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MR. WILLIAM GODFREY JAMES

INTERVIEWER: PETER KLINGMAN
TRANSCRIBER: DWS

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GIVE US
~~Here's~~ some basic biographical material. Where YOU WERE ~~he was~~ born, ~~his~~ education, and how YOU GOT ~~he became~~ interested in Republican politics and so on.

J: I born in Boyton Beach, FLORIDA in 1930. Attended schools in Boyton up until about 1945 when my mother died. I went to Washington, D.C. and attended Anacostia High School. Southeast section — Forty-five Forty-six. Part of FORTY-seven, came back to Delray Beach, Florida in 1947 , Christmas time. And graduated from Delray Beach High School in 1947. He entered following September, ~~in~~ the University of Florida — started off in a prelaw course but then in my senior year because of having taken ROTC and knowing that I had a commitment to go during the Korean War, I switched from prelaw to sales and sales management. Got a BC - BA degree, in ~~And~~ sales and sales management in 1950, and entered the Army in September '51. Returned ~~We turned~~ back to Delray Beach and married also, '51 - November. We returned back to Delray Beach in '53. Sold appliances here in Delray for nearly about two to three years. Sales manager for a local appliance firm.

J: Opened the insurance business, general insurance in 1956, and it was somewhere around the Goldwater days that my actual involvement other being interested in college and helping other people get elected. I worked in campus politics to the extent of being one of the workers who made signs and did that type of thing. No extra seeking or running for office myself.

K: - Were you ever appointed to ~~the~~ a student government office?

J: I was never appointed. I do remember the Varsity Party. The Varsity Party was defeated I remember, what we call ~~that type of~~ at that time the Varsity Party. I remember because our president won the Varsity Party election night. ~~Jeopardized~~ by JUMPING OUT OF an airplane over the DRILL FIELD WITH THE CAMPAIGN . . . . ~~campaign jumping over the ghetto~~ He had jumped before the vice president ~~knocked~~ HAD NOT and almost got himself hung up in the telephone wires, but then in the ~~Jeff~~ DRAFT Goldwater days, committees formed here locally ~~and shaping~~ were seeking to assist and trying to get to the point of the National Convention ~~nominating~~ to nominate Barry Goldwater to the presidential candidacy in 1964. Prior to that we worked

J: of course, in '60 for President Nixon, but ~~that's~~ NOT IN the way we got involved, ~~got into Jeff~~ STARTING ~~IN~~ with THE DRAFT Goldwater movement. We started meeting people around the state other people ~~in~~ ~~that~~ ~~part of~~ outside our own locality. and uh,

K: - How did you become involed? What kinds of things did you personally do?

J: Well, in the Goldwater Campaign, I started out being on a local committee. Here ~~from~~ ~~Pompano and~~ Delray Beach appointed ~~Jdff~~ draft Goldwater and then, later, when Congressman Cramer and others got involved, I became the chairman of ~~it~~ the Palm Beach County for Goldwater in 1964. And there were two facts ~~that~~ and this had to do with the slate. I worked ~~as~~ with the chairman of the Goldwater slate, ~~and for~~ which was an ~~the conquest~~ unpledged slate, who also said that they were Goldwater people, ~~and~~ but ~~that~~ they were running as ~~conflabs.~~ ~~taxpayers~~ unpledged. The Goldwater people were running as delegates ~~going to get to~~ as Goldwater delegates specifically ~~I guess as specifies~~ and when the election ~~is~~ was over with ~~the onplayers~~ the unpledged won more seats than the ~~players~~ pledged by far, but we did get a lot of votes from it. The people who took over then at that time then made myself and another fellow, ~~that when he was named~~ I'm trying to remember his name, Fogleson, ~~on of us~~, Hendleson and I guess was his name myself cochairman, for Goldwater in Palm Beach county in '64. ~~to go with him~~. Then it was after the '64 election, ~~it was not~~ people started talking about why don't you get involved in the Republican party, ~~There was a~~ Unstructure and the mechanics of it.

It was suggested that I could ~~write~~ run for the

J: State committee, the next time the job was open. so I did run in 1966 with the State Committee and won that race. And then I went to the state convention in Tampa, where we selected the chairman and ran for the district vice chairman and got that chairman, got that particular position. Then, in '67, shortly thereafter, the special election, came up. I ran for the Florida House of Representatives and was elected in March of 1967. I ran for reelection for Florida House in '68 and at that time didn't have any Republican or Democrat opposition. ~~and~~ Our(?) candidates outnumbered the Democrats two to one. Then, in 1970, I had to run again for the state committeeman's job. And didn't spend any of my money because I was saving my money for the Senate race, that I was going to be involved in. and I won again the state committeeman's job for four years. I didn't run for district vice chairman because the chairman, the new chairman, Tommy Thomas, ~~and only~~ had already asked ~~him~~ me to take a position ~~and he was bored~~ on his board where he has appointments. He ~~just appointed~~ was to appoint(?) the legal ~~council~~ counsel and legislative ~~council~~ ~~counsel~~ COUNSEL. ~~and after that~~ So he appointed me as his ~~administrative~~ legislative counsel. ~~and maybe~~ Of course, ... and later after that he went to the Nixon administration and ~~part Congress~~ U.S. Dept of Commerce and he resigned ~~the~~ had to ~~his~~ as a (?) state committee member. He resigned from any active party participation whatsoever. Resigned from the US Department of ~~Congress.~~ Commerce

J: nine months later in June 1972 because I decided that I wanted to run for office again.

? ~~Congressman~~ as a employee and run for the ~~Court~~ Florida House of Representative again November of '72, and was reelected.

K: - OK. That's right. I think it ~~was~~ is a very impressive ~~Thank you~~ background for providing an insight into Republican politics in Florida, and ~~and Florida~~ politics in the State, in this period of time. I'd like to begin because of what you said about your earlier party activities. Begin with ~~Jack~~ draft Goldwater, the ~~Jack~~ draft Goldwater movement. What period of time ——

G. Herald Alexander was up in the primary leadership of the party structures. such as it was. What do you remember about the man? How close were you associated with him? And what kind of an effect did he have on people who were working at this level? J: Personally, I didn't have any contact or knowledge other that what I was told and what I heard and what I had seen, as a result of his behind the scenes manipulation of the department.

K: -What have you seen? What did you see that made you somewhat? ——?

J: Well, his handpicked chairmen, ~~and as~~ was ? (name) Tom Fairfield Brown ~~is in~~ over in the Tampa area. And I saw a party that you couldn't, that when you read over the state committee list, of the people involved, you found ~~both~~ most of them, had grown up in those jobs. They were elected to them every forufour years,

J: time and time again. They didn't seek out people that were running for office local wide or statewide. They were interested primarily only in whether or not we had a Republican president or they were involved in the campaign of a Republican president for the benefits that they might receive from Washington, but they couldn't relate nor could they even believe that they could have successes in the State of Florida. And because of their ingrained sort of ~~ringing~~ defeatist attitude on the local and statewide basis we were not developing grass root Republicanism in the State. They were not interested in going into precincts or going into counties and cities and seeing the Republican Party come up from Grassroots. They wanted to come down from Washington to the few post office appointments ~~points~~ and ~~if you could~~ a few judicial appointments and things of this nature. It seemed to be the only thing that they cared for and in many instances some of these people were only on the state committee because their relatives were already postmasters or had some appointments, gotten formed from state committee positions orthey were on the committee because it met every four years. Somebody paid their way to the convention. so they could vote for whoever paid the person their way told them to vote for them in the election.

K: - Do you have any personal contact with Mr. ~~Bryant~~ Brown?

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J: Yes, I did meet Mr. ~~Bryan~~ Brown and did have some conversations with him.

And even though, I think that ~~Bryan~~ Tom Fairfield (Brown) was a ~~pretty~~ very fine gentleman

a ~~pretty~~ very nice man, someone you could enjoy having as friend or ~~in a frame of~~ acquaintances

~~On~~ a social basis, but his vision was too limited to even conceive ~~there'd~~ that there would be

a Republican governor or Republican senators from the state and the

majority of the Republicans in the House or ~~even~~ the Senate ~~and~~ even or enough (that's

to become of some importance and had a meaningful effect ~~had me~~ upon what transpired and

what policies ~~that~~ were set in the state. I don't think that he could see

court houses changing over and he could see the ~~student~~ officers (constitutional law?) becoming,

Republicans It was just to him . . I don't think that he could vision ~~the~~

thing thing happening.

K: - It wasn't then so much that he might have been opposed to that happening ~~but what~~.

he couldn't ~~see~~ simply see IT practically speaking in his own terms?

J: I think so for himself. Now G. Harold (?) Alexander ____ I don't think that

he wanted that. He had reservations when we talked to different people,

who had run for office and had (on) G. Harold Alexander's dominance in the party. He ~~even~~

Would say, "We want to help you and to get a check to you on a certain day."

~~would say~~.

~~day~~ And then the check would arrive after the the final date for receiving

contributions and sometimes even after election. I think that ~~Fogison~~ that Congressman Kramer

use to have one on his office wall. ~~wall.~~

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they sent it to him because

J: but he didn't cash ~~is he sent it~~ when ~~because~~ it came in after the results of the

~~on it.~~

election. So he sent it back and instead of cashing it, he just framed ~~claimed~~ it.

remind

to him that Harold G. Alexander really wasn't interested in seeing Republican

to ~~the party~~ Congress or to any other high office.

elected ~~or in many other items~~.

Obviously,

K: - You were upset with this kind of thing. you weren't alone

in feeling disconten te d with the way Republican Party ~~things~~ were moving. in the state was

~~How~~? Who and how did the so-called Reform group get together? What happened?

Who was involved?

J: Well, my problem started when locally we didn't have a young Republican

organizations in the South County. The one in the West Palm Beach area had

become pretty dormant. So we were invited to go to a meeting one night

in Boca Raton, ~~and~~ they were going to organize a yOung Republican group .

K: - Who was going to organize it?

J: ~~Tony~~ an attorney at Delray Beach or BocaRaton. At the present time. And all I

know is ~~a young~~ that it was a young attorney and he's the one who made the call and I made

some calls and ~~other~~ people I work with ~~got~~ I got the together the in the draft Goldwater who were some young

men and women in the area and we attended the meetings and

found out that we had more people there than they ~~did~~ had and in thinking

about listening to what this gentleman had to say about

J: what he wanted to accomplish and what he wanted to do, we sort of had an informal caucus around the room and decided that instead of going with their slate, I'd run for president and organized the chairman and I'd control the organization as ~~the chair~~ chairman rather than this gentleman who didn't have the confidence in his (title) so we had an election in even though he called a meeting that was the last time that we ever saw him.

K: - Can you tell me where the meeting ~~is~~ was at?

J: It was held in Boca Raton Community Hospital. They were starting to (begin) in a hospital in Boca Raton and had this building on the present site of the hospital. Someone allowed us to meet in there that night.

K: - Can you date the meeting?

J: It was in 1965.

K: - Any idea of the month at the time? of the year?

J: I can't recall. I probably have it somewhere in my records. ~~You~~ I can probably find it and give it to you, but I can't remember exactly. ~~because~~ But I remember, ~~he~~ I recall that it was afterward that I was elected. ~~You know,~~ And the way that the organization works, it was ~~a turn of the~~ that the chairman of each club

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J: ~~Beach Club~~ becomes then ~~came~~ on the executive bo ard of the state, the Young Republican federation.

K: - This is what happened to you?

This is what happened to me.

J: I went to being chairman to the next mmeeting that they had, the next ~~and at the~~ district meeting. It was the district meeting, sitting around talking to other young Republicans around the state ———

K: - Where was that now?

J: It was in Gainsville.

K: - And can you date that?

J: No. I thought it was in Gainesville, Florida but it was Ocala. It was in Ocala. ~~Right~~ Out near Silver Springs. And that was in - probably . . . I can't remember what time of the year it was.

K: - It still would have been in '65?

J: Yeah, I believe ~~it was.~~ in '65.

K: - '65., OK

IT WAS ~~at that~~ that (that produced some of)?

J: ~~At that~~ meeting ~~there were the kinds of~~ The people who were interested in running for governor. ~~management and govern ment. And it was their meeting.~~ (?)

K: - OK no problem.

J: What we did at the meeting - ~~we~~ was ~~did~~ meet and talk with other young Republicans

around the state
or that we are concerned about the fact. Why have an organization? Why work? Why have an organization? Just to elect president or to try to get votes for the president. Why not try toget people elected to offices ~~to~~ in the State of Florida? ~~I mean~~ not only in the county ~~and~~ but the state itself and discuss why you hear a lot of about the G. Harold Alexanders, the Total Murphy Browns, the "do-nothings". The status quo Republican organization ~~and that~~ that existed and that there should be some way that we could change things to ~~becoming~~ become a more active and become activist as it were in getting ~~young~~ people elected to the state committee. Getting people involved as chairman of the state committee. Actively seek monies, and seek candidates for office, and oppose Democrats everyplace that we possibly had ~~we have~~ a chance, and even in some places where we didn't have a chance to win.

K:- So sometime in late 1965, this small group of young Republicans began the first, was it at this meeting? Was there a plan for it or did this come later or was this still an airing of dissent?

J: We started talking about it and some of us started having meetings. And when I say some of us - there was a very small number of people.

K:- Can you remember any of the people?

~~Steeple and Gar,~~ The people involved were

J: Bill Murphin (Murphry?), up here in Hope Sound, in Martin County, a good friend of his and still is, with him wherever Bill Murphy is today

J: named Jack Cary. You had Fred Hagin from the Orlando area. You had Lou Frye from the Winter Park area. You had a Bill Taylor from Jacksonville area. You had a Ray Griffin from Pinellas County. Bill Shields from the Fort Myers area. Willard or Bill Dover from Broward County, and Bob Corselius from Dade County. And myself and a young man named Hal Strayman which was involved at the time. I know exactly when it all fit together as far as the time schedule, but to do this young Republicans needed money or we needed in order to do what we wanted to do.

The young Republicans didn't have the money to build that organization, so a young Republican Foundation type thing was done.

K: - Who started that?

J: It was started by the young Republicans Federation, but it was controlled mostly by the people, most the people I just mentioned. This nucleus of people and the meeting was held at Maytag (Martina Marquita?) in Miami. It was explained to her what needed to be done, with she had been active in the Goldwater campaign, and she was also interested in young Republicans because that she thought all these young men and women that had come along could form the basis and foundation of the future of the Republican Party.

K: - Did you personally attend? She had lunch with

J: I did not personally attend the meetings. several of them

I believe it was where they had lunch.

in Dade County. They outlined the plan that they have been

able to accomplish and take over, if you want to call it that, of the

Republican Party. And her financing was I believe, the check that she gave

the ~~branch~~ bunch was somewhere around $20,000.00. $20,000 ~~that could be~~ was to used

for salary and expenses. To split the state ~~in~~ to two sections

and to assign one person to go and talk to all the state committee people

in the northern part of the state, one in the southern part of the counties

to explain to them what kind of Republican Party we should have

what could be accomplished if people on the state commitee were

actively attempting to find canvass to raise money and to push the philosophy

~~and recording.~~ of our party.

K: - This meeting would have occurred sometime again in late 1965 or early

1966, with Margaret Maytag. At this point and in time, Did G. Harold Alexander or Tom~~ker Field~~ Fairfield

Brown have any idea that you were doing this kind of thing?

J: Not until after they actually put the people in the ? Up to

this particular time I don't believe that they had any knowledge of it.

They may have, but I don't believe so. And the two people that ~~who~~ were

eventually hired to do the job were Hal Stayman and Chuck ~~Merriweather.~~ Marquard

K: - Who worked where?

J: Chuck ~~Newburough~~ Marquard ~~had on~~ handled the north end of the state. ~~Hal Stayman~~ Marquard was more nearly sort of a country boy from Indiana, I believe, and it was thought that he would fit into the rural, country people of North Florida, in the Western Panhandle, ~~And~~ and that Hal Stayman was sort of a city slicker. And it was figured that he could talk to the people that were representing the state committee from Dade County and Broward County, and Palm Beach and relate to them a little bit better. And, also, in the more populous and urban areas he would have a ~~if they had a~~ better chance. And then each one of them went around and they would report back. ~~Rather~~ we started to have meetings in Orlando, Miami, Broward County, and ~~varying~~ various places and they would make their calls. They would come back and report on how these particular people felt. These people were willing to go along with us in an overthrow or reform movement. These people are not. These people are dedicated to G. Harold Alexander and then we would see who we had in those particular counties ~~Canvass~~, and ~~then the~~ in the young Republicans itself just in the community, that could or in ~~in~~ the party run ~~ran~~ against those people, and had a ~~didn't have a~~ chance, to beat them in an ~~the~~ election.

K: -Could we stop long enough to see if we can't draw up some profiles of typical Republican united in support of G. Harold Alexander's faction? and typical Republicans who would have thought in terms of reform? Were, for example, the Republicans in support of Alexander generally older Republicans by age?

