Interview with Neil Hartigan

ISG-A-L-2010-012.01

Interview # 1: March 18, 2010

Interviewer: Mark DePue

DePue: Today is Thursday, March 18, 2010. My name is Mark DePue; I'm the director of oral history at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, and it's my pleasure today to be interviewing General Neil Hartigan. How are you this afternoon, General?

Hartigan: (laughs) I'm fine, Mark. How are you? We can dispense with the general part, though. (laughs)

DePue: Well, it's all these titles. You're one of these people who has several titles. But we'll go from there. It is a lot of fun to be able to sit down and talk to you. I should say upfront that I know you recently had a series of interviews with Gary Johnson of the Chicago History Museum, and Gary himself told me that the focus for those was on your entire career, but especially on the Chicago setting, if you will, the relationship with Richard Daley and Chicago politics. The focus I have will be on Illinois politics, but there will certainly be some overlap. Both of us will kind of have the design that we'll kind of glance over the other guy's part and go in depth in the part we're concerned about.

Hartigan: Well, as I said when we were just talking, generally, I want to make sure that both of you have total access to anything that's of benefit to either one of you. I should add at this point that there's also an interview that I did with Dr. (Robert V.) Remini(??) at UIC [University of Illinois, Chicago], who heads up the Daley Institute over there. He's primarily interested in Mayor Daley and the work I'd done with him. I think I still have one more session there. Then,

after that, the Loyola University, where I attended law school, I've agreed to give them papers. So they're doing an oral history. They did it with some alumni who were senior federal officials, and then I would be a state and local one, I guess. (laughs) So it's all the same life. I don't know about the life part; the times were interesting.

DePue: You lived through some very interesting times and experiences. This, I should also mention, is part of the official Governor Jim Edgar oral history project that we're doing, so we'll certainly want to focus a particular energy, once we get to 1990 and that gubernatorial campaign, which I can tell you with complete certainty, that Governor Edgar identifies as a classic gubernatorial campaign (Hartigan laughs) that went right down to the wire and maybe beyond the wire a little bit.

Hartigan: (laughs) Yeah, right.

DePue: So, let's get started with a little bit about when you were born and where you were born.

Hartigan: Well, I was born in Chicago, in Passavant Hospital, actually, which is no longer in existence. It was part of Northwestern [University]. And it was May 4, 1938. I lived at 6601 North Newgard, (clears throat) excuse me, which is the corner of Newgard and Albion, for, let's see…until I was married, so that'd be about twenty-four or twenty-five years. (laughs) I forget exactly how old I was then. Then I lived briefly in two different apartments, and then… (phone rings) That's that phone I was telling you about.

DePue: Okay, we're going to pause here very quickly.

(pause in recording)

Hartigan: Well, if you ask the same question, I'll answer it better. (DePue laughs) I mean, I'll just make it more succinct for you.

DePue: What I'd like to ask you now is a little bit about what you know about how the family ended up in Chicago, the roots of the family.

Hartigan: Oh, (laughs) I know a little bit about it. The basic roots were from Ireland, on both sides of the family.

DePue: Which means you celebrated yesterday.

Hartigan: Oh, these are the high holy days. They go on (laughs) longer than Lent around here.

DePue: Yeah, yesterday officially was Saint Patrick's Day.

Hartigan: Saint Patrick's Day, yeah. Well, it really started Thursday. Taoiseach, the Irish prime minister, came to Chicago for the celebration. The first event was Friday morning at a thing called the Ireland Partnership, which is an investment thing that the ambassador, Irish ambassador to the United States, addressed that.

Later that day, the prime minister, Taoiseach, met with a number of people, through the offices of The Ireland Fund, to talk about the peace process and to talk about investment in Northern Ireland and about Ireland's economy and the opportunities and the interrelationship with the diaspora, as a whole. I forget how many…I think he said fifty or sixty million across the world, but the United States is a major area, of course.

And then you have the Irish Fellowship Club dinner, which is the major event. The next morning there's a mass at Old Saint Patrick's, which is the oldest Catholic church in the city, then a traditional breakfast that all the families go to. And then you go over to the parade, and you march in the parade. After that, there's a series of different kinds of parties, all over the place.

Then, on Monday…It used to be that there was the South Side parade on Sunday, but as you may have read, they got a little too out of hand, (DePue laughs) so they canceled that this year. And then on Monday, Minister [Peter] Robinson, who is the first minister of Northern Ireland, and Martin McGuinness, who was the first deputy minister, came to Chicago.

A number of years ago I had hosted a similar event, as chairman of the World Trade Center for Mo Mowlam, the woman who was the minister for Northern Ireland. The idea was that the peace process had its best days, if you will, during the period when peace was at hand, for about six months, as they were trying to get the final steps organized.

The reason that it was obvious to everybody, that it was a good idea, was that the…Oh, I think the economy had improved by 20 percent, tourism was up 60 percent, there was thousands of jobs that had been created, you know, that sort of thing. In other words, the economics were driving it now, and both sides could see that the fighting just didn't make any sense anymore.

And this particular Monday, they were announcing what had been, I think, pretty much the last major obstacle. That was the transference of the police powers to the state of Northern Ireland from London, so that the police powers are now in the hand of the Irish themselves, which was a huge item in the whole negotiations. So, in any event, it was a busy weekend, parade-wise and socially, religiously, (laughs) a little bit of everything.

DePue: Do you know roughly when your family, when those roots came to the United States?

Hartigan: I think, on my mother's side, it was in the 1860s. I think it was. And my father's, I think was maybe the 1880s or something like that. The first of part of that group that I knew was my grandmother, my father's mother, who I knew very slightly, and his older sisters.

My dad came from a family of fourteen, eleven brothers and three sisters, and they lived at Twenty-ninth and Wallace. His father was crippled in a teamster accident, you know, horse and wagon. Of course, there was no insurance, nothing, so he was on the porch for the rest of his life. And the fourteen of them, with a very strong, Irish wife for him and grandmother for us, she kept the whole thing together. It all worked out pretty well. My dad was the youngest of the fourteen.

My name, Neil, is actually Cornelius. I didn't use that too much in the neighborhood, growing up; it was a little (laughs) difficult, let's say. But he [Neil's namesake] died in World War I. He was my father's favorite brother. He worked at the Board of Trade, here in Chicago. I guess he [Neil's dad] must have thought a lot of him, and so he named his first son after him. So that's where that came from.

On my mom's side, they were Hogans and Grahams. There's a Graham, who in 1903, ran as a Republican for mayor in Chicago, didn't make it. They were in Holy Family Parish, on the West Side. That's the beautiful church that's right next to Saint Ignatius College Prep on Roosevelt Road there. They've wonderfully restored that. Old Saint Patrick's and Holy Family were the two major parishes for the West Side for years.

My mom's family was in banking, as I recall. Then she moved up here, well, it must have been in time for high school, because she went to Holy Child High School, which was at 6585 North Sheridan Road, which is now a dormitory for Loyola University. I remember hearing, over the years, about the girls from 6585, so I know she went to high school up here. My dad went to Saint Ignatius High School. And then my mom went to Loyola and also to the Teachers College. She was a teacher.

DePue: I know your father was a lawyer. How was he able to go to law school, with that kind of a family background?

Hartigan: Well, the only description I ever heard of it was that he did about every job under the sun. (laughs) I mean, all sorts of physical labor and stuff, but he was also a conductor or a trainman or something on the CTA and the suburban trains. The one that I always was a little bit mystified how it happened was, he got his undergraduate degree from Northwestern. Well, when you live at Twenty-ninth and Wallace…Although I could understand him spending time on the Far North Side. That probably was because my mom was up there. (laughs) So, he did go to Northwestern; he graduated from Northwestern and then went to Loyola for law school.

DePue: So what neighborhood did he grow up in?

Hartigan: Well, I'd call it Bridgeport. You know, the people in Bridgeport have different dividing lines. The mayor was from Thirty-seventh and Lowe.

DePue: Well, when you mention Bridgeport, of course, you mention Daley.

Hartigan: Yeah. Well, they were at Thirty-seventh and Lowe, and Mayor Daley lived there all his life. From the time he was married, he lived there until he died. I think he lived two blocks from there. So, they knew each other. Mayor Daley went to De La Salle, and my dad went to Saint Ignatius. Those were the two high schools in those days. I know he was involved in different things in that neighborhood, politically and what have you.

My uncle had became a judge, after World War I that he was a hero in, a very substantial hero, as a matter of fact, my Uncle Matt. And my dad's ambition was to be a judge. But in those days, you couldn't have two people from the same family being a judge. First, there weren't that many judges. Today there's an awful lot more; all over the state there's a lot more. And so I think that had a lot to do with my dad moving to the North Side, on a permanent basis, because then he was from a different base, politically, if you will, than my uncle was.

