

This is an interview with Allen Morris, clerk of the Florida house of representatives. The interview was conducted in Tallahassee, Florida on May 16, 1974 by Jack Bass and Walter De Vries. It was transcribed by Joe Jaros.

Jack Bass: Now, what really has changed since you were interviewed for V.O. Key's book?

Allen Morris: Well, of course, the significant development has been the growth of the Republican party as a state party. As you know, Republican presidential candidates had carried Florida prior to that time, but I think that there are very strong Republican organizations in many counties and there are numerous state, county unit officials who are Republican. While the Democratic party has tried to draw itself together, with the revamping of the state executive committee, the state committee having considerable money to spend, it never really achieved the unity of the Republicans. Why that is, I don't know. Democrats just seem to fall apart at times. And I guess that that happens to the Republicans too in the Gurney framework situation that most people believe, that most observers believe was engineered by our Governor Kirk. He was sort of a maverick Republican. He had been a Democrat, was a turncoat. But having a governor gave the Republican party the patronage that was quite helpful during his four years. It was unfortunate for the party in some ways that he wound up at odds with many of his own people. That was their big opportunity. He sort of blew it. He got the vice-presidential bug at first. The party

people saw a lot of their money being spent on furthering his personal political hopes.

W.D.V.: Has that been the major change in the last twenty-five years, the growth of the Republican party?

Morris: Yes, I would think so.

W.D.V.: What were some of the other things that you told Herb that you said you felt a little bit silly about now?

Morris: Well, one of the things that distressed me later, was that I had conducted a poll on an airplane of maybe ten members of the state senate, asking them who they would like to have on their side if they were candidates for governor. And we certainly turned out with some strange people, gamblers . . . and maybe it was true at that time. I don't think that they were kidding me under the circumstances. I guess that it indicates that Florida has really changed in some ways, that they were in for the name's sake of five or six people and they thought that with that five or six they could mount a statewide campaign. Well, no one could do that anymore. Florida in those days had perhaps two million people. Today, we are thirty-seven plus. Television has come into it. Then, a few newspapers. Campaigning has taken on additional facets and sides.

W.D.V.: What have been the basic changes in the legislature in the last twenty-five years?

Morris: In 1967, a three judge federal court in Miami finally took into its hands the drawing up of the district lines. And it took the control from the rural areas and transferred it to the suburbs. And it meant that the Republican party became a significant force in the legislature. A force that had to be reckoned with in both houses. While

Governor Kirk was governor, there were enough of them in the legislature to sustain his vetoes. It also brought into the legislature many people who had had no prior political background. It just changed the atmosphere. I suspect that quite a number of the people who came to the legislature that year were simply people who allowed their name to be used perhaps, without ever any thought of winning. And on the other side, the Democratic side, so many candidates qualified that others saw that this was a good chance for anybody to win and people did. In Dade County, the legislative candidates amounted to something like 200 and no voter could intelligently plow his way through the banks of names on the voting machines. So, it made a great deal of change. And the class of '67, which is just fading now, presented the opportunity for numerous reforms to be achieved in the legislature, because we had so many people who didn't know that this was the "way that it has always been done." And out of that came so many changes that Florida's legislature was ranked at the top in a number of categories by the Citizen's Committee of State Legislatures. So, that was good. We have a year 'round legislature now. They don't meet year round, but the committees are standing committees for two years. They are appointed when the presiding officers take office in November, The previously presiding officers that had been installed in April and had appointed their committees then and the committees went out of existence at the end of that session. We have a ~~sixty~~ ^{sixty} consecutive day session which amounts to forty-four working days. Forty-four days isn't awful much of an opportunity for creativity. The legislature could barely keep up with stamping yes or no or maybe on bills which other people drafted and brought into the committees. Well, now, each committee not only does business for two years, each

committee has been adequately staffed. The members for the first time have personal staffs in their districts. They have a district allowance and all in all, they are equipped to do the sort of job that I think the people demand of them or at least want of them.

J.B.: How much staff do they have in the district?

Morris: The senators have an administrative aide and a secretary. The house members have one or the other, either an aide or a secretary.