J: Yes.

K: - Were they generally wealthier Republicans? in terms of economic living?

J: You had both of them that way. You had some in the southen part of the state or central part of the state, that had a good deal of money or had had a comfortable living, but you had some in North Florida that from what I know of them, didn't have ~~well~~, they were just old er Republicans who had been the only Republican maybe in the, Maybe they had a brother or sister who that was a big Democrat, And it seemed that there was some counties in North Florida where it was a good thing to have your brother the big man the Democratic ~~He'd~~ be the big man, Maybe the only man in the Republican Party, ~~that~~ happened ~~to be~~ on your side, ~~You~~ have a door open that your ~~buddy~~ took care of going the other direction. Some of them seemed to be that kind of people. I'm not criticizing some of those who are still on there because some of these people continued to be elected.

J: we were able to convince , I think, over a period of time, late that it a future and was time to start being that way and start thinking about see that it could happen, that this thing could be done, either a strong two party state or hopefully someday a Republican state.

K: - OK so after these two men went into the field and again have a series of meetings. Was a formal plan set up ? A time table organization? Chart? How soon this was going to occur and ? ?

J: It was all planned for the '66 elections because it only happened every four years and there was no way — we didn't want to wait five years, and five and a half years, ~~for one South American to yield~~ we wanted something to happen immediately, ~~so that we could~~ for something to get off the ground.

K: - Did anyone consider, before the election, Did anybody consider going to G. Harold Alexander and just simply asking him to resign? Or was that something that he just never would have considered doing anyway?

J: Well, it wasn't a question of getting him to resign because at this particular point he was not the chairman.

K: Fairfield ~~Brown~~, I mean Bryant, getting ~~Brown~~ Bryant out?

J: I think ~~that~~ Tom Fairfield ~~Brown~~ Bryant was talked to. I think that we sent... I can't remember whether it was ~~Morgan~~ Stayman, but we had several more than people, I

J: think, talk~~ed about there for awhile~~ to Tom Fairfield Brown. And see what his feelings were about working with ideas we had instead They came back with the same th ing that I said earlier which was more or less the conclusion that it was impossible with Tom Fairfield Brown ~~to comment for a while~~

K:- He was ~~trying~~ tied to G. Harold Alexander.

J:

and ~~that~~ G. Harold Alexander was impossible because if he couldn't run things, ~~or~~ if he couldn't control things, ~~that~~ then he didn't want to be involved on the basis that he was just a participant. He had to be a heavy hand or he didn't want to be involved. The one thing we didn't do ~~and~~ is nobody in the group never talked about who the chairman would be, nor candidate for chairman was ever discussed, almost to our great loss. We were out checking around and talking to people and it finally got to a point that people were saying, you know, "who are you suggesting?" You are saying that we ought to get rid of Tom Fairfield Brown, we ought to get rid of the G. Harold Alexander group, but who are you suggesting? Is somebody capable of leading the party to be the chairman? And they would ~~turn~~ come back in and tell ~~them~~ us that they ~~could get in~~ were getting this kind of problem. I saw Mrs. So and So ~~with~~ and Mr. So and So ~~who the other~~ wants to know who's our candidate, what candidate are we ~~are~~ going to get? Of course We were not calling ourselves anybody.

J: We were not calling ourselves a particular faction or a particular group we were just interested people. In fact I think ~~in fact~~ our "group" was about ~~had~~ the best name ~~that~~ we ever had for ourselves, just the group. We had met in and Port St. Lucie, I believe, discussed the problems of not having a charter. But ~~So~~ we didn't settle it at that particular point. ~~yet.~~ We later met in Orlando, at that hotel north of Orlando and at that particular point in time , we selected Bill Murphin to be the chairman.

K: How did he become the choice?

J: He was the one man who said that he could take the time from his business and still be able to survive, if He ran for chairman and got elected chairman. Lu Frye was in the..Senator Gurney's law partner at the time. And ~~we~~ he had been pretty well told that ~~the~~ if he got directly involved in trying to throw somebody out or to get involved as the chairman, it might be bad for his law practice. It might be bad ~~for~~ from the income ~~tax~~ standpoint. ~~people.~~ I was involved in ~~one~~ a one-man insurance business and ~~didn't~~ couldn't see how I could take time out to travel around the state to talk to all these people. And then, if I got elected, I didn't have enough time to get to the party ~~to~~ and do the job. And we thought that he wouldn't be a one-man chairman. There would be enough ~~men to assist~~ people assisting him in policies and decisions and whatever you got.

J; And any one of us selected we might be ~~taken off the roll~~ because the rest of the group more or less ~~is prohibited~~ to do anything to assist in the campaign and to make contributions for traveling around the state, to help raise money to pay for the campaign. Then, if elected and after elected to ~~have enough~~ time to get to the Party todo the job. And we felt that he wouldn't be a one man chairman that there would be enough men to assist him in policies and decisions and whatever you got. ~~Then,~~ anyone of us that was selected would not be taking the job on his own. The rest of the group would more or less committed to do anything that they could, to assist in the campaigning, to make contributions toward traveling around the state and to pay for the campaign, ~~and~~ if elected and after elected, to give of their time to attend meetings, To meet before the regular meeting if necessary ~~and~~ to put together agendas ~~and all~~ draft ideas to be presented to committee, that is financing plans or whether it was candidate selection or whatever. And so he was the one who said, I think ~~that they~~ sent Hal Stayman out of the room because he was being paid and then the rest of us voted on who we wanted. And we finally arrived at the concensus of Bill Murphin.

K- Did he want the job?

J: He wanted the job. He was a bit bashfull about it. He was a very bashful person. He didn't like to ~~talk~~ speak too much, publicly and had never done any public speaking, ~~And maybe~~ had never got in front of a group to speak before. And he had real serious... I mean He was hesitant about accepting ~~that~~ the nomination of ~~the student~~ group saying you're going to be the man who's going to go out and say you're running for chairman, ~~and~~ it scared him, I think, and rightly so . It would scare ~~anybody,~~ anyone, particularly someone ~~who~~ that really wasn't that outgoing, ~~not~~ or that used to being out in front of the general public. ~~Having~~ Handling meetings, ~~and~~ later, ~~putting~~ or anything. We had to put little sessions on some ~~concessions~~ to go over parliamentary prodecures, with ~~them~~ him and teach ~~them~~ him some of the basics that would be necessary . In fact, when he got elected, we had to stop the meeting and take him out in ~~an~~ the other room and work with him, and then take him back in ~~and~~ to let him ~~set because~~ accept. He was dumbfounded and speechless it ~~was~~ would have been embarrassing, ~~when~~ we stopped it all and took him out to get ~~it~~ him all put together. We came back in and he did pretty good. It was quite some time before he was able to give a speech without He'd take one foot and hide it behind the other. He was a great guy. but we thrust something on him that wasn't his cup of tea at the time. He later grew into it real easily.

K - I think that it is understandable in front of anybody. I wouldn't worry about it.

So the state executive committee convention is that what ~~you're implying?~~ When the election starts?

J: Well, you first have to have the state, you have to have the elections because our people are elected in their various counties. The state committee ~~manager~~ men and ~~member~~ committeewomen were elected by the Republicans in their particular areas. And so ~~Arco~~ we ran. I ran here and others ran in other parts of the state. Bill Murphin that were of this group. and different ones around the state because you to get elected to be considered even a candidate for anything. And you certainly couldn't take over unless you got enough votes.

So with the people who were existing on the committee that ~~who~~ were running for re-election, along with the people we were able to run as candidates, that were ~~permitted~~ committed to ~~run~~ us, either as men or women who were committed to us, we were able to come up with a large number of the hundred and ~~some~~ something possible, two people ~~of~~ From each of the sixty-seven counties, and the only competition we had at the ~~that~~ convention didn't turn out to be Thom Fairfield ~~Bryant~~ Brown, because by the time our work was done, another group backing Charles and Holly over in Pinellas area got their work done, he ended up with just a hand full of people, ~~there~~ left that were in G.H. Harold Alexander's corner. And in the corner of Thom Fairfield ~~Bryant~~ Brown.

K- When and where was the actual convention held?

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J: It took place in Tampa, in June of 1966.

K- And at this meeting, how did the.. how much preliminary work was there at ~~when~~ the meeting, when it began and voting take place? Were they unusual that incidences?

J: We used the same methods that we used in our young Republican Federations and our clubs, In ~~And~~ that we made up a chart ~~among~~ of the people, who they were, and and caucus with them and to keep our accounts because, of course, in political organizations such as the delegate Convention, and when you have a limited number of people who can vote, it's much easier to handle ~~them~~ than running for public office. As long as you got people sitting with them, ~~lookin, &~~ baby sitting, ~~and~~ making sure that they don't change, you've got ~~we~~ ~~on~~ them committed. We had our committed, we had ~~we have~~ our questionables, we had the ones that were definite for somebody else, and ~~knowing~~ during the caucus ~~is~~ around on the, ~~and~~ I guess it was the Friday night before the Saturday vote took place, it became evident that ~~by the time~~ Tom Fairfield ~~Bryant~~ Brown was no longer a threat, ~~which they were.~~ whatsoever.

K- Who was backing Charles Holley and where did this group come from?

J: Completely out of Pinellas County and this would be some of Cramer's people around the state. ~~They~~ IF were outside of Pinellas County, They were basically friends of the

Cramers.

K - Were they a group that was backing Charles Hollow to oppose your group?
Or were they backing Charles Hollow to oppose ~~Dr.~~ Tom Fairfield ~~Bryant~~ Brown?

if you understand the meaning of the question.

J: A little bit of both. I think primarily they didn't think that we were going to get enough votes to wrestle control away from G.H. Harold Alexander because we were for the most part in their minds considered to be people without any political experience, background, and knowledge of how these things work and so how could we expect to pull off this particular victory. And they ~~We~~ felt that ~~maybe~~ some of them were older Republicans who ~~that~~ were fed up with G. L. Alexander and Thom Fairfield ~~Bryant~~ Brown. They thought that they were better able to handle it, And, if elected, could they ~~were~~ better able to handle ~~it than me.~~ the committee. so they were sort of wanting to get rid of G.~~R.~~ Harold Alexander, ~~and~~ but at the same time they didn't trust our control and didn't trust whether or not we could wrestle with that control, but we made a deal during the night with G.~~L.~~ Harold Alexander's people and ended up ~~with 14.50,~~ I think it was fourteen or fifteen, ~~benefit~~ but it was enough. It became meaningful with not knowing whether some of your doubtfuls ~~doctors~~ would go to Holly or not, but we agreed and to let Harry ~~O'~~Scooley from over in Lee County take a position - he wanted district vice chariman, but ~~that~~ I had already spoken for that.

I think that ~~they~~ we made him the assistant secretary.

J: ~~They~~ That, put him on the executive board, ~~and~~ we did something with a couple of others, ~~and~~ so they disliked, the G.H. Alexander group disliked the Bill Cramer group and the Holly group ~~wouldn't~~ more than they disliked ~~this~~ us, so when they saw that they were out of it, they came with us. So we were able to have their support, which more or less just closed out the Cramer people totally. ~~We~~ were in and we were going to win. ~~and~~ the balance of the night and the next morning, all we did was make sure that our people ~~came~~ ate with us and talked with us ~~on~~ only and stayed away from being talked into, you know, leaving the fold. And we won on the first ballot. ~~we~~ They tried to have a closed -- I believe that somebody suggested a closed ballot. ~~We~~ I have a philosophy, have a closed ballot ~~and~~ when you are going to lose, but if you think that you are going to lose, we'll ~~take you over there and~~ make you stand up and say it aloud. ~~and~~ we figured on ~~our~~ the people who were committed to ~~this and~~ us, the only way to keep the committment was to have them vote out loud, ~~and~~ stand up and say, you know, ~~we know how to~~ I vote for Bill Murphin. I vote for this one, ~~and~~ once we got Bill Murphin, the rest of the slate ~~ran~~ went in totally, without any opposition

— the opposition just stopped.

K. - Yeah.

J: Once the chairman was cracked, we got every other position, ~~that we put up~~ We just put up

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J: nominations, Bang bang, bang, they went. Then we caucused and the people in it. said that they were running for district vice chairman, such as myself, and others even if they, even if that caucus had a lot of the other people in it, they would go ahead and say, yeah, he's the one who got it, ~~excuse me,~~ let's give him the people that he wants in it. ~~and can afford on~~ So the ~~have to~~ caucuses after the main offices were elected, went without any flaws whatsoever.

K- And so the reform of the Republican Party was complete. ~~at that time.~~

J: was complete at that time.

~~J: We had that documented.~~

K -OK.

J: Then we had a piece of luck, because ~~look~~ what happened in the upcoming elections just sort of worked in with our plans, real good

K:- In what way?

J: Well, of course, we didn't have any idea when we took over the Republican Party of any success for many years to come. We ~~didn't~~ would work at it, and to start building. But with Then, Robert King High being selected by the Democrats, and The guy in the green ~~sport~~ court coat flying back in from Paris, Claude and ~~and~~ Kirk, coming before our young Republicans, when they were ~~The mayor~~ up in Gainesville. I get Gainesville right here in (Florida)? and he came in

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J: at the last minute and he was fresh off the planes and flew all the "I
way back from Paris just to be with ~~the autocade.~~ you-all today and ~~I don't~~ want
to run for governor." "I ~~don't~~ want to be your governor." He sort of
just totally swept the convention. He just became the other people
who were there talking about running about governor. were ~~He~~ just
forgotten

K- Who were the other people?

J: What was the man from Brevard County?
The other from
~~And then, there~~ was Paul Myers Fort Myers.

K- That's OK.

J: I can't remember the fellow who ran. He was a nice County Commissioner
from Brevard County, but he was not ~~good pol~~ gubernatorial ~~ing~~ material in my opinion.
The other man who came to the meeting to tell us why he
thought that he ought to be governor ~~with~~ was Paul Myers, The mayor at that
time ~~was~~ OF Fort Myers. ~~and~~ but the governor , Governor Kirk , just had
such personality that they enthused him so much, that the Young Republicans ~~Group~~ -- which
~~who was~~ were the base of the reform really, and they were the ones that were involved in the
reform movement. ~~and~~ all the rest ~~of them~~ that were in it were the ones that could controlled

J: the different clubs in the Young Republicans. ~~They said~~ This was the man ~~This~~ the man they wanted, ~~and~~ they thought ~~that~~ should take the party's banner and lead them on to victory, and it worked out ~~that way~~. Actually from the standpoint that, as ~~they~~ you do in so many elections, people don't vote somebody, vote for ~~,~~ they against somebody. A negative vote went to minority party ~~establishment.~~ standard.

K: Yeah. J: Claude Kirk was ~~notorious as far as that goes.~~ victorious, and of course, that gave us the ability to raise money easily, to solicit funds, and get the necessary monies for having staff, offices, establish the Republican Party as ~~opponent~~ a permanent and ...

K: Right. Let's go back to the campaign and ~~to~~ the advent of ~~Admiral~~ Governor Kirk, coming into the office. The campaign itself. I don't want to skip over that. First of all, what role did you play? Personally? Did you campaign actively ~~through '73~~ for Governor Kirk in your capacity as a Republican ——?

J: ~~I. I very much.~~ I had really Claude Kirk in 1974, when he was running for United State Senator. And I actively campaigned for him in 1964 ~~while~~ when I was working for Barry Goldwater. because I would ~~happily~~ actively work for any Republican ~~because he was~~ running for office, Even if I didn't think that he had a chance to win. because I thought he ~~all had a~~ ought to have a chance to ~~serve~~ show other

J: Republicans, ~~but they felt~~ in days to come that this man got this many votes. Now he ought to run because things have changed, we've got more ~~interested~~ registered Republicans, and to keep ~~him~~ encouraging people to step out and run for political office. Any of them, the United States Senate or Congress, or if it be for State legislature or local office. I admired him in that he'd run a ~~and high man then and run~~ campaign, and ~~got to be good~~ gotten beat very badly but it ~~but~~ didn't seem to bother him.

K- What were his ~~comments~~ arguments for going to the young Republicans and saying "I want to run." What did he say?

J: Well, he came here more or less talking about the standpoint that he had run for United States Senate against the top Democrat in the State of Florida. That he had taken on ~~the~~ Spessard ~~Spencer~~ Holland who was the most beloved ~~derrogative~~ of all the Democrats and the strongest of all of them. And he had got X number of votes. He made a good showing in spite of his defeat. That he had shown his interest, he had shown his ability to involve himself in a statewide campaign, ~~and~~ he talked about his dream, his dream for America, his dream for Florida, and uh

K - Did he have any specific issues at this period of time? Things like the war on crime,

J: No, he never

K- ~~Population~~ Operation concern?