So, that was about it. My mom, as I said, was a teacher; my sister was a teacher, my oldest sister. She got a Fulbright to the Sorbonne and married a fellow from Portugal, and she lives in a town called Braganza, which is one of the homes of the queens in Portugal, up in the mountains, a beautiful place.

DePue: I don't recall, and maybe I wasn't paying close enough attention, when were you born?

Hartigan: Nineteen thirty-eight.

DePue: May fourth.

Hartigan: Yes, sir.

DePue: So, towards the end of the Depression. Did your father make a decent living throughout the Depression?

Hartigan: Well, one of the most interesting parts of his career was that he was, if you will, after having done all of these jobs and what have you to get himself through undergraduate school and law school, one of them was working in the…I think in the clerk's office. Somehow he caught the attention of a fellow named Paul Drymalski. Mr. Drymalski was a leader in the Polish community. He was the owner of a very successful coal company. He was the head of what in those days was called the Board of Review, the Board of Tax Appeals today. Somehow he got to see my father and his work, and so he asked my

father to join him as his assistant. That was in 1932, so just after my dad got out of law school, sort of the height of the Depression, and there was no such thing as cross-ethnicity. I mean, nobody even thought of it, much less heard of it or anything else. So, for a Polish leader to give a young Irish kid an opportunity, that was staggering in those days, but he did.

So my dad became his assistant and the lawyer for the Board of Review. Then, when Mr. Drymalski's son, Raymond, became city treasurer in 1940, Mr. Drymalski, Sr. and his son asked my dad to go over as the deputy city treasurer. The Board of Review, Board of Tax Bills, is in the county government, okay. City treasurer is one of the three, citywide elected offices in the city of Chicago. So he did that. He was the number-two person, the professional who did the work, and he was quite good at it.

The sort of amazing political story, as a follow-up to that first one—how he got chosen out of Lord knows how, you know—was that Raymond Drymalski was a commander in the Naval Reserve. So when Pearl Harbor took place, he was on his way into the service, obviously, rather quickly.

My dad was a very bad diabetic, type I diabetic, and he eventually died at the age of fifty-seven from nephritis, which is your kidneys, and Kimmelstiel-Wilson, where you go blind. Those are the two weakest spots on the diabetic. But the political part that was really interesting, was that they shook hands when Drymalski was talking about leaving for the service. The agreement was that, if Ray lived through the war and came back, that he would become city treasurer again. In the interim, my dad, on a handshake, would be the acting city treasurer. That's how it was, during the war. Five years later, when Mr. Drymalski came back, my dad stood up, shook hands with him, and went back next door.

Now, in politics today, if you tell anybody that one of the three major offices in the city of Chicago [was held], on a handshake five years apart, you'd have a lot of head-shaking going on.

DePue: By that time, was your father also pretty heavily involved in precinct politics, ward politics?

Hartigan: I don't really know, in the early forties, if that were the case or not. Of course, in the business sense, we used to go down to the city treasurer's office. Some kids grow up in parks; I guess I grew up playing with the adding machines or something (laughter) down there. In those days, they used to have…The military parades would come down La Salle Street, not State Street. So there was this ledge, outside my dad's office, and they put sort of a railing there, and they put some chairs out there. His office was on the second floor, the city treasurer's office. It was the best seat in all of Chicago, (laughs) especially for a young kid, to watch the parade and all that sort of thing. So he did a little of that.

Because of the cost involved, they did not run a special election for the office, during the five years, which you normally would think would happen. The corporation counsel, Barney Hodes(??), wrote an opinion, saying that my father could not be the city treasurer, because he was not elected; he had to be the acting city treasurer. Well, that provided a problem for the banks, because without the election, he couldn't be bonded. That was part of what Hodes had said in his opinion. The banks, I gathered, knew my father, knew he was a person of integrity, and his ethics were the highest order. He thought government was a privilege, and it was service, and [he] acted that way.

In any event, they agreed. They offered to allow him to serve without a bond, for the five years—banks, if you can imagine that—and also to let the city of Chicago, as long as he was doing the job he was doing, not to have a bond for those five years. Now, if you can imagine that taking place on that basis, the reputation for integrity, that said a lot about my dad.

DePue: Was there also some thought at that time that it would be better, it would be cleaner in this whole process, if I did run for office?

Hartigan: He wanted to; that would have been fine, but the city couldn't afford it, because to have a citywide election for just one office would have…That's what triggered the whole thing, see? It would have cost a couple million bucks, and they just didn't have the money, budgetarily, I guess. That's why they had to…No, that wouldn't have bothered him at all.

Later on, in 1955, he had actually been city treasurer in subsequent years. There was a series of people, after Drymalski, that became city treasurer, usually mostly Eastern European, Bill Milota and Joe Baran, who were very substantial leaders in their own right. In any event, 1954, my dad was appointed by Mayor [Martin H.] Kennelly[1] and confirmed by the City Council to be the city treasurer.

Then in 1955, that was the fight for the control of the city and for the political control and everything, for the next fifty years. As I said, there's three citywide offices, and as a practical political matter, the candidates for those different offices are of different ethnic backgrounds. In other words, you couldn't have Mayor Kennelly, Irish-American, and my dad on the ticket at the same time. So—

[1] Martin H. Kennelly (1887-1961) served as the mayor of Chicago from 1947 until 1955. Before embarking on his political career, Kennelly was a successful Chicago businessman, serving as the first president of Allied Van Lines, starting in 1928. During World War II, Kennelly came to local prominence after he served as the head of Chicago's Red Cross. A combination of his skill at business and his positive public image, garnered through his public service, led the Chicago Democratic Party putting Kennelly up for the mayoralty in 1947. (http://www.uic.edu/depts/lib/specialcoll/services/rjd/findingaids/MKennellyf.html)

DePue: One of those unwritten rules.

Hartigan: Yeah. You could; you could have all three, but there was always a balance. I mean, today, for instance, you have Mayor Daley, and you've got, let's see, the city treasurer is an African-American woman, and the city clerk is Hispanic today.

DePue: One thing that hasn't come up yet, I'm assuming by this time your father is pretty heavily involved with Democratic Party politics.

Hartigan: Yeah.

DePue: And how did that come about?

Hartigan: Well, when you asked me the initial question, I said "in the early '40s." You know, I was born in '38, so I wasn't really aware of exactly what he was doing? But I do know that he did…You know, the precinct work, when my brother David and I were young, I remember standing on corners passing stuff out. Maybe I was five or six; I don't know. And then, [we were] walking around with my dad to houses and stuff. We'd help him count, with all the Republican judges and everything. There was a double door, one of those doors that the bottom swung open? Well in those days, the polls would close at 5:00, so they'd lock the door and everything, except they'd leave the bottom half open so my brother Davy and I could come in. (both laugh)

So yeah, he was involved in that sense. That was a very good thing to grow up in the middle of, because let's assume that…Well, there's two square blocks that were involved in a precinct, about six hundred people, and basically the precinct captain knew every one of them or certainly wanted to try and know every one of them. In an apartment area it's hard, because a lot of people move in and out. It's much harder than where you have houses. But, there still was pretty good stability in our neighborhood.

He was very good, and the idea was, you knew the people; you knew their kids; you knew the problems of the community. I guess I saw him do that, and then in 1955, when Mayor Kennelly asked him to run for alderman in our community, against Mayor Daley's candidate, he agreed to do that. And he was one of the three people that won. That was the first time he ever ran for an office.

DePue: Your father's name is David?

Hartigan: Yeah, David L., David Lincoln Hartigan, as a matter of fact. As I say, there was three out of the fifty wards that the Democratic Party candidates didn't win. When I say the party candidate, Mayor Daley at that time, when he was running for mayor, was the county clerk and also the chairman of the Cook County Democratic organization. He endorsed candidates for alderman in

each of the fifty wards. Kennelly, on the other hand, endorsed his candidates, and it's a primary.

So my dad, in the 49th Ward…I think it was Paul Corcoran in the 37th Ward, and I think it was [David] McKiernan in the 19th Ward, in other words, the three border areas. Ours bordered on Evanston, the 37th bordered on Oak Park, and 19th was the Beverly/Mt. Greenwood area, the farthest south area. Those were the only three [wards] where the people who had not been endorsed by Mayor Daley to be was elected.

We were the original independents. I often found it interesting, later on, when people talk about the independents. If you haven't eaten on it, you shouldn't really talk about it that much. It's a very interesting kind of life. Our phones were tapped; all sorts of stuff went on. It was rough. But he was a good candidate, and he beat four other candidates.

DePue: Four other candidates in the primary or the general election?

Hartigan: Well, the way that it was, in the primary…everybody ran in the primary. Then, if you didn't get 50.1, then there was the runoff. So he beat three the first time, and then the remaining one, who was Mayor Daley's candidate, he beat him pretty well.

DePue: So, basically, there were two steps in the primary process at that time.