J.B.: And what sort of salary is provided by that staff?

Morris: I can look it up, but I can't tell you off the top of my head.

J.B.: That's all right.

W.D.V.: And what is the district allowance?

Morris: The district allowance presently is vouchered expenses up to the \$300 a month.

J.B.: And that covers such expenses as what?

Morris: Rent, telephone, office supplies.

J.B.: Would it include travel?

Morris: Travel within the district is an expense, yes.

W.D.V.: When did the tradition start that you replace the speaker and the president of the senate every new legislature? And why did it start?

Morris: So far as I know, it started at the beginning. If you look back over the lists of speakers and presidents, you will not find but two or three where they repeated. Why it was, I don't know. I assume that it was felt that it was an honor to be handed around the legislature. It may not have been as significant a force and so therefore, it didn't really matter, that everybody wanted the opportunity to be speaker. But the

custom was pretty firmly rooted beginning in the 1930's, the late 1930's, when the campaigns for president and for speaker were run far in advance . . . (interruption on tape) . . . so that they were campaigning four years in advance. Well, obviously the man in office didn't have a chance to be re-elected. He was, to a certain degree, a lame duck at the time that he took over. But they finally had an upheaval about that last year and beginning after the next change of speaker, the system will be different. They will not be campaigning in advance, hopefully. And there will be a year's experience before the members are called upon to vote in a secret ballot for a nominee. That's on the Democratic side only. The majority side. And you know, there are pros and cons to it.

J.B.: So, how will it work then?

Morris: At that time, in the second January of the two year term, those members who wish to offer themselves for speaker will make this known to the clerk. The clerk then will then, after a cut-off date, will certify that these are the candidates and there will be a secret ballot to select one.

J.B.: And how is it donw now?

Morris: It is done now on a pledge basis. That when some person gets a majority of the people with whom he is then serving, but not the people he would be the speaker of, they will call a caucus and confirm the results.

J.B.: But the change will still continue to have one year's house, one year's session elect the speaker for the following term.

Morris: Yes, that's desirable.

J.B.: But that's not a legal thing, though. One house cannot bind

another house. Why is it desirable?

Morris: Well, it's obviously desirable because there needs to be a period of transition between the old speaker, whose job will be finished. You see, Mr. Sessums's job will be finished on May 31 of this year, for all practical purposes. There will be a hiatus until Tucker takes over on November 19. During that period, the incoming speaker, the speaker designate, has an opportunity to learn something of the ropes of being speaker. It's more important now than it once was, because the house is a big business. They have hundreds of employees.

J.B.: Has the governor traditionally taken a hands-off position on the election of the speaker?

Morris: He has nothing to do with it. So far as I know, he has never had anything to do with it.

J.B.: Have any of them ever attempted to influence the selection?

W.D.V.: Have there been very many fights like the one that is now coming up between Tucker and Harris? Have you had that kind of contest before?

Morris: Yeah, sure.

W.D.V.: Often?

Morris: No, not often. We had it four years ago. As you well know, this sort of fights results from the emergence of the Republican party as a major force. This is a coalition situation. Prior to that, the Democratic party was the solitary party in the field, perhaps two or three or four Republicans, I don't know. Well, the outcome of the Democratic caucus, that concluded it, it was final. But the new element here is whether it might be possible to join dissident Democrats with the Republicans, as has happened

in other states. No one knows what might come about here.

W.D.V.: Have all these reforms in the legislature, the reapportionment, the better staffing, the salaries and so on, produced a better legislative product?

Morris: Well, I should hope so. And I would base that on the fact that the major legislation is the work product of committees now. An administrative code, or revision of the criminal code is something that would take two or three or four years, more time than any individual member could give to it, that's the sort of things that are coming through.

J.B.: Does each committee have a full-time staff?

Morris: Yes.

J.B.: How large?

Morris: Well, it depends on the committee. Appropriations has a staff director and perhaps six or seven or eight budget analysts plus the staff of four secretaries.

W.D.V.: Can we get a legislative directory that would have this sort of information in it? Do you have such a directory?