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J: No, at that particular time Claude Kirk didn't outline or provide us with to my knowledge any specifics as far as his issues that he would involve himself in at all.

K- Did anybody think that maybe that was a time be that the time have to ask him for specific issues?

J: No, that never came up because I don't really believe that he talked about being a conservative. He talked about the support for Goldwater as support for conservative people.

K - Was it a one issue campaign against Robert King High P. Hart?

J: NO.

K - Conservatism and liberalism?

J: You're talking about what he had told us at the time. He later in his campaign he went on about two different issues that he'd brought up, and one thing was people's taxes were increasing steadily and he ran on the no new tax basis and your home is your castle and home, and the type like thing, considering at that time that there was a lot of discussion about. You couldn't sell your house to whom you wanted to. You couldn't buy a house here. You couldn't do that, and Claude Kirk would just take those two themes a few things and he would stick to them day in and day out. And let the other men talk themselves himself into problems, because the other candidate, Robert King High, was would get involved in this issue and that every issue and got involved in so many issues

J: that he was bound to make 50% (percent of the people) mad every time he mentioned something. because he had a wide range of things that he wanted to discuss. So Claude Kirk talked about dreams, he talked about the state. He could be and about how you ought to be under Republican conservative leadership, ~~he~~ could hold the line with fiscal good ~~physical~~ policies and so forth.

K- When you started the campaign, were you, were young Republicans, were you enthusiastic? personally enthusiastic about his chances?

J: Yes, sir

- Right from the beginning?

J: Right from the start. When he flew ~~flew~~ into Gainesville and we heard him, we said if ~~this~~ anybody can do it, this man can do it. ~~and~~ I didn't know, we he said that. I didn't really feel it deep down inside.

- That's really what I wanted to know.

J: Deep down inside I felt, you know, we haven't done it before when we had ~~made~~ good candidates and there's just too many other people on the statewide basis. We're Too bad, ~~we~~ outnumber through the statewide ~~thing~~, but then as the campaign started to develop and I started to sense the way people feel in this state about somebody from Dade County, number one ~~wor~~ the almost total distrust that the rest of the state outside

J: starting in Broward County has toward Dade County. And to find that they had selected a candidate from Dade County over all these others that had been ~~and then~~ in the primary, that they had had ~~differences~~ bitterness in their primary where they had made accusations, and they had more or less destroyed their own candidate in the process of nominating. The people in North Florida were totally , just absolutely so for the first time we could see the people ~~who~~ that voted Democrat year after year after year. and only would change for a Republican president, ~~and~~ they were ready to change. The Democrats did another good thing to us. They had decided that one of these days the way the Republican candidates were winning the presidency in Florida that if they weren't careful, a Republican candidate for governor was going to ~~squeeze~~ sweep in on the ~~shirt~~ coat-tails of some Republican president. So they went to Tallahassee and, as they are apt to do, they pass ed a law to what they think is going to be their salvation. They usually work just the opposite. They passed a law ~~and~~ said they were going to change the gubernatorial ~~action~~ election to the off year. And to change it to the off year, you get the people out to vote, only those who are ~~only~~ really interested in campaign. And so the people who were really anti- can get in the smaller vote election, when

J: ~~and~~ you don't have president involved and all these other things, and it worked to our advantage to have an off election year. So the first time that we had an off election year, the thing ~~that~~ they ~~we~~ feared would happen in the election year president, happened to them. They lost the governorship. They also, of course, they ~~have~~ had a law of not being able to change parties when we're ~~in~~ running for office.

They changed that, but they put that in to keep Democrats from changing to Republicans. ~~and~~ That was working ~~would work~~ against them rather than for them ~~president reform~~ at that particular time, but you could see him catch on. You could see the fire that he had built. You could see his crowds getting larger. You could find people on the streets talking about him, getting more enthusiastic. The calling of the little man. Stop in the filling station or in a drug store and say, you know, we ~~have~~ got a guy named Claude Kirk running for governor. You bet you ~~have~~ and I'm voting for him. He's my kind of man. I like what he is saying. ~~You.~~ That's when I ~~got in the thing, but when a man~~ began to think that we really had a chance. And I predicted and said that he would win it later - way before the election took place. I told people that I had become a believer ~~and~~ that he could and was and that he was going to be the next

J: governor. And at that time, we just sort of developed a winning positive attitude. That we were still nervous about it.

K- Governor Kirk, before he became governor, ~~was running~~ had run for the United States Senate. Now apart from those two things, I personally don't know, but from all that I have ever read, he didn't ~~at least~~, have a vast amount of ~~pride in~~ prior government experience or political experience, you know in running campaigns or certainly running a government, being a governmental participant.

Q- Did this bother you and other members of the Republican Party? Did it bother the governor? Was ~~their~~ there some program designed to provide him with... Was there some concern in this area? his lack experience?

J: Until we knew that he was going to win, we weren't concerned. We weren't concerned about his lack of party background because we felt that, ~~for~~ number one, ~~that~~ as far as ~~the~~ organization goes, his life had been spent more or less as a promoter, getting people together and getting something accomplished as an ~~other than~~ insurance ~~collecting~~ company and that type of thing. We felt that he would have to lean upon us and ~~their~~ there was nothing wrong with that. That if he had to come to us ~~with~~ For the political advice, that we were the ones involved in the party structure,

J: That that would be a good th ing. That we could teach it to him the way we wanted it taught and he would be ~~out~~ our governor so to speak. but we didn't think enough of him to go with him and sit down and say, "when you get in, are you going to be a good party man? Are you going to sit down and council with us? as far as appointments and things of that go." And get it settled way ahead of time. Primarily, I think, because at the time we just didn't think that he was going to win to start off with, even though we were enthusiastic about him as a candidate. When it became evident that he was going to win, when he did ~~in fact~~ become the nominee, in fact, of the party, We became concerned about his lack of knowledge about state government. But he took Don Reed and Skip ~~Mathias~~ Bafalis and they took him into hotel rooms around the state. And they sat down with ~~them~~ him and they discussed ~~exactly for instance,~~ the executive branch, the make-up of it, The state agencies involved, The cabinet system ~~and~~ the people involved in those particular offices. I think that at that particular point ~~and~~ in time, he went ~~into two other~~ on a tour of the state capitals for the first time in his life. Where he walked through the ~~state~~ capitol and actually saw the first floor of it and ~~next to the governor's office~~ "that's the governor's office,

J: that's your Secretary of State's office, and there's your commissioner of Education." ~~and~~ then they then discussed, as I understand what those job's ~~re~~ responsibilities were. To find out what the legislative branch was and where it was and how it fit into the entire picture, the scheme of things. He was taught these things ~~and~~ in sort of a ~~pass port~~ crash course, and because of his extremely fine memory and intelligence, He picked up it, I think, rather fast. Because ~~of~~ being a politician, I guess, anyways and he was sort of a natural for this. As quick as he could, ~~maybe~~ he could learn so fast that ~~he could~~ it was ~~very~~ fairly easy. We regretted later very much so, that we didn't teach him more about the Republican Party and the protocol to follow ~~in the system~~ and the system to follow, as far as securing appointees and people to work with him and to work in the various appointments that come under the ~~revieu~~ venue of the governor's office.

K - This is a very important question that ~~we~~ I did want to get to. As we will talk about later. The split that occured between party ~~and~~ regulars, and Governor Kirk ~~was in the running.~~ and Senator Gurney. but in this period of time, late in the elections, as it's was fairly clear that he had an excellent chances to win, and ~~He was~~ he's going to go into office. At this point ~~and~~ in time, were there members of the party who were concerned about who his political advisors are going to be,

J: Well, when ~~we~~ those of us in our group saw it happening, ~~in Tallahassee and~~ Bill Murphin was ~~there,~~ our leader and our chairman, we ~~went~~ got with Murphin and ~~we~~ discussed it, and we discussed the fact, ~~with him~~ Who ~~are you~~ he's going to you know, select as his top administrative aides and his top people in the governor's office? How close is he going to work with the Republican Party itself? and we sent Murphin and others in to talk with him. I don't know who else went with Murphin, but Murphin did. Now this is ~~the~~ a thing that I can explain in more detail later. Every time we Murphin, sent him to see the governor, he'd come back ~~washed~~ lost. I mean if we sent him for something specific, the governor always won and Murphin always lost, but that was just the two men though. The governor ~~would make an~~ was much more aggressive than Murphin was, I guess, in that area, but we were concerned who he was going to appoint as ~~president~~ his closest advisors, how well? was he going to work in relationship to the party, not only for appointing, trees to the various agencies but from fund raising and things of this nature that you can use a governor's office for, ~~For~~ as far as ~~his~~ political party goes, but we suggested to him to use somebody older and more knowledgeable, experienced in government, ~~and~~ unfortunately, because of, I think, his contract with ~~the~~ Baf-Xalis

J; - ~~and~~ his close involvement with Skip ~~Mathias and~~ Baffalis in teaching him some of the things, because ~~it~~ Skip was a member of the legislature and he would naturally lean to these elected officials who already ~~there~~ and to know more about government than those of us who were ~~fixing~~ that strictly party mechanics. It was through his suggestions that had a greater bearing on how the governor selected his aides. Skip was a young man and the people he had around him were younger, and he suggested some of his ~~young~~ close associates and ~~some of his close associates and~~ some of his financial backers people to be in the governor's office. And then that particular individual more or less brought in the others for ~~to~~ interviews ~~through~~ to the governor. And ended up with some young men that were aggressive in the business world, but who had no background or experience in government whatsoever. And it's my feeling that the governor's ~~with~~ tenure in office and his continuation ~~opportunities was~~ in office would have been greatly enhanced, if he had ~~gets~~ selected for his personal advisors, some other people other than what he did --some older people , some more experienced people, either Republican or Democrat party. Which is eliminating the difference. But somebody who understood how the party works, how it relates to the elected office itself.

J: How they compliment one another.

K- He really sounds as though here's he's almost too stressing working, that here was a man who was non-party in terms of his own background and experience, and both the party and he lack the experience of having the governor's chair. That these were not necessarily the same stresses, but they were two courses seemingly operating on both the party and both the man. And eventually, of course, the party and the man came to a a very vicious kind of split in the intra-party sense of that. ~~in terms of that trnsition~~ term vicious. What happened from 1966 to 1972? In your view?

J: Well, in the first place, we were ~~born~~ going to ~~it.~~ a... we were prematurely ~~The expenditure was~~ successful. ~~It was~~ We never planned to elect ~~delegates~~ a governor in '66. We never planned to be successful so that quickly, without getting the structure built, ~~and~~ getting the background and experience for those of us ~~who~~ that were just becoming involved. so we were thrust into a position where, first, we elected the governor. ~~He was~~ We were still ~~planning~~ trying to work out a relationship with the governor between the party and who he was going to have between as his advisors, when the legislature was thrown out, so we were then thrown into a special election.

J: We got notified by the party chairman, ~~about~~ by the legislative, ~~office~~ offices that were in ~~about~~ and by the governor's office that here's your chance for more people to come in because the Republican swing is on. So we had to put down some of our work, ~~and~~ in organizing the party to run for office. Some of the people that would have spent probably years in the party machinery itself, ~~putting them~~ building it and putting together and putting ~~them~~ it into shape, left that to run for office.

K- People like yourself?

J: ~~People like~~ myself, Eargard, and others ~~who~~ that ran for office, ~~And~~ hadn't planned to run for office whatsoever, ~~but as not~~ But another seat was created in ~~seat~~ in Palm Beach County. I was the only person who had any county-wide exposure ~~or~~ running for ~~medical~~ office so it was natural since I had some name identification that it would be easier ~~to get~~ to be elected in special elections than someone else. And Chuck Eargard had been around the state, and had made some contacts working ~~with him~~ with the state committee people, so he had some acquaintance and some knowledge of how it works and how you get ~~done~~ votes, and what you have to ~~do~~. do. And so we had the special election and we were successful in increasing the number of Republicans ~~and how~~ in the house. some Democrats only got to spend from November to March and they were out of office again. I think ~~that~~ we added

K ~~Q~~ Who his issue advisors were going to be? Were the people in the party now becoming concerned about the practical ~~side~~ fact of this man who was going to become governor? And Was there some discussions with the governor about who his own closest political advisor should be? Because

~~Did~~ I understand that perhaps here were some of the problems? His own staff may have had something to do with dividing him from the party? Later. At this point and time,

TAPE II

K- It was becoming clear. It became clear late in the campaign that he had an excellent chance of winning and, of course, he did become, he did win the election. He was going to be the governor. ~~Was~~ there any concern at this time about his closest staff, on the part of the party. Was their any conversation with the governor as to whom he should appoint, how he should appoint his closest ~~group of~~ political advisors - not the people who are going to run the various departments, but the people who were going to help him shape the issues. And help him shape his politics for the next four or eight years.

J: about eleven more Republicans in the special election that we didn't have in the '66 election because of the ~~few new~~ Freshmen. Something of that nature, but ~~we then.~~ problems ~~that~~ then started developing ~~is~~ the governor was the person that could raise money for the party, getting back to the party end of it. And by having either dinners or speeches or cocktail parties, we found that you could put on a cocktail party and say Come to the cocktail party and give $100 to Republican Party and meet the governor and talk with him and shake his hand. Of course, the governor had expenses beyond what the state payed him. And this is something that has been changed under the ~~internal~~ government, but ~~it's~~ time Governor Kirk expenses were still there for the inauguration because you just didn't...You had no monies to make the change over. The party had to raise money to finance setting up new offices in Tallahassee and ~~start~~ bringing people in ~~there. You~~ hired his personal staff and things of this nature. because the legislature provided no funds for the orderly transition because in the past it was never needed, and from one Democrat to the next, they shaking hands and bringing them in, Use their offices

J: but it was the first time in Modern History when we had ~~to~~ a change from one party to another Party as far as the governor goes. The innaugeral ball - there were no funds. Yet you had all these expenses and all these monies that had to be spent, but ~~most~~ no state funds were available for that type of purpose. We tried through the legislature after We got elected in '67 to get the legislature to pass a laws to provide some funds to pay some bills that were still outstanding, but, of course, with it being very partisan at that particular point in time, ~~why~~ it was impossible, and later the very Republicans ~~who~~ that supported us, supported it For Governor Askew. because they thought that it was right then ~~but~~ it was right now I would have done the same thing if I had been there, given him the monies ~~months~~ and so forth, but ~~us~~ the governor set up advisory committees around the state as he was accustomed to doing. I ~~started off~~ served on his advisory committee while on the state committee and after ~~then was~~ being elected in the election special ~~aide~~ here in Palm Beach County.

K- Can we stop long enough to explore this advisory committee? What were the purposes of it?