Hartigan: Yeah. Well, there was a primary process, and then the second step was the general election.

DePue: But in that case, he was running against a Republican, I would think. No?

Hartigan: Well, the aldermanic is non-partisan, so the Republicans run at the same time. You have Democrats, Republicans, Independents. In fact, our ward had had three Republican aldermen, which was a very unique experience (laughs) in Chicago. But the outlying areas were the areas where the Republicans had some support.

DePue: Well, it says quite a bit that Kennelly's the incumbent, that Daley's running against Kennelly, and yet Daley, because he's chairman of the Cook County party, I guess, he's the one that's even got the clout. And we're talking 1955 still, that he's the one who has the clout to sweep the city.

Hartigan: Well, there's a lot of pieces to that. First of all, Mayor Daley had been in the State House and the State Senate. During the whole time I knew him, one of the great strengths he had, that nobody understood, was his knowledge of government finance. For instance, in the Senate, he was the spokesman for revenue. Adlai Stevenson had asked him to be his director of revenue, and he really was the key guy in the Stevenson cabinet.

The mayor was very well-versed governmentally. He came from the 11th Ward, which was one of the real strongholds of the party. As I recall, the history, the person who it was thought would have been the mayor, was a fellow named Clarence Wagoner from the 14th Ward, who was killed in an automobile accident, with a couple of other people, I think, just before he and Mayor Daley were to have the contest for the chairmanship.

So, I guess what I'm saying is that Mayor Daley was a very knowledgeable, elected official, as far as state and local government was concerned. He was a very strong leader in the 11th Ward, which was a key cog in the coalition that dominated the Democratic Party, and he rose to the chairmanship of the party. He had been preceded, I think, Joe Gill preceded him, and before that was Colonel Jacob Arvey. Arvey was the one who brought [Paul] Douglas[2] and [Adlai] Stevenson[3] to the ticket in 1948. I think it was Joseph Gill after that, and then Mayor Daley. So, yeah, he was strong. The party was very upset with Mayor Kennelly. It was going to be him [Daley] or somebody. Obviously it was him, and both his political and governmental knowledge played into that.

DePue: This is the part that, as fascinating as this is, I'll let Gary's interview go into a little more depth. But it strikes me, 1955, you're still a pretty young guy. Are you paying attention to all of this pretty closely?

Hartigan: Yeah, you know, as I said, since we were in grammar school, my brother and I, and I guess probably my sister too. My sisters would do some of the stuff, whether it was passing something out, or who knows.

DePue: Any doubt in your mind or anybody else's mind that you're going to be a Democrat?

Hartigan: No, I don't think that really ever occurred to anybody, not just in our family. As I recall, at that time, there weren't an awful lot of (laughs) families that spent too much time thinking that part of it.

DePue: Well, this might be an unfair question—

Hartigan: No, what happened was…Let me just go ahead for one second. I was in high school, and I graduated from Loyola Academy in 1955. That was at the time that this very, very bitter mayoral race and aldermanic races were going on. So yeah, I was pretty aware of it. It was a highly visible thing, and the high school was right in the middle of the ward and what have you. When I went to

[2] Paul Howard Douglas (March 26, 1892 – September 24, 1976) was an American politician and economist. A member of the Democratic Party, he served as a U.S. Senator from Illinois for eighteen years, from 1949 to 1967. During his Senate career, he was a prominent member of the Liberal coalition

[3] Adlai E. Stevenson III served in the Illinois House of Representatives and from 1971 to 1980, was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for governor of Illinois in 1982 and 1986. (from the Biographical Director of the U.S. Senate)

Georgetown the next year, the only political science class I ever went to, I went to in my first year there. I remember the priest saying—and this is the first lecture I went to—[he] said, "There's no such thing as a machine left in American politics." It was the first class; I don't want to be a wise guy (laughs) or anything, but finally I put my hand up. I said, "Father, have you ever been to Chicago?" (laughs) "There's no such thing as a machine." Oh, okay, Father, I guess I was just going through a myth or something. The phone was tapped. Anyway, be that as it may. So yeah, I was aware of it.

But in terms of the so-called nepotism, if you take a look over the years, I think there's only eight families that I can think of where the son or daughter followed whichever parent, mother or father, into politics. Like in our family, we had five kids—one unfortunately died young—but the rest of the family was interested. My sister, as I say, was a Fulbright scholar in linguistics and what have you. I did it by choice.

You're asking earlier about the precinct work. I saw people come to my dad and ask his advice and ask for help. It was a good thing; it wasn't *quid pro quo*. I've always believed that by being involved in politics, depending on what level you are at, if you did it the right way, you could have a positive impact on a certain number of lives. If I had a good idea that applied to the area I lived in, well, maybe 600 people would be better off as a result of it, or some portion of that. All right?

When I got in the fight to become the political leader of the party, the ward committeeman…In those days, I think there was like 102,000 in the ward. Subsequently, it was cut back to 66,000, when they restructured it. But if I had a good idea then, potentially a 102,000 could benefit. Or, depending on the kind of idea, even more could, because of my involvement.

When I went to work for the mayor, if I could come up with a good idea that he felt was worthwhile and it became something that he took on and made a program out of, it could benefit 3.5 million people. One of the attractive things about the state was that you've got 12 million people; it's the same idea. When I created the first Department on Aging in America, 1973, there was no senior citizen movement. But I became aware of the problems of the elderly by door-to-door…and it was volunteer work; I was doing volunteer work. We didn't have one set of parents, we had fifty when I was growing up. You know, that's just like a small town.

DePue: You had the neighborhood.

Hartigan: Yeah. And this woman who had been Johnny's mother, when I knock on the door, as a precinct worker, and she'd answer the door, all of a sudden this woman who, when I was a kid, was a giant, now she's alone, and she's got a hot plate for a companion. I thought to myself, This is it? This is the payoff for work and doing everything, from raising a family and working in your

church or synagogue and all sorts of things that these people, mostly women now, did in their older years? That was the experience that began the whole idea of doing it on a statewide basis, and we were the first in the nation.

DePue: Well, this is a perfect segue here, because what I was going to ask you is, what it meant to be a Democrat, maybe for your father, and your understanding of what it meant to be an independent Democrat in those years.

Hartigan: Well, the "Independent Democrat," that concept really didn't get to be a public idea or public in the sense of a movement kind of thing. Some people were more in the traditional party mode than others were. And Paul Douglas wasn't a precinct captain, and he wasn't a ward committeeman, and he wasn't a local official, but he was a great senator.

DePue: How would your father, then, describe his political philosophy, if you will?

Hartigan: Well, I think pretty much the same way that I would. You're given gifts; one day you have to answer for the gifts. What do you do with them? And the Democratic Party was a place that you didn't have to come from money and didn't have to come from power. You could get started. Hard work could get you a lot of opportunity. I always figured that twenty-four hours a day, that'd even things up. I could work more than most other people. That's how I did get ahead sometimes.

Anyway, with my dad, politics was the process of getting to government, the professional governmental responsibility. There are some decisions that were made politically, but the vast majority of government decisions, if you're going to have a good government, are really professional government. One of Walker's problems was that it should be about 95 percent government and 5 percent partisan. He reversed the equation. Everything was a fight, and it just didn't make any sense.

DePue: We're talking about Dan Walker. We'll talk a lot more about him later.

Hartigan: As far as my dad was concerned, he was involved in the party and then broke with the party. Well, that's the second time he broke with it. Let me summarize this one quickly. The biggest party fight that I'm aware of, up to that time, took place in 1930. That was when my Uncle Matt, who I mentioned to you was a World War I hero, endorses a candidate for state's attorney. The syndicate offered him a huge cut of the slot machines, the gambling. He told them what they could do with them. They had a lot of control over Cermak, so Cermak calls my uncle in and tells him they're dumping him from the ticket; he's off. Okay?

DePue: Who called? Cermak, you said?

Hartigan: Yeah.

DePue: Okay, Anton Cermak.

Hartigan: Mayor of Chicago. So my uncle chased him around the desk in his office, trying to beat the heck out of him. In any event, so they did dump him, and they endorsed a fellow named Courtney, Tom Courtney, as the candidate for state's attorney. Tom Courtney's right-hand man was a guy named Tubbo Gilbert. Tubbo Gilbert, in the Kefauver hearings in 1947, was listed as the richest police captain in the history of the United States. And my uncle lost to Courtney in what…As a kid, growing up, I'd hear the political stories. It was always described as the roughest, the toughest primary fight in Cook County history. In other words, it was a bloody brawl, I suppose.

So my uncle lost by 11,000, on all paper ballots, which means he probably won by three-quarters of a million, you know, if you get right down to it. My dad, obviously, was supporting my uncle, so he broke with the party at that point. One of the prices that they paid is that nobody talked to either one of them, nobody. Nobody in politics talked to either one of them for two years. When you're out, you're out, the moral of the story. But then later on—and I always thought it was a reflection of the courage my father had—it was either go along with things in 1955, or stand up and take on the fight. He stood up and took on the fight, even though at that point, he was fifty-two and his health wasn't…As I said, he was a bad diabetic. So I admired him a lot for it.