Morris: We don't have it broken down. What we can give you would be a clerk's manual which would show only the names of the committees and the staff directors, the committee secretaries, but not how many are below them.

W.D.V.: Is it your impression that Florida has one of the biggest legislative staffs in the country? Or at least in the South?

Morris: Yes, I would think so. I would think certainly in the South.

W.D.V.: You've been clerk for how long?

Morris: Since 1966.

J.B.: And then before that, you were in effect covering the legislature as a newsman, am I correct?

Morris: Uh-huh. I was sort of on both sides of the fence. I had developed an interest in the house of representatives almost as soon as I came here in '41 as the political editor of the Miami Herald, and I stayed here after the '43 session, and as early as '47, the house asked me to write its rules of procedure and I did that. And they were adopted in '49. So, even while I was a newsman, I was also interested in the procedural side of the legislature.

J.B.: When you came in '41, how large was the capitol press corps?

Morris: Well, I was the first year around person in the capitol itself. The Associated Press had one or two men here, down the street. So far as I know, I was the first to be lodged there in the capitol itself.

J.B.: We've been impressed with both the size of the capitol press corps in Tallahassee and also its aggressiveness.

Morris: I understand that our press corps is second only to that of California in size.

J.B.: To what do you attribute to, what to us at least, is attributed the generally high quality insofar as aggressiveness in journalistic standards?

Morris: Well, I think there are several reasons. First, Florida is perhaps different from many states in that there is no dominant newspaper. There are large newspapers in Jacksonville, Orlando, St. Petersburg and Miami and some pretty good moderate sized newspapers elsewhere. That has set up a competitive situation here in the capitol, which has worked out, I think, very well for the public interest. I

think that may be the answer.

J.B.: There's a seeming willingness on the part publishers to invest more in capitol coverage than in most states.

Morris; Again, it's that competitive urge, I believe. I think there's another element there. Florida is still a frontier state, a state of ferment, a state of great growth, which offers the publishers a reason to push out constantly into new areas where people are coming in. In many states, it has become static and the circulation boundaries are fixed. There is not as much reason for the promotional efforts of good staffing at the capitol and elsewhere. When I came here, when I went back home from the '43 session and told Lee Hills of the Miami Herald that I thought the time had come for the Herald to open up a Tallahassee bureau, he said, "No, we are looking to the Latin Americans first." And they had several Latin American editions distributed by air. But I came back and signed up a number of papers. And pretty soon, there were a number of papers in. The Herald came in, the Tribune came in and I think that one stimulates another. It's a pretty healthy situation.

W.D.V.: Why was that competition good for the public interest?

Morris: It seems to me that whenever you have reporters that are competitively rooting around in the government, it's bound to be in the public interest. It makes for a better government if bureaucrats know that somebody is looking over their shoulders and telling the public what's going on.

W.D.V.: Was the capitol press corps largely responsible for the passage of the Sunshine Law?

Morris: I don't know whether it was largely responsible. I presume that it could be said so, although the idea did not originate in the press. It originated with a state senator from Gainesville who is now a judge. But

once he started pushing it and pushing it aggressively, he got a lot of help from them.

J.B.: What's his name?

Morris: Emory Cross. Ray Cross.

J.B.: Was the sit-in movement over in the senate, that dramatic sit-in movement by several reporters, was that a key factor in mobilizing support for that bill, was it a turning point?

Morris: No, the Sunshine Law had already been enacted. What the sit-in did was to put an end to executive sessions in the senate.

J.B.: The Sunshine Law allowed such, is that correct?

Morris: Yes, and the constitution still does. It just happened to coincide with reapportionment, which changed the complexion of the senate by causing what had been the minority to subsequently become the majority. They had a president of the senate, it turned up from a president of the senate, who had always been very press conscious and who had been more or less a darling of the press. And he suddenly was confronted with this and so he just decreed that there would be no more executive sessions and no one since then has attempted to have an executive session. But the provision for it is still in the constitution. There was a feeling among the press that executive sessions were being used for consideration of matters other than gubernatorial appointments and suspensions. That's what they were shooting to.

J.B.: When Governor Askew was in the legislature, particularly in the early days, when he was in the house and later in the senate, and you were, at least at the beginning part of that, were observing as a newsman, am I correct?

Morris: Uh-huh.

J.B.: Did he stand out at that time, in any way?

Morris: Yes. He stood out in a number of ways. Not the least of which was his stand on apportionment. His predecessors in the senate had been one of the troops in the Pork Chop Gang and while Representative Askew defeated him, it was still felt that the Panhandle of Florida was Pork Chop territory. So, I felt that he had taken his political future in his hands by some of the things that he did and said so in some columns that I wrote about him. I think that I first started paying attention to him when I learned that he, as a freshman member of the house, had returned a copy of a book of mine which had been sent to all members of the legislature by one of the interests. And he is the only person, so far as I know, who ever has returned one. He just didn't think that it was the right thing to do to accept gifts. I think that in subsequent years he realized that this really wasn't an effort to buy, it was an effort to better inform him and other members of the legislature. He got my eye when he did that. I presume that you know that I published a guide to the state government, it started in 1946 and is published every other year.

J.B.: I did not realize that it was published every other year.

W.D.V.: Is that the Florida Handbook?

Morris: Uh-huh. Since it is the only book in the field, it enjoys usage as a textbook in colleges and universities and some high schools, but only because it is the only thing that is available.

W.D.V.: How do we get one? How do we buy one?

Morris: Well, I hate to tell you, or I guess that I should be happy to tell you, that it is sold out of this edition and there will be a new one next April. It comes out coincidentally with the first regular session of the new legislature. This is what it looks like.

W.D.V.: I've seen it.

Morris: It's a repository of odd facts about the state, odds and ends, the "firsts", all that kind of stuff that needs to be tucked away, so that we don't have to burden our files. It's an outgrowth of a column that I wrote when I first came to Tallahassee. A column called, "About Florida" which appeared three times a week in some fifteen or sixteen newspapers. And it asked and answered three questions about the state. So, fairly soon, I accumulated such a pile of material, I also discovered that there were an awful lot of people in Florida that wanted to know about their state. Florida still has more than 50% of its people who were from other states and so, they had no way of learning about the state and many people had a genuine interest in it. So, it seemed to me that this would be a good way to get a secondary benefit out of this material and that in turn led to the establishment of the state photographic archives, because I wanted to illustrate the books and found that there was no place in the state that had a central photographic collection. So, the state's collection is out at the Stroesser (?) Library at FSU now. So, one thing just leads to another.

W.D.V.: How would you assess the various governors that you saw during that period from '48 on?

Morris: Well, one of the problems of making an assessment of governors or legislators or anything else in Florida is that the state has grown so fast that they are not faced with equal problems. I felt that Governor Warren's administration was one in which more things happened for the betterment of the state than any other. Many of the things that were started then were

brought to fruition in succeeding administrations. I'm sure that Governor Holland was a great governor, but he was governor during World War II when it was a holding operation, there wasn't anything that state government could have done. It couldn't even build roads. Governor Collins achieved, I suspect, the first national attention by a Florida governor since of the three friends filibuster days, the Cuban war days. But his administration in Florida was hamstrung by the events of integration and of reapportionment. He was the first governor to be elected to a successive term because he had been elected to the first complete term of the governor that died, so he had six years. Those six years were given over to intangibles, to high principles, I have a vast amount of respect for Governor Collins. But it's just unfortunate that he was fighting these moral issues and that he contributed a good deal toward bring Florida successfully through that period of transition on segregation and integration. They were stands that were certainly very unpopular, even in his own community and which, of course, had much to do with his defeat when he ran for the United States Senate. Governor Kirk received a great deal of national attention, too, but of a different kind.

W.D.V.: How about Askew?

Morris: Well, we are living in that part of history now. There's every reason to believe that he will be re-elected and if he is, he will be the first governor to be elected to two successive four year terms since the constitution was amended to make that possible. He has had an administration which has been almost . . . well, his office has been unblemished and he has quickly gotten rid of those minor appointees who were involved in questionable activities. He's extremely sensitive to moral questions. He hasn't changed since he came here as a representative.

J.B.: Is he different from other politicians in that respect, in Florida? Does he stand out as really being different?

Morris: Yes, I would think so. I don't want to fault Roy Collins, but I think that Governor Askew is even more of a Presbyterian in thinking than Governor Collins. And he's received some national attention. Florida is a large enough state to command some attention from national parties. It's not beyond the realm of possibility that he might be considered for national office before he goes out. The peculiar structure of Florida's state government means that a very important part of the governor's tradition is furnishing moral leadership. As we saw during Governor Kirk's administration, this state government can go on without the governor and even though there was a general reorganization in 1968, the members of the cabinet have a voice that equals that of the governor on boards that run the departments of the state, that run many of the departments of the state. So, it isn't as though you were in these states where the governor appoints the members of the cabinet.

W.D.V.: Has some of the power of the cabinet shifted or moved to the legislature or to the governor in the last ten years?

Morris: Both ways.

W.D.V.: Is that going to continue?

Morris: It well could in view of the upheaval in the cabinet these days. The legislature has, since '67, has considered itself as a coequal branch of the government for the first time. By reason of recent year round committees, staffing, the transfer of the auditor-general to the legislature branch from the executive. Up until then, the executive audited itself. Shifting it to the legislature has made considerable difference.

W.D.V.: So, you think that will continue?

Morris: I believe that the largest state department, the department of

health and rehabilitative services, HRS, is responsible solely to the governor. And that includes, health, welfare, prisons, hospitals, it's a big operation. It's a cradle to the grave deal.

J.B.: Could you give us a comparison and contrast to the way the legislature and particularly the senate, operated in the days of the Pork Chop Gang and the way it works now? The way it works in terms of responsiveness to public issues and concerns, as well as just modes of operation.

Morris: The rural domination of the senate in terms of the so-called Pork Chop days, I think was an expression by the senators of a concern about their constituents as individuals, whether Jim Jones was going to get this job as a game warden or as a guard at Rayburn or as an attendant in a mental hospital. The suburban legislature tends to think of people collectively across the board. Their honest concern about finding patronage jobs, I think, makes a big difference.

J.B.: So, they were more issue oriented, is that the basic difference?
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J.B.: . . . county government and local government as a result of reapportionment of the legislature?

Morris: The legislature has tried to give both cities and counties and the numerous special tax districts, well, the legislature has tried to give the city-county governments more home rule power. Counties can by ordinance do now what could only be done by a special act of the legislature previously.

J.B.: What would be some examples of this?

Morris: Well, if the specific county wished to provide garbage service

collection, it would have had to come to the legislature to get that authority. Now, they can do it by an ordinance. They had no ordinance making authority prior to a few years ago.

J.B.: Does each county have its own county government, in the form of what? A county council type?

Morris: It has a commission.

J.B.: Is that uniform statewide?

Morris: It is except in the charter counties? And those are the metropolitan areas, Dade-Miami, Jacksonville-Duval. I believe that Sarasota and Volusia counties have variations. All the rest are uniform at the moment.

J.B.: How many members on each commission?

Morris: Five.

J.B.: And are they usually elected by districts or county-wide?

Morris: They must live in the district but are elected county-wide.

J.B.: J.B.: Did they exist before the changes in reapportionment, or they just had very little power?

Morris: That's true. And the legislature has had considerable difficulty and has not been too successful in persuading these counties and cities to take on the powers that they have available to them. They would prefer to spread the heat by being able that the legislature has required them to do this and that. So, it is still an evolving still an evolving situation.

J.B.: Is there much in the way of state revenue sharing with the counties and ~~municipalities~~ municipalities?

Morris: Yes, a great deal of it. A great deal, the state has taken

over the cost of local government, the schools

J.B.: But there is no statewide property tax, am I correct in that?

Morris: No, that was abandoned to the local areas in '39 or '41.

W.D.V.: Do you know how long Florida has had this cabinet system? Is it a long standing insititution or did it just evolve that way? But it is unique in the country.

Morris: The beginning of the cabinet system was, I suspect, around almost from the start. By the Civil War, it seems probably that the comptroller, treasurer, secretary of state, attorney general . . . in some periods during Reconstruction, the governor could appoint the members of the cabinet. But beginning with 1885, the cabinet was fully and independently elected and has been ever since. Each of the cabinet officers has his own constituency, his own political base. That's one of the reasons why there's not the cohesiveness that you might find elsewhere. The commissioner of agriculture, agriculture is his balliwick. The insurance commissioner, the attorney general, control banks, mortgages, money lending institutions across the board.

W.D.V.: But their power comes from their being able to act collectively as boards. That's unique, isn't it?

Morris: Yes. I understand that it is. They tell me that it is not like anything else in the country.

W.D.V.: That is changing, though?

Morris: It is changing somewhat. There's no great change that has yet appeared. Much will depend upon events that are marching on and we don't know where they will end up.

J.B.: How many Republicans in the legislature thisyear, do you know

offhand?

Morris: There are forty-four in the house, I think that's the way it works out, forty-three Republicans and seventy-seven Democrats.

J.B.: How about in the senate? Do you offhand know?

Morris: Twenty-five Democrats and fourteen Republicans.

J.B.: So, really, the Republicans haven't shown any great gains in the past four years or so, have they?

Morris: No, they have held their own. The Republicans had a complete slate for cabinet officers in the last general election and they will probably field one this time. Politics being the turmoil that it is in Florida today, they well could establish a beachhead by getting one member in the cabinet. As you know, the commissioner of education was recently indicted, resigned, because otherwise he could have been impeached. The comptroller is being investigated by the federal grand jury in Tampa. The insurance commissioner is being investigated by the county grand jury here and no one knows where it will all end. It is just bound to have an effect on all matters political.

W.D.V.: Have there been many attempts at impeachment other than Tom Adams?

Morris: That was the first of the officers of the executive department. All the others that reached impeachment stage were all judges, but there weren't many of those.

W.D.V.: But Adams was the first one? In the executive branch? And that failed?

Morris: Articles of impeachment were brought in by the individual member against a governor, but that's as far as it went. Articles were presented or about to be presented against the treasurer around the turn of

the century. He resigned, but Adams was the first impeachment articles that were finally and actually brought to the floor of the house. It makes for an interesting situation now that he is running against the governor.

J.B.: Florida certainly has had a political year this year. Do you feel that there is going to be any change or substantial upheaval in politics this year in the state?

Morris: I would not be surprised. It appears that there is a chance for upheaval everywhere in the country this year. Which way it will go, no one knows. One of the interesting phenomena to me that makes up politics, is that people are quite critical of the legislature collectively, but seem to me, in most cases, to be quite happy with their own representative or senator. So you may hear a great deal of talk about change that might not be reflected as a result of the elections.

J.B.: Do you consider the Florida legislature currently, and by currently, I mean the last two years, four years, the modern Florida legislature is truly responsive to the people of this state?

Morris: Yes, I would think so.

J.B.: The question that we keep asking people, and you are probably the person of all people that we need to ask the question, and that is, "Do you consider Florida a southern state?"

Morris: No, I would not think so. As we remarked earlier, more than half of the people in Florida today were born elsewhere. And I suspect that a great many of that 50 something percent came here in the prime of their lives, not as children. And they came here from Ohio and Pennsylvania, New York. They have the southernness of this state. There has been tremendous in-migration from Georgia and Alabama. But I think that by far, a

greater number of people have come in from the North. And that percentage is going up all the time, because of retirement plans and the thought that your dollar will stretch further in a warm climate.

J.B.: To what do you attribute the percentage of the vote that George Wallace received here in 1972 in the presidential primary? How much of that was racial appeal and how much something else.

Morris: Well, I have no way of looking into the minds of people, but I suspect that it was the same sort of protest vote that was cast in Michigan, Wisconsin.

J.B.: In your opinion, if you had a presidential primary here and people considered it really decisive in determining who might get the nomination of the Democratic party, how in your own mind, just from the feel of the state and from the feel of the people, do you think it would come out in a head to head race between Governor Askew and Governor Wallace?

Morris: Well, I think it would be difficult, but Askew, I think, would take it, just because it's local pride. I think that people, in a national contest, would want their own state's governor to appear well. But against anybody else, there is very little doubt in my mind that Wallace would carry Florida again. The situation hasn't changed in that he's a protest candidate. There is much to protest in today's life.

J.B.: Going back to that little poll you took of the ten senators, who would be the ten people you think would come up today if you took the same poll?

Morris: I couldn't answer that off the cuff. They wouldn't be those ten, I can tell you. Television has made such a difference in political campaigns. You asked whether the state legislature of today was responsive to

the people. . . I think that the legislature of the 1940's was responsible to the constituency that those members represented. It is just a different base now. When a senator represented a county with 2500 people and was elected by maybe 400 of those people, he tended to be extremely conservative and took care of getting jobs for a few. He couldn't see paying school teachers a great deal because the local teacher was the wife of a mailman or the butcher, so their combined salaries, of which he would be aware, would be quite large. And he knew that she wasn't going to move away because of the salary. She was caught up in it. So, they represented their constituency as they saw it and the constituency was happy with it. They didn't care what the metropolitan newspapers said about them. The Tribune maybe had possibly a circulation of five in that senator's district. They probably didn't sell a single copy in the county of the president of the senate. The only way that he ever knew what the paper said about him was that somebody would send him a clipping. By shifting the base to the suburbs, they are responsive to the people, and responsive to the press and by the press, I mean the media generally, because most of the t.v. stations in Florida use editorials.

J.B.: You've made the point that most of the senators in those days were responsive to their constituency, but how about those senators that came from a large county or a metropolitan area?

Morris: Well, they were hamstrung, you see. There were not enough of them. You see, Dade was represented. It was a million people, and it was represented by one senator. Jefferson County next door was 2700 people and it was represented by one senator. Dade's senator was lucky just to hold on. He did not have any significant influence in the state. He was always being

pushed to the corner by his own papers, by their insistence on fair reapportionment. They had a very awkward, difficult time. But much good came out of these old legislators. You see, the only real point of difference . . . how the name actually evolved, of Pork Chop Gang, was over apportionment. The MFPEE or the Minimum Foundation Plan for Equality Education developed in Florida during the Pork Chop days. The University system developed, a chain of various hospitals developed . It wasn't all that bad. But Florida had to do a lot of catching up fast from when the population jumped. From before World War I, it was probably a million, or a million and a half. So, that there was an enormous influx of people after World War II. It has been one of the peculiarities of growth in Florida that it has followed each war, beginning with the Civil War. There was a great growth after the Spanish American War and after World War I. The biggest group came after World War II and probably as a result of more retirees. There were certainly tens of thousands of young men, and some young women, exposed to Florida's climate at the training camps that were all over the state. Many of those came back here, people who were soldiers, sailors, that were based here from other states and liked Florida's warmth.

J.B.: Are you a native of Florida?

Morris: No, I'm from Chicago.

J.B.: You came here when?

Morris: '22.

J.B.: How did you happen to come here?

Morris: My father was responding to the appeal of an exhibit by a real estate development called Coral Gables, which has developed into a rather large city. But they sort of spread the pleasantries of life down here . . . fishing, which he liked. So, he went down to Miami.

J.B.: Is there anyone or any institute at Florida State, or at any

of the other state universities that does in effect a post-election analysis each year?

Morris: Yes, at Florida State University there is one . . . its name changes from time to time, but the man to call is Dr. Elston Brodie and it's . . . (tape turned off)

J.B.: Just on the surface, do you perceive any great changes in people from an occupational standpoint now from before reapportionment? Are there more lawyers or less, I presume that it might be true of farmers.

Morris: Yes, we have done some studying of that and they types have changed. I think that the number of lawyers is about the same, but the changes reflect the changes in the state. We have commercial airlines pilots, entomologists, a couple of undertakers

(end of interview)