J: The purposes of it ~~were~~ was to find out what positions and ~~what~~ as far as appointments were open and were needed to be made by the governor. ~~We found~~ To find out what jobs would if vacancies created in state jobs, what jobs would be appointed ~~if that could~~ ~~actually~~ and what jobs could be handled through the governor's office. And then, to find people and to talk to people that were interested in state employment, interested in appointments to various boards. Things that ~~want to be~~ were under the ~~controlled~~ of the governor, to take applications from them. To have ~~several~~ the regular meetings where we looked at applications of people ~~who had been~~ for things, as judges Judge McTyre retires, ~~and~~ something like that appointment filled. We ~~even~~ would keep a list of prospective people for judgeships, ~~elected~~ like the prospective people on board, ~~and~~ if somebody said that they were interested in the Board of Regents, and an appointment came open, or they wanted to be on the board of pharmacy or whatever it might be. We had these applications and we interviewed the people we talked to, and then found ~~that~~ out what their motivation was, ~~wise~~ what their background was, if they had any problems that would surface in case anything happened, ~~and~~ when then the governor's office put out a list and the party chairman would ~~were posted~~ it at that time. Of course, post with it these are the appointments that are going to be made in the ~~middle~~ month of October or the ~~middle~~ month of January or February . We would send forth

J: recommendations that we had in Palm Beach County, that we think fit the bill, ~~and~~ we didn't get very many appointments. We got some, but not very many. And I agree with what I've heard from others. And I am always amazed at the quality of people that the governor did appoint to the positions that he had the responsibilities over. ~~of here.~~ Not the ones that he surrounded himself with but the people that he appointed ~~here~~ were outstanding in my opinion. He made some of the finest appointments and I think that this is because again ~~he did~~ his background in having ~~and~~ surrounded himself in a corporate structure with people that could get ~~who~~ the job done. That he had the capacity of talking to a man ~~man~~ and interviewing a man and looking at his past record and deciding whether that man could do the job. He wanted to look good. And he wanted to look good because of the job that was being done in this agency or that agency. He didn't want criticism. So I never had any quarrel about his appointments. He was not ~~bad~~bashful at. He didn't care you a bit about what party he belonged to. He didn't seek out and say well I only want a Republican ~~because~~ name to come in, he wanted the best man he said for the job and if that best man happened to be a Democrat, he wanted his name brought up to ~~it.~~ him. And not nearly as partisan as he ~~is~~ was accused ~~of~~ ~~accused~~ of partisan appointments. ~~You~~ He couldn't even compare with what I have seen before

J: and what I have seen with the present ~~generation.~~ government. They ~~are both~~ almost totally ~~inocenced.~~ insist. Only occassionally do you ever hear ~~of~~ of a Republican getting appointed, but in Kirk's administration there were a great number of them. Of course, he probably felt he was elected by a majority of the people of Florida and the majority of people were Democrats, so that he had just as much responsibility to appoint Democrats as he did Republicans. ~~I think~~ One of the problems with our party association with the governor ~~together~~ was that he never did feel that we were the ones that really elected him to office. ~~We~~ He thought that he got elected because ~~the~~ of Democrats ~~were~~ working ~~the~~ his campaign. Because a great number of ~~people~~ groups came up ~~to~~ as Democrats working for Claude Kirk, and they would, even if they were in the Democrat machine, they would come out publicaly saying ~~that~~ they were against Robert King High and ~~that~~ they were for Claude Kirk. So organizations were built up outside of the Republican organization that he looked to as being just as a real part of his election, and then he developed more or less the idea with his ego that "I did it," "And ~~he~~ you didn't do anything ~~but~~ for me. This is what I'm doing for you. and I'm the one who can walk into a cocktail party and raise for the party $50,000.00. ~~He~~ You couldn't do it without me. And you wouldn't even be

J: the party you are right now. You wouldn't have the people in the legislature. You wouldn't have all these things. This is what I've done for you." And instead of seeing that there was an organization put together and there was an awful lot work precinctwise and fundraising wise, door-to-door talking about this man, this Claude Kirk, but he didn't see that because in the big picture, he's around giving the speeches and ~~canvassing~~ traveling throughout the state and I don't think he ever developped a sense of appreciation of what it takes, on the ~~some of the philosophy~~ block level and the county level to get someone elected to any office, so without ever having been involved in that ~~this personally~~, experience, he didn't realize the significance of it. And he just thought it is all his own doings. And that we should be grateful and thankful to him, that he certainly had no reason to be so grateful and thankful to us. But he did have tremendous expenses. He liked to move around fast. He liked to go places, the salary and the expenses were not enough to cover it. the plane he decided to lease was very expensive and so we set up ways where the party would raise money with his help, but then we could pay expenses, such as plane leases, and things of that nature. And if I remember certain

J: night,
our very first problems came up and and he would charge ~~things~~ bills
to hotels and we'd get a bill at Republican headquaters saying that they
owed 1500 dollars and ~~take each other~~ signature on the bottom
Claude Kirk, he would lease an airplane and fly all over the country and
we'd get these tremendous bills and we tried our best to pay them
and ~~we kept~~ to keep having dinners and ~~prolonged~~ putting on affairs with him again being the
one was basically responsible for raising money, but he wanted to
spend it all, ~~that~~ he didn't leave any for the staff and the structure that
we had. When we Tried to talk to him about slowing down and taking it easy
and not letting his staff let up these large & bills, started ~~and what~~ really
~~happened~~ having the...

K- This was the friction, ~~and~~ you think that started the friction toward ~~because~~

J: between the parties.

K Representing the party in this talk, I assume, ~~see~~ was Bill Murphin.

J: Bill Murphin was the one we would send, ~~even.~~ ~~We'd~~ He would always a always come out and
and we'd say go in there and tell them that we want to get this done
and that done. He came back with his tail between

J: his legs, and the governor had whipped him again or had won him over. Most of the time the governor would put his arm around and say, "you know, what are you worrying about, boy?" I'm taking care of you aren't I?" You've got a nice office up here and I'm putting on these speeches and the party is becoming, he benefactor of fifty per cent of the proceeds, at least, and if I spent a little more than fifty once in awhile, you've still have more than you ever had before, more than you had before. " dreamed to get And he would more or less convince Murphin one of them, you know, I am a lucky guy, he'd come back He'd say, "I guess I'm lucky because the governor just explained it to me." And he was just that kind of a man. He would convince him.

K- OK. After 1967, you moved into the legislature, and much of the friction from 1967 to 1970, Governor Kirk's experience with Republicans, occurred in the legislature. What were some of the specific issues?

J: Well, to start off with, there was no problems with the governor and the legislature. Even if we didn't totally agree with him, we went along with him right down the line one hundred percent. We could We did not line up have thirty-nine votes on any issue that he was for or against.

J: Either way ~~that~~ he wanted us to go, and when the button was pushed, it was like one button went off in the house, be it thirty-nine red buttons or thirty-nine green buttons, and no questions asked. One in awhile some of us might have some personal ~~thoughts~~ doubts in their minds, was the governor right in being for this issue or against that issue, but we felt that it was important that we show that we were ~~indeed enforcing~~ unison force that legislature, and that we could be molded together with a solid force. and ~~that~~ we were. ~~That~~ he came up with the inaugeral ball, the inaugeral speech, ~~and had some~~ he mentioned the things like War on Crime. He mentioned a ~~new~~ the Constitution for the State of Florida. ~~and~~ we had existed under a system of sheriffs that were all-powerful. The Sheriffs Association that was like a fraternity of crooks. so nobody was going to go in and investigate a sheriff that was accused of being dishonest because the Association would have to agree that such an investigation would be made. And it was evident and it had been evident for some time that the state law enforcement agency could, upon being notified that some dishonesty is going on in the particular county, go in there and make an investigation, ~~because~~ and cause things ~~could~~ to be changed. And they said

J: "no, they weren't going to do it. They couldn't have a ... law enforcement agency and so he'd used what was considered as sort of an unorthodox thing. He said ~~that~~ if you won't give me the funds, You won't give me the people to fight crime in this state, I'll start a citizens war on crime.

K- Do you know where he got the idea for it? Or do you think ~~that~~ he conceived it himself? Do you have any specific knowledge?

J: I don't have any specific idea, but I almost would in my own mind ~~would~~ think that the governor himself would be... ~~evidence~~ maybe some of the people he talked to around the state had said, you know, maybe we ought to get a citizens' group like we did in the old days, but I think it would be difficult to determine the origin. but the idea, I think, basically was his own. ~~is that I have~~ I never heard anybody take credit for the idea ~~precedence~~ except the governor. ~~never.~~ It was a shock to me, and I wasn't so sure I liked it much. I'm not so sure I didn't like it, but I do believe that there are times ~~when~~ that those in politics and those in political office have come with innovations that are ~~information and so forth~~ different and ~~It~~ might not be the accepted method of doing things, ~~but~~ in order to act as a catalyst and when you think that this has been talked about and had been rejected by the status-quo, ~~the~~ do-nothing legislature all those

J: years. The citizens war on crime did cause the legislature, ~~then~~ really in reaction to the fact that they thought that the govenor was ~~had to take up~~ The ~~Governor's~~ doing this all by himself, to develop ~~some tasks.~~ and pass, The law that established it, ~~in~~ the State of Florida of Florida. ~~The~~ Law Enforcement ~~and~~ then, of course, his appointment to that particular position, was one of the most outstanding ~~who works out there~~ ~~and~~ appointments recognized throughout the country and recognized ~~throughout the country and~~ when just recently he was chosen as the assistant to the FBI director. Bill Reed was Democrat, by the way, out of Dade County. and then the Constitution, for seventeen years they talked and worked on ~~called for~~ Constitutional revision, without any sucess whatsoever. ~~were not only successful~~ They didn't even come close ~~in~~ to being able to revise Florida's Constitution, ~~but~~ And the Govenor just more or less told the legislature ~~to do a public job.~~ "You are going to stay here ~~and do~~ as you would tell a child, until you pass one out. ~~your task well.~~ You're going to get out of that ~~whole~~ old Constitution and bring us up to a modern-day Constitution if I have to cause all of you to lose your businesses, your family, your other things. you are going to stay here and do your job." And they reacted angrily ~~maybe get angry~~ and that type of thing, but they did it. We had never had a road program that lasted more than two years. There were No long range road plans or program planning in the state of Florida ~~broken~~ whatsoever.

J: and ~~we~~ in the State Road Department at the time , the Department of Transportation , ~~and~~ we did develop the first program that ~~preceeded~~ preceded the two year term that we were budgeting at ~~the~~ that time, before the constitution was adopted by the people, and all that, the Republicans were with him 100~~%~~ percent. The educational crisis, the Republican minority was ~~just behind~~ with him 100~~%~~ percent. In the teacher walkout ~~was~~ of 1968 in the state of Florida. And there was no , even though there were maybe differences of opinion among ~~them~~ ~~the~~ Republicans, ~~of~~ with the program we came up with, it's looking back with hindsight, The program ~~has~~ that's now been developped. ~~There's~~ It's not that much different from what the governor's Blue Ribbon Commission came up with in '68. And we talked about raising the monies. We put as many ~~as~~ millions of dollars ~~nearly~~ really in to education at that time. ~~as~~ A different method was used ~~at that time~~ maybe than we suggested, but, nevertheless, it did happen. Education got a bigger ~~dunk~~ chunk of money than ~~we got in~~ it had gotten in its entire history, in one particular period of time. Of course, he was caught as a victim in many instances and it dragged and so were we, ~~and this is a neglect~~ over many years. And trying to play catch-up when you are so far behind , you get into problems like you do in football, in a crisis. And so we developped troubles. The Democrats were, budget, ~~50%~~ or the in '67 when Mr. Turlington was the speaker. I guess it was, ~~We use to speak of.~~ They couldn't get their appropriations act through without a great deal of

J: a great deal of debate, ~~and~~ discussion. We ~~put~~ got together a recommendation with the governor in a hurry and they gave it to us, ~~and~~ just about as fast as we put it together, they said ~~they'd~~ "we'll give you what you want." And there were problems ~~to be~~ with it, corrected because again we didn't ~~like~~ have the staff; The Democrats had the staff. We didn't have the committee structures; They had the committee structures. We didn't have the personnel to work on something as ~~demanding~~ mammoth as the budget for the State, but everything, as far as the governor's relationship with the legislature, walked along fine until such time that we got involved in recognizing that the legislature became knowledgeable that we were not truly a meaningful legislative body. Republicans themselves,

K: When did that happen, and what brought that recognition on?

J: Well, it started happening as soon as ~~it~~ they got there. They started realizing ~~that~~ there was something wrong. That we ~~voted~~ 'd go to a committee meeting and having an experience where ~~the legislative~~ a legislator introduced a bill and when ~~he~~ you started asking him questions about the bill, he would confess that it wasn't his bill. ~~That~~ it was ~~his~~ the Secretary of State's bill. That he was in the audience and ~~that~~ he would answer any questions you would have. ~~He~~ You began to ask ~~you~~ yourself, ~~so~~ "Who is it?" that develops and passes legislation in the state of Florida. Is it the legislature or is it

J: the cabinet ~~that~~ where just we rubber stamp whatever the cabinet wants? to enhance and to enlarge their own bureaucracies ~~some that had to~~ ~~Orangedale and Morrocasan.~~ ~~and~~ we didn't have the staff. We didn't have the professional people to go ~~to~~ and seek advice on legislature ~~and on~~ involving labor or management or schools or the university system or transportation or social problems or whatever it might be. There wasn't anybody ~~you told~~ to turn to because there ~~were~~ was no professionalism in it so whatever. We were necessarily ~~recognized~~ ing, we recognized ~~which was general~~ that we were just generalists, that we ~~had to~~ might have a little ~~bit extra~~ expertise ~~teeth~~ in our own professions, ~~we now.~~ but beyond that, ~~not.~~ We had been leaning upon to other people for helping ~~to~~ develop legislation ~~and~~ that would correct problems that existed in our State. And we didn't have it to turn to. So consequently the legislature had been sort of a rubber stamp with the cabinet and they would go up ~~build~~ there every two years, ~~ask~~ pass what the cabinet wanted, ~~and~~ come back home, ~~and~~ either run or not run again. You can get the people reelected to you and go up and ~~permit them. the economy~~ commit the felony again, and so we got working even from the... this was not something started. ~~not~~ just Republicans. This was something that there was a new breeze in ~~'57.~~ '67. We had a ~~big~~ complete change ~~in~~ of the ~~kind~~ type of people that served in legislature. They were for the most part younger

J: and most of them were ~~a~~ had more formal education than some of the past legislators did. They were more involved in wanting to see things changed. They ~~were not~~ weren't so interested in just ~~steady~~ status quo and not rocking the boat. They weren't opposed to going ~~in~~ ahead and getting involved in ~~any~~ controversy. And legislation was that hidden days before that in the leadership in the Democratic Party, the leadership in the Republican Party. So the ~~when~~ we sat around and talked about what we needed. We talked to the citizens ~~in~~ on state and national citizens group on state government, various national organizatinns that were involved in ~~the programs of~~ strengthening state governments trying to see ~~gov. in the policy~~ become more meaningful. state government. ~~One~~ needs it. And they had ~~confidence in the~~ pamphlets and they had brochures on ~~They were very sure of~~ what ~~they~~ you needed, ~~Where as the~~ as far as professional staff, what you ~~was needless~~ feel as far as committees, ~~steering~~ standing committees, what you needed as far as _____ legislation, what you needed as far as expense monies go and suggested salary ranges for the amount of time that was spent. We had studies made on it. And of all this the governor told us all the way along that he supported everything that we were doing to improve the legislative branch of the government. And that he thought that it was an excellent idea. And the Republicans agreed with the Democrat majority. That

J: We would work together. We would not use our minority voice to try to block or to try to get him in trouble if they did things to strengthen the legislature. And Up to the very last moment on the legislative salary increase, which dated publicly the starting of the split between the governor and the Republican legislators. He had problems with the party, but not with his elected Republicans prior to this point. and he had committed to our minority leader and others in various meetings that "why not eighteen, why twelve," and that he was certainly in favor of a twelve thousand dollar salary. At One time, I think he even suggested that we ought to tie it to the governor's salary, fifty percent of whatever the governor made. Therefore, we could raise the governor's salary and raise our own, and it wouldn't, wasn't so much trouble with the general public. And then, at the time that the salary bill was passed, and we just got the word back out that he was thinking about vetoing it, The Republican minority that had voted for were stunned. We had passed around a list with everybody's name on it, you had to ... way before the bill had happened, "Are you in favor of the salary bill, would you be in favor of twelve, do you want ten?, do you want seventy-five hundred? do you want fifteen, eighteen...?" And the concensus of both parties, the largest number of votes that was at

J: twelve thousand. ~~He~~ We had commitments, of course, by this time we were involved ~~be Marvin~~ with a different type of individual worker, the man Schultz who was much ~~difficulty in~~ He was that really, I think, caused the head-on collision, the partisanship of the legislature, to become a ~~the kind of~~ thing of the past, ~~but~~ ~~obviously~~ caused the legislature to ~~that work~~ in unity toward good legislation for ~~legislature. in~~ the state of Florida, recognizing that we were there, We weren't going to go away, ~~and~~ Mr. Turlington and his group, I think, really felt that ~~if~~ something happened and it was like a boil and that if you treated the thing, ~~and~~ in a few days it that disappeared and ~~we~~ you wouldn't have this problem. These ~~things, these~~ strange, weird people would be gone. And Schultz accepted ~~people~~ us as equals and ~~this was~~ accepted us as having some rights and moved us into decent minority offices. In fact, I had as my office, the second term, the minority office, ~~I think~~ The one little small cubicle, ~~wasn't even~~ the minority office under Ralph Turlington. that he gave to the Republican Party, in ~~the~~ '67 and '68. Then, Schultz, ~~was~~ a complex of offices, with we had ~~the~~ staff, ~~that~~ with to really started making the Republican ~~nomination. They could~~ minority able to hold their head up, and useful to the legislative branch and useful to the people ~~they~~ that we represent. ~~so~~ we represented ~~so we represent big losses~~ people also. Our ~~the~~ people had a ~~the~~ right to ~~direct the public~~ elect Republicans if they want to and they had the right to ~~discuss them~~ expect that ~~if they wanted to It was equal~~ those elected officials be treated as equals with those from the majority vote.

J: Schultz recognized all this, and worked with it. We were working in harmony, ~~wothwhile~~ We weren't violating our principles, ~~and~~ our philosophies; he Never asked that.

~~You got a different state~~ A certain respect in the legislature ~~and we made harmony.~~ was not in any way harming our political philosophy.

The governor, I think, took advice from Senator Gurney, ~~Then,~~ and when he got ~~to~~ letters and he got some calls, ~~lawyers at St. Pauls,~~ he got some response to what he was hearing ~~in~~ from Orange County, because the bed of opposition to any expenditures ~~for~~ of money for any purposes ~~of it~~ almost whatsoever, particularly ~~as far as the~~ for salaries for legislat~~ure~~ors) was ~~more, was~~ almost restricted, ~~to~~ totally ~~in~~ to Orange County. This where it started, this where initiation of it was made. And Broward County became almost as bad, but it ~~was perfectly normal since~~ started in Orange County. And since the senator ~~his son~~ was from Orange County, and represent~~ing him~~ed them in Congress, I think he got calls, he got wires, he got some letters and stuff, ~~and~~ I think he flew ~~over to~~ into Tallahassee and ~~put together and~~ he met with the governor. He told the govervor ~~made~~ you're making a serious mistake by agreeing to...

K: You said, you think ~~that you~~ he flew into Tallahassee.

J: ~~He was in there.~~ I know he was in Tallahassee. I saw him personally. Because at a later date, when it was all taking place and ~~he was~~ we were overriding his veto and so forth, ~~Had~~ Ed Gurney was speaking at the country club, ~~Chapter of city council~~ Capital City Country Club, and after the dinner he asked to see me and ~~put~~ took me back in to the back room

J: (in front of the little cubicle) and told me that he wanted me to go into the legislature the next day and ~~to~~ introduce ~~the~~ a bill reducing it from 12 to 6 - that they just raised theirs from thirty-four to forty -two and I said that I would go back in and introduce a bill to decrease ours to six, ~~and~~ if he'll go back to Washington and introduce one in ~~to appoint~~ Congress to reduce yours back to thirty-five.

K: - What was his reaction?

J: His reaction was that I was being foolish. And I more or less told him that, "I don't even want to talk to you. You and I don't see eye to eye. I wouldn't give him ten percent

That's when we started our problems, ~~outlawing~~. too. Because he ~~We~~ thought, I think, he actually ~~we had some problems~~ thought that if he told me, "Well Bill I ~~because~~ want you to go in there and introduce this bill," and I was going to say, ~~said~~ "fine if that's what you want, senator. After all you're a senator and you and I know you're a senator."

and when we gave him opposition, ~~why~~ I just outright told him that I wouldn't even think of doing such a thing. I was totally in favor of what we had done and I was going to defend it right down to the rope. ~~it. And totalling what we've said and I remember independent in that kind of deal.~~

K - Do you know ~~that~~ if Senator Gurney, if I can call that "applying pressure," applied that same kind of pressure or talked ~~to~~ with others ~~publicly?~~ Republicans about reducing that? ~~other introducing that?~~

J: I know ~~that~~ he talked to ~~others about it~~ Republicans. He called the minority leader

K- at the same time?

J: ~~before he could~~ ask me to introduce ~~the foreign legions for the sixth time~~ a bill to reduce it to six thousand. He called the minority leader, Bufolino to ~~to tell him~~ and talked to him several times when it was happening, and saying stop it.

K- ~~down route.~~ To Don Reed.

J: ~~down route~~ and they called Senator on the telephone. It was direct from the To Don Reed. to the minority leader. Saying that this was a horrible thing to do. ~~That~~ This was going to cause the ruination of the Republican Party in Florida, ~~Saying~~ that we were going to be blamed for it that, the Democrats somehow were going to twist it around to blame it for us. And that they were going to sandbag us on the ~~boat~~ vote which they did not. Some Democrats ~~didn't vote~~, some Republicans voted no. ~~didn't.~~ voted no.

K- Who else in the party received Gurney's, Senator Gurney's opinion?

J: I would imagine that he talked to several senators, ~~from some~~ ~~talked~~ probably talked to the minority leader of ~~in~~ the Senate. I'm sure he talked to Ray Osborn, that who then was the (Lt.) Governor with Kirk.

I imagine ~~that~~ he talked to Savage, ~~but~~ I don't know, ~~but the~~ fact, ~~that~~ for a Savage ~~was like~~ has died since. and

K- but on the basis of what you do know, did ~~he~~ he talk to you and he did talk to ~~anybody who~~ to document the minority leader.

J: I know that he probably contacted... I remember at the time that some of the Orange County people, ~~did~~ they were, the ones ~~who~~ that were really, ~~out~~ like ~~Howard~~ Colonel Gibson and some of the others, had been talked to by Senator Gurney. He had more or less

J: convinced them that this was a suicidal type ~~of~~ approach to the ~~a ludicrous~~ political salary

K- Did governor Kirk, before the ~~deal~~ veto was announced publically? Was there any pressure applied? from his office or from ~~his~~ him personally? ~~office?~~ Was there any advanced warning that this ~~deal was~~ veto... ~~or~~ -?

J: ~~No, there was~~ no advanced warning whatsoever. He allowed us to continue on the plan that we had with his full support. The rumor came up. ~~We don't know when~~ Even though the rumor ~~it~~ came up and it was vetoed, we were extremely mad. ~~and he was going to veto it.~~

K- ~~What~~ How did the rumor ~~quote~~ "come up"? ~~quote, end quote.~~

J: Somebody... I just remember ~~my~~ on the house floor that somebody said, ~~you know,~~ "The word is out ~~what is that that~~ the governor is going to veto the bill," ~~and~~ Don Reed said, "That can't be ~~it's~~ true, the governors gave me a committment." I said, "you ~~have got to~~ better go talk to him." He came back later ~~You know, the~~ and said, "The rumor is not ~~he said~~ a rumor." He said, "He's going to do it." ~~that's no good~~ and uh, but even at that we were not, you know, totally at that particular point offended at it. We could see from the rumor that maybe he had run into a political problem, maybe he could give us some information that we weren't knowledgeable of at the present time that would show us that we had errored and that we could correct it and sustain his veto, but, of course, as you know, the ~~gentleman~~ governor requested a the joint session to ~~delivered~~ deliver his veto message. He climbed up into

J: the rostrum, ~~of~~ the speakers chair, and delivered one of the most blistering ~~of~~ veto messages that I have ever heard anybody give and didn't separate the sheep from the goats, that he thought that one side was goats and one side was sheep. He took a brush and painted everyone ~~one~~ body black. He said that the whole thing was a conspiracy ~~vat.~~ devised to feather our own beds, ~~and~~ pocket the monies, and I think, in terms he didn't use ~~that~~ those exacting ~~themes,~~ things, but he did use the term that we were ~~popular~~ caught with our hands in the ~~drawer~~ cookie jar and that type of thing. And when he called us crooks, both Republicans and Democrats, and then that's ~~when~~ I think ~~the~~ that was it. We were finished from ~~that~~ the standpoint, of trusting him. From that point on, we ~~overrid~~ over-rode ~~road~~ his veto very quickly, and I think the press was probably right, ~~maybe~~ angry. We were ~~having~~ angry, adopted ~~to dock~~ that ~~argument.~~ to argue with him. And I think that we had every reason to be angry, because if the governor ~~would~~ had not veto ed it, if the governor ~~would~~ had come out ~~and~~ in support of it, ~~everybody.~~ with the Knowledge ~~of what we~~ he had ~~and~~ of what we were attempting to do, I don't think ~~that~~ there had been very little flak whatsoever in this thing, ~~With~~ over the legislative salary increase, if the truth would have been told. because he knew the truth. He knew that they had been taking money under the table and doctoring expenses. They had county supplements, in Jacksonville, Hillsborough County, Dade County, Broward and Palm Beach,

J: ~~And~~ no citizen that in the state ever knew about ~~it~~ I got a $1500 check ~~that~~ after I was elected in '67 by County Commissioners. ~~and~~ I had no knowledge that there was a county supplement for legislators in this county.

As far as I was concerned, it must be a mistake. I didn't pay that much taxes. ~~He said, "I'm going to get you a~~ They said "Oh, no. That's your county supplement." ~~He said,~~ I said, "when did that happen? ~~you know~~ They said, "Oh years ago, the delegation, of course, was ~~wholly~~ totally composed of ~~opposed to~~ the other party. They decided that a hundred dollars a month and expense money was not enough. They needed more money. so they passed a little ~~bit~~ bill and said the county commissioners ~~who had the wrong types were paying~~ out of ad valorum taxes would pay them $1500 a session. And when you added up $600 ~~on batch of~~ unvouchered expenses, when you added up a $1500 county supplement, when you added up the per diem you had up to $100, It came to $10,800 approximately. ~~You pay~~ We paid taxes on $1200 of it. ~~You~~ We threw away all county supplements, ~~We~~ did away with all ~~undoctored~~ unvouchered expenses forever and under the books, ~~and taxes~~ and statutes, developped a salary of $12,000 that you paid taxes on the full 12,000 just like every other citizen would. And netwise you ended up probably with less money per month than you had under the old system which was the under the table deal.

Which the new breed ~~which~~ considered to be sort of... well we considered at least it was a dishonest approach to take before the constituents,

J: to get ~~at them~~ up and say~~ing~~" I'm hunting for a job that pays $100" knowing full well that the total pay was $10,800 when ~~he was in~~ you were a senator and that was in this county. In Duval it was more, and in Dade it was more, and in Tampa it was more, because ~~it~~ they had larger county supplements, than we had in our county. ~~and like that and~~ And he realized, ~~that he~~ because it had been ~~discussing~~ discussed with him and so it was just one of those things, uncalled for, that ~~they~~ we felt was should have called us in, and that Senator Gurney was the one who discussed it with him. He should have called us in and counseled with us before making a decision. ~~Again~~ And yet he felt that, I guess, ~~yes,~~ that the Senator's advice, as a statewide candidate and as elected official, that ~~even~~ he knew and had his finger in the ~~poll.~~ pulse. Of course, at that time he had ~~Crichton~~ Hall in Orange County and George Anderson as the State Finance chairman, from Orange County. So ~~Senator Powell was~~ the center of power if he was going to be running for reelection ~~was~~ again was all around Gurney, ~~and~~ they were Gurney's people, so to speak at that time. so maybe he was fearful of that kind of...

K- Before we talk about the upcoming '70 campaign, let's ~~look~~ go back and let me ask you ~~something,~~ a question about ~~the~~ this salary issue and the veto, as it occurred. presumably, as a legislator it was a ~~high~~ hot political issue and it had to be... had to be handled with an extreme amount of care by both Democrats and Republicans ~~and~~ when you ~~brought~~ vote yourself yes a salary increase, ~~I'm~~ you're not sure

had a study made,

J: It was in the papers that we were discussing it and ~~that~~ we were

that we were considering legislation that would raise the salary to $12,000 according to

the new constitution, ~~it was nice~~ which allowed us to do it, but we would check with each

other, ~~and~~ we would talk to each other about "How's your mail? ~~How~~ do you get any letters.

~~and~~ we just would not get but one or two letters, three letters, that would

even mention the salary, ~~and~~ until the governor made it a political issue,

it was not the issue in the minds of people, I don't ~~think~~ believe, and I still

believe ~~it was dated in~~ to this day that at that particular point ~~and~~ in time, that it had not

become something people were very concerned about. ~~And~~ if it had been

handled differently ~~maybe then maybe~~ I don't think it would have been that big a concern~~ed~~. Some yes,

but not the majority of the citizens, ~~and~~ he said things in speech after speech,

after he vetoed it that continued to fire up the emmotions of the people.

and he ~~caught~~ fired up the emmotions ~~of~~ with his veto ~~and part of~~ and he fired up the emmotions with

releases and the things that ~~had to~~ happened afterwards is what fired it up into such a

political issue.

K- while we are talking about the administration, before we get to the re-election,

while we're in a four year period, of course, it probably would have been ~~what's~~ clear

to the govern~~ment~~ or that there was no way the War on Crime could remain

funded the way that it was.

all tax payers understand it. and he inclined to look upon it with charity, and I can understand your concern. I would imagine -- and this is really what I want to ask -- I shouldn't imagine because I would like for you to tell me. Did the Republican leadership in the House and in the Senate which had, they thought, the year of the governor -- as it turned out you didn't, apparently. Did you have to reassure the Democrats specifically that the governor was not going to veto and did this have any rupturing effect between Democratic and Republicanism? after he came down and did this?

J: No, we did, of course, have an agreement with the Democrats that we would not lead them down a Primerose path, so to speak. And then, flake off on them at the last minute, and leave them with the responsibility for voting salary. And us to take it, but to be in a position saying we were against it and our governor vetoed and they are the ones who forced the override or one thing and another. They did want assurance. They sought it constantly, Schultz was constantly checking to see was the governor still for it.

Because he realized that it had the basis of being an issue that was of big consequence to our future in politics. Quite frankly, none of us would find that in our mail.

K: I'm sure ~~that~~ when he organized it, he must have ~~felt that there was~~ had to give some thought to that ~~some problem there.~~ What about in the legislature, ~~when,~~ what kinds of reaction, when he went to went on ~~and what do~~ you as a legislator and ask for a more permanent funding ~~to~~ for Wackenhutt his ~~black~~ employees? ~~Were~~ Was there any particular party issues, incidents that would come to mind ?

J: When he came to the legislature, asking for more permanent funding ?

K- Did he not go to the legislature and ask for the legislature to appoint thirty of the ~~MacIntosh~~ Wackenhutt people or so ~~himself?~~ And put it on a permanent statewide basis? Did that not ever occur? I may be wrong.

J: ~~I don't recall.~~ I don't recall that ever occurring. ~~I may be wrong.~~ I don't recall him wanting us to pay for ~~financing~~ any of his "citizen's war on crime." He wanted the legislature to go ahead and act, to get the permanent law enforcement agency.

K- but that didn't occur before ~~the~~ that.

J: Not to my knowledge, because even when ~~he~~ we passed it, ~~he~~ we didn't pass it for ~~to~~ many people, to start off with. It was very low funding. ~~He~~ We got it started but the fund didn't establish positions ~~for a good many years.~~ and that the people could use.

K- That is the second question that comes along. ~~Why~~ why? you are limited by

J:

your total revenues. Many times the legislature would initiate a program and not be able to fund it at the time they initiate. it that happens at the university many times. where they might say we are going to put in a college of pharmacy at this particular university, but then they just put a little money up to get it organized.

And that's what we did with because of limitation of funds. We made a set-up and said and started saying, "let's get some people in and start putting it together, and putting together an organizational structure, writing job descriptions, and the next time we'll establish the positions that they'll need out in the field. next time we'll have more money available." And trying to live within the budget because he was also insisting for things like this to be established but he was also insisting and so were the legislature insisting that he live within a certain revenue plans because you know we the party is a little bit different in that we can't exceed our records. We have to go to hold-back our records. and I like that because we are limited by what we take in in revenues. So then you are forced to adopt certain priorities, Put your money where you think your priorities are and in some instances, in this particular instance

J: the priority was just not as great as in Education, as your transportation, ~~and~~ or some other thing. so on, but to get the concept started, is... ~~our secretaries footed the~~ that voted for bills and said, "you know, you won't need to vote for the bill. You know good and well we don't have ~~anything~~ money to ~~publish~~. Fund it" They, "yeah," He says but you vote for it anyhow. It will make the people happy that we accepted the concept. And if We never get around to funding it, ~~we~~ they'll still be happy that ~~you~~ we thought enough to pass the bill that established the concept." I'm still ~~saying that~~ disturbed, I don't like that particular ~~poster.~~ approach. If you say ~~that~~ something is needed, then you ought to recognize ~~the~~ honesty that it is ~~being~~ needed to have the funds necessary ~~especially~~ to do the job. Not to leave out those ____. but I think that ~~is~~ was the basic reason that he ~~couldn't~~ didn't get ~~along with~~ all the staff, and stuff, was to find out who ~~you are~~ he was going to appoint first. He didn't give a dam, under his total control. As you put in some of the cabinet people ~~you~~ we were still fighting the cabinet, chief executive, ~~philospher~~ the strong chief executive philosophy that we had to compromise, ~~his~~ as Republicans from that standpoint. We finally had to accept the fact that there would be other cabinet people involved, in decisions and controls over ~~us.~~ the law enforcement agency.

K- OK so I suppose that we ought to ask before we move into the campaign what-- ~~type of~~ after the salary veto issue... ~~simply~~ ~~probably~~ ~~more important than that~~ incident... I don't want to call it an incident; ~~it was~~ --I certainly It was far more important than that.

K - after that issue occurred and it was over with, what kinds of things happened toward the end of it? Did anything happen between then and 1973? Did anything else happen that made this controversy between the legislature and the governor worse?

J: I was a little bit wrong in the cause of my memory dating ~~other~~ problems, but we did have some problems even before the salary thing, where we got involved as legislators with the governor's differences with the party, even though we...

K - How did that happen?

J: Well, the party people would complain to us. Of course, I was, also, ~~appointee~~ party as well as elected and - would hear in our meetings and so forth about his ~~expansions~~ expenditures of monies, about his failure to take into consideration recommendations to the ~~parties~~ as far as ~~conditions~~ positions go, appointments and things of this nature. And not working with parties as close as ~~they~~ he should. And then his attitude toward the legislature itself on occasions ~~and he~~ was sort of looking down his nose at ~~this unmeaty~~ us as unneed of government, arm ~~friendship~~ branch of government. And I do remember, I tried my best to remember exactly what had happened, but it happened before the veto and probably in '68.