And again, when you look at him, one of the things he said was that the developers were taking the houses or mansions along Sheridan Road; they'd acquire them, knock them down, and put up highrises. That's where you got that canyon of high-rises along Sheridan Road. [They] destroyed the beaches; they stole the beaches to get the square footage for the highrises, took all the recreational opportunities away from the people.

So my father said that if he were elected alderman, that there would never be another highrise north of Devon Avenue, which is how far they'd come at that point, halfway through the ward. He made it stick. The next one that was supposed to be—the same thing was going to happen—was Albion. Colonel Arvey was leading that group, and my father stopped him. Today, you can walk from Devon to the end of the city on sand. Now, that's the legacy that one man stood up and accomplished through the process.

Then, when I got going as either deputy mayor or mayor's assistant or counsel for the park district, I did everything I could to make sure that we acquired every piece of vacant land on the lakefront for beaches and parks and that sort of stuff. We land-banked it. Nobody had ever heard of that one, but we put a reserve. We'd buy it; if we couldn't develop it right then, we'd put it in a reserve. We did that all over the city but especially on the lakefront, to keep the lakefront open.

DePue: What timeframe is this, now?

Hartigan: (laughs) I became the attorney for the Chicago Park District the week after the Democratic Convention in 1968, a very interesting time to take on the office.

DePue: Wow. Let's double back here a little bit, because I know, when we first sat down to chat a few weeks ago, you mentioned that you were interested in government as early as third grade. Was there a specific story that you recall from that time?

Hartigan: Well, I think, when we were talking, I said fifth grade or something. It was just…The interest was that we'd help my dad pass things out, and that sort of stuff. In our house, we saw government and politics as a good thing. It was a positive, because everything we saw my dad doing, something was good in our neighborhood.

From our earlier conversation, years later, when he [Hartigan's father] did pass away, which was April 28 of 1959…Mayor Daley actually swore him in at the hospital for his second term. Father McGuire called me from Loyola—I was graduating from Georgetown a month later—and he said—Father McGuire was the president [of Loyola] at that time—"We had a very high regard for your father and his sense of ethics and his integrity, and I'm calling because, if you would like to try and follow in your father's footsteps, we don't imagine that he left much in the way of worldly good." And I said, "Well, that's pretty close." Then he said, "So we'd like to offer you a full scholarship to law school." Now my dad's dead, okay? Loyola couldn't benefit from anything. But they had that much respect for him that they offered me that opportunity.

When he was dying—our community was 50 percent Jewish and 50 percent Catholic, some parts, a little of each, other religions would be in there, but basically that was it. The Jewish community dedicated a shul [a synagogue] in his honor, when he was dying. That's unheard of. So for this man, who was a professional in government and had political courage when it counted, who did some real things, the Jewish community, when he's dying, and the president of the university, after he's dead…I did nothing to get that reputation; it was all because of the kind of person my father was.

DePue: How important was religion in your family, growing up?

Hartigan: Oh, it was important. My parents were certainly good Catholics, and they had respect for other people's religions. One of the nicest gifts my father gave all of us—my father and mother—none of us ever heard anything, any word of bigotry or discrimination or anything else in our house, when we were growing up. Seriously, we didn't. It wasn't until my dad was dead, and I was out in the world, that I started…There wasn't any difference between black, white, young, old, Catholic, Jewish; there really wasn't. That's a huge gift to give to your kids, to have them grow up in that kind of an atmosphere. Not only was religion, the observed religion, an important part, but the living

religion, which would be a religion comfortable in all faiths. The way they lived it, and the way they raised their kids, they really did that (laughs) very, very well.

DePue: You mention you went to Loyola Academy for high school.

Hartigan: Yes.

DePue: Was that an all-boys school at that time?

Hartigan: It was, and at the time, it was on the campus of Loyola University in the city. Subsequently, I think my brother's class was the first one, when they moved out to Wilmette. In our neighborhood, I said we didn't have one set of parents, we had fifty sets of parents. One of the reasons for that was because you'd go to eight years of grammar school and then you'd sort of roll out of bed and go to four more years of high school. So the parents, because they wanted the kids to have a quality education—and the neighborhood was a safe neighborhood and the transportation was good, but basically it was the education and the discipline in parochial education and what have you—they stayed together. So you had fifty sets of parents. And there was terrific community and parish, really more parish activities at that time. The community councils came a little bit later.

But we had shows. My aunt and uncle had been in show business, he as a band leader; she was a…They lived next door, and she was a part of a vaudeville act, three sisters. They played the Palace in New York, and her brother, a guy named Hal Skelly, was one of the very, very big early motion picture stars. They were from Iowa. Anyway, when they get married, they both decide to come off the road. So my uncle becomes an agent, and he booked all sorts of shows and acts and this and that. He was the guy that created George Gobel, Shelley Berman, Bob Newhart.

The whole Chicago school of comedians was all my uncle. In fact, my first cousin, Frank, that lived next door to me, he was working for him for a while. He and I used to drive Newhart to a gig or something. But I grew up in sort of an odd combination of things. My aunt and uncle would run these shows, teenage shows that we'd be in, then 1,000 people would come to them. I mean, they were really—

DePue: You were part of the show?

Hartigan: Yeah, sure. I was always part of the show, and I was on some TV shows. We had a television—we still have it—it was the twenty-fifth television set sold in Chicago. (DePue laughs) And you watch the Cubs and *Kukla, Fran and Ollie,* and our whole front porch would be loaded with kids, looking through the window. The living room was filled; the rest were looking through the window, to watch this little screen. But anyway, I was on a couple of television shows and commercials and different things.

So I grew up with a combination of government and politics and law and my uncle with the judiciary. So all of that part, okay, then this part of my family, and very heavily education. My mother is a teacher; my sister is a teacher; my wife is a teacher. If I didn't want to support education, I just didn't have to eat; (DePue laughs) it was simple. And then this part, living next door to us, this was all show business. My Uncle Joe was the Republican in the family. He went to Detroit—he was one of the eleven brothers—and he was one of the guys that founded Campbell Ewald, which is one of the great advertising firms of all time, actually. His personal account was Chevrolet, if you can imagine what that meant.

DePue: In the '50s.

Hartigan: Yeah. He was the one that started Dinah Shore and the Soap Box Derby and all that stuff. When my Uncle Joe died, the *Tribune* editorial said that he had bought more advertising linage than anyone in the history of advertising. We'd spend the summers up at his place on Lake Huron, in a place called Oscoda. So I grew up around a different kind of mixture, and it was very helpful to me, because my take on politics and government was that you had to measure by the audience on the other side. Did they understand what you were saying? If they didn't, how could you package it better, communicate it better? And so those campaigns that I was telling you about, they were a long time before anybody else was (laughs) doing…I thought it was important to have substance, make it understandable, and make it fun, and make it interesting. In other words, the campaigns I tried to put together for the mayor, when I was running the party locally, and then my own campaigns, I always tried to put the politics on the people's terms, not on the traditional politicians' terms. So when your normal campaign would—

DePue: Kind of a linear process?

Hartigan: Yes, "linear" is a good. The ones I'd do would be right across the grain. When I did Chicago '67 for Mayor Daley, that was because Douglas had lost sixteen wards personally.

DePue: Paul Douglas.

Hartigan: Yeah, in 1966. That didn't make any sense to me. That said that the party was out of touch, because Paul Douglas just shouldn't have lost sixteen wards, I don't care how old or how his health was.

DePue: Is this the senatorial campaign he lost to Chuck Percy?

Hartigan: To Chuck Percy, right. But losing sixteen wards in Chicago in those days, that said something. I figured that the party, the local parties, they weren't in touch with reality. I know that the guy in my neighborhood did everything he could to try and make sure that I never saw the light of day, as far as politics was concerned. And a lot of other people that I'd gone to school with and what

have you, it sort of summarized…Milt Rakove[4] wrote a book. He was a political science professor at UIC [University of Illinois, Chicago] and at Barat, up at Lake Forest. The title of the book is *We Don't Want Nobody Nobody Sent*. That was Milton talking about the 5th Ward, an experience that I guess he'd had out in the 5th Ward.

DePue: That's a line often attributed to Abner Mikva.

Hartigan: I thought it was Rakove's. Maybe Abner—

DePue: It's probably one of those lines that a lot of people lay claim to.

Hartigan: Well, they both would have used it. I knew Milt quite well. In fact, I was asked to lecture for him, and I did that. We knew each other. I said, "You know, Milt, you're a great guy. Your only problem is you don't know anything about politics." Now, this is one of the very distinguished political science professors. He said, "What do you mean?" I said, "The theory's fine, but the practicality; these people want to know what effect it's going to have on **their** lives. They don't have a lot of time to think about sky blue; it's how does it affect them." And he said, "Well, I just…" I told him, "I'll tell you what. I'll give you a precinct. You can become a precinct captain. You can bring the best students you've got, and I'll support you any way; anything you ask me to do, I'll try to do it and support you."

So he brought twenty really bright people in, okay, very enthusiastic, hardworking, gave them the 10h Precinct in the 49th Ward, where the Sovereign Hotel is on Granville and Kenmore. He finished last in the ward. The reason was that the people who were living in that 10th Precinct, they had real local concerns, and the students, however they were trying to present the issues, it just wasn't a connect. That's what I found was the problem with political science classes. I often wished I'd been able to go back and take the courses, just to see if (laughs) the theory was right or not, because I know there are some brilliant political scientists. But they just didn't get it.

---

[4] Milton Rakove had been working as a political consultant and speechwriter for several Illinois politicians, including Senator Charles Percy and Governor Otto Kerner, throughout the 1960s. In 1968, Rakove was introduced to Chicago city politics when he served as the Democratic precinct captain in the 49th Ward. His work impressed members of the city's Democratic machine, who convinced Rakove to run for the Cook County Board of Commissioners in 1970, an election that he lost. His experience in these elections turned his interest toward local government. Drawing on the contacts he had made as a precinct captain, Rakove published his first book on local politics, *Don't Make No Waves, Don't Back No Losers*. Four years later, following the death of Mayor Richard J. Daley and the restructuring of the Democratic machine, Rakove published an oral history of Daley's government, *We Don't Want Nobody Nobody Sent*.
(http://www.uic.edu/depts/lib/specialcoll/services/lhsc/ead/011-19-23-01f.html.)

Oddly enough, years later, when Milton wanted to get on the ticket…I was on the Central Committee, so he comes in and he wants to be on the Metropolitan Sanitary District, which is one of the lower offices on the ticket. So he gets up and he's talking about young people and involving new people in the party and this and that, and the mayor's sitting there. The Central Committee is the fifty ward committeemen in the city, elected, and the thirty in the suburbs, okay? That's what makes it up. So Milton's going on. I don't know if I was the first one. If I wasn't the first one, I was the second one to stand up to speak on his behalf, and—

DePue: Now who's this, again, you're speaking for?

Hartigan: Milton Rakove, R-a-k-o-v-e, who wrote these books (laughs) on Chicago politics, especially that one. So anyway, the mayor interrupts me, and he says, "Well, that's fine." He said, "You gave him the opportunity to be a precinct… How'd he do?" Daley knew exactly how he did. He knew. I didn't tell him, but you know he was going to find out. He'd looked it up to find out. Not for that particular occasion, but intellectually, he'd want to see how well did this experiment work? So he's just sticking it to me, right in front of everybody. (DePue laughs) And I was really hot. I almost ended my career that day. (laughs)

Then Vito Marzullo gets up, who was also a friend of Rakove's, and he says, "Milt's a fine man," in his broken Italian, and Daley loved him; he loved Vito. So, of course, then Rakove was okay. They put him on the ticket, and he beats the hell out of me, for exercise, anyway. That's a long way from the practical part, but the practical part cuts two ways. One is by understanding those tasks, you came face to face with the people.

When…[trying to recall a name] Oh, God, the mayor of New York, the guy who'd been the congressman, the good-looking young guy, Lindsay, John Lindsay. When Lindsay was elected, he sent his senior staff out to the mayor's office in Chicago. The mayor told us to talk to him; so we did. He wanted to see what the best system in this country was and how it worked and et cetera, as he was coming into office. So we explained it to him. But the basic difference was, for all the criticism of the party and the machine and all that, if John Lindsay and Richard Daley had the same program, John Lindsay would have a press conference; he'd announce it, and then maybe they'd send out some mailings. If he announced the same program—

DePue: If Daley did.

Hartigan: Yeah…You can bet your life that, without any pressure, the fifty alderman would understand it; the fifty committeemen would understand it; at the next ward meeting, you'd be explaining it to the precinct captains, they and their workers, and they're having conversations with the people. In other words, there was this linkage. You'd find out what was wrong in the system, because

when you knock on a door and you ask somebody to vote for the candidate, they say, "Get the hell out of here. Why would I want to support your candidate for? You guys are all…" That's retail politics. You find out very quickly whether the programs and the way that the elected officials are conducting themselves are acceptable to the people or not. You can't do that if you don't have some sort of a mechanism that puts the human mortar into the whole process.

DePue: At what point in your life did you decide that public service, that politics is what you wanted to do? Were you in high school then?

Hartigan: I never really decided it that way. I liked it.

DePue: What did you think you wanted to do, when you were getting close to finishing high school?

Hartigan: Get out of trouble. (both laugh) When you grow up, and you're five foot four, and you've got red hair, and you'd dive through a wall to be able to be big enough to play on the football team or the…Well, things happen; let's just put it (laughs) that way. No, I didn't have any…I liked it, because I'd been around it, obviously. I hadn't had the other experiences yet, of business and what have you.

DePue: You mentioned that you had a lot of other influences. You had the artistic and theatrical influence. You had another uncle who was much more inclined in business—

Hartigan: In advertising, that's right. But the timing wasn't there for them presenting themselves in a way that you would make a decision. The normal process in those days, is that you'd finish high school; you'd go on to college, and you'd either go in the service, or you'd go in graduate school. And in all probability, in those days, it would be a law school. The MBA really got popular later on.

I finished law school, and I didn't know what I wanted to do. I became a lawyer; I had the license, and I didn't know. I liked government, for the reasons that I told you. But I had gotten to the point, when I worked for Dr. [Samuel] Andelman, that I didn't know…I'd been there for a couple of years, and that was long enough. I was either going to go into litigation, probably with the U.S. attorney or the state's attorney, because those are the main litigation offices in those days or into the administrative side of government, i.e., this opportunity with the mayor's office. But for a year, that didn't materialize, so I didn't think it was going to materialize. I was right there, and I was that close to going that way.

DePue: What year are we talking about now, '62, '63?

Hartigan: Let's see, I got out of law school in '62, so it'd be '63, anyway. No, '63, that election, I was still in the Board of Health, so it would be maybe the end of that or '64, something like that.

DePue: Very quickly, just to kind of establish the main pieces of your life here. You graduated in 1959 from high school.

Hartigan: Fifty-five, fifty-five.

DePue: Fifty-five, I'm sorry. Why Georgetown?

Hartigan: I went to two grammar schools, by the way. I went to Saint Ignatius, and I went to a place called Hardey Prep. I skipped seventh grade in grammar school. I've never been sure if it was that the nuns thought, academically, it was a real good idea, or if it got rid of me a year sooner. (both laugh) I wasn't quite sure, anyway. And then Loyola Academy, that was a no-brainer. Other kids in our neighborhood, for instance, if you weren't involved in the parochial system, same thing. You'd go to Kilmer, and then Sullivan was right next to Kilmer. That's just the way you grew up. And there was some interaction. So that first twelve years of the process, that was sort of cut and dried.

Then, as far as Georgetown was concerned, I went to Georgetown on a…I'd been in Washington with my dad, once or twice, but I went to Georgetown on a senior trip from Loyola, and Ray Drymalski, who was the grandson of the person whose father was the commander in the Navy. Ray was a year ahead of me at Loyola Academy, so he was a freshman at Georgetown. I got a hold of him, and said I was coming down on the senior trip, and was he going to be around? He said, "Yeah, and here's my room number. Why don't you come on up, and we'll get together and do something." So I got off the bus and I took a look at Georgetown, and it was…You hear about that lightning bolt that hits you sometime? (laughs) Well, it struck.

Then I went in, and I went up to Ray's room. It was a cold, crummy day. Here's these guys, they're all in his room, Sunday morning after church. They're just kicking around what they did Saturday night and Friday night, (laughs) and that all sounded pretty good. But they're from New York, and they're from Cuba, and they're from this and that. This was a whole world opening up, and it was fascinating. The idea of Georgetown, with the international dimension it had and that sort of thing, I didn't know what I didn't know. I knew my own neighborhood very, very well, okay, but I didn't know about this whole world out there, with the exception of the little bit that I'd seen, as far as television and the papers. And that's the twenty-five-inch screen in those days; (DePue laughs) it wasn't quite the…So it was very interesting, and it was terrific.

DePue: Was there attraction also that you're at the very heart of American politics and also all the monuments and the history that's out there?

Hartigan: Well, history was my favorite subject. I think there is a cyclical theory of history that it keeps repeating itself, because multiple generations would make the same dumb mistakes or something. I don't know. But yeah, I found that fascinating, and I found Washington itself and Congress, that was interesting. But it wasn't in the sense, Mark, of being…There was no compulsion that I had to run. You know, it wasn't that I'm dying to be an elected person, okay? I never had an advisor. My dad died while I was in school. Rich had his father for a number of years, the Constitutional Convention and the Senate and all sorts of things. Tom Tully had Cullerton. I mean, different people had different people they could turn to for advice. I had to make it up as I went.

DePue: Who would you say, though, was the person who was the strongest influence, or the people who were the strongest influences on you?

Hartigan: Well, as far as basic values are concerned, my mom and dad were; they were extraordinary people. And Frank Hogan and his wife, Monica. That was the aunt and uncle next door. Ray Simon, Raymond F. Simon, he was the person who recommended me to the mayor. Ray was deputy mayor and administrative assistant. He was in the first group with Mayor Daley, brilliant, an absolutely brilliant guy.

DePue: This would have been '63, '64 timeframe that he recommended you?

Hartigan: Yeah. I got to know him a little bit around Loyola and around our community, when I was committeeman. But he was from Bridgeport. Ray's a genius, and his wife Mary is smarter than he is. Her dad was the head of the chemistry department at Loyola. They just are wonderful people and brilliant people. He was a guy that I always thought had immense courage, as far as his values and his principles were concerned. Him, recommending me to Mayor Daley, could have got his head chopped off, if Daley was a different kind of person. And it took a year. From the time he recommended me to the time the mayor gave me an interview, the mayor looked at some other people. And certainly the mayor was. There's no doubting the fact that he and Mrs. Daley were, other than my parents, were the biggest influence.

DePue: We haven't talked a lot about your mother. Her name was Coletta?

Hartigan: Yeah.

DePue: Coletta Hogan.

Hartigan: Coletta Hogan Hartigan, that's right.

DePue: What things that are Neil Hartigan now came from her?

Hartigan: Anything good. (laughs) She was an extraordinary person, just extraordinary. My mother had immense common sense. She could hear a situation and understand it with terrific clarity. Like when we got married, she'd never stick her nose in, that kind of thing; there's a better way to put it than that. If you asked her, she would be willing to give you her opinion, but you had to really ask her. There's only three times that I can remember that she sort of said something to me. I was moving way too fast. I thought the world of her, but I was just…and I didn't listen. I got clobbered. One was the worst (laughs) problem I ever had. She had said to me, she said, "How well do you know that fellow?" And I said, "Oh, he's a great guy, Mom," blah, blah, blah and all that stuff. She just picked out the problem and tried to tell me, in her own way. So in any event, she was very bright. She had impeccably good taste in virtually everything. She had polio when she was a kid and had some difficulty with some aspects of movement that was made more difficult when she was going up the steps at the L station in Loyola, a number of years later, after a snowstorm. She slipped and fell back the fifty steps.

The hardest thing I ever had to get done, Mark, I tried for fifteen years, fifteen years, to get escalators and elevators at the L stations, specifically Loyola, which is a big transfer station. I was ward committeeman; I was the bright young man; I was the mayor's deputy; I was da, da-da, da-da, and so what? I couldn't get that done. That wasn't just for my mom. We had an awful lot of people that I was telling you about, when you'd go door to door.

My mother said, one day, she said…We were talking about transportation. She said, "See that bus, Neil?" I said, "Yeah, sure, Mom, there's the bus." She said, "No, there's a bus there for you. But if the first step is more than twenty-six inches off the ground, it doesn't exist for me." I said, "What?" She said, "You know, we have the high curbs. You have to go down, and then you have to come back up, and if that's more than twenty-six inches high, that bus doesn't exist." She saw things through different eyes. She was terrific.

DePue: You mentioned she was a teacher. What level did she teach, and what did she teach?

Hartigan: I'm pretty sure it was primary school. She taught more before we were born, and then some when we were young. She had five kids, pretty close together too. (laughs)

DePue: So, when you were growing up, she was there. She was the person who was home when you got there.

Hartigan: Yeah. Yeah, she was…Being the mother and being the homemaker was as much of a profession, in the way we looked at how she was, as being a lawyer was with my father. She was just first-rate at what she did, and he was…She also was very interested in the theater; she was active in the community

theater movement. We had a theater in our parish that was a 1,000 seat theater. There were only a handful of those in the city at that time. She had a superb voice. I know her mother was trained for grand opera, and I think my mother had some training. She had an excellent voice; she was good in the theater, a good appreciation for art. She just was…She was something.

DePue: Was it—

Hartigan: And one last thing. The day my dad died…My dad had always handled the finances, and I thought, Well, I'm the oldest boy; I'll take that over. She had nothing to do with the business end of the house, until the day that my dad died, and then she had everything to do with it and did it perfectly, period. That's how capable she was.

DePue: Was that a tough time for you, as well, when your father died?

Hartigan: Yeah, yeah, it was. He was a terrific guy. It was unfortunate, because I would have graduated in a month, and we had just started to get to the point where I was starting to get to know him on something other than the father-son basis. Not that that wasn't a good basis, but if I'd been in Chicago, I would have done things with him, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty [years old].

Well, those years I wasn't there. I was in Washington a lot, and so I didn't really have that chance. My brother, David, he was supposed to—by his own choice—he was going to go into the priesthood. He was going to become a Jesuit. And he did a remarkable thing. My dad was dying, but he couldn't let anybody know that he was dying, because it's a shark's business. So David took a year off, after high school, and he worked up in the library of the municipal court. So when my dad had to go someplace outside of his office, his aldermanic office, he'd call upstairs, and David would come downstairs. They'd walk down the hall, and their elbows would touch. If you were coming down the hall, David would say, (hushed tone) "That's Mark DePue, Dad." So you'd get five feet, "Hi, Mark, how are you?" from my father. Okay? So David, at sixteen, seventeen years of age, was able to do that. I always admired him for…There's a real kind of courage involved with a kid taking on…You hurt, because you know your dad is dying next to you, and you're supplying the eyes for him. You put your own life on hold. I don't mean to be too melodramatic, but I thought it was really extraordinary.

DePue: Did he die while you were still out East?

Hartigan: Yeah, unfortunately, he did. I came home for Easter, and then, he died after that, the 20th of April. It was odd. My mom was there day after day after day after day for…The one time she varied her schedule and came an hour later, that was the hour he died. She just happened to decide to do something else at home that day, and, you know, sometimes things happen for a reason. When Marge died, I was down the hall.

DePue: Who's Marge?

Hartigan: My wife. There was no reason I was down the hall when she died, but I just had gone down the hall, and I was meeting with my brother and sister, I think, on something.

DePue: Well, it sounds like it would be just a month later, then, that you graduated from Georgetown.

Hartigan: It was, yeah.

DePue: Did your mother make it out to the graduation?

Hartigan: Yeah, she did, and she pinned my bars on me. I was commissioned a first lieutenant, second lieutenant.

DePue: We hadn't heard about that. ROTC, then?

Hartigan: Yeah, I was a double major. I was English and military science.

DePue: Why the military science? Well, you said history was your favorite, and now you're telling me English was your major.

Hartigan: Well, yeah, but history was my favorite, is my favorite, actually. The military science, if I…I was blinder than a bat, but if I wasn't, I probably would have tried to go to West Point or…probably West Point, not Annapolis. We weren't ocean people, boat people, that sort of thing. Any of the military academies, but it would have been West Point, I think. I also, later on, was interested in the FBI, that kind of service. But, as they say, I was, from kindergarten on, (laughs)…Never could figure out why I wasn't as good playing basketball, until I got a little older. I remembered I played without my glasses, which is probably why everything was about a foot short. (laughs)

DePue: At the time you graduated from Georgetown, had you already been accepted into law school?

Hartigan: Well, Father McGuire called me right after the funeral, which would have been the first week of May. I hadn't gone through the paperwork, (laughs) but when the president calls up inviting you to…"We want to give you a scholarship to law school," I guess—

DePue: But you were already interested in going to law school?

Hartigan: Yes. But I would have gone to law school, because it was my dad's profession, my uncle's profession. I was interested in it. I wasn't breathless about it, but I was interested in it. I played the cards the way they came up. I got a job in the basement of the Board of Health, shoveling coal. Well, there was no way I would know that a new health commissioner would come in,

and the new health commissioner would need some help, because he didn't know anybody in the city, and I could help him with like volunteer advance kind of stuff. That's how I became his assistant, and then when I finished law school, became the attorney.

DePue: He saw you shoveling coal or—

Hartigan: No.

DePue: …there was some other opportunity that the two of you met?

Hartigan: Yeah. I don't know how the heck we met. The chief engineer and he became good friends, because this particular fellow was the engineer. He ran a remarkable operation, and the commissioner didn't have to bother with anything. Everything was perfect, and he'd get anything you wanted and what have you. I don't know; that's probably how we met was, maybe through the chief engineer. But it wasn't anything terribly formal. Then we'd get talking about Chicago and about politics and about my dad's friends and this and that. So it was really sort of just natural stuff that would evolve.

But my dad had told me that you can't know anything about politics in Chicago and Illinois until you get out of Chicago. I had no idea what that meant, but I figured, okay. So I asked, when I went up with Dr. Andelman, I asked if I could, in addition to normal duties, be the liaison to city hall, because this was the only government building in those days where a city department was not in city hall. The Board of Health was at Hubbard and Dearborn, so that required some liaison, all right? I asked for that, as part of the job, and then I asked for the liaison with Springfield, because of what my dad had said. I didn't know why, but you got to get out of Chicago if you're going to know anything about Chicago and Illinois. So that's why I asked for the legislature. When I got down there, I started to find out what he was talking about.

DePue: When you say you asked for the legislature, to do what there?

Hartigan: Well, there's health bills. There was bills at the Board of Health—

DePue: So you'd be working on behalf of the city on legislation?

Hartigan: Legislation, yeah. And then, when I went over to the mayor's office, I asked to do the same thing. Ray Simon had done it; Dick Curry had followed Ray, and then I followed Dick. I became the legislative counsel for the city of Chicago. I had a system, Mark. I followed 300 bills, 300. It was all me, no computers, no anything. It was just a mechanical system.

But in addition to what was within the city program, I wanted to try and keep an eye on anything that I thought that the mayor might be interested in, might want to know. So I developed that kind of a system. What I found

out was that the whole idea of a real legislative process was unlike anything in the city of Chicago. The city council is a little bit, but it wasn't really. There was a committee structure, but it didn't have any staff, and it didn't have any numbered bills, and it didn't have any group to do the research, and it didn't have…etc.

One of the great advantages that the mayor had was his legislative training. The mayor [and] Tom Kane, was out of the legislature; [Vito] Marzullo was out of the legislature, Merovize(??)…The people who were very, very important, they understood—because of the training they'd had in Springfield—what a real legislature and a real relationship with an executive, what that all meant.

So, in theory, Chicago is a weak mayor, strong council system. (both laugh) It'd take a pretty good memory to remember the last time that…They have what they call the Gray Wolves[5] as the aldermen, like in the Congress, they had the Seven Cardinals or something, those guys that had been around forever and control the big committees. Well, same thing, except in addition to the committee chairmen, some of the other Gray Wolves were just sort of a *modus operandi*, but they had enormous power. *TIME Magazine* one time said that the person who was the committeeman and the alderman was equivalent to a duke and his duchy, (laughs) sort of.

So, I saw those things, to go back to his, you know, what are the choices? Okay. Well, I didn't know Ray Simon, and I had met the mayor, but there was no particular reason why the mayor would bring me over to go to work for him.

DePue: Especially given your father's relationships.

Hartigan: Of course, that's right. When he [the mayor] finally did do that, he was criticized for doing it, internally. Why are you giving the kid…His old man was against us, that kind of thing. In fact, one time, years later, I said something to him, and he looked up at me, and he said, "We're not going to get into the sins of the father or the sins of the son, are we, Neil?" "No, mayor, I don't think so." (both laugh) I wasn't even thinking about it that way, and oh, Jesus. (both laugh)

DePue: Yeah, but he was!

[5] The 1890s Chicago City Council was notorious for corrupt political practices, orchestrated by a faction of its aldermen, known as the Gray Wolves. So named because they were viewed as preying upon the defenseless public, the Gray Wolves were led by First Ward aldermen "Bathhouse" John Coughlin and "Hinky Dink" Mike Kenna, and Johnny Powers of the Nineteenth Ward. These elected officials were not only skilled at trading votes for favors, but once in office they excelled in making municipal decisions to profit themselves financially. (www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/540.html)

Hartigan: No, he wasn't. He was reminding me that I wouldn't have been there if that was the way he was. He wasn't. That's one of the reasons why I admired him, is he gave me a chance when there was no reason in the world to do it. And he was a great, great model. His work ethic and—

DePue: I'm sure that Gary went much more in-depth on this material, but give me a few adjectives that described Mayor Daley in those years, and we're talking about the early '60s, early to mid-'60s.

Hartigan: Oh, well, he knew more about government, the brightest person that I ever knew in government. Ray Simon was second, but Mayor Daley knew more about government, *per se*. The stereotypes…I always sort of thought there were seventy Mayor Daleys.

DePue: Seventy?

Hartigan: Yeah, maybe fifty, maybe seventy, I don't know. But there was this really brilliant government leader who understood in unbelievable detail the inner workings of city and state government, and to a great degree, certainly, the federal interrelationship, he understood, as well. The reason he had the total support of the business community was he understood their needs. If you don't have a strong economy, you don't have jobs. If you don't have those two things, you don't have a tax base, a fair tax base. If you don't have those three things, then you can't pay for the social services. That's a continuum. That runs together, okay? And he understood that.

When he took over for Mayor Kennelly, he kept every one of the department heads that Kennelly had, except one. He changed the fire commissioner. That was professional government. And he said to them, "As long as you keep your nose out of politics, you got your jobs," because it was in the city's best interest. There were some really good pros. The Jardine filtration plant is Jim Jardine; he was the water commissioner, lived across the street from us. He was a first-rate professional. John Ward, the purchasing agent, same thing. Kennelly had a good cabinet, and Daley kept a good cabinet and made it even better in the years later.

Remarkably, there was about—I don't know if there was eight of us or ten—but to give guys my age this opportunity for this enormous responsibility, I mean, enormous responsibility. I was doing licenses, contracts. I set up the data center, patronage. I was doing city council, legislature, all at the same time. I remember when I was attorney general that somebody was twenty-six. I was thinking of him for a job, and I thought, Oh, geez, he's only twenty-six. Then I thought, wait, who the hell are you to talk about only twenty-six? You were doing all that stuff I just mentioned. You can imagine, if that was my reaction, you can imagine what a man his age's reaction would typically be. That wasn't the mayor. He understood that, if you gave these people that were reasonably bright, very hardworking, absolutely

honest, and fiercely loyal, you'd get a good job out of them. In fact, I'd say within a month before the Democratic convention in 1968, if you went back and you looked at the cover in some of the major magazines, "How Does Daley Do It?" "Daley, the model urban mayor and the bright young men around him," all that kind of stuff.

DePue: Well, we got a little bit ahead. There's one thing we need to interject in here. Nineteen sixty-two was important for one other reason, I would think, in your life.

Hartigan: Very, yeah. After a whirlwind five-year courtship, we rushed blindly into marriage. (laughs)

DePue: Your wife's maiden name.

Hartigan: Margaret Mary Dunn.

DePue: Margaret Mary Dunn, another good Irish name.

Hartigan: Oh, you can count on that, red hair, the whole thing.

DePue: How did you meet?

Hartigan: On a blind date. I had just come back from Europe—

DePue: So that must have been '57?

Hartigan: I had been in the glee club. I think it was '56. It was the end of first year, which would be December of '56.

DePue: So you're already out in Georgetown then.

Hartigan: Yeah, yeah. I went to Georgetown in the fall of 1955, so I finished first year, and I was in the glee club. A guy named Paul Hume was the director of the glee club. Hume is the guy who had been the music critic for the *Washington Post*, who said that Margaret Truman couldn't sing, (DePue laughs). Who Harry Truman, as you remember the rest of the story.

DePue: Yeah, not Harry's favorite guy.

Hartigan: No, he said he'd punch him in the nose, among other things. Anyway, he was a terrific guy. He was also the head of the music program at Rosary. So the glee club was a big deal in those days for all the major colleges and a lot of that. So the priests, they decided to set up a tour of Europe. Supposedly we're going to sing for the Pope.

He wanted me to come, Father Kiefer. So I said, "Father, come on, are you kidding? You think my father is going to let me go on a tour of Europe,

instead of working this summer?" And he said, "Well, let me talk to your father." I said, "Okay, here's the number." So he talked to my father. Well, I didn't hear the conversation, but I'm sure he told him we were going to sing for the Pope, because the youngest of fourteen kids from…You know that would have to be something; he didn't care what the hell he had to do, but he'd get the dough to send your kid on that. So I'd just come back from it, anyway.

The Hogans belonged to the Lakeshore Club, which is just down here. It used to be one of the great clubs in Chicago. They had dancing on the roof in the summer. It was a Saturday night, and I needed a date. A girl that I had also gone out with all through high school, almost, we had just broken up. That's a euphemism; she had dumped me (both laugh)—to be real candid about the whole thing—with good judgment, I suppose. Anyway, so I call this girl up, who was a mutual friend of ours. Her name, believe it or not, was Scarlett O'Malley, true story.

I called Scarlett; I said, "I need a date." She said, "Well, why did you wait until 8:30 tonight before you called?" I said, "Well, I just do." So she called back about an hour later and said, "There's two girls." One is a girl named Rosie Sebastian, very attractive. She lived in Park Ridge. The other one was Marge Dunn. Marge lived about, oh, I don't know, about four blocks from Susan Fitzgerald, this girl I'd gone out with for five years. Well, my mother used to say I'd get lost on the way to church, and church is just to the left of the front door of our house. (DePue laughs)

But I knew how to get to Susan's house, because I'd gone there for five years. Therefore, I knew how to get to Marge's house, because it was only four blocks away. Rosie, that was Park Ridge. I wasn't so sure if I was going to get real lost. So, I said, "Okay, see if you can fix it up with Marge." Marge had just dropped a guy that she had been going out with.

So up I go, knock on the door. She opens the door, and I said, "Oh my God, you're a redhead." She looked at me, and she says, "So are you. So what?" Well, I hated being a redhead. (laughs) Redheads are burn, blister, peel. I had some of the classic blisters that any kid has ever had, when I was young, huge things. Plus, if there happens to be a little problem in the classroom and the teacher's peripheral vision sees six bodies and one red head; therefore, it was the redhead that was causing the problem. (laughs) Or if you're running down the street, the only one they remember is the redhead. Between burn, blister, and peel and getting in trouble too easy, it wasn't so good. Okay, we started off on a great foot.

So off we go, and I start talking about the European trip, and we get into Chicago, and this is the ward, and ta-da, ta-da, ta-da; I'm rattling on. I don't know if she thought I was the **biggest** jerk that she ever met, (laughs) after the first date, but it would have to be close. She didn't know what the

hell and couldn't have cared less about it. She probably had a reasonably good time about the Lakeshore thing, but everything else…So that didn't really get off the ground real well, but—

DePue: From her perspective, maybe.

Hartigan: Well, I was doing her a favor. She was a kid. I mean, I just got back from Europe. Are you kidding? I went eastern, George, blah, blah, blah. You've got do something if you're five six. You got to make up for the glasses. (DePue laughs) Anyway, so it got better as things went along, and we had this whirlwind courtship of five years, where we rushed blindly into marriage.

So I go out to her graduation from Rosemont in Philadelphia. That was on Saturday, and then my graduation from law school was to be the following Thursday, from Loyola. Well, we were both broke, (laughs) and so I didn't have any dough to go back to Chicago and then come back to Connecticut, which is where we were going to be married, where she lived. So, instead of going back to Chicago for graduation, I skipped that, and I went with her and her and her family back to Connecticut, because the following Saturday is when we're getting married in Connecticut. So, I never got to law school graduation.

People go out from Chicago. There's a lot of family and some guys and what have you. And there are a few memorable parts. One was that I was leading all the people from Chicago to the church, (sirens in background) and in keeping with my inner GPS [global positioning system], I got them all lost. All of them got lost. Geez, I was so embarrassed it was ridiculous.

We get through the wedding. Marge's mother was a wonderful, wonderful woman. She came over when she was sixteen. She lost her second parent while she was on the boat. She just died. She was ninety-nine when she died. She was absolutely one of the most extraordinary women I've ever met, Kathleen Dunn. She was something. Anyway, she had been the head of the New York Athletic Club's beach club. She was a fabulous cook and a fabulous arranger, and she got this wonderful place for the reception and did the whole thing herself. It was just perfect.

Now we go out in the car to leave for the honeymoon. I'm driving, and we get out of Connecticut, and you cross into New York. We were going to a place called the Motel on the Mountain, which was a lovely place, or it looked like it was a lovely place. I don't know where the hell it is, of course. I'm lost; I'm lost with my new bride. So here's a police car, and I decide to ask him. I pull up to him, and Marge is embarrassed as hell. She's ripping the flower off, (DePue laughs) and she's taking the hat off and scuffing up her shoes, that kind of… I said, "Fellows, could you help me out? Where's the mo—" That's as much as I got out, "mo—." These two young coppers, they started laughing like hell. They took one look at us and they knew—(laughs)

DePue: Did you still have all the stuff on the back, saying you're newlyweds and…?

Hartigan: I don't know if we had that crap. It didn't make any difference. They didn't need that; they just looked at us, and (both laugh) they knew the drill. They hit the siren, and they hit the lights, "Follow us." Oh, geez, she was dying. She would have jumped out of the… Anyway, now, it's a Motel on Top of the Mountain, so we're going like this. (makes motor noises)

DePue: Spiral, right.

Hartigan: It pulls in, and we arrive there just as sort of the first sitting for dinner. It wasn't a formal sitting like, but just the first huge group was coming out, as the next group is going in. We just want to go in (laughs) an alley or something, go in the back door, nuh-uh. The coppers pull right up to the front door, still with the sirens going and everything else. We're going, "Oh, geez." It was a very auspicious start to the whole thing.

I saved her from the wilds of Connecticut and brought her the joys of Chicago and Illinois politics. She was from New Canaan, which…The guy that did the *Saturday Evening Post* covers, you know, the idyllic covers?

DePue: Oh, I can't—

Hartigan: We'll think of him. We both know who we're talking about.

DePue: Yeah.

Hartigan: Anyway, New Canaan was the most idyllic of the towns.

DePue: Norman Rockwell.

Hartigan: Norman Rockwell. Five thousand people in New Canaan. It was the perfect site for his stuff. That's what I saved her from.

DePue: To the city with the big shoulders.

Hartigan: Well, and the state.

DePue: Yeah. I know you had several jobs. You've talked quite a bit already about getting that first job with Chicago, after you graduated from Loyola. What area of law did you focus on at Loyola?

Hartigan: You didn't really focus on anything in those days. It was just a general…I focused on passing; that was the miracle. (laughs)

DePue: And from what you've already told me, you just basically, in terms of deciding your career, you were taking the opportunities that presented themselves.

Hartigan: Yeah. Sometimes there's multiple ones, and you sort of sort it out and try to have some judgment. See, I was going to law school from 9:00 to 12:00, and then I'd walk from Pearson, right down the street here, down to Hubbard and Dearborn, and then I would work there from 1:00 to 9:00. (laughs) My time was fairly well consumed, (DePue laughs) and then I was getting started doing the political stuff. And the guy that my father had beaten was the guy who was the committeeman.

DePue: Who's that?

Hartigan: A fellow named George Lane. George was very interested in furthering my career, preferably out the nearest door. I had worked in two precincts, as an assistant, and then Lane gave me a precinct for the mayor's election in 1963. The one he gave me finished ninety-eighth out of ninety-eight in the primary. It was very thoughtful of him. He wanted to make sure to (laughs) help me out.

I got about thirty people that I'd gone to school with. Mark, we did everything you've ever seen in a school election. We canvassed up one side, down the other. We'd have signs that would read "This way to the polls," like you'd see in a school election, kind of stuff. We had walkie-talkies. We had everything. We had good looking guys, good-looking girls. They worked their heads off. I got Esther Saperstein, who, you may remember, was a member of the House, but then she became a state senator. She was the mother of mental health in Illinois. Sam Shapiro [34th Governor of Illinois] was, they always say, the father. Well, Esther was the mother.

DePue: What was her first name again?

Hartigan: Esther.

DePue: Esther.

Hartigan: E-s-t-h-e-r. She had been one of the people that ran against my dad, actually. But we got to be friends. I said to Esther—the precinct [George] Lane had given me had this building, 6,300 in it. Well, Mike Zlatnik was a Republican state representative; he lived in it. Ed(??) Price was the Republican committeeman; he lived in it. The building was primarily people who were Republicans and of Jewish background—I said, "Esther, you know Lane's trying to kill me. I need some help." I said, "How about you and I canvassing that building together?" She said, "Come on, son; come on, darling, let's go. We'll go do it." Well, Jesus, you never saw anybody like Esther. She'd hit the *mezuzah* on the way in, and it was "two cents plain." As long as I was okay with Esther, (laughs) I was okay with everybody. It was wonderful. We went from last to thirteenth in one election, which really pissed him (Lane) off.

DePue: Thirteenth in terms of—

Hartigan: Excuse me, I didn't mean to say that.

DePue: …the percentage of win, is that what you're saying?

Hartigan: Yeah, yeah. In other words, remember what I said with Rakove. Daley knew what Rakove's results were. Rakove's name was on the precinct results. All you've got to do is find out what do the tenth precinct and the forty-ninth ward do? They'll pull the slip, and they'll show you. That's how you find out.

Well, Lane, I'm sure already had a warm place in his inner pocket for my results, if I had finished last in the ward, which at some time, if he ever bumped into the mayor and say, "He's a nice boy, really trying hard, (DePue laughs) but unfortunately he was last in your election," you know, that kind of thing.

DePue: Well, I was going to say, finishing thirteenth, that's just the kind of thing that the mayor would love to see.

Hartigan: Yeah, but you can rest assured that Lane wasn't going to show him that. (both laugh) But actually I did—

DePue: That was your entry into precinct politics, