the Speaker's first session, Martinez asked Mills to see him. In the second session, the Governor ignored the Speaker.

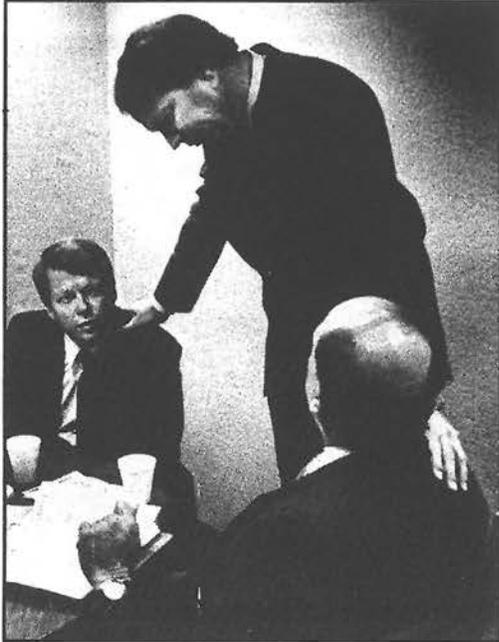
"In the first year, Martinez wanted to meet and, you know, when the Governor calls you, you've got to go. But I got to a point where I wanted to have a reporter present there just to guarantee my memory was good enough. They didn't much like that." The Governor did not invite the Speaker to meet in Martinez' office during the second year. "I never met with Martinez personally for the entire second year, which has got to be a unique situation."

It was rather an awkward situation. For example, Jack Tobin introduced, and the Governor opposed, a welfare program. Then he turned around and called the package Project Independence after it had passed both Houses. The same with the SWIM (the acronym for



Representatives Jon Mills and T. K. Wetherell talk on the floor of the Florida House of Representatives.

Surface Water Improvement Management) bill. The Governor initially opposed and then, in the end, used its passage in a campaign advertisement as one of his legislative achievements.



Speaker Mills confers with Senator Jim Scott of Fort Lauderdale (left) and Representative Sam Bell of Ormond Beach, in the "bubble" of the Florida House of Representatives.

"We had a lot of men and women with much energy, and this was their opportunity. Despite the fact that the Governor didn't really want to do any of those things, they ended up getting their programs all the way through the process, so then the Governor would say, 'Oh, this looks very interesting. I think we'll take the credit.'"

The services tax fiasco contributed to the acrimonious relationship between the Governor and the Speaker. Mills feels, to this day, that if the Governor had been willing to take amendments to cure some of the problems, the objections would have been significantly removed and provided the state of Florida a more stable tax base. Elimination of the tax on advertising would, Mills feels, have removed the most visible opposition to the tax; but, on the other hand, the visible needs of education generated support. The combination of the opposition of the Governor, plus that of those people opposed to taxes generally, and particularly the levy on advertising, ended up making the services tax impossible. "You may well see the people go back to it. When we had it modified, it would have been palatable and probably would have been the best thing to do at that point for Florida's future."

Mills won election to the House of Representatives for the first time in 1978 by 350 votes and never faced election opposition again. He was one of a handful of freshmen legislators in 1979 to handle subcommittees. His subcommittee was on government reorganization, sponsoring Governor Bob Graham's package.

In his second term, he committed himself to running for Speaker. The *Fort Lauderdale News and Sun-Sentinel* described the race as pitting a Miami-born attorney "representing the North Florida college town of Gainesville against Broward's boy wonder (Tom Gustafson) legislator and champion of urban causes." Jacksonville's Representative Steve Pajcic became a second Mills opponent. The race was so heated that Speaker Lee Moffitt declared a cease-fire because of interference with lawmaking.

That was the year that some 12 House Members were housed in what came to be known as the "legislative ghetto." Among those living in the row of townhouses were Mills, Ralph Haben, Fran Carlton, Betty Easley, James Harold Thompson, Winston W. "Bud" Gardner and Ron Johnson. "Not a fraternity, but a fraternity and a sorority," recalled Mills. "Ron Johnson liked to cook. James Harold [Thompson] would cook. Fran Carlton did great soup."

Mills said both he and Wetherell had pilot licenses. They started on a Speaker-vote-seeking tour and, "Our radio went out," recalled Mills. "The good news was that our radio went out on the runway just before we took off. The bad news was T. K. and I almost decided to take off without it. We had an appointment to make. We decided, after a bit of analysis, that it would probably be better to have a radio since that was sort of a traditional thing in flying."

Mills said it would be interesting to figure what his leadership had in mind beyond supporting him. He had the women, Democrats and Republicans alike, almost without exception. "And I had Jimmy Burke [the first African American Speaker pro tempore] on my side, and he hung in and helped put the Black Coalition together."

On a number of occasions, Jimmy (James Clarence) Burke remarked upon the interesting fact that his mother and Jon Mills' mother were born in Waycross, Georgia. Had Mills been born and reared in Waycross, "I say without question that we never would have met. He would have gone to the white high school and I would have gone, as I did, to the black high school on the other side of the tracks. He would have gone to some college and I would have gone, as I did, to a black college in Knoxville, Tennessee. I can almost shiver to think that we might never have met but for the Florida House of Representatives."

Mills said he did not have to cope with a Republican coalition. "And that," said Mills, "was in the years when the Senate was using coalitions on a regular basis."

In 1985, and continuing for two years, Mills chaired the Speaker's Advisory Committee on the Future. In David Osborne and Ted Gaebler's book, *Reinventing Government*, the Florida House of Representatives is cited as perhaps the most successful futures project. As cited in the book, when Mills became Speaker, he had an agenda ready. In a move many thought suicidal, Mills publicized his agenda. This covered some 30 bills in each session, and 26 were passed in each session. A part of the success, in Mills' opinion, was the blitz of 17 editorial boards in three and a half days. "I think that was an effective means of getting backing. From each of them I learned a lot, and I was very lucky because I was close to the boards."



Mrs. Marguerite Mills, mother of Jon L. Mills, receives a bouquet and a hug from the Speaker-designate after his election in 1986.

"I don't think James Harold Thompson did the editorial boards, but used the strategy, 'there's no agenda.' But he darn sure did have an agenda. Haben did the same thing, 'an agenda that was no agenda.' If you remember, Ralph assiduously denied he ever wanted anything."

Speaker Haben pursued that course so his "turkey," a civic center in his home town of Palmetto, could escape being held hostage in the Senate.

Mills was not married during his Speakership. On September 1, 1990, he married the former Beth Bechard. "They tell me she's smarter than I am. I certainly hope so. But you've got to keep in mind she did marry me. One of the great things about having lost that election in 1988 is, I don't know if I would be married today had I won. And it's a help to put a lot of things in perspective."

Beth graduated with honors from law school. She met Mills while taking his class in legislation. "After class was over I asked her if she would be interested in going out. Things went pretty well before my race for Congress. She's indicated that if I had been elected we might not be married today. It's certainly a whole lot easier, probably, to get to know somebody when you're out of politics than when you're in it. You have an opportunity to be legitimately humble."

"What do you regret of your service?"

"I guess basically, by the definition of the word regret, I don't regret any of it. What would I do over again? I might figure out a way to not put everyone through the pain that we went through on the services tax and there might have been a way to get that done without having to have it repealed. There are a lot of people who went through a lot of anguish because of that, so I'd like to change that."

"What stands out as your accomplishments?"

"The Growth Management Act. Also, the wetlands and the SWIM bill should be included. I think we had wrapped up in my term a lot of that environmental legislation that I'd been introducing all along. I feel like we have, as people say, the strongest Growth Management Act in the country, and one of the better sets of environmental laws. There is some child abuse legislation. We did housing. For instance in Belle Glade, and a couple of other places, housing was so terrible that we were able to make an impact there."

"The interesting thing was the welfare reform package that required, as an improvement of Workfare, that if you're going to receive welfare you have to work, but you also have to get training, and there's a daycare component. You identify somebody who is on welfare and you design a training program, have daycare because if it's an AFDC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children] issue, the issue is that probably one of the reasons they haven't been able to get training is they're taking care of the child. So that was the package."



The two men who will preside over the 1988 session of the Florida Legislature, Speaker Jon Mills and Senate President John Vogt. Vogt joined Mills at the podium of the House for the joint legislative session.

Jon Lester Mills was born in Coral Gables in 1947 and received his undergraduate degree in economics from Stetson University. He went on to the University of Florida Law School, where he received his J.D. degree *cum laude* and also served as an Associate Editor of the *Florida Law Review*. While at the University of Florida, he was elected to the Order of the Coif, the honorary legal association, and to Florida Blue Key.

After graduation from law school in 1972, he served for a year as a research aide to Judge Robert T. Mann on the 2nd District Court of Appeals and, in 1972, founded and became the first Director of the Center for Governmental Responsibility at the University of Florida, a legal and public policy research center, affiliated with the

University of Florida Law School. Mills quickly distinguished himself in the post and molded the center into a nationally recognized advocate for energy policy, budget and lobbying reform. He testified frequently on those topics before United States Senate committees and subcommittees and served as lead counsel in successful major litigation over then President Richard M. Nixon's impoundment of appropriation funds for environmental and housing programs. Mills and center associates were in state after state, reversing the President's action.

He served in the U.S. Army Reserve from 1969 to 1972, leaving the service with the rank of 1st Lieutenant.

Mills was elected to the Florida House of Representatives in 1978 from what, after reapportionment in 1982, became District 24, encompassing Gainesville and much of Alachua County. He brought with him to Tallahassee a unique combination of academic idealism, legal practicality and political horse sense. He adapted rapidly to the sometimes archaic legislative process and soon became known as one of the "stars" of his freshman legislative class.

In 1980, Mills left the Center for Governmental Responsibility and, with Gainesville lawyer Rod McGalliard, founded what ultimately became the prominent Gainesville law firm of McGalliard, Mills, deMontmollin, Monaco and Smith. Mills continued this partnership until 1987, all the while remaining an adjunct professor of law at the University of Florida.



Representative Arnhilda Gonzales-Quevedo, Coral Gables, with Speaker Jon Mills at the well of the Chamber after she announced that she was resigning from the GOP to become a Democrat.

He returned as Director of the center after the 1988 legislative session. Under his leadership the center has gained recognition in environmental, social and international policy. He is on the

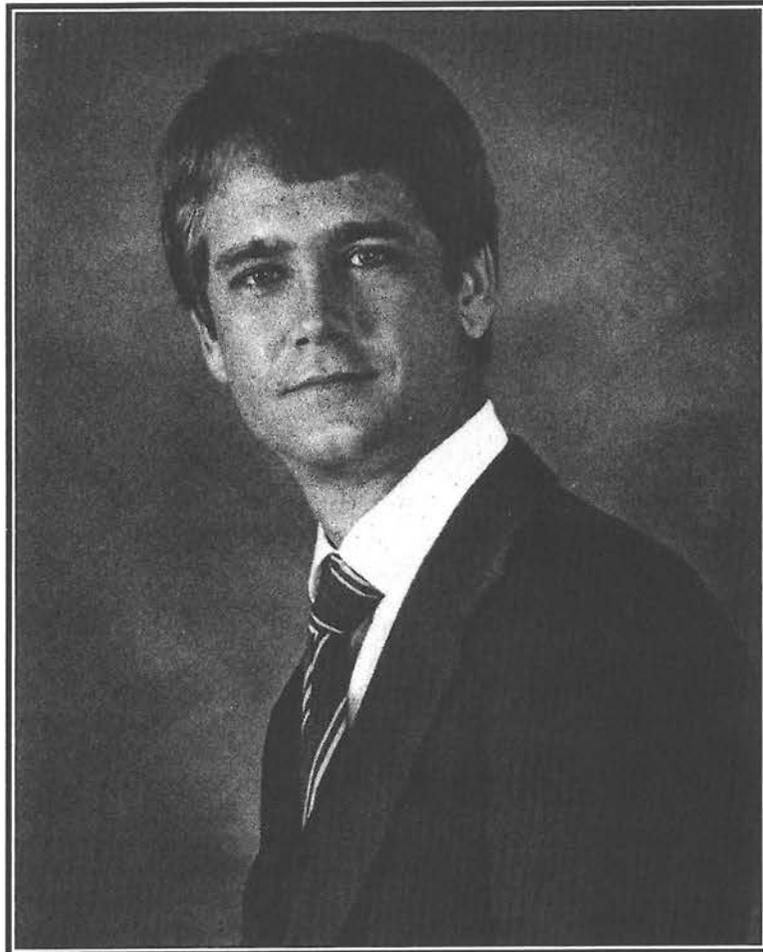
faculty at the University of Florida College of Law and continues to author books and publications on a wide range of issues.

Mills has continued to be active in local, state and federal issues and is often called on to speak at symposiums and conferences throughout the United States and internationally.

Looking ahead, Mills continues to work in government but in a non-elected way. He serves on several planning and policy commissions by appointment of Governor Chiles. In addition, his research and public policy work and teaching at the University of Florida College of Law allow him to work on questions of constitutional law, international environmental policy in Brazil and local government in Poland. But, don't be surprised that if opportunity presents itself, his hat likely will be in some ring again.



Representative Jon Mills breaks into a grin as another favorable amendment to his "wetlands" package passes the Florida House of Representatives.



Tom Gustafson
Speaker, 1989-1990

THE SPEAKERS

TOM GUSTAFSON

"Tom, you sure are different." That judgment was passed upon Speaker Tom Gustafson by his good friend and colleague, Representative Michael Abrams, speaking in the Chamber on the occasion of the last day of Gustafson's term.

"Sometimes you have to say the obvious, but it's true, you're different," continued Abrams. "In an era of 30-second commercials and the quippy sound bite, you refuse to give simple, banal answers to complicated problems. You don't even give simple answers to simple questions."

Abrams reminded Gustafson he had been called "everything from 'frenetic' to 'whirlybird'". But their criticism is a badge of honor, Mr. Speaker.

"So you talked to us, Mr. Speaker, about children at risk when people thought zero to five was the acceleration of a car rather than the security of our children. You pleaded, you cajoled, you refused to quit until the House and the Senate accepted your juvenile justice programs.

"Somehow, because we seem to place a premium on style over substance, I feel that you have never received the credit that you deserved and the thank yous that you are due from all of us."



House Speaker Tom Gustafson talks with (left to right) Representatives Simone, Tobiassen, Lawson, Langton, Flagg, Mims.

While significant reforms were made to child abuse and neglect prevention, child health care, juvenile delinquencies prevention and juvenile justice laws and programs during the Speakership of Tom Gustafson, these were only a continuance of Gustafson's legislative

activity. For example, in the years before he tackled prevention initiatives and juvenile justice, Gustafson, as a Member, devoted one session to the insurance code and another session to transportation statutes.

Linda Kleindienst, chief of the Tallahassee bureau for Gustafson's hometown newspaper, the *Fort Lauderdale News and Sun-Sentinel*, wrote a well-balanced profile of the Speaker. In part, the Kleindienst profile follows:

"Tom Gustafson made his first stab at getting elected to the Legislature in 1974. His literature proclaimed to prospective voters that he would be 'Your Speaker in the House.' Little did he know how prophetic that would be.

"The young Fort Lauderdale Democrat lost that attempt to unseat Republican veteran Van Poole in 1974. But Gustafson did get elected to the House two years later, becoming a quick under-study to the leadership team.

“And so in 1988 he was designated Speaker of the Florida House of Representatives, culminating a long Speaker’s race.

“It had been a long road for Gustafson, a road filled with ups and downs. Professionally and personally, he made many changes.



Speaker Gustafson shares an opinion with House Clerk John Phelps as George Crady, Parliamentarian/Member looks on.

“Since he began the race for Speaker in 1981, he has matured, married, fathered two daughters and built a consensus of rural and urban Democrats. In his quest he traveled the state, stayed at the homes of fellow legislators and worked on trying to improve his people skills. He even learned to shuck oysters and hunt quail.

“Far from being the shy and retiring type, Gustafson has been criticized for being brusque, brash and grating. Yet his manner and work were oftentimes marked by a boyish enthusiasm. He refused to cater to the press, did not read many newspapers, had an open ear for any House Member’s concerns and was a no-nonsense worker, letting nothing get in the way of a job to be done.

“The nicknames ‘Boy Wonder’ and ‘Whirlybird,’ were references to his constant on-the-go style that was typified by his tenacity, intensity and technical expertise.

“‘You do it by doing it,’ Gustafson said of the way he views work that has to be done. ‘When they said I wasn’t going to rewrite the insurance code, I said we’re going to sit down and work on it Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays (usually non-legislative days) until we’ve gone over every line and word and we’re going to rewrite it and make sure it gets done right.’

“The young attorney has taken the same attitude into his work on medical malpractice reforms, transportation and criminal justice legislation.

“Gustafson: ‘Every time someone has rung their hands and said, “Gee, how are we going to get this done?” I said, “Well, we’re just going to sit down and do it and put in the time and effort to get it done.’

“‘My number one objective as Speaker was to build a bigger economy so that our economy grows faster than our population,’ Gustafson said. ‘My major concern is to make sure that as we become the third largest state in the nation we don’t become per capita poor, which is exactly what could happen. That is more important than any other issue we have been addressing in the past.

“‘An economically unsuccessful state, one that grows so fast it outstrips its ability to economically sustain itself, is a disaster.’

“As for improving the lot of Florida’s children, he asked, ‘How do you develop a society in which children are safe from the long list of ills that can occur? How do you develop a safe children state?’

“By retaining the support of Hispanic Republicans, he also crushed a move to form a coalition of conservative Democrats and the GOP that could have wrested power from his hands.

“Gustafson, meanwhile, made no bones or apologies about the \$1.5 million he raised to help keep the House in Democratic hands. ‘The reason I attract a wide array of financial support is because I am open and I am honest and I am hard working and I produce the kind of legislation that people in the business community appreciate. I do not feel sorry or ashamed of that. I feel honored. I also, when I sit down with somebody, offer them nothing but continued hard work and good legislation that is productive for the state of Florida.’”

With the state’s 276-page insurance code due to expire within that session, leaving the state without regulation, Speaker Ralph Haben faced the task in 1981 of selecting a Member who was both hardworking and bright. He selected Tom Gustafson. Haben may have assumed that Gustafson’s background as a lawyer who had a well-to-do businessman father would incline him to the industry side. In Gustafson’s mind, however, was the fact that his father had been victimized by an insurance company.

In his father’s case, which ultimately went to the Florida Supreme Court, the company waited until valuable evidence disappeared and then claimed there was no coverage. This meant Tom, who otherwise would have been a natural ally of the industry, became a lawyer who would accept the industry’s arguments as a skeptic.

The industry’s apprehensions were not eased when Chairman Gustafson retained Eric Tilton as the committee’s chief of staff. Tilton, a trial lawyer, had been a lobbyist for the state’s trial lawyers.

Gustafson started the committee to work right after the 1981 session, ignoring the traditional summer break. The Chairman invited all interested parties to write their own version of segments of the revised code, coupled with their rationale. This was a monumental undertaking since the code consisted of 276 pages. This revision was the first since the 1950s. The committee staff met the Insurance Department personnel to commence the drafting of the proposed code. All during the summer of 1981, the schedule was a Monday morning meeting with Insurance Committee staff, then Tuesday through Thursday with all the lobbyists and the Department of Insurance staff, and finally, on Fridays putting out the revised draft.

The bill, with its 1,851 pages, was the largest legislative document ever placed before a committee. At times, the committee and industry could not come to agreement. Typically, Chairman Gustafson would then call upon Representative Tom Gallagher (now the State Insurance



Speaker Gustafson faces the press in his office.

Commissioner) to serve as mediator. Not infrequently, Gallagher would look at the pieces of proposed legislation, then cajole the industry representatives with, "Come on guys, let's do it the right way."

The bill, having cleared Gustafson's committee, lingered on the Special Order Calendar while the leadership tried to rally enough votes to guarantee its House passage. The strategy there had been to take up all the amendments presented in committee. However, without warning to anyone, Gustafson changed the order of the amendments. Instead of taking up the easy, or agreed upon, favorable amendments, he called up one of the most controversial—the so-called "bad faith" amendment—to prohibit automobile insurance rating by age, sex and marital status. The bill stalled in the Senate until late in the 1982 session. Speaker-designate Lee Moffitt and Speaker Haben encouraged Gustafson to meet with Dempsey Barron, Chairman of Rules, and others there to reach a compromise. Gustafson clung steadfastly to the "bad faith" provision but caved in on other provisions. That morning all code issues were resolved and the bill passed both houses.

Gustafson, as Speaker, organized committees into four "themes." In addition, changes were made to encourage participation by all Members, regardless of seniority or party affiliation. The political columnist for the *Tallahassee Democrat* said the committees had been organized into what was dubbed the "four food groups"—committees dealing with business development, gov-

ernment efficiency, human development and infrastructure and environment. Each group of committees started its meeting at the same hour.



Speaker Tom Gustafson and Speaker pro tempore Sam Mitchell (left) watch the proceedings with interest.

This meant lobbyists, reporters and lawmakers interested, say, in a growth-management bill, had to be in three or four meetings at once. After 60 days of frantic rushing hither and thither, they were not fervent admirers of Gustafson.

A longtime Capitol reporter characterized Speaker Gustafson as the "kid everybody knew in high school who got straight As but whom everybody hated."

An example of Gustafson's willingness to ignore party affiliations could be found in his insistence upon his Broward County delegation selection of Representative Debby Sanderson, a Republican, as delegation chairman for a year. Speaker Gustafson said he trusted Sanderson and could count on her to "run interference" with Governor Bob Martinez and other Republicans on Broward issues. "I think that's very valuable to have somebody willing to do that," explained Gustafson. "You have to assemble the right team, and it isn't always obvious what the right team is."

Again, he crossed party lines by persuading Dade County's Cuban group to offer him their support when their votes cast otherwise might have cost Gustafson the office. He rewarded them suitably for their support.

Although a number of bills affecting juvenile justice were enacted during the 1990 session, the primary reforms were ultimately contained in Chapter 90-208, Laws of Florida. That bill completely restructured and consolidated Florida's juvenile justice laws. It made a number of changes which were intended to increase accountability of the system and to provide more effective services for juveniles under the care of the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services.

These included a case management system, the implementation of a multidisciplinary assessment, classification and placement process and additional programs to balance the reduction of training school placements.

Coupled with these substantial reforms were several important appropriations. The Children, Youth and Families Program in HRS received a \$37.5 million lump sum appropriation. That funded 460 positions for case management, delinquency prevention grants and more than a dozen types of treatment programs.

Unfortunately, the 1990-1991 fiscal year will be remembered for general revenue deficits and spending cuts. Of the original \$37.5 million appropriated, only \$24 million survived the cuts. New funding, like the juvenile justice lump sum, was particularly hard hit. This juvenile justice funding had been planned as an annualized \$100 million programmatic reform effort. What was recaptured of the \$37.5 million provided for juvenile programs in the 1990-1991 general appropriations bill could be attributed to the personal pressure exerted on the Cabinet by Tom Gustafson. In addition, because they were federally funded a series of programs from involuntary drug treatment to outreach programs escaped the reductions.

Representative Douglas L. Jamerson, of St. Petersburg, told the House of a meeting he had with Gustafson when Jamerson was a freshman nominee. Jamerson was asked to meet a young man who was to drive up from Sarasota and wanted to talk to him. "I met you out on US 19 and you talked to me. We talked about an hour and a half. Well, let me say, you talked an hour and 29 minutes and I listened. You never bothered to tell me that 'Hey, I want to be the Speaker', you showed concern that I was a new Member and you wanted to tell me things that I could do to effectuate better service to the people of the state of Florida."

T. K. Wetherell, the Speaker in 1990-1992, has said that Gustafson would be remembered for his contribution to the programs relating to children and to juvenile justice. But he also could be remembered for facilitating lawmaking by desktop computers.



Speaker Gustafson confers on the rostrum with Representative T. K. Wetherell.

On the personal side: Tom Gustafson was born October 9, 1949, in Ocean City, New Jersey. He was brought to Fort Lauderdale that year. He earned a bachelor's degree in 1971 from the University of Notre Dame, where he was a member of the varsity swimming team. He received his law degree from the University of Florida Law School in 1974. He was elected to the Florida

House of Representatives in 1976. When he married Lynn Soowal, of Fort Lauderdale, Representative Anne Mackenzie, of Fort Lauderdale, served as "best man." In 1992, he expanded his practice of law in Fort Lauderdale and Tallahassee.

In summary, Speaker Gustafson said, "We did not, in the final analysis, do everything we wanted to do. We worked within the parameters of a broad legislative consensus, sharing the ownership of the reforms widely, incorporating the honest concerns of fiscal conservatives and social liberals. We added oversight, tracking and safeguards against abuse.

"If these programs are not implemented as intended, we will see more crime and downward-economic-trend statistics that will eventually threaten every citizen of Florida, as well as this state's very survival. If these programs are implemented as intended, I have no doubt that we will see a change for the better in the statistics on crime, drugs and teenage pregnancy. And this, in turn, along with the economic benefits from an improving human resource, will inspire us to do more.

"All of us," added Speaker Gustafson, "legislators and citizens alike, can help move Florida a step closer to a secure and prosperous future. But to do that, we must commit ourselves to educating our children to the dangers that lie at the cliff's edge and to teaching them to use the tools of productive citizenship.

"For me, 'Save Our Children' was the culmination of 14 years in the Florida House of Representatives. During that time, I chaired the Committees on Insurance, Transportation, Health Care and Criminal Justice, participating in major changes in Florida law and funding priorities. At times some people said to me, 'Tom, why are you always moving from one thing to another? Nothing seems to hold your attention for very long.'

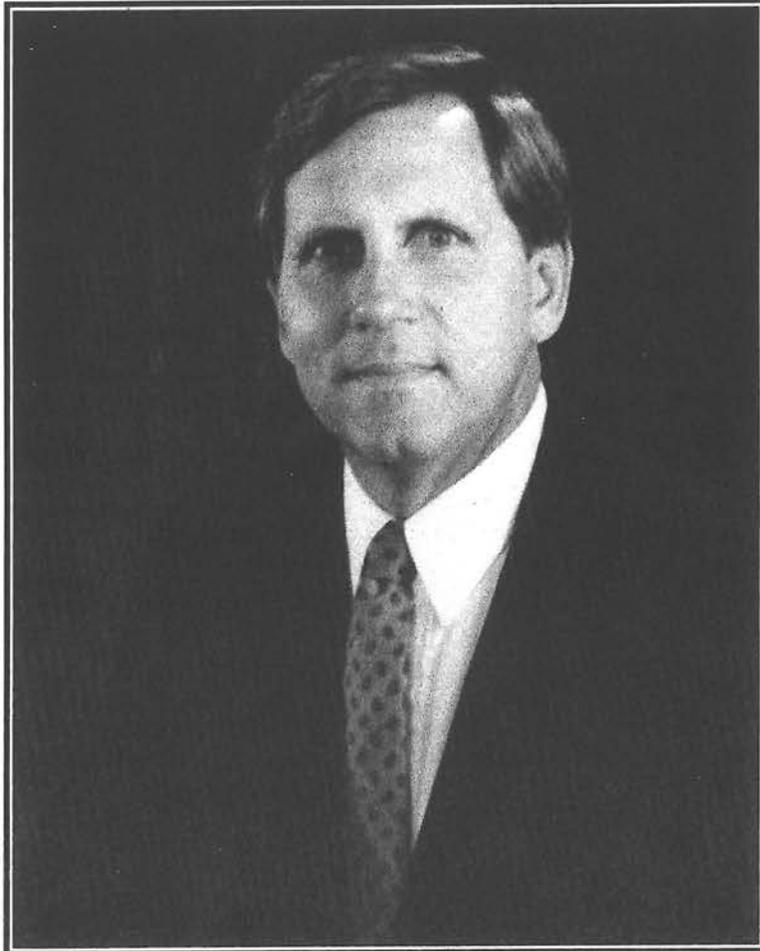
"But that's not quite true. It's like John Muir said: these things are all connected. Each good faith effort helps us to assure our peace, our prosperity and our quality of life. And, like the 'Catcher in the Rye,' that's the only thing I really wanted to do."



The unveiling of the Speaker's portrait for the House Chamber finds Speaker Gustafson in good humor. With him are his wife and Representative Bo Johnson.

Returning to Representative Abrams and his valediction on the last day of Gustafson's service: "People think that you brought all these computers and made changes in the physical structure of the House because you like to play—you like toys. Actually, you just prepared us for the 21st century.

"The fact of the matter is, long after each and every one of us leaves this Chamber, your initiatives will be saving the lives of children in Florida. And some day, for sure, one of those children who would have been lost without you will be standing up there on the rostrum. You can't ask for more than that, Mr. Speaker."



T. K. Wetherell
Speaker, 1991-1992

THE SPEAKERS

THOMAS KENT WETHERELL

The power of a Speaker “is so great that it cannot be precisely measured,” wrote one parliamentary scholar, “at the same time it is so unstructured that it cannot be precisely defined.”

Speaker T. K. Wetherell pledged himself, at the convening of Florida’s 75th House, to its management in “a professional manner.” The Speaker said, “We need to move as a businessman moves his agenda.”

Speaker Wetherell described his method of management as “bottom-up leadership,” in contrast to the conventional “top-down leadership.”

The boundlessness of a Speaker’s powers applies to his internal management of the House. Outside the House he will be controlled, more or less, by other influences—the Senate, the Governor, and the economics of the state and nation. All of these came into play during the Wetherell years.

Among the internal adjustments Speaker Wetherell initiated was the reduction of the volume of business so that the committees and the House itself would not be swamped.

Having asked the Members to limit to eight the number of bills a Member would introduce, but fully aware that he had no lawful manner by which this limitation could be enforced, Speaker Wetherell achieved his end by indirection.

He interposed a barricade on erring Members’ bills. “I don’t think you can probably get more than eight done this time. I don’t believe the process has the time to handle them. Legally, constitutionally, you can file all you want to file. I can’t stop you. I can only show how many you file to the press and let them print them for you. I’m sure your constituents will be happy to see how important you are.” The Speaker continued: “But we’ll probably only have time to get the bill drafting office to draft the eight you file, but you’re welcome to file all that you like.” The Speaker had another net to catch any that might slip by Bill Drafting and committees. These would be blocked from a place on the special order calendar by the Committee on Rules & Calendar, to languish until the session’s end.

Speaker Wetherell prompted the writing into rules a number of areas which formerly had been handled on an “off the cuff” basis by past Speakers and Chairmen of the Committees on Rules & Calendar and on Ethics & Elections, together with such special committees as had been appointed by the Speaker. In particular, the Wetherell rules authorized a new code of conduct with a special committee, “a probable cause panel,” and a special master.

All in all, the Wetherell rules relating to conduct, covering nine printed pages of the Rules of the House, spell out for the first time the precise manner in which inquiries shall be conducted.



Speaker T. K. Wetherell, 1990-1992.

Thus, the football adage—"keep your eye on the ball"—applies to Speaker Wetherell's management of the House as he watches the passage or defeat of the bill that claims his attention. He knows the process as few others do.

As Virginia Wetherell once said, "His biggest strength is that he can see the end of a problem. He sees to the end and knows how to get there."

The Wetherell era saw the installation of Chamber desktop computers which made it possible for every Member to read the text of amendments to a day's pending legislation. The future for its usage is still ahead. Thus has been brought to fruition, step by step, the legislative use of computers that commenced with Florida's Speaker E. C. Rowell in 1965.



The Wetherell Leadership: (left to right) Bolley L. "Bo" Johnson, Chairman, Rules & Calendar; Ron Saunders, Chairman, Appropriations; and the Speaker.

The natural humor of Speaker Wetherell required restraint particularly when presiding. An example of his ability to use humor effectively without offense occurred when he was winding up work as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. Cautioning the members of the committee to stick together, Chairman Wetherell said, "It's kinda like a banana, the banana that leaves the stem usually gets skinned."

While it might seem that a Democratic majority of 28 would be a sufficient edge to allow the Speaker free rein, the two-year term of Representatives and the yen of some Members to become Senators means the Speaker must guard his tongue. Too, the two-thirds vote alters the majority in some significant situations. Incidentally, the Democratic majority may be illusory at times. At one session, a sizeable number of Democrats declared their independence by wearing an oversized badge proclaiming each to be a "Conservative Democrat."

Thomas Kent Wetherell did not set out to be the Speaker of the Florida House of Representatives. Actually, T. K., as he is generally known, did not plan on being a Member of the House.

For a while Wetherell wanted to be the next Bear Bryant. Then he figured out that coaches were fired not because of something they did, but as a result of some 18-year-old player falling in love and deciding he was going to the University of Florida instead of Florida State University, or changing his mind and deciding against playing football. T. K. seldom escapes the telling by

Florida State football fans of his 100-yard run to the goal line of Kentucky in 1964. Only, it was 85 yards and FSU was defeated.

He leaned toward being a teacher, that is why he earned a Ph.D. His dissertation was an investigation of the career commitment of the first-year public school teachers in Florida. Or, briefly, what happens to new instructors in their transition from student to teacher.

Wetherell, the Man

Do you remember the ageless story of the three blind men describing the elephant? That story reminds one of efforts to describe T. K. Wetherell.



Speaker Wetherell with members of the Black Caucus.

- A male Democratic Representative says Speaker Wetherell has lived a charmed and endearing life. As a House Member, he moved up fast—as Majority Floor Leader, Chairman of the Education Budget Subcommittee, Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations and finally, Speaker. On the plus side, too, was the winning of Ginger as his bride.
- Writing in *The Miami Herald*, Mark Silva said T. K.'s inner ambition is hidden beneath a Florida cracker's self-effacing humor, his brainpower masked by redneck lingo, his seriousness obscured by a prankster's love for practical jokes. He noted that to some he seems a puzzle, a low-brow college administrator, part quail hunter and part rose gardener, part redneck and part Ralph Lauren's style.
- A female Republican Representative described Wetherell as certainly bright, predictably impish, with an attitude of "Let's get out of Dodge" since the beginning of the 1992 session.

Life Takes a Turn

T. K.'s life took its decisive turn when J. Hyatt Brown of Daytona Beach, afterwards the Speaker, determined to take a hand in deciding who should succeed him as one of Volusia's three House Members when he completed his term as Speaker. Florida's Speakers seldom serve successive terms.

Wetherell's father, the Sears manager in Daytona Beach, had been active in politics, but never as a candidate. The senior Wetherell winners of statewide renown included Hyatt Brown, Fred

Karl and Sam Bell. The father's interest in legislative membership brought the junior Wetherell into political campaigns. He worked in the Brown campaign, and this resulted in Brown adding T. K. to the small circle of young men who might be interested in running for the seat Brown would be vacating.

One by one those potential candidates dropped out. There was the local manager of the Florida Power & Light Company whose superiors vetoed his candidacy. There was a lawyer in the Bell firm but the firm did not want two people from the same firm running. Then there was a road paver blocked by the astronomical cost of asphalt. Next was a realtor whose sales were choked by 22 percent interest rates. That left T. K., who had no excuse when Hyatt Brown brought him the qualifying forms and the direction, "Fill these out."

"I filled out the forms, became a candidate, and somehow I won. I'd never run for anything so they didn't have anything on me. I didn't have any skeletons in the closet. I'd never voted for or against a tax; I'd never served on a planning board and turned down a developer or turned down an environmentalist. And Hyatt figured all that out before I did.

"We collected a whopping—I'll never forget—\$12,000. I thought that was all the money in the world. When the campaign was over, we had about \$1,500 left over, so we wrote a check for 10 percent of whatever anybody gave us and sent them a check. If you gave \$50, you got \$5 back. People kept calling and saying, 'What do we do with this money?'"

Among the lessons in practical politics Wetherell learned from the master, Hyatt Brown, was how to place 1,000 signs on 50 stakes.

"I was a sign putter-upper. That was my job in Hyatt's campaign. He gave me about 50 little stakes to put them on. I said, 'Hyatt, I'm not real smart, but I've got 1,000 cards and 50 stakes. This doesn't work out.'

"He said, 'Well, my opponent has got a thousand signs up; I figure you can find a thousand stakes that way. Here's some extras.' So I took down the opponent's signs and put up his, and that's how we worked the system back then. We just traded stakes."

In the 1970s and earlier, campaigns in Volusia County were fun, from Wetherell's point of view as a youngster in his first campaign under the tutelage of Hyatt Brown.

"There wasn't as much partisanship; there weren't any personal attacks or negative deals. There were a host of rallies, a lot of barbecues, fish fries, Labor Day parades—the old time politics. There was no direct mail. If you didn't know what to do, you got a little sign and stood on a street corner and waved the stew out of it as people went by. That always worked. I think the last time I ran I spent \$150,000, and I don't know where the money went. And I don't think we ran a better campaign the last time than we did the first time. But it was fun then. Last time it was all personal, aimed at you, your family, your everything else, and it was totally changed.

"The day I was first elected I was teaching school. I didn't have an office. I didn't have a secretary, a typewriter, a telephone. I didn't have anything. I mean, I was a teacher. I sat at a little school desk. I didn't have any idea what to do.

"Finally, Hyatt showed me a little office down the road there that I think his family owned. 'I think you ought to rent that, and you ought to hire Laura Jersey, who has worked 15 years for Bill Conway, 'cause she knows the system and she'll keep you out of trouble. She can show you how to set it all up.'

"I was able to be perceived as more effective than I really was because everything Daytona or Volusia wanted, Sam Bell did for them. So Sam did all the dirty work up here in Tallahassee

while I stayed home and talked to the Rotary Clubs and Kiwanis Clubs and all that. You know, it all caught up with Sam. The rest is history.”

Speaking of Wetherell, Bell says: “The event of becoming Speaker thrusts individuals onto the stage and into the limelight who are unaccustomed to the degree of scrutiny associated with such a pivotal position. T. K. was no different. By nature, T. K. Wetherell is a soft-spoken contemplative person with a wry sense of humor. He is at home in a deer stand at daybreak or standing in knee-deep water taking mullet from a gill net. By contrast, T. K. is also a skilled professional education administrator who holds an earned doctorate in Educational Administration and who has distinguished himself in his field. As a result of his professional training, T. K. brought to the Speakership administrative ability not seen there since the administration of Hyatt Brown years earlier.

“Tommy Wetherell, T. K.’s father, who is the best mullet smoker on Florida’s east coast, is a compulsively neat and orderly person. Every tool in his workshop must be returned to its designated place where the tool’s silhouette is painted on the wall for easy reference. T. K. inherited this same need for orderliness which he has tried to impose upon the unruliness of the legislative process. Had it not been for T. K.’s steady hand, matters would have been a great deal worse during his tenure.

“While holding the reins of leadership, T. K. also joined the ranks of landed gentry. He and his wife Ginger, the Director of the Department of Natural Resources, bought a large, heavily wooded farm adjacent to the Ted Turner plantation. At Oak Hill, which the Wetherell tract is called, you can often see the Speaker astride his green John Deere mowing rye with the same aplomb with which he wields the gavel.”

Sam Bell, in speaking of Wetherell, says: “T. K. is a loyal friend, a skilled education administrator, an expert at dealing with people and an avid outdoorsman. Into all of his relationships he brings a calmness and a good sense of humor which has served him well as Speaker.”

“Change Now”

One working day in the House of Representatives, shortly after T. K. and Ginger were married, a small package from Nic’s Toggery, a local haberdashery, was delivered to the Speaker along with written instructions to “Change now.” Apparently Ginger was watching television and saw the wrong mix of socks and tie—red socks and grey suit or something. Being obedient, he changed into the socks and tie from Nic’s, and everything worked out. The Speaker is partially color blind, so Mrs. Wetherell has become his color guard and selects a lot of his clothes.

After T. K. and Ginger had agreed to marry, they encountered a three-way problem with agreeing upon a date when Secretary of State Jim Smith could perform the ceremony. They kept going through date after date until finally the Speaker went down and saw Smith and said, “You’ve just got to give me the right date,” which Smith did. “When we both wound up in the same committee meeting later that day, I passed a note down the committee table on which I wrote, ‘The 15th, yea or nay?’

“You know, it’s one of those deals where my daddy says, ‘You married beyond yourself.’ And I tend to agree. Ginger’s got more polish than I’ve got. Plus, I think, she understands the issues. She’ll read and read until she understands an issue. I always was more involved in the politics. She’s more concerned with being prepared when she goes to a meeting, with the Governor and Cabinet, for instance. You can ask her a question and she can answer it. Me, I’ll have to find some staff to answer it.”



The ceremonial unveiling of the Speaker's portrait, with the Speaker's wife, Virginia, and the Speaker, T. K. Wetherell.

Mark Silva wrote in *The Miami Herald*:

Herb Morgan, a Tallahassee businessman who had cheered for Wetherell at Florida State University, came to know him as a fellow House Member in the early 1980s.

Morgan recognized Wetherell as a worker, someone who delved into the intricacies of issues rather than relying on lobbyists and other lawmakers to lead him around. He moved up fast.

"Besides not being lazy," Morgan says, "he's got a lot more depth to him than people thinking of him as a jock might know."

His penchant for football and politics alike have helped prevent Wetherell from securing a college presidency.

In 1987, he made a run for presidency of the University of West Florida, Pensacola. He ran hard, his friends lobbied, and that didn't play well with some of the faculty.

"That candidate was a little too political," Richard Farp, a UWF professor, said at the time. "Some people resent being lobbied."

Speaker Wetherell is president of Independent Colleges and Universities of Florida—an association of 20 private colleges. Some 16,000 of these colleges' students—each collecting about \$1,100—benefit from the state's assistance with tuition.

Wetherell was widely expected to seek the FSU presidency after longtime FSU President Bernie Sliger announced his retirement. But he didn't. He says the timing was a problem. Here he was, starting his term as Speaker.

Others say it was a question of politics and Wetherell's credentials. Chancellor Reed and the Board of Regents wanted an academician at FSU. And the faculty didn't want a politician muscling his way onto the campus.

The Speaker and the House

Does the Speaker run the House?

Speaker Wetherell responds, "I guess, yes, he does run the House, to a certain degree. But with single-member districts, you don't push Members around. The Speaker can do any one or two things he wants to do. But he can't do everything everybody wants him to do. He'll have to pick and choose. Otherwise, you'll burn up your chips.

"I've seen some Speakers that every day had to win one. If that's the case, you're not going to be effective within a few days. One Speaker I have in mind set programs and then left the funding to his successors.

"Sometimes you only need to do 34 or 40 things. And sometimes you only need for a Speaker to do one. Some of those things probably would have happened if there were no Speaker."

The Speaker as a Student and Teacher

Of his educational background the Speaker explains: "My degrees were in History, Social Studies, Geography and the Social Sciences. I've taught, I guess, almost all the history courses—Western Civilization, American History, Civics, those types of courses. In college I've taught most of the teacher education courses—how to teach social science, math, whatever. And I've taught a lot of the social sciences in terms of psychological and sociological skills and all that. So I've never dealt with the elective portions of the curriculum. I've really been more involved and enjoyed, quite honestly, history. That's been my deepest interest, and I really enjoyed it in college. My brother and his wife were the P.E. types, and my first wife was a math teacher. She still teaches at the community college down in Daytona. Ginger taught Biology for years. So it seems like I always wind up with teachers one way or another. But I never did driver's education. I probably never was a good enough driver to do that. I'd probably have been the worst example they could have had.

"Generally speaking, you go to school and they put you out in some kind of intern or student-teaching type program. You get all the theory, they take you and give you to the best teacher that they can get their hands on at Leon High School, or wherever you happen to go, they put you in the best classes, and you go through that process and you think, 'Boy, this is the way it's going to be.'

"Then next year, assuming you get a job, you generally get assigned to the worst class, the worst school, no books, no everything, and your first time out of the box you've got the worst situation as opposed to the best. And so many people get so disenchanted with it during that first year or two that they quit. So I guess that's always stuck in my craw, and I think it did in everybody's, so I kind of found it fun to look into it. But a dissertation is probably, next to the Legislature, the most difficult thing I ever undertook. Athletics was always physical. You beat the guy up in front of you, you out-ran him, you ran over him, you jumped higher, or whatever it happened to be, whereas the Legislature is equally competitive, but it's not physical, it's intellectual.

"A dissertation's the same way. It's a mini legislative experience. You've got five or six Ph.D. major tenured professors on your committee, all of whom have their own opinion. Many times they're in conflict with one another, and here you are, this lowly little graduate student trying to get through this maze and trying to figure out, 'How do I keep everybody happy long enough for me to get them to agree to whatever it is that I have done?'"

The Leadership Team

Speaker Wetherell explains the development of the Speaker's team: "I think the leadership team has taken on a different role than you had, maybe, a few years ago. I was a wet-nosed kid that used to sit around and watch it when Hyatt (Speaker J. Hyatt Brown) was here. He had meetings—and I guess Ralph (Speaker Haben) did and Lee (Speaker Moffitt) did, and some that followed him—where they all got together at 7:00 and decided what they were going to do. At 7:30 they brought in the chairmen and told them how they thought they ought to do it, and at 8:00 they brought the Members in and told them what had been decided for them to do. Nowadays, you use your leadership team to figure out what you want to do, you go out and convince the Members to ask you to do that, then you tell them you're going to do what they just asked you to do.



Speaker Wetherell with Majority Leader Anne Mackenzie.

"So you've turned it around. And in the process, as it's become more open, and single-member districts have come into being, you have to be more cognizant of what those Members' needs are, and you have to understand that they're going to bring you some ideas that may or may not work, but you've got to take their ideas and refine them or you've got to take your ideas and make sure that they are their ideas that are coming up. So I see it more coming up than going down; but if you're smart, you'll set up situations down below that will bubble up to you that you want coming up."

The Speaker and the Office

The Speaker muses, "The office almost overwhelms you. While you sat out there as a Member you thought, 'I can do that' and 'Why doesn't that idiot do

this?' or 'Why are they doing that?' or 'What's going on?' And you always, at least I always, wondered, 'Boy, if I could sit up there for one day, I could straighten that place out.' The reality is there are so many pressures, be they from the Members, from staff, or from the Governor's Office, the Senate, the business world, the public out there. When you're a Member, you see it from your perspective, from your district, or your chairmanship, or your whatever.

"But when you're sitting there in the Speaker's Office, and you've got everything sitting there and you've got, 'Well, how's the Senate going to react?' or 'What am I going to do with the Governor?' or 'What happens if he vetoes it? What am I going to do? Do I have the votes to override it? Do I want to override it? Do I want to be the first one to try and override it? Do I want to let the Senate be that one? What effect is that going to have on Democratic Members when they go out and run? They all tell me they don't want to do this, but the reality is that if I don't make them do it, they're going to wind up in big trouble when they go home, and they just need to be safe.'

“How do you get everybody in the right posture? How do you deal with all those issues? You don’t understand the complexity of each Member and his life, how it affects them when you have a special session when they’ve already bought tickets to go on vacation. They’re nonrefundable airplane tickets, and they’ve got the whole family that’s been planning to go to Kalamazoo. That’s a big deal for him. Or somebody in a Member’s family dies; it affects how they think. Their children get sick, they want to be home for their children’s graduation, the first Little League ballgame of their son. The same family pressures everybody has, they have. Those things are important to them. How do you structure all that?”

“There are things that may not be important to me but are important to the black Members or the Jewish Members, or whomever. You all of a sudden start looking at the world as just a whole different deal. Every day you walk into that office there’s something else there to greet you that you never even thought about.

“I think each term brings a different deal with it. I think what’s important is that when it’s all said and done, if you can look back and say, ‘I got done what I wanted to do, or what had to be done at that point in time.’”



Speaker Wetherell with members of the Hispanic Delegation.

Another of Wetherell’s guises as Chairman was the earmarking of a million dollars for “Silver Beach,” a fictitious entry in the general appropriations bill which he could control. As Members came to him with stories of need for inclusion of an item in the big bill, the Chairman often would oblige out of the million dollars until money for “Silver Beach” was exhausted.

Wetherell and Humor

His sessions tested the good humor Speaker Wetherell brought to his Capitol office. He’d rather be hunting or fishing. Ginger Wetherell would rather visit museums and theaters when they travel but, “We spend our time traipsing through the woods.”

Once when he was Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, he caused to be printed a lean budget proposal with a comic strip on the cover. Another time he offered a prize buried deep in the appropriations bill to the first newsman who uncovered it. The prize—a lottery ticket.

Ralph Haben, Jr., as Chairman of the Committee on Rules and subsequently as Speaker, has been acknowledged to be both one who shaped the conduct of the House and as a keen observer of the others who occupied the Speaker's chair. Of Wetherell, he once said: "History, in my judgment, is going to record him as being one of the best Speakers to have ever served. He has faced some situations that Hyatt Brown, Lee Moffitt, Jon Mills, James Harold Thompson and I have never encountered. There are coalitions today that were non-existent when we served. He has had a difficult hill to climb, but he climbed it cheerfully, with grace and style."

Morgan opined, "I remember T. K. as the first Speaker in modern times to have served as Appropriations Chairman. Representative Wetherell came to be Speaker in almost an overnight coup after former Representative Sam Bell's surprise defeat in the November elections. I am convinced T. K. would rather be Appropriations Chair than be Speaker, but circumstances and Member pressure forced him into the top leadership position.

"A review of Representative Wetherell's career shows a significant strength in the Appropriations area. His service as Education Subcommittee Chairman and then as full committee chairman demonstrated a keen strategy sense in budget negotiations with the Senate and the Governor. His expertise in budget issues allowed him to make his special mark on the state and its future, particularly in higher education.

"During Representative Wetherell's tenure as Appropriations Chair," said Morgan, "the capital outlay program was significantly expanded to help meet the increasing needs of public schools, community colleges and universities for capital construction. As Speaker he has monitored the new program's implementation to ensure achievement of the new objectives."

Speaker Wetherell Views His Years

"Many Speakers," opined Speaker Wetherell, "have the opportunity to establish an agenda or major emphasis for their term in office.

"I did not have that opportunity due to circumstances. Florida was in a budget crisis and the ten-year cycle for reapportionment occurred during my two years as Speaker. Accordingly, those two issues dominated the agenda.

"From 1990 to 1992, Florida faced its greatest budget crisis ever. During the interim, there were three budget cuts from the legislatively-approved appropriation. Upon taking office, there were two more major budget reductions. Coupled with a Governor's initial no-new-tax budget and a Senate mired in partisan politics, blend in the fact that Florida had developed a major tax reform package in 1988 and repealed that initiative six months later, the motivation for Members to undertake any initiative short of utilizing only the dollars available was almost nonexistent.

"Florida has emerged as a two-party state and will become the nation's third largest state within the next decade. Accordingly, the fight to control the state politically was at the top of both the Republican and Democratic agendas. Party operations from throughout the nation moved in for reapportionment and developed both political and legal strategies. The House was able to pass reapportionment plans. However, partisan politics dominated the Senate, and they could pass only a state plan. Ultimately, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered a plan very similar to the one the Florida House of Representatives developed and it was put in place for the election.

"Realizing that these issues would dominate the session, every effort was made to streamline the House and emphasize professional management and organizational approaches. The number of committees and subcommittees were reduced. Members were asked to limit the number of bills filed. Processes were put into place to slow down the substantive flow of legislation to encourage

Members to concentrate on major issues. Efforts were made to control the flow of legislation on the floor and Members were encouraged to be more attentive to floor action and debate.”

Speaker Wetherell said, “An amendment display system was developed. With this system, every amendment could be on every Member’s desk before voting on the issue. The budget was available five days before the scheduled floor vote. Each piece of major legislation was scheduled for floor action before the session began, and committee and staff knew the target dates and planned committee actions accordingly.”

It was realized that the House budget was going to be a major obstacle. “In addition to the dollars problem, there would be morale problems. Accordingly, we implemented recommendations as soon as possible after the election to address pay grades of certain staff positions. We realized anything that wasn’t done quickly in connection with the study recommendations would probably get lost in the budget wars.”

As itemized by Speaker Wetherell, these were the major substantive issues that were accomplished:

- The beginning of a health care reform act;
- The passing of a local education accountability act;
- Campaign and ethics reform measures that were the most stringent in the nation;
- Major reorganization of the Health & Rehabilitative Services Department, Department of Administration and the Career Service System;
- A new Department of Elderly Affairs;
- A redefining of the separation of powers between the Legislative, Judicial and Executive branches;
- A total rewrite of banking and insurance regulations;
- Reshaping the Department of Commerce and its efforts to be more product-oriented;
- An open government amendment to the State Constitution was passed;
- Rules and regulations relating to Members’ conduct and expectations were established and became the overall standard of conduct.



Speaker Wetherell with Ray Charles.



Bo Johnson
Speaker, 1993-1994

THE SPEAKERS

BOLLEY (BO) JOHNSON

Bolley Johnson, better known as Bo Johnson, was the twelfth Speaker of the Florida House of Representatives since the Legislature adopted annual sessions in 1969.

His father bequeathed the name “Bolley” to his son. The senior Johnson was a neighborhood football player, and was given the nickname “Bolley” from a motion picture football character.

In Milton, in the western Florida county of Santa Rosa, the name “Bolley” worked very well with friends and neighbors, but college was different. People at Florida State University were obviously uncomfortable with the name. They weren’t sure whether it was Boley or Bolley, how to pronounce it or spell it.

“I could see them kind of mumbling it so I shortened it to ‘Bo’ to make it a little more comfortable for people to pronounce,” Bo explained.

Political Aspirations Begin

Two young aspirants to Florida public office were moving along parallel political tracks. Lawton M. Chiles, already United States Senator, and Bolley (Bo) Johnson, with the Florida House of Representatives in his sights. Their tracks converged in the 1970s with Johnson serving Chiles for four years as North Florida office manager.

Bo Johnson’s pursuit of a career in government brought him to Mallory Horne’s U.S. Senatorial campaign of 1974, where he had volunteered his services. His duties included mollifying agitated constituents, answering the mail and doing what needed to be done—all without pay.

After the collapse of the Horne campaign, Johnson backed Lawton Chiles. “I told him my father and grandfather were in politics and I spoke the language. I thought I might be of help in West Florida.

“He just shook his head ‘no’ and said, ‘You are not ready yet.’ I told him, ‘I have just graduated from Florida State University and I read the books on how government works.’ He said, ‘Well, I’m glad you’ve read the books, but there’s a lot more to be learned, and I’m just not sure you’re ready yet.’

“‘Well, Senator,’ I continued, ‘I’ll get up earlier and work later and I’ll work for nothing if I have to.’ Chiles said, ‘Now you’re ready.’

“Lawton was the kind of guy who never liked fancy restaurants. He’d rather cook in somebody’s backyard. He loved the Gators. We would go to the University of Florida football games. Governor Reubin Askew would pull up in a state car and they would have security agents go up and check the box and somebody would escort him up. With Lawton, we’d park a mile away and stop and eat chicken and shake hands along the way and really visit with people. This was the time of the Panama Canal Treaty and his life was probably at risk. It was just a contrast in styles.”



Speaker Bo Johnson—this picture reveals Johnson is a lefty.



Greetings! Bo greets his one-time boss, Governor Lawton M. Chiles, in the presence of the House. Johnson worked for U.S. Senator Chiles.

After Chiles' successful reelection campaign of 1982, Johnson concluded the time had come to return to Santa Rosa County.

"I went to Lawton when I was 26 and said, 'I appreciate the fact that you gave me a job. We've been through the campaign. You know, a lot of the excitement has gone, and I'm really at a point where I need to be looking for something more challenging and I'd like to move home and run for the Legislature.'

"Well,' said Senator Chiles, 'what I'd really like you to do is come to Washington and work for me up here. I think you might like it. You know the challenges are great and the work is different. I think that might be the kind of change you are really looking for.' So I told him I had a newborn son and I wasn't interested in moving to Washington. In fact, I wasn't actually asking his permission, I was asking his support."

Single-Member Districts

Some years later, when single-member districting became effective, Johnson found he had been placed in a district that included downtown Pensacola, a district new to him. Johnson talked with a legislator who had represented that area for ten years. The legislator said he might be willing to step down and support Johnson. He really was only interested in Johnson's help with two matters.

"The first thing is that I want my daughter to be a House of Representatives page.' I said, 'Well, I think that can be arranged. What's the second?' 'The second is I want the legislative tickets to the University of Florida football games.'"

Want To Get In The Game

Johnson, as always, talked out the problem with his wife, Judi. The problem was moving from Gulf Breeze, a resort area, to Milton, the family homestead. Judi asked why he was sold on moving to Milton. "The more we talked about it, the more she said, 'What is it you want—to move the family and sell the home and start over again, just to be in the Legislature? What is it you really want to do that makes it so special?'"

"I said, 'Well, one thing that I really want is to commit myself more to getting things done in shaping bills and causing issues to come forth. I'm not satisfied any more just to be on the bench. I really want to get in the game. Plus, I kind of feel they've mistreated me by cutting my home out. Let's show them.' She was very supportive of that decision."

The Chairmanship of Transportation gave him the experience of being a chairman and the Chairmanship of Education gave him more of a statewide feel. Traveling into Dade County, remote from Milton, gave him the opportunity to observe the Haitian and Nicaraguan students who had newly come from a war-torn country. It was an interesting time.



He says, "Vote yea!" Rules Chairman Bo Johnson signals for a yes vote.

Future, The Family and The Business

“I have put politics first for a good part of my life, but I have tried to keep a balance. I try to involve my children (daughter Margarette and son Justin) and wife (Judi) whenever I can in engagements. I expect to be involved more in my businesses (Bo Johnson and Associates, an independent real estate office; and as a broker with the Halford Company, a commercial real estate company in Pensacola).”

Bo Johnson’s first regular legislative session as Speaker was in 1993, and a partial tally of achievements included these topics resulting in laws: Health Care, Welfare Reform, Child Support Enforcement, Disaster Preparedness, Agency Mergers, Driving Under the Influence, Carjacking, Change of Venue, Gender Equity, Grandparents’ Rights, Lobbying Reform, Shield Law for Protection of Newsmen, Economic Development, Dropout Prevention, Driver License Suspension and Car Repair Shop Licensing.



Speaker Bo Johnson with his son, Justin, watches the voting board register the yeas and nays.

Since his first term in office, Johnson has had a keen interest in education. He felt the best thing about politics was that you could create policy that would impact lives, and he felt there was no better place to see that impact than through the children in the individual schools in his district. He was emphatic about parental involvement.

Johnson tells the story of watching an interview with a three-time Olympic gold medalist. She was asked what the most exciting moment of her Olympic career was—perhaps winning that first gold medal? She said no, it was cutting the ribbon for a dropout prevention program in her hometown and realizing people’s lives would change because of it!

The Speaker’s First Legislative Love

The Speaker said, “Education is really my first legislative love. My first session, the thing that we did for continuing the commitment to education accountability means, in part, that you don’t need to have a lot more laws right now. You’re really looking at how to readjust the Department of Education, move the decisions to the local level and measure results in education dropout prevention and math and science scores and those kinds of things.

“The classroom technology issue was probably one of the ones that I took the greatest measure of pride in last year—the idea that our jobs in the marketplace are so much more technical and that our educational system needs to do a lot to catch up in preparing students for those new challenges.”

The strength of the House, in Johnson’s opinion, is the diversity of its Members.

“I had what I consider to be a focused agenda. It included education, issues of accountability and classroom technology; health care, and that major reform effort; and economic development, which included issues of streamlined permitting and job training and governmental reorganization and realignment. Those were the primary ones—education, health care, jobs and governmental organization. We were able to succeed in those areas.”

The Speaker said, "I think it was fortunate for me that I didn't have anyone who was really hostile and gunning for me every day because that can create further friction when that kind of atmosphere is present."

Tough As Nails



Bo Johnson receives a standing ovation as he prepares to take the gavel as Speaker. He is separately congratulated by Majority Leader Anne Mackenzie.

Vickie Chachere, writing in the *Tampa Tribune*, quoted Representative John Long, a Land O'Lakes Democrat, as saying of Bo Johnson: "Bo is tough as nails and he has a backbone of steel. If he is really, truly convinced he is right, it's hard to turn Bo. To get done what he thinks is right, he is willing to push and bend arms."

Another Member of the House, Jim King, a Jacksonville Republican, opines, "The fact that Bo is so private and non-communicative, a lot of the time people are suspicious. They feel he has his own agenda and it doesn't include you."



Peter Rudy Wallace, the Democratic Speaker-designate, left, consults with Speaker Bo Johnson on the rostrum.

The astute Majority Leader, Anne Mackenzie, once described the Speaker and his wife in these words: "There are many adjectives that come to mind when contemplating publicly speaking about Bo, and lots more that I can't even say here: quiet, reserved, thoughtful, purposeful, deliberative, thorough and, most importantly, a man who possesses a very, very long memory.

"And now that we've done the adjectives for Bo, let's do some for Judi: vivacious, outgoing, fun-loving, open, spontaneous and, most importantly, one who loves to have a good time and who wants everyone who is there with her to have a good time too."

1994 Session

In the 1994 session, the Speaker supported and steered legislation which will change the way Florida government operates. The governmental performance and accountability bill will help prioritize Florida's budget by showing which programs are successful and deserving of funding and which aren't. Legislators also put a constitutional amendment on this November's ballot which, if approved by voters, will cap the amount of revenue legislators can raise.

An Everglades restoration bill, approved this session, will increase the flow of water to the 'Glades' and will improve water quality through clean-up measures. That bill also contained measures to protect Florida Bay which is suffering from pollution. Lawmakers established criteria for determining what are wetlands in efforts to protect these fragile ecosystems. They also created the Environment Equity and Justice Commission to evaluate the relation between



Gee, it broke! Speaker Bo Johnson displays the halves of the gavel that his vigors separated. He broke six, a Florida record.

low-income communities and the siting of environmentally hazardous facilities. And, again this year, they funded Preservation 2000, the program that buys and preserves environmentally sensitive lands.

Johnson's influence over the state will extend beyond his two years as Speaker, although he says his political career will end in 1994 when his two-year term expires. Bo Johnson possesses far-reaching vision to serve his constituents; and, at the same time, his colleagues are the beneficiaries of his care and his impartiality.

Other selected Speakers from significant years
in Florida history.....

THE SPEAKERS

EDWARD CLAY LEWIS, JR.

The firm hand on the gavel for the 100-day triple sessions of 1931 was that of Speaker E. Clay Lewis, Jr.

Retired Chief Justice Richard W. Ervin, Engrossing Clerk of the House of Representatives for those sessions, remembers Clay Lewis as: a reading clerk of the Florida House of Representatives, President of the student body at the University of Florida, Member and Speaker of the Florida House of Representatives and finally as a Circuit Judge.

Judge Ervin describes Clay Lewis as being a fine-looking young man, at least six feet, four inches in height, handsome, with a distinctive southern drawl; a very personable and charming type of fellow.

“In debate,” remembers Justice Ervin, “Lewis went directly to the heart of a matter. He was very persuasive—on the order of Lyndon B. Johnson. There was no doubt about it, he was a born leader, especially endowed by nature to politically achieve.”

Speaker Lewis had served in earlier sessions as reading clerk of the House for the purpose, he said, of getting to know the membership of the House early on so that when he came there as a Member from Gulf County, he would be well on his way to winning the Speakership. Being a member of the dominant Lewis clan from Jackson County, which included both Henry Hayes and Amos Lewis, State Senators, it was a foregone conclusion Clay could have a House seat whenever he ran for it. Clay was very adroit in debate. He was an agile-speaking lawyer who received his law degree from the University of Florida. He received his diploma in a ceremony during a session in the House Chamber.

Judge Ervin remembered: “In debate once, on the floor of the House, he used a phrase I had not theretofore heard to successfully counter an opponent’s argument. He said, ‘It boils down to this: Whose ox is being gored? Mine isn’t by this bill, but yours is. So I’m for the bill.’ Clay won.”

Speaker Lewis taught his Rules Chairman, Millard Caldwell, a lesson in parliamentary procedure which Caldwell refused to accept—taking an appeal from the Chair to the House. Caldwell, on the next-to-last day of the second special session, had obtained adoption of a resolution stating no action could be taken on any bill not then before the House, except by unanimous consent. The Speaker, however, held this rule could be waived by a two-thirds vote. Caldwell disagreed. The House, by a vote of 62 to 26, upheld the Speaker. Nevertheless, Caldwell entered a protest in the *Journal* each time the Speaker’s interpretation was used.

Former Governor LeRoy Collins served with E. Clay Lewis in the legislative sessions of 1939, 1941 and 1943. This joint service gave Governor Collins the opportunity of appraising Speaker Lewis as a lawmaker and as a man.

The Governor reflected: “Clay Lewis was a very practical and effective legislator over his entire career; not a moralist, but a gentleman who was comfortable in any political or social setting. He spoke from the floor without oratorical flare. He was prepared with knowledge of his subjects which he could explain clearly and to the point necessary to win his goals. He was strong

on personal relationships and never ceased to cultivate the friendship of others. Unabashedly, friendship was give-and-take with him.

“He had strong ties with the lobbyists of his time who were most influential. There were not many of these like there are now. He was able to get needed help from lawyer-lobbyists in finding solutions and drafting legislation to meet needs in fields in which they were not professionally involved.

“His days were a far cry from the present day of multiple committee staff support. The lawmakers then actually had to do much of the research and planning work now done by other state employees.”

Speaker Lewis deferred seeking reelection until 1938, when he regained Gulf County’s seat for the 1939, 1941 and 1943 regular sessions. In the interim, Lewis built a law practice and wed. His name was on the 1932 ballot as a statewide candidate for delegate to the Democratic National Convention. That his name was widely known was evidenced by the 82,390 votes he received. The runner-up collected 44,559 votes. After his legislative service, Lewis became a Circuit Judge. Former Representative Cecil G. Costin, Jr., of Port St. Joe, acquired Lewis’s library and files when Lewis became a judge. Costin recalled Judge Lewis questioning the adequacy of pleadings in a case. Costin reminded him these were pleadings Lewis had prepared. “Son,” said Judge Lewis, “I’ve learned a lot of law on the bench.” E. Clay Lewis died April 27, 1961.



Edward Clay Lewis, Jr., Speaker, Florida House of Representatives, 1931.

THE SPEAKERS

DANIEL THOMAS McCARTY, JR.

The votes had hardly been counted in St. Lucie County in 1936 when the jungle drums of Florida politics announced the election of a comer.

On the west coast, Sam Bucklew told his client, the Tampa Electric Company, that he needed to become better acquainted with the young first-termer. On the east coast, Herbert Bayer, of the *Florida Times-Union*, telephoned his colleague, Allen Morris, of the *Miami Herald*, to impart similar intelligence, "We had better get to know this fellow better." Morris took the next train north to St. Lucie.

The subject of the praise was Daniel Thomas McCarty, pioneer St. Lucie County citrus grower. Dan McCarty was born January 18, 1912, the son of Daniel T. and Frances Moore McCarty. When Dan Jr. was only 10 years old, his father, 42 years old, died, leaving a widow and five children, of whom Dan was the eldest.

Dan attended the University of Florida, earning a degree in agriculture. His leadership abilities were recognized by the student body at Gainesville.

He met and married a young Fort Pierce woman named Olie Brown. Together the couple had three children: Dan III, born in 1942, Michael, born in 1945, and a daughter, Frances Lela, born in 1949. Olie Brown McCarty, a tall, statuesque, handsome woman, perfectly complemented her husband. Every inch a lady, Olie was not only an asset to Dan politically, but was also a capable businessperson.

In 1937, at the age of 25, Dan McCarty was elected by the people of St. Lucie County to represent them in the Florida House of Representatives. Dan quickly achieved distinction in the Legislature and, in 1941, he was chosen Speaker of the House, the youngest legislator (at that time) ever to be so honored. The 1941 House was convened with two significant issues carried over from the 1939 session—salary buying and tax assessments.

Salary buying was disposed of in short order, with House Bill 1, as the bill was identified. It was the first bill introduced in the House and the first bill signed into law by the Governor that year.

The tax assessment bill traveled a rougher road in the House as a determined minority opposed its movement. In time, Speaker McCarty came down from the rostrum to appeal for passage of this program to eliminate the tax dodgers from Florida. He said the bill would put every man on the same basis when it came to paying his proportionate share of the cost of government.

"Don't let this minority group stop consideration of the most constructive legislation presented this session. I have no fault with any man who voted against this bill, but I do find fault with the man who votes to kill the bill this way [by parliamentary plot]." McCarty and his allies overrode the minority and the Governor signed the bill.

When his friend, Senator A. O. Kanner, decided to withdraw from the Senate, Speaker McCarty decided to step out. Fate intervened in the form of World War II. He was among the soldiers that went ashore on D-Day in the south of France. As a Lieutenant Colonel, he came home with a Purple Heart, a Legion of Merit, a Bronze Star and a French Croix de Guerre.



Daniel Thomas McCarty, Jr., Speaker, Florida House of Representatives, 1941.

He was runner-up for the Democratic nomination for Governor in 1948. He was encouraged by the vote he received to run again and was elected. He was inaugurated on January 2, 1953.

He suffered a disabling heart attack on February 25, 1953, and died September 28, 1953 in Tallahassee. The 41-year-old citrus grower and shipper concluded his inaugural address with the recital of this poem:

If you think you are beaten, you are,
If you think you dare not, you don't;
If you'd like to win, and don't think you can,
It's almost a cinch you won't.
If you think you'll lose, you're lost,
For out in the world we find;
Success begins with a fellow's will,
It's all in the state of mind.
Full many a race is lost,
Ere even his work is begun.
Think big and your deeds will grow,
Think small and you'll fall behind;
Think that you can, and you will—
It's all in the state of mind.
If you think you're outclassed, you are,

You've got to think high to rise;
You've got to be sure of yourself,
Before you ever can win a prize.
Life's battle doesn't always go
To the stronger or faster man;
But sooner or later the man who wins
Is the fellow who thinks he can.

—Anonymous

Dan McCarty's name is preserved and honored in the state and county. At the University of Florida, McCarty Hall honors him. In Fort Pierce, the Dan McCarty Middle School is named for him. U.S. 1, between Fort Pierce and Vero Beach, is officially called Dan McCarty Memorial Highway. Members of St. Andrews Church regularly worship before the McCarty memorial stained glass windows, a gift to the church from the McCarty family.

THE SPEAKERS

CECIL FARRIS BRYANT

C. Farris Bryant of Ocala, and now Jacksonville, earned statewide acclaim as a leader through his administration of the House during the 1953 session. Those were the years of turmoil over integration. He gave leadership to the establishment of the Legislative Council, which was the forerunner of today's interim committee activity and year-round research staff. He was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1947. Upon a foundation of legislative colleagues he established a base for his successful campaign for Governor in 1960.

Even after he became Governor, Farris Bryant was saluted as "Mr. Speaker." He was one of four Speakers in this century to serve also as Governor.

Governor Bryant could be called the "Man of the House" because of his identification with the House of Representatives through his election to five sessions—four without opposition—and because of his service as Speaker.

Bryant's success as a legislator and as Governor was a result of his ability to cause House Members to feel the Bryant program was their program. When he could cause a Member to feel one of the Bryant platforms was "his" idea, it was well on the way to passage in the House.

Governor Bryant sought out those who were "comers" in the House or Senate and saw to it that those who served as his floor leaders received favorable attention among their colleagues and from the legislative press. Legislator Lawton M. Chiles was among the Bryant floor leaders.

Bryant was present for the adoption of a joint resolution in 1994 honoring his public service as Speaker and Governor. Bryant came to Tallahassee honored as a "great Floridian." He was in the House Chamber for the first time in a quarter century. He confided to his gubernatorial aide, John E. Evans, that the building was different but the atmosphere was the same and, "I loved it."

Later he confided, "Service as Speaker of the House of Representatives and service as Governor of Florida are both great honors and each has meant a great deal to me, but they are very different in demand and reward.

"A Speaker has an important function, which I interpreted as ensuring that the House could initiate and consider to a point of passage or defeat legislation which its Members felt should be considered. I never thought that the Speaker's position should give him the right to impose his personal agenda upon the House as though he had received some statewide mandate. Until he has been selected to be Speaker by the Members of the House, he and his governmental views are unknown to the voters, other than those in his district.

"For me, service as Speaker was the most pleasant experience of my political life. It is a one-on-one challenge; each of a majority of the House must be persuaded you will provide him with opportunity to secure appropriate consideration of measures which he deems important, and to oppose those measures of which he disapproves.

“The Speaker,” Bryant said, “must control debate so that all opinions can be heard, and that is frequently an exercise of judgment, which can be abused. In addition, he can appoint Members to committees in such a way as to influence the fate of legislation, and that, too, is an exercise of judgment.

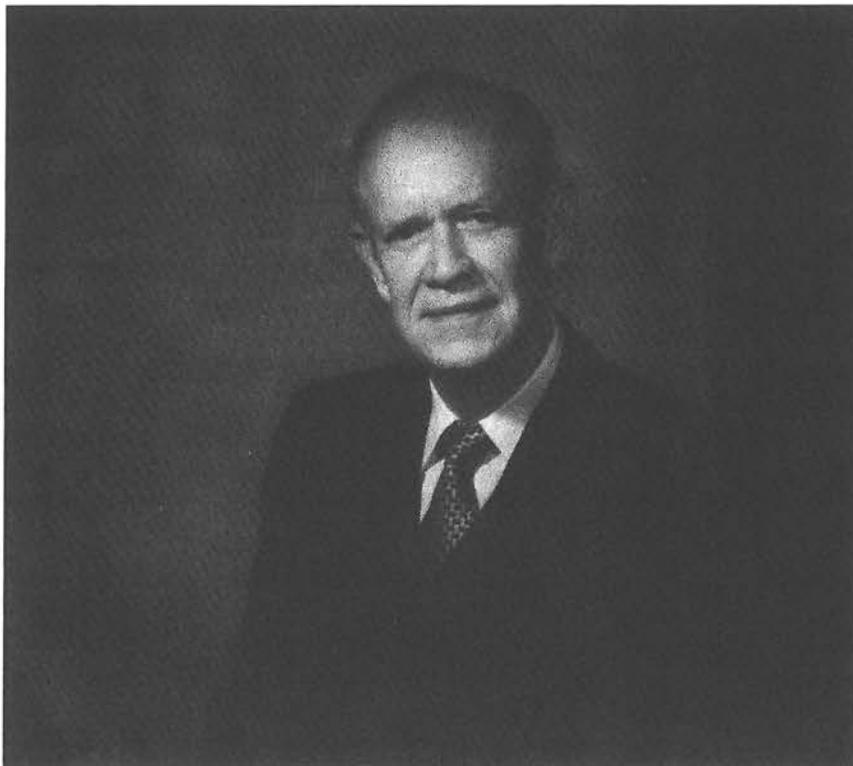
“For me, the greatest pleasure was in fashioning legislation [creating the junior college program, authorizing the completion of the Florida turnpike north of Fort Pierce] and sending it on to the Senate or to the Governor.

“Being Governor involves doing all those things, but there are so many other relationships and responsibilities, and you don’t have the time to enjoy them until your term is over. You can then think back of the friends you made, the battles you fought and the good you have had a hand in.

“Making a difference was the lasting value. I had a hand in implementing a road program that has saved lives and improved the economy, in securing the adoption of a funding program that has raised 5 billion dollars for building a university and junior college system, in securing a funding program for financing the acquisition of lands for future public use, in peacefully settling the racial problems in St. Augustine and of the freedom riders, in handling the problems of the first wave of Cuban immigrants and those flowing from the Cuban missile crisis.

“Most difficult of all, the Governor must establish a good relationship with the press. It is they, for the most part, who draw the picture of the Governor and of his capacity for leadership.

“Finally,” he said, “even a governor must address the needs and welfare of his family who suffer and rejoice with him. Without that resource, he could not return each day to finish the job.”



C. Farris Bryant, Speaker, Florida House of Representatives, 1953.

-A-

Abbott, Ann 62, *photograph* 71
Abrams, Michael 93, 99
Adams, Karl R. 70
Agnew, Vice President Spiro, *photograph* 38
Askew, Reubin O'D. 16, 23, 25, 26, 35, 40, 41, 43, 52, 53, 82, 113, *photograph* 44
Aylott, Marjorie (Mrs. E. C. Rowell) 6, 29

-B-

Baker, Maxine E. 37
Ballentine, W. A. 8
Barron, Dempsey J. 35, 76, 77, 96, *photograph* 52
Bayer, Herbert 121
Bechard, Beth (Mrs. Jon Mills) 89
Bell, Samuel P. III 58, 59, 61, 62, 65, 77, 83, 84, 86, 87, 104, 105, 110, *photograph* 79, 88
Birchfield, William "Bill" 65
Bowden, Bobby, *photograph* 84
Boyd, Wilbur 33, 67, 75
Brown, A. Worley 62
Brown, Cici (Mrs. James Hyatt) 57, 61
Brown, James Hyatt 50, 55, 65, 67, 76, 77, 80, 83, 103, 104, 105, 108, 110, *photograph* 57, 59, 60, 62, 75
Brown, Hyatt Kellim 61
Brown, James Powell 61
Brown, Olie (Mrs. Daniel T. McCarty, Jr.), 121
Brown, Preston Barrett 61
Brownlow, Louis 20
Bryant, Bear 102
Bryant, C. Farris 23, 28, 62, *photograph* 126
Bucklew, Sam 121
Burke, James Clarence "Jimmy" 89
Burns, Haydon 7

-C-

Chachere, Vickie 116
Caldwell, Millard F. 2, 119, *photograph* 3
Carlton, Fran 88, *photograph* 50
Carpenter, Carl 87
Carraway, Wilson, *photograph* 2
Carter, President Jimmy 33, 40, 50, 52
Carvalho, Anthony 74
Charles, Ray, *photograph* 111
Chiles, Lawton M. 27, 28, 40, 52, 92, 113, 125, *photograph* 77, 114
Clark, Dick 51, 55
Collins, LeRoy 119

Connor, James E. "Nick," *photograph* 11
Conway, Bill 104
Cook, David 28
Cooper, Ralph 21
Costin, Cecil G., Jr. 120
Crary, George, *photograph* 94
Crider, John, *photograph* 27
Crusoe, Robin 39
Culpepper, Bruce 70, 71

-D-

D'Alemberte, Talbot "Sandy" 35, 37
Danese, Tracy 8, 23, 39
Daves, Joel T. III 28
de la Parte, Louis 33, 46, 75
DeGarmo, Scott 5, 6
Downey, Chris 66
Dubbin, Murray H. 15, 37, 43, 47, 83
Dyckman, Martin 35

-E-

Easley, Betty 88
Edgecomb, George 73
England, Arthur J., Jr. 35, 39
Ervin, Richard W. 119
Evans, John E. 125

-F-

Faircloth, Earl 37
Farp, Richard 106
Featherstone, Harold G. 5
Fiedler, Tom 40
Firestone, George 37
Flagg, David, *photograph* 93
Fortune, Edmond M. "Ed" 58, 60, 61
Fox, Roberta, *photograph* 82

-G-

Gabler, Ted 89
Gallagher, Tom 95, 96
Gardner, Winston W. "Bud" 87, 88
Gellerstedt, Ann (Mrs. Ralph Turlington) 17
Gersten, Joseph M. 69, 70
Gibbons, Sam 45
Godolphin, Dean 22
Goldstein, Linda 76
Gonzales-Quevedo, Arnhilda, *photograph* 91
Gordon, Elaine, *photograph* 80, 82
Gorman, William D. 37
Graham, D. Robert "Bob" 25, 26, 37, 73, 88

Griffin, J. J., Jr., *photograph* 11
Gunter, Bill 40
Gustafson, Mrs. Tom, *photograph* 98
Gustafson, Tom 62, 88, *photograph* 59, 93,
94, 95, 96, 97, 98

-H-

Haben, Ralph H., Jr. 61, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77,
79, 80, 83, 88, 89, 95, 96, 108, 110,
photograph 59, 60, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 75
Hamlin, Raymond 53
Hardee, Cary A. 53
Harris, Joel Chandler 16
Harris, Marshall S. 11, 37, 43, 47
Hartnett, Robert C. 37
Hastings, Alcee 28
Hayes, Henry 119
Hodges, Gene 58 *photograph* 60
Holland, J. J. "Toby" 66, 67
Holland, Spessard L. 28
Horne, Cleveland 1
Horne, Clifford 1
Horne, Mallory E. 8, 33, 113, *photograph* 1,
2, 3, 4, 44, 45

-J-

Jamerson, Douglas L. 97
Jennings, Toni, *photograph* 50
Jersey, Laura 104
Johnson, Bo, *photograph* 98, 102, 113, 114,
115, 116, 117
Johnson, Judi 114, 115, 116
Johnson, Justin, *photograph* 115
Johnson, Lyndon B. 119
Johnson, Malcolm B. 52
Johnson, Margarette 115
Johnson, Ron 88

-K-

Kanner, A. O. 121
Karl, Fred 103, 104
Karl, Richard C. 74
Kefauver, Estes 45
Kennedy, George 5
King, Jim 116
Kirk, Claude R., Jr. 13, 15, 16, 24, 25, 26, 27,
28, 33, 34
Kleindienst, Linda 93
Kutun, Barry 59

-L-

Lancaster, Howell 38
Lane, David 44
Langton, Michael Edward "Mike,"
photograph 93
Lantaff, William C. 37
Lassater, Monica 65
Law, Walter 6
Lawson, Alfred, Jr. "Al," *photograph* 93
Lehtinen, Dexter 66
Lewis, Amos 119
Lewis, E. Clay, *photograph* 120
Lewis, Gerald 37, 70
Lewis, Henry Hayes 119
Long, John 116
Lumia, Joseph 73
Lynch, Mike 22

-M-

Mackenzie, Anne, 98, 116, *photograph* 108,
116
Mann, Frank 68
Mann, Robert T. 13, 14, 15, 19, 90
Mansfield, Bill 17
Martin, John W. 59
Martin, Sid 87
Martin, Steve 66
Martinez, Bob 87, 96
Mathews, John E., *photograph* 21
Matthews, Carey 24, 27
McCarty, Daniel T. 121
McCarty, Daniel T. III 121
McCarty, Daniel Thomas "Dan," Jr.,
photograph 122
McCarty, Frances Lela 121
McCarty, Frances Moore 121
McCarty, Michael 121
McDonald, Bruce 62
McGalliard, Rod 91
McKay, Kenneth "Buddy" 40
McKnight, Robert 58, 59
McPherson, Tom 53
Meek, Carrie, *photograph* 68
Messer, Carolyn J. (Mrs. James Harold
Thompson) 81
Miers, Miley L. 37, 38
Mills, Jon L., 83, *photograph* 87, 88, 89, 90,
91, 92, 110
Mills, Marguerite, *photograph* 89
Mims, William Thomas "Tom,"
photograph 93
Minter, James H., Jr. 39

Mitchell, Sam 67, *photograph* 96
Mitchell, Stephen 45
Moffitt, H. Lee 59, 62, 68, 83, 88, 96, 108,
110, *photograph* 60, 73, 74, 75, 77
Moffitt, Jennifer Lee, *photograph* 74
Moffitt, Karen (Mrs. H. Lee), *photograph* 74
Moneyham, Sandra Sessums 48
Moore, Gary 66
Moorhead, Ann (Mrs. Richard A.
Pettigrew) 36
Morgan, Herbert F. "Herb" 74, 106, 110
Morgan, Lucy 11
Morris, Allen 71, 121, *photograph* 60
Muir, John 98
Myers, Kenneth M. 37

-N-

Nelson, C. William "Bill" 40, 65, 66
Nichols, Roger 43
Nixon, President Richard M. 91

-O-

O'Connell, Stephen C., *photograph* 6
O'Malley, Thomas D. 49
Ollove, Michael 79
Osborne, David 89
Osborne, Ray 9
Overton, Robert P. 35

-P-

Pajcic, Steve 88
Palmer, Patsy (Mrs. Talbot "Sandy"
D'Alemberte) 62
Pendleton, Randolph 66
Pepper, Claude 84, 85
Pettigrew, Grady 37
Pettigrew, James Lewis 35
Pettigrew, Jill 37
Pettigrew, Richard A. 15, 19, 24, 45
photograph 34, 36, 38
Phelps, John B. III 62, *photograph* 94
Phelps, Ted 39, 40
Poole, Van 93
Pratt, Jerome 67

-R-

Redman, James 47
Reed, Charles B. 107
Reed, Donald H., Jr. 10, 13, 14, 16, 24, 25, 27,
35, 37, 48, *photograph* 30

Reilly, Nancy Jane (Mrs. Frederick H.
Schultz) 23, *photograph* 22
Reno, Janet 35
Rhodes, Robert M. 39, 40
Roberts, B. K., *photograph* 22
Rowell, Barbara 6
Rowell, Diane 6,
Rowell, E. C. 29, 37, 46 102, *photograph* 5,
6, 7, 8, 10, 11
Rowell, Edna 7
Ryals, John L. 19, 20, 51, 52, 53
Ryan, Bill 62

-S-

Sanderson, Debby 96
Saunders, Ron, *photograph* 102
Schultz, Frederick Henry 33, 34, 37, 38, 39,
54 *photograph* 21, 22, 27, 30
Schultz, Clifford G. II 20, *photograph* 22
Schultz, Frederick H., Jr., *photograph* 22
Schultz, Catherine G., *photograph* 22
Schultz, John R. 23, *photograph* 22
Schultz, Mrs. Frederick H., *photograph* 22
Scott, Jim, *photograph* 88
Selman, Leroy, *photograph* 75
Sessums, Isaac 45
Sessums, Richard H. 48
Sessums, Terrell 19, 36, 73, 76,
photograph 44, 45, 46, 47
Sessums, Thomas 45
Sessums, Thomas Terrell, Jr. 48
Sheldon, George 59
Silva, Mark 103, 106
Simone, Peggy, *photograph* 93
Sliger, Bernie 106
Smith, Eric 60
Smith, Jim 105
Smith, Ken 46
Soowal, Lynn (Mrs. Tom Gustafson),
photograph 98
Spicola, Guy 19, 20
Stallings, George 8, 9
Steeves, Neva Ann 48
Stearns, Eugene E. 39, 40
Stevenson, Adlai 45
Stewart, Nancy Black 70
Stone, George 14
Stone, Richard "Dick" 40, 52
Sweeny, James H., Jr. 34, 35, 37

-T-

Thomas, Jerry 41
Thompson, James Alexander 81,
photograph 83
Thompson, James Harold 77, 88, 89, 110,
photograph 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85
Thompson, Jason Harold 81
Thompson, Lee Anne 81
Tilton, Eric 95
Tobiassen, Thomas J. "Tom" 93
Tobin, Jack 87
Tomasello, Peter, Jr. 29
Tucker, Donald L. 58, 59, 60, 62, 70,
photograph 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54
Tucker, Joan 50
Tucker, Luther C. 51
Turlington, J. E. 17
Turlington, Katherine Wright 17
Turlington, Mrs. J. E. 17
Turlington, Ralph D. 29, 35, 37, 43,
photograph 14, 15, 16, 17, 18
Turlington, Ralph Donald, Jr. 17
Turnbull, Marjorie 62, 65

-V-

Vogt, John, *photograph* 90
Volcker, Paul A. 23

-W-

Waldron, Ann 21
Wallace, Peter Rudy, *photograph* 116
Wetherell, T. K., 87, 88, 97, *photograph* 87,
97, 101, 102, 103, 106, 108, 109, 111
Wetherell, Tommy 105
Wetherell, Virginia "Ginger" 102, 103, 105,
107, 109, *photograph* 106
Williams, Ash 62
Wingate, Claude R. 39
Wolfson, Lou 13, 15, 29

-Y-

Yarborough, Jess 15
Young, Bill 25

-Z-

Zerbe, Karl 39

PUBLICATIONS OF THE OFFICE OF THE HISTORIAN

Language of Lawmaking in Florida

The Emergence of the Republican Party

Profiles

Speaker Rowell
Speaker Turlington
Speaker Schultz
Speaker Pettigrew
Speaker Sessums
Speaker Tucker
Speaker Brown
Speaker Haben
Speaker Moffitt
Speaker Thompson
Speaker Mills
Speaker Wetherell
Speaker Gustafson
Speaker Johnson

The Gatekeepers—The Rules Committee

Reconsiderations—Bits and Pieces

The Tumultuous Hundred Days of 1931

Women in the Legislature (revised and enlarged)

Laughter in the House

History of the Legislative Council (not printed)

The Speakers 1963-1994 The Florida House of Representatives

Note: Since these are printed in limited quantities, individual publications may be out of print.