J: He decided that his population had gone in sort of a ~~offered a post~~ popular at first when he went in and then after the inaugeration, after the special election, ~~in~~ and down the road in '68 , his popularity had begun to fall, particularly with Republicans. Young Republicans were upset with him about some things that he had done, ~~and said~~ or stopped ~~and ped~~ ~~stop~~ doing.

K - What kinds of things caused that popularity to fall?

J: Appointments, mostly the ones where They would hear Republicans not being considered for this job and the governor not working with party funds ~~and~~ or things. Since The Young Republicans were the base of the party machinery discussed earlier, They were the first to become offended if ~~we~~ he didn't work with this group that had gotten the Republican senior party

K - And yet you ~~yet~~ today, at least, applaud him for making nonpartisan appointments.

J: I applauded him for making good appointments. I'm not saying that he couldn't have found qualified Republicans that might have been able to do the job just as well. I don't think that it was just so much in every instance that we got disgusted. It's just ~~we~~ the appointments that the lack of respect and involving himself in things of the party, because it was in '68 that we had the selection of

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J: the National Committee ~~and~~ men and Committee women when we met in Orlando.

SIDE TWO OF TAPE II

J: Now the selection "Our problems really started with the governor before the salary veto took place as far as the selection of the national committeemen and committewomen. ~~and~~ the meeting took place in Orlando. The party was supporting Bill Cramer, running for re-election - national committeeman. They were opposing ~~Pauline~~ Helene Morris, ~~one who had been in the~~ Just one little bit of background, up to this point. The national committeemen and committeewomen were elected throughout the state on a statewide election by Republicans, but we ~~had~~ as a party under Murphin had supported ~~both~~ with the Democrats, who were also, a little bit tired of the statewide election for the two positions, changed the election laws that would allow~~ed~~ the party to adopt rules for the election of the National Committeemen and Committeewomen. and we passed that in the interim and this was the first time after the '67 session that this was done that we would actually operate under the selection process, of electing one by our own group, rather than having the Republicans at large be able to, ~~because,~~ of course, before it took a very wealthy person to travel throughout the state, as you remember, and ~~Elaine~~ Helene Morris from over in Sarasota was our National Committeewoman. She

J: had been with G. Harold Alexander ~~at the time of the~~ and the Tom Fairfield ~~Bryant~~ Brown group, so there was no way we ~~could~~ were going to be support Helene. ~~And~~ we were supporting Paula Hawkins. When I say we, the party structure itself, and Bill Cramer. Helene Morris was running on her own for re-election. The Pinellas group thought that ~~he was~~ we were wrong ~~in having a~~ as party to support ~~Bill~~ Paula Hawkins because where did she come from, ~~did~~ what had she ever done, and Mary ~~Guzzling~~ that Grizzle was the first woman legislator in the state of Florida from the Republican standpoint, at least, and ~~Paula~~ she had been, I guess, president of the Woman's Federation and in the state, and ~~Figured~~ she ought to be the national committeewoman, she ought to have this recognition. ~~one.~~ Well, in the first place, she was busy enough being a legislator. And we thought that Paula would be more effective as a National Committeewoman For many other reasons. ~~Member. On the other hand~~, I nominated Paula ~~Paulette~~ at that particular meeting and then Mary was nominated, and also Helene. And Mary did -- I mean ~~uhor run and~~ Paula didn't ~~run~~ win in the first election, but what got everybody mad at Claude Kirk was that he had decided to come in and throw ~~threw through~~ his support behind Mary Grizzle ~~Grizzle~~ for the National Committee Woman, to bring in a very nice guy, Reed from up here in Martin County, Net a Reed, who is a fabulous person who everybody loves and a great environmentalist. ~~in~~ anything that he does, He does a good job and a dedicated job on it.

J: but the governor came down ~~on~~ with walkie talkie, that's the first time that we had had the opportunity to have walkietalkies thrust at us and people walking around that were representing the governor's office. During the time ~~that~~ we were trying to make our minds up, the governor participated in applying political pressure to various members of the state committee as far as ~~taking~~ kicking them off advisory committees ~~We'd~~ if they didn't go with him; not ~~listing~~ listening to any of their recommendations ~~or~~ For appointments that might come up in the future if they didn't go with him as far as who he wanted ~~them to during~~ on the National Committee. He even had given one of our young Republicans, ~~Howe Steven,~~ Hal Stayman the position with the turnpike authority. And ~~Howe~~ Hal was there, working the hotel for the governor's two ~~tenants and~~ candidates. I remembered it well because ~~as~~ I had a great deal of respect for ~~Howard~~ Hal and particularly as an executive secretary of the group ~~and~~ or a person to head up an organization, an Employee type of a postion. And we had quite an argument that night in the hotel room because I said, " How in the world could you ~~enjoy~~ lower yourself to being up here working against the very people that you worked with ~~there~~ to help the party get established, and know that our

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J: choices for the National ~~Committee had~~ discussed early and were in total agreement." and he was explaining to me the realities of life, eating and having a job. And I later regretted that I was really trust as hard as I did, because that is something I guess that has to be taken into consideration ~~in order to~~ at the time. ~~And,~~ but we did win. And winning, it left some scars that caused his popularity ~~that~~ the Republican Party began, had already begun to fade, fade even farther. The young Republicans were participating there watching the thing, ~~I think that that~~ is where their erosion began to take place to some degree. And so to get it back to the Tallahassee situation, we got back to Tallahassee later. He decided to establish what he called a ~~thunk~~ session, ~~thank, thank, tank,~~ whatever he referred to it, he would invite from both houses people to ~~the dimension~~ and we would sit around and discuss things, ~~and~~ we would have the pulse of things in our district, in our area. He could benefit and we could benefit from this type of informal discussion, which ~~was~~ we thought ~~as~~ important as ~~the plastic~~ idea ~~and~~ so ~~that~~ the first one was called, and we arrived at the meeting and we were going to have ~~depth~~ ~~dimension~~ and then go into the living room and sit and talk

J: and discuss things.

K - Can you date ... the meeting?

J: It was in '68, what date, I don't know. All I can remember, in trying to date, it was that I was still living the Prince ~~Maurette~~ Murat Hotel. ~~and~~ we moved out of there when the manager got shot, so I could find out ~~the~~ that From when he got shot. ~~that~~ But I went with Don Reed; ~~to come to~~ From the house we had Ray Osborne, Mary Grizzell, Don Reed, and myself. ~~So~~ from the Senate Bill Young. I think we had ... I'm not so sure we ... I can't remember the others that were there.

It's not really important, but we had an interim. ~~and~~ then as we finished dinner, I remember the governor looking up from the table down where I was sitting and saying, "what are you doing?" See him here? You're not even my friend." ~~and~~ I said, "Well, I was selected by my minority leader to come here, ~~and~~ so I am here with the house people." Then we left the - He ~~wasn't~~ was joking about it; he wasn't being ugly. ~~ugly; he was jo king about it.~~ He was just laughing and saying this type of a thing. He went into ... Everything was beautiful at dinner. We didn't have steak; we had some kind of a rice and I was ~~explaining~~ expecting ~~to~~ at the governor's mansion ~~about that~~ that I'd have steak. At least but we went into the living room and sat down in our chairs, and I think ~~that~~ he might have fixed a couple of drinks.

J: He had on a sweater, and ~~He~~ was very informal and delightful to start off with, and then he said, "Well to start off ~~with~~ I'd like to find out how I am doing. "What are people saying about me in your districts, in the areas ~~that~~ you live in? What you hear? How am I doing as your governor?" Well ~~And~~ they started off, I think, with ~~by~~ maybe Ray Osborn, and maybe then, ~~maybe,~~ Mary Grizzle. They more or less said, "Well you know, you're got a ~~haven~~ few problems but ~~and there~~ they're nothing of any magnitude, and things are going fairly good for you. We think ~~that~~ you are all right." They to got Don Reed about third or fourth in the group and Don told me, "how do you think that I am doing?" Don said, "Well, you come across arrogant, egotistical," He said, "people all beginning not to like you. On ~~and~~ a person to person basis you do pretty good, but you are just too arrogant. You just, you know, you are losing the people and you are losing the legislature." And then he started to ~~turned~~ argue with Don ~~the argument down~~ a little bit ~~down~~ about whether he was arrogant or whether he was anything that he said. They got into sort of a field debate and I can't for the life of me remember the things that were said, but at this particular point after the hair on the back of his neck began to almost stand up, He rushed out in the middle of the living room and put his finger down to the carpet and he ran ~~run~~ a line across it, stepped ~~and looked~~ back, and said "you are either over here with me or you can get the hell out!"

~~J:(He rushed out in the middle of the living room and put his finger down to the carpet)~~

I and we got up and Reed buttoned his blue blazer, went left the door open. got to the door, and left. And I got up and buttoned my blazer ~~to my pleasure~~ and walked to the door, and the governor said, "James where in the hell are you going?" I said, "I'm following my leader." And we left. And because of our former experiences with the governor, if you get in an argument with him, a little argument, and he would come and find you later and make you come back and talk about it some more. So we said, let's don't go ~~on~~ back to the motel room, let's and go out some place and have a few drinks and sort of hide from him, so ~~hat~~ if he decides ~~that~~ he wants us back we won't have to spend all night listening to him at the ~~dimension.~~ mansion. So we hid out for awhile and then went back to the motel rather late, he never bothered us that night at all. and ~~father said now~~ the next day he did say that "I was like just tired, beat busy and you know how I am. I'm not mad at any body. We're all good ~~and dizzy and~~ ~~we were all good friends. Everything got over~~ friends, aren't we?" And "yeah, we've all good friends." Everything got over with pretty well it from a that one experience, but ~~he~~ was just ~~exactly as~~ an example of the governor's inability to take criticism, I think, And total belief in himself and that he was right ~~in~~ and that anybody elses opinion... ~~when~~ if you He asked for criticism but then we gave it to him, he didn't appreciate it. Of course, I should have known then, as I have known all my life, that

J: this is true of most of us. you can say, "Tell me the truth," then you tell somebody the truth, and they're not too happy that you told it to them, that you relate to them, but that experience and the one in Orlando was differences that we had with the governor prior to the salary thing. One thing to clear up on the salary thing was, I didn't think that at the time was the way to go. I went with the majority. I went with the... the same way our system works, When it comes to electing officials we have to believe that the person who gets the majority of votes is the representative of all the people at that particular time. The rest of us did not get a ~~majority~~ minority vote. ~~They~~ accepted ~~that~~ this is the way our government works. And when we voted on ~~our~~ the salary thing to go with ~~we voted with~~ the $12,000 salary at that particular time, I had suggested the salary commission type thing which they rejected but now ~~it's~~ has become adopted. They do now have a committee appointed by the governor to study salaries of the judicial officers, executive officers, legislative officers, and to make recommendations of what ~~we~~ they should be paid, ~~in~~ and increases that ought ~~to be~~ allowed. And they would after the following election to be ~~to make it~~ go into effect if the legislature didn't reject ~~it~~ them.

J: similar to what the Federal government does. And I thought at the time ~~because~~ a cross section of Florida citizens should get together to study the jobs of legislature and decide if we ~~were going to~~ deserved a change the salary, ~~or what~~ if so and how much and what. And I even thought that they'd come up with a better salary than we could ~~get.~~ come up with. ~~It was~~ my experience with citizens' groups is that, if they get behind you and bother you for a couple of weeks, They come away with a sort of a new assurance that . . .

K- Appreciation . . .

J- appreciation of the work that is being done.

J- Because I ~~can't~~ kept absolutely accurate records for one two-year period of ~~and~~ every hour that I spent in legislative duties, and one year, I remember specifically, I ~~owed~~ worked 618 hours more ~~for more~~ than an eight-hour day, five day a week, with two week vacation, you see, in purely legislative involvement, the duties of my job. and I didn't say that everybody did that, because everybody didn't, but we based the salary on approximately a fifty per cent of ~~the~~ person's time being spent in legislative duties. And that the average executive in Tallahassee, in a position in a department, ~~with~~ the salary was $27,500. That was the year we were writing . . . ~~Even~~ the report came to the conclusion $12,000 to $15,000 --- I think they recommended $15,000

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K- That was the basis for _____

J: _____

K: OK, so the issues ~~is explicit~~. the splits were coming to a head

I suppose that we ought to move to 1970. And the governor is going to run for reelection. ~~The~~ question number one! was there any consideration, ~~anybody~~ did anybody consider trying to convince governor Kirk that he ~~should~~ should not run for re-election?

J: No. Not to my knowledge. ~~They~~ I don't recall anybody talking to the governor ~~gether~~ and saying, ~~publically~~ that he should not run.

K: Was there anyone talking among themselves? considering that the governor ~~is~~ should not run for re-election? Not that I recall because I didn't J: _____ to his running for reelection. have any opposition as far as his, ~~office being~~ job in the office governor, I did not get dissatisfied with it, _____

K-: OK. and how did the Buffalo, Jack Skip ~~Falk, Jet~~ Eckerd, Claude Kirk split? ~~How it~~ happened as far as you know? What role did you play? How did all this? ~~The~~

J: Well, the Buffalo Skip ~~Phallas~~ thing, I think, Buffalo Skip ~~McPhallas~~ decided that the Governor could not win again, in his own mind. He also was, I think, terribly upset that the governor ~~he~~ selected Ray Osborn instead of himself as Lieutenant Governor. He thought ~~that~~ since he had been, sort of a, ... I think ~~probably~~ without even telling people

J: he had been slipping into the Governor's office, advising the Governor on things, even beyond what we suspected and I think that since he felt that he was so opposed to the top assistant's recommendations, that he advised him on other things behind the scenes, that he would be the natural lieutenant governor's choice, and would resolve what he was looking making his mind up, Burdick was going to be lieutenant governor. He seemed to be hurt and when Ray Osburn was elected. So I think that he was wanted sort of to get back at the governor, the governor might consider him for lieutenant governor. I think that after he went around the state for a while and talked about running for governor, that these Cramer voices felt that this guy will never make it. Even though, he'll never give him the spark, he hasn't got the financial backing, and he hasn't got the other things it takes to be a real reliable candidate for governor, and Kirk is going to get re-elected. And, of course, they wanted him to beat it. And I think many of the party people wanted him to beat it, someone else other than Claude Kirk. I said I didn't hear from the legislative party and so I think that Cramer, particularly from that faction, that when they selected Eckerd, I think, that Eckerd had the financial strength, that he could spend

J: ~~on any~~ necessary the money or raise the money necessary

to give the governor a real fight on it. And the, by that time the governor along with ~~the committee had form a~~ had become quite a ~~ed~~ close ally with ~~Ray~~ Gurney, of course, Gurney, Cramer was going to run for the United States Senate. It was supposed to be his from all the agreements that had been made. He should be unopposed in his race for the United States Senate. He stepped aside for Gurney, that head. ~~He had~~ waited long enough. Now was his time to go. There With Gurneys and Claude Kirk's conspiracy, they got the Judge Carswell to resign and to announce that he was going to run for the United States Senate, which ~~was~~ is probably one of the most ~~public~~ tragic things that happened ~~at~~ in it all. I think Because the Judge had a life-time job, and get somebody to resign ~~and to~~ From that to run for something he didn't have a chance for winning. ~~and~~ I don't think ~~that~~ they were thinking of the judge. I think ~~that~~ they were thinking of Claude Kirk and themselves. Thinking that they could get a well-known man like Judge Carswell to be elected ~~be active~~ on the other side and to get in on this side, and to lead the ticket; that ~~he~~ it would lead Kirk back to success. That he might loose otherwise, if he didn't have somebody on the ticket that would bring the Democrats into the ~~polls~~ fold. And the North Florida people in

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like they thought that

J: ~~then appointed~~ the Judge would be able to do, but I've met the judge, ~~and~~ I've talked with him, and I don't have any bad feelings ~~about~~ with him at all. I don't think he had any idea at all what was happening.

K-: What prompted. . . .

J: I don't think he participated in the ~~J: anticipated a~~ conspiracy. It was their thinking, and they just talked to him and cnnvinced him that he was the man who ought to do it and somehow were able to, using his ego, that he must have ~~that~~ as all of us have, for him to get involved in that thing.

K-: What prompted you to run for the State Senate? You did run for the State Senate, ~~didn't you~~ in '70?

J: Well.

K-: ~~Well,~~ With all of this faction, alism ~~was~~ going on around you, all the controversy going on around you, what consideration, s prompted you to run for the State Senate?

J: All this factionalism ~~might not got~~ hadn't gotten as heavy ~~and~~ when I made my decision. Later, it got heavier and heavier, but at that time, ~~it~~ there was no ~~effort~~ Eckerd running and I don't think ~~that~~ at that time that I made the decision and announced, that there ~~would be hard well~~ was any Carswell involved ment. because Art I made the decision and ~~Nick Phallas~~ Buffalos made the decision to run for

J: governor, because we ~~have resigned the running~~ had the resign-to-run law that we had gotten past and so ~~Mc Phallus was~~ Bufallis, in saying that he was going to run for the passed.

governor's office, would be required to step down ~~in~~ from the Senate ~~suit~~ seat.

It was an off-election year. There was nobody running for office for the Senate except those ~~who~~ that were resigning to run for some other office. And you had Senator...Congressman now, Bill...

K-: ~~Lonard?~~ GUNTHER

J: No, not Bill ~~Leonard~~ GUNTHER, it's over in Pinellas County. ~~Bill Young.~~

K: Bill Young?

J: Bill Young was a State Senator. He was resigning and the House member ~~Don~~ John Ware was stepping up to run for that ~~and some~~ open senate seat. Well, ~~McPhallus~~ Bufallis was from ~~that~~ my area, and the most ~~pupular~~ populous party area of the ~~of~~ it's Palm Beach County, and He was resigning. And nobody else in my house delegation was interested in moving up. We went to Mr. ~~Lee~~ Reed, I thought that ~~Don Lee~~ Don Reed ~~should~~ would be the one.

He was a minority leader, but nevertheless he had more years of experience that anybody else in the delegation, and he had not ever run for a higher office. He had talked about every office in the book ~~and~~ but had never run. I went to him and said, "are you going to run for ~~McPhallus~~ Bufallis' seat?" He said, "I don't know." I said, "Well, you know, decide, ~~besides~~ because I don't think ~~that~~ we ought to let ~~this~~ it just go and loose a seat when we've got people in the ~~house~~ house delegation with some experience that can run ~~it~~ for it."

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J: I talked to the other man in the delegation and said are you interested in it? And he came back and said, no, He said, "No, I am not. I am not." I like being my minority leader. ~~mayor you so~~ and so with my ego and the vacancy being there I said well, shoot nobody else will go, I'll go. And maybe they didn't want to run for the reasons you talk about. There was going to be a bad year. Kirk wasn't going to be that popular. There was controversy in the party, but the office was still there. And uh, somebody still had to run for it. I decided it would be me. ~~He~~ She didn't like it too much. & My wife didn't. She thought that I ought to stay in the House. And for a Monday quarterback she was probably right as it turned out. But at the time I still thought in spite of that because politicians don't actually believe that all these things are going to hurt them. They believe their popularity is there. They believe ~~their popularity is there~~ there are loved and they believe that they are loved and when you believe that you are loved that much, you don't believe that somebody elses problems are going to cause you to be turned down, but they do work out that way. It is just one of those th ings, but that's all right with me. you know that is one of our things- we have to be loved,

K - You lost in a close election. And then you went back to the party.

J: let's say liaison

K -: right.

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J: You see, we had the party elections. I told you about in seventy.

And the party people ran in the first primary. September. All the party offices were selected. ~~See,~~ I had worked around the state ~~for AmaState~~ with Tommy ~~as an indicator~~ helping him to get votes to defeat Crittenden.

and we had particularly in the ninth Congressional District, I had made a personal visit with him ~~that~~ to each person in that district - introduced him to them, talked to them about it, we flew off to — I had considered making a run for the state chairmanship myself ~~and~~ but only on the basis that the state chairman become the paying job. I couldn't afford to just leave my business and become state chairman on a full time basis which I thought was almost necessary to have in a state with seven million people. So I went to a meeting and I believe again in Winter Park ~~in~~ and Orlando area, told them that I was thinking about making a run for it, discussed it with the people that I trusted in the party all the year that we were involved in this type of decision and the name was brought up of Tommy Thomas. ~~We were~~ over in Panama City. I said that I had heard of him, but that I had never met the man, and they said that before that you make your mind up, that you want to run for it and get us make a decision that we would support making it a ~~the~~ salaried position here's a man

J: that has the money that he can run for the office and spend the time, and, spend the money necessary.

-: Who were these people that you were talking to?

Who did you consult with?

J: Paula Hawkins, Ray (Boylston) Ft. Lauderdale, you know all the people that were there. Ralph (English) from Ocala, Bill Taylor out of Jacksonville, still is and still was, he never gets out. He stays there and we had up in Holiday Vale some people from the Panhandle. I think Bill might have been there that particular at meeting. There were a number of the state committee people - board people executive that were at the meeting.

K: -: And they encouraged you to go see Tommy Thomas.

J: Well, let me say that the - it was not unanimous men there, a couple of them, a couple of them that were opposed to a salary change. They just didn't pay a salary check. ——— Laula all of it specifically, but that was the way ———

K: - Paul Hawkins. ———

J: He was the one who was totally opposed to a salaried chairman she was also the one who opposed legislative salary, the other side being against Gruney and - all politicians were necessary to ban I guess now that she had

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J: been elected, she ~~didn't~~ doesn't feel that - - — —

K: -: Was there any problem or controversy raised at all on this question — or do you want to answer it ... This is the question that we want to ask. Any controversy raised over the

idea of having a party chairman for this area that goes from one

Panhandle - ~~manufacturing and all~~. does that factor in at all ...?

J: ~~Manufacturing~~, No, that factor at all. I don't think entered into it.

I think that it was strictly from the standpoint that I had nominated

Paula. We had some differences in and the operation of the committee from

that point went on for a while that I wanted to get rid of ~~Chri~~

Chritendon, ~~is~~ was Crittenden was in her area and all these people involved were from that

area. And Orange County pretty well had a lock on it so if there had

been any regional type thing, — ~~he~~ she had been trying to keep it

in that area, but she said that she was opposed to paying a chairman

and she and some of the others were leaning one way or the other. ~~another.~~

They just didn't know what. I just said that I was tired of Chritendon

I want not I want to run against him and ~~want to give~~ I'm giving him every

consideration to running and I made my mind up totally yet. but I'm

thinking about it. If I do, I'll ask him the committee to ~~pay~~ give me

And so they said would you fly over there or would you go see

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J: Tommy Thomas and Dave Boston (Austin) said, I'll fly you over, you and your wife over and we'll call in and get an appointment set up. So Gray and Dr. Lane, Bobby and I, Sen. Lane from Broward County. We flew over in Gray's plane to Panama City. We met Tommy and Virginia. We went out to the little place on the beach and we were just absolutely delighted with the two of them. We enjoyed their company. I was impressed with what he knew about the party, the background, and work he'd done in Alabama as well as in Florida for the Republican party. And his ability to meet with people so quickly and to get them to like him. That it was just personal friendliness that he has about him. To meet him on a one to one basis. I thought that he could talk with so many people and being from North Florida he could get a good edge with North Florida people and that he could talk and the South Florida people could fall in love with him just as quickly in my district and in others districts and he did have a big Chevrolet dealership and - that he turned over to Centerfield. They more or less got themselves successful in business. It was much better for him than for me and so I agreed that weekend to support him and work with him and to become sort of his (attendant) assistant in the campaign.

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J: to go ahead and to tell the story and to bring him around and to introduce him to various people and so after we completed this,... of course I had no idea of working with him at that particular time of any appointments on the committee because I had been elected to the state committee, but I was also running for the State Senate. So I figured that I would be too busy in the State Senate to take on a higher responsibility party beyond just being a committee man. And as it turned out, then I was defeated. He was elected. And I was elected to the state committee and he was elected as our chairman. (But you do NOT organize ~~but well org anizing~~ until January) then the November elections came and I was defeated for ~~at duty with~~ the Senate. Then, I went back to the convention. He was still not the chairman. He had only been elected as state committee man in September so we were still going around meeting people and getting votes all the way up to January 9th, I believe. And then, I worked the floor of the ~~Florida~~ convention and made some nominating speeches and stuff like that so we won again our state from then on

? always when — ?

She got up and went back to Gainesville so she ~~elected Republican president.~~ in terms of the position that she was looking for.

J: And, so ~~anso~~ he asked me if I would accept an appointment in legislative counsel? I told him yes. He said that he would like to see it become more than that, since he wanted to meet with us and discuss moving the Republican Party from Orlando to Tallahassee and this is what I ~~had~~ suggested to him because this is one of my pet points of view. ~~That~~ If I had run for chairman it would have been to locate a permanent headquarters in Tallahassee and not let it move to West Palm Beach to Sarasota to Tampa to Orlando. . . .

K: - local area influence? to local area.

J: Well, and, also, people get the idea that some flakey organization. . . they open up a new office someplace every four years. And that we showed the other party something, because now they followed our suit-opened up offices in Tallahassee. But I told him that when I was running the campaign, I was opening offices in Tallahassee being where the action is, being where the capital press is, and the press release in turn puts out to be better ~~service~~ distributed to the state and that this is the ~~place~~ base to work out of because we are that related to government. ~~We are~~ If it's going to be a party it ought to be ~~Well, he wound up~~ that campaign We ~~stressed~~ discussed this with that people so it means after his election, we sat down and discussed the

J: mechanics of looking for the building and searching in Tallahassee .

Fortunately, we found the Chamber of Commerce ~~of~~ Building, with a financial deal where I think Tommy and one other man signed it.

K: -: who was the other man?

J: No, he was from Miami Uh, American Marine Under writers , Joe Fogarty ~~Boe~~ and I think that the two of them. We discussed everybody on the executive board putting their signature on the note, but the bank didn't like that idea too much and they didn't like the idea of having a lot of fifteen or sixteen people to run around and chase down people in case the mortagage went (bad!) ~~through~~.

~~-: True~~

J: So Tommy finally, said to them, look suppose two people either put up cash ~~and~~ or securities and sign on to the thing and the - ? been making payment of it since then. Another thing I talked about was that there was no communication while I was in the legislature. We were forever wondering why Gavitendon would say for example that he was against the salary when we hadn't heard from him and all of a sudden the governor vetoes it. He makes it a ~~tragedy~~ Somebody governor 100% impression that he was with the gov. 100% He's right.

All the time ——— ? the debate is going on discussion going on and he hadn't seen our chairmah. So he became a man with the

J; with the legislative disliked. They ~~He~~ just accepted — from his county Don Reed, the ones from Sarasota , from Broward County, and the rest of them, Duke Crittenden ~~Pete Griffin~~ became a very ugly word — For here was a man who ~~He was a candidate and~~ all of a sudden was blasting us and we were his party's elected officials and he had never advised us of the ~~his~~ party's position and the salaries whatsoever. And so this was a problem that I saw ~~thought~~ in communication. So ~~What~~ I had suggested the elected chairman tell him too that you are going to establish communication between Republican elected officials in Tallahassee and the party chairman's ~~As~~ office. Well as ~~Says~~ "I got defeated then ? ~~you do anyhow.~~ So he says ~~Says~~ would you come up here and act as a - liaison and accept this legislative counsel? And so ~~and~~ I did. So we moved to Tallahassee at that session and I handled the job from the party headquarters. It was just a few blocks from the capital. Carrying messages to our Republican officials and meeting with them in Caucuses in case there ~~was a party~~ What does the party think? and I'd tell them what the executive board had said at its meeting that they had discussed that particular subject. That there ~~had been~~ ? any results . We didn't try to tell anybody that you will ~~would~~ vote this way or you will ~~would~~ vote that way, but if an issue was there. We'd try ~~They'd try~~ to say ~~save~~ the party has ~~and~~ discussed it.

J: the majority of the board members felt that this was good legislation, that is this ~~and if it's~~ bad legislation, it ought to be changed. ~~Are there any~~

K: Are there any specific instances that stand out in your own mind as an example of the kind of thing that you are talking about. ~~exactly~~ the value of what you are doing?

J: I think that in elections (~~spill~~ bill), probably (the biggest?) because the legislative leadership sometimes appoints some of the most inexperienced people to the elections committee and they get in here and start messing around with the election laws. They get. They won't even run for office. They have never had the experience of trying to raise money. They ~~were trying~~ or trying to operate a mechanical party structure and I think the adoption of the - We worked on the bill having to do with the putting all the taking from the statutes basically spell out exactly the operation of the Republican and Democrat State Executive Committee's and ~~accounting~~ county committees from the statutes. And I worked with the Republican members relation election committee, Republicans in both houses, to help me develop a law that would give the tax voters a part to some ~~accounting~~ County? committees. That the party adopts the rules and procedures rather than have them outlined in the statutes so that both parties wouldn't have to be identical because maybe the Democrats Party would find that ~~would find that his party's got~~ they would want to adopt rules and prodedures that would ~~vary~~ carry

J: build its base one way. We might decidethat we want to do it an entirely different way, but we both ~~lucked~~ locked into being twins you might say. Following the same procedures basically. There were other pieces of legislation ~~that~~ besides elections . ~~The~~ Well, the corporate income tax was one issue that I worked with them and because the Republican Party took a position totally opposed to corporation income tax and ~~inde~~ and we were, I went to the caucus and explained the party's position, ~~telling~~ told them why they were opposed to it and what they thought and how they thought that they ought to react to it. As it turned out, of course we had some ~~and the~~ Republicans ~~payed~~ Flake off and we had some deals made and we thought that the tax did get through. I still think that to this day, if they had done what we had suggested and stayed in there tight, and followed what their caucus was doing — but they broke away from the caucuses and we had people break off from the caucus position and this I think is when they lost some of their real respect that the Democratic Party had for them. Is when ~~their great~~ it was the Democratic party realized that on important issues they could crack them but before that it wasn't a partisan issue. Sure we would go ~~with the Democrats real good~~ enought to pass it. but if something we thought was Partisan the party had a position we ~~weren't in favor of it~~. We did not flake off We stayed in there tight and at this particular point in time these men, they ~~were good for~~ progress. They had full amount of debate. The position would be taken and the next day you find five of

J: them going the other way. Instead of staying with the Party position that was adopted by the party and of course, you have five of them do it one day, the next day two more are going to say, "Well, why should I stick with the ~~problem~~ party's position. They got away with it. Of course, there's no way to do anything to them. Nobody ever suggested there was, but just from solidarity and from the standpoint that you are not going to be respected as a force in this body unless there comes a time when key issues and the stand up and be counted as a Republican and this is the philosophy. This is the philosophy of ~~government~~ we've got about taxation; that the corporate tax, and personal income tax, stand up and say this is where we are going to stand, and stand here, and if we get run over. this is what What you need to do; they didn't do that. I can't recall an issure, ~~but I'd get~~. We'd have board meetings in Tallahassee about once a month and sometimes less if something com was -ing up. We had board meetings before hand, and discussed some of the legislation coming in ~~come~~ up ~~at~~ various schools fields and they discussed it and then I would get get from them their opinion, and I would and other things that I did was go to cabinet meeting and listen to what the cabinet was doing, whether to see I could find any information that would be useful to our chairman. As the loyal oposition, out of office you might say, the minority should be able to ~~change~~ bring things in to light ~~of~~ to the general public. Even though we did find some things we found some things in as far as the cabinet ~~way~~ want, ~~lieutenant~~ governor, and as far as I am concerned, as the governor goes, we tried it. We issued ~~precendents~~ press releases, but they didn't get too much play throughout the state. We kept Because the capital press corps was still involved with its ~~the passporters here involved in its this~~ honeymooning with the governor and he could do no wrong. And maybe our timing on submitting the ~~precedents.~~ press releases was bad. Otherwise it didn't work, as well as we had expected.

K: Any specific issue there you care to give ~~us~~ as an example?

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J: As an example, I'd like to bring out the issue of the legislative wings in Tallahassee. I went to the cabinent meeting and they would discussing who would build it and the attorney was there representing Knott Construction Company out of Baltimore, Maryland. And so I just started taking notes and listening to what they were saying It became apparent to everybody in the room that Knott Construction Company had come in as low bidder, but that they had found in the statutes the technicality because they had not either done something regarding the bid procedures exactly the way that it was supposed to be done. And so it was recommended by the governor to the chairman that the low bid be thrown out because of this technical violation; And the second lowest bid which was from the (Greenhut's) fact that the law was being pushed for some agreement construction that that Company in Pensacola be accepted, and so I figured well that's Pensacola, the governor (from?) of Pensacola, worth looking into, so the I went to the Secretary of State's office and found out who the (Greenhut's?) green hats were and what well was his financial statements, his wife, his childre n, various his relatives, people in his office by making calls to Pensacola and checking with people up there taking people in realestate to find out who worked for him, and he was involved directly with the construction and came up with between $8,000 , $9,000 contributions

from just this particular individual and his acquaintances to

~~to~~ the governor's campaign. Find out that ~~Bartow~~

(Brocktow?) was appointed to the Board of Business Regulations. And that

he was the ~~elected~~ electrical contractor. ~~the it~~ And it was worth to the ~~e lec ted~~ electrical contractor? . . . ?

(was worth 2.1 millions of dollars ~~and~~ of this ten million plus . That's

before - extras, that's just what the ~~contractor~~ contract was worth, in the

legislative wing. And we thought that there was a tie in. We thought

that it was something that if it had happened in our administration

would have been exposed and the governor would have been crucified for

it. And I thought that I ~~would find~~ had found a gold mine of political espionage

you might say into the finances of the campaign. That the press was just take and

enjoy having ~~taking a~~ but they didn't like it. They didn't enjoy it, and nothing

ever came of it.

And it was fun doing it but still ~~I~~ it was kinda wasted effort.

K: - let's backtrack. As a legislator, in 1967 to 1970, what do you ~~do~~ see as

significant accomplishments your legislative sessions made, and you in your . . . ?

(party? Republican? legistive) What significant contributions do you think..?

J: ~~about~~ of the Republican Pary itself?

K: - As ~~a~~ the legislators of the Republican Party in that period of time,

J: Of course, I felt the greatest contribution ~~was the~~ is the change that

J; ~~had~~ has taken place ~~that is taking place~~ and is taking place in the legislative branch itself. I don't think that it could ~~never~~ ever have taken place if the Republicans had not gotten enough people up there to assist in doing it. I don't think that one party would have accepted the responsibility by itself. Or not ~~not~~ the responsibility so much as the threat that it might have brought to their political careers, but if there's one thing ~~at this~~ that this date that not just the State of Florida, but every state, it's a weakness of the legislative branch to be able to handle the responsibility of government, concerning policies for the state. And we were still operating on the every two year crisis basis of do nothing, know noth ing legislators who weren't trained, ~~weren't~~ or prepared, and never understood ~~legislature~~ legislation that they were passing, beyond the fact that they were told that it was good by somebody ~~they were~~ in voting for it. And the outstanding contribution, I think, that the ~~is~~ Republican legislators made is participating and willing to step out into a take a strong, positive position and seeing that the legislative branch ~~was then~~ becomes an equal branch with the judicial, executive in the State of Florida.

I think that the adoption, the second most significant thing was that, ~~they~~ ... well, I think that without them they ~~then~~ could not have had the Constitution election of 1968. And I think that the constitutional revision was necessary, we had outlived the 1885 Constitution.

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It was confusing to the

J: ~~abusing~~ citizens and others because of the multitude of ammendments and again I don't think that without the Republicans ~~taken~~ taking the stand that they did in ~~support of~~ supporting it. Traveling throughout the state along with the Democrat majority ~~with~~ giving it that bi-partisan thing (ring?), he could have mustered the support of citizens; ~~that the support are~~ I think are ~~out working~~ our work in the field of ~~with~~ even financing ~~with the~~ ~~the~~ the various state agencies, ~~that had been submitted~~ has been significant, I think, too, that we brought to ~~had thought through~~ the state government some changes in attitudes; ~~and additives, and~~ I think the re-organization of state government, we supported fully, in reducing the other agencies down to no more than twenty five. It was going to end up being better than it has been to this point, but of course, I think right now the problem is that the legislature does not measure up yet either. At least, we have set up the basis that someday we hope that it will measure up to what, expectations that we had for it. And the re-organization of the executive branch has not saved the people, the taxpayers, the money, it has ~~I think that~~ ~~it has~~ not provided the services as quickly as we thought ~~we~~ they would, by this reorganization. But I think down the road it will. It is going to take some time for these sweeping changes to take place. I think that we bring to the legislature the willingness to make changes ~~and~~ before that would never have been made.

J: We hadn't been in office as long ~~as he had~~ been accustomed to and then to come away and ~~it had become~~ something that we need so badly that we are afraid that if we do something we'd be defeated. We ~~want no~~ defeat and we ~~want no~~ victory ~~long~~ become important and I think ~~as much~~, of course, that not just the Republican Party but it's in the Democratic Party the same way, the newer ~~on not~~ the ones that have been around so long. And I don't know, I ~~kinda~~ think that ~~the~~ governor ——— accomplished in his term - in Claude Kirk's term, changes that took place in the State. ~~He~~ can't take full responsibility for ~~it~~. Even though we say that he was the catylyst but if it hadn't been for the Republican in the House, and the Senate, it wouldn't have happened, ~~but~~ by that time ~~he appointed one Senator~~ (~~and generally~~ included law enforcement.) It included some of the reforms in education. I don't think that there's been so much of chance of ever throwing out the (minimum foundation system) if we hadn't attacked so hard and so long, by doing some former sessions. And even though we didn't get the pleasure of being the ones who get credit for it, we initiated some of the attacks upon it. Some of the abuses that had developed. I think that ~~with what~~ we tried for years, each year we put in the bill for

J: equalization of taxes. ~~Some of the workers~~ Similar to what was in the 1868 Constitution somehow forced all the counties to property and even the assessed properties and even though we introduced legislation year after year, it never ever got to the floor for debate ~~then we~~. ~~forfeited~~, but ~~then~~ when the prices came up (crisis?) in educational financing this year, then the legislature finally did ~~this~~ pass - a bill that in effect, I think, which accomplished the same thing. It might not read as a State Board of Equalization of Taxes, but that in effect is what mechanically providing for and I think that I pushed for that year after year helped making that possible and we can't point that we have accomplished and passed legislation, as such because there's no way as a minority can ever ~~to~~ say that we passed it. Unless you have their support, you can't do it. But we assisted. We were able to take our thirty-nine people and forty-two people on occasion in swing to cause things to happen and to cause ~~in the party and~~ changes to take place. And the greatest thing that we have done, as I say, is to change the way things have been going on for years. We're doing business a little bit different. We're changing laws that were wrong to better laws and we just knocked this whole thing off the status quo.

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TAPE III

J: I think that I would like to tell you about the slate that was selected for the 1968 Republican Convention and some of the problems that came up on it. Originally the way it was set up was that in order to have complete and total harmony that the party chairman select one third of the delegates. The National Committee man, who was William Cramer, was responsible for selecting one third of the delegates and the Governor, Claude Kirk, would select one third. And this was worked out from the standpoint that if all three of these important people in our political party and Republicanism in Florida would work together, we'd have a good state of unity when we got to the Convention. But we were called in. My wife and I one night, by Gray Boylston in Ft. Lauderdale saying there was an emergency and could we possibly come down to his home in Ft. Lauderdale and meet with him. The chairman, Bill and his wife would be there. They had some things to tell us that had happened that we weren't knowledgeable of because they were afraid of last minute breaking effects. We drove down there and learned from Gray Boylston, and his wife and from Bill and his wife, that the governor was violating

J; the agreement that had been reached that governor was putting together a total slate of his own.

K: - Can you date this now?

J: This meeting would be probably in April of 1968 because the selection of the delegates took place in May. And the filing had to take place somewhere around there, particular time so it was somewhere in that general time zone. And so they told us how horrible it was about the governor and we agreed that we should not have violated the agreement made and he shouldn't be putting together his own slate. We discussed what could be done about it and the concensus was that we were much more powerful with the Republicans that could win since you had to run to get elected as a delegate. That the people who could get the votes were the people who were on the state committee or the elected officials who were with us opposed to the governor in this convention type delegate selection. And that if we took the elected officials and the party people, we could put together a slate that would beat anybody that he could come up with in conjunction with some of Congressman Cramer's people. So we went to work and called people that night and told them some of the problems that were around the state, Orlando, Jacksonville, Pensacola, Tampa, St. Petersburg, Miami

J: and other places and everybody we talked to pretty well agreed that we ought to take some decisive action immediately. The next day we went to Mr. Boston's office in Ft. Lauderdale and handled telephones and made a list of who we thought ought to be delegates on our slate, call the people and ask them if they would be willing to be a delegate and would they fill out their papers immediately, we would send people to them with papers or they could go to the clerk and get papers and then they should either bring them to a central collection point or come to Tallahassee with them the following day, but we were going to be there and meet with the governor and challenge him on this delegate selection thing of the slate. And the following day when, it could have been the following day or the day after but but we were setting down and selecting a slate of the women and the men, throughout the state, and the way it works, you select forty delegates at the time so you had ten at large and thirty of the district delegates and we selected all of those. We didn't worry too much about alternates because it wasn't necessary to select those at that particular time. They could be selected at a future time, but we did fill out the papers of those of us that were there. We got a hold of the minority leader in the house, the minority leader in the senate, and

J: got them to agree to be upon our slate and to oppose the governor's slate and to be with us which gave us the unity with the legislators , as well as with the party loyality, the loyal people, up and then set a meeting with the governor in Tallahassee. It was to be at five o'clock in his office. Four thirty if we could get there, by five o'clock he would be in his office prior to five o'clock. Unfortunately, we ~~goofed both returned~~ flew from Boca Raton to Ft. Pierce to get Mary Lou Hammond to sign her papers and we had to fly to Sarasota to get minority leader Warren Henderson to sign his papers. ~~He said you~~ Had to go into St. Petersburg to pick up Senator Young. I'm sorry. Warren Henderson was not the minority leader at the time. Senator Young was the minority leader. Warren Henderson was the assistant minority leader of the Senate. And we got his papers signed and picked up Senator Young and ~~Ray Osborn.~~ Gray Boyles Don Reed, and Senator Young and myself were on the plane that arrived in Tallahassee. Senator Slade drove over from Jacksonville, ~~with~~ he was the Senate whip at the time and he was also ~~was~~ going to be a delegate on the '68 slate, and we went to the governor's office but he had already gone home. We delayed in getting off the ground in St. Petersburg and didn't get to Tallahassee in time. So we went to the governor's ~~luncheon~~ reception and then met with the governor in the his downstairs office.

J: We talked with them him... that we had gotten the word that he was attempting to put together legislature his own slate and he wanted to know where Mervin was. Why wasn't Mervin there. I told him that I was representing Mervin. He didn't want to come. In fact, he said he would not come, so I could call him from your office and I could talk to him and he said, "Who do you want on the slate?" We took out the slate and we went over the people they were going to put on the slate, and what we told them started off telling him was that we were going to put together a slate and we're going to file it tomorrow and this is going to be the slate and they're you're not going to have any say so about any of the people on the slate, because of what you've done. And we are not going to allow you to participate other than the fact that we will allow you to be on the slate and we've got someone willing to step aside on our slate to make room for you if you agree to what we are doing. If you agree to come on our slate. Otherwise forget it and you will be the governor of the state, and you can come to the conventions, but you won't will not have a vote and you will not be a delegate. It would be very insulting to your positinn, but you forded forced us into this because of your own actions. And he looked over the slate first and looked over these names and mentioned Phyllis Moore and a few others.

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J: He said, "My God", he said "this slate full ~~of~~ for Ronald Reagan and I thought you all were for Nixon." We said, well we ~~We~~ really think that these people will stick to the ~~unity~~ unit ticket for Nixon. He said, "I'd like to know." So ~~he~~ we made some calls from his office to make sure that Bill Murphin would ~~recall~~ poll the members of the slate ~~and~~ to make sure that they would have a ~~unite~~ unit rule and the majority was for Nixon, ~~but~~ that they would all ~~go~~ work for Nixon. We agreed to let him be the organizing chairman, the public chairman and Murphin would be the organizing chairman. Later after Murphin organized and put together as chairman of the party he would step aside and let Kirk be selected as the permanent chairman of the delegation that got to the convention. And he said that he didn't know that ~~he didn't~~ he'd have to think about ... beat our slate. and give him some time, ~~it~~ but he could put together his own slate, ~~be our slate~~ We said, you know you that governor but ~~that we~~ could talk about ~~it~~ and these people ~~had~~ have already run for these offices and they had been elected and their main exposure, ~~We have~~ has been as elected officials. We've got party officials who have won the state committee positions and they won it before and they'll do it again. And you'll have nobody. You are just going to be embarrassed. It's ~~for you.~~ going to be terrible. So he said, "Let me talk to my people and

J: I'll get back to you." So we went out and had dinner. Went back to our hotel.

Hadn't heard anything. Reed and I ~~reason we~~ spent the night together and Grey

Boston was next door, Slade was ~~and~~ someplace else, where

Slade was I don't know but.

somewhere in the neighborhood of, about, oh 2 a.m. ~~two am~~ I guess, I heard a

knockin on the door and got up and went to the door and ~~big~~ it was a big ~~state~~ highway

patrolman standing there, which was a shock- if you had been asleep. ~~couldn't sleep~~.

And he said, "Are you Reed?" Reed was in bed and in his underwear and I

said, "No, that's Reed over there ~~Reubin~~. in his underwear." And he went over

and shook him and said the governor wants you and so I went next door

and I told Grey Boston (Austin?) ~~said, "Hey, boss,"~~ "The governor Baylestor wanted ~~wants~~ to see us. Get up." And Grey ~~they~~

said, "to tell the governor to go to hell ~~the result is the governor can go to hell~~. I'm not getting up

at 2 o'clock for anybody." And if you know Grey Boston you know he would ~~Let Ray Boston know that he won't get up for~~

not get up at 2 o'clock for anybody. And he didn't. And so Don and I went and (met the aide?) ~~so~~, the highway patrolman had an aide

with him, Dick Warner ~~gave him a warning~~, and he stopped and got us some pastries ~~tasties~~

from some all night restaurant type thing and they had coffee in the governor's

office, but the governor was not there. We got downstairs in the

office we say, well, where's the governor? He's asleep. He has to go to

New York at seven o'clock in the ~~tomorrow~~ morning.

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J: ~~and~~ he got us out of bed ~~half asleep~~ . ~~He~~ said the governor is asleep. ~~He can't~~ ~~again~~ talk to you, but ~~still doesn't~~ want to see you. He's got Bob Lee on the phone ~~down in St. Petersburg where he is~~.

So then we started talking and we had to wake up Bill Murphin, wake up the others down here and he started telephone conversations, ~~for~~ they're ready to make a deal . They wanted the assurance of the group , they wanted the assurance of ~~the~~ chairmanship , they wanted to know if somebody would assist the governor in getting his papers filled out, because even though he was talking about ~~state~~, he didn't even know how to fill out his papers to file ~~to~~ office as a delegate to the convention.

And after we drank coffee and ate the ~~tasties~~ and made the agreements with Bob Lee , I think ~~that we got~~ Don on the phone and Bob Lee would talk in one ear and Bill Murphin in the other.

And the agreements were made just over the telephone. Nothing in writing. Kind of a gentleman's agreement that ~~we~~ ~~if comm~~ ~~itted to~~ ~~this is what~~ we would do, then this is what we ended up doing when it got down to the line. Then, we went down, but the governor got up later and five o'clock I think he was up and around, and we went down to his office and cabinet and I used one of his typewriters and took some papers that we had in our kits

J: and I typed out his papers and we sent somebody, ~~when~~ We had to go ahead and leave, but he went on and signed the necessary things. We waited around for the office people to come in. bank to open an account, depository and the treasurer. We had signed the papers for all these things to be established and had given us the money to put into the bank account, ~~sign ed~~ the person ~~to put~~ the check to put the deposit down and so he, but the final analysis of the thing was he agreed totally to what We did. I don't believe to this day that he could have put together a slate. I think he knew that all the way ~~along~~. I don't know why he started trying to ~~knock~~ off people, ~~only~~ Cramer people, people on the Murphin when he couldn't do it himself. He just caused another crime. He caused a problem that wasn't necessary and but the challenge was made and he lost it . He took his defeat, I thought, rather good. However, the fact that he later ~~after being~~ so insistent that he was for Nixon that he cameout as a Rockefellow ~~dasher~~ and uh, which confused the issue ~~considered~~.

K: - Do you think William Saphire ? ~~Do you~~ want to ask about William Saphire and Governor Kirk and the relationship as far as the effect that you think it had in the period of time as far as pushing.

J: Like I had met Saphire , but didn't ever get to know Saphire very well or

J: on any basis whatsoever. But I do feel that he had a tremendous (effect)? because he was the, shall we say the New YorkPR man, that saw in this man an opportunity to really push him to greater heights than he had ever dreamed of going to and I think that it was through his encouragement, through his telling the governor what he could make of him, what he could do for him, publicity and that the proper press and what they call proper context that convinced the governor that he could become the vice presidential candidate, that he might someday even become the president of the United States and I really believe that the timing in some point in time that Governor Kirk believed what Saphire was telling him and he was doing everything he could to feed him and the amount of monies necessary to do what he thought that he could do.

K: - But he really was an influence on Governor Kirk?

J: Oh, yes. I think definitely that he was an influence.

K: - OK just for the record. At the end, I want you to understand that these tapes are being made as part of the University of Florida Oral History project, University of Florida in Gainesville and that they will be preserved and transcripts will be made, you will have

an opportunity to edit the transcripts and keep them if you like. Do you have any restrictions you would like to have made on the use of these transcripts?

J: I want you to have full use of the transcripts anytime that you so desire. And as far as any future restrictions on them, I'd like to wait and make that decision after I have seen the transcription of the tape.

K - I'm sure that that will be fine. And thank you Mr. James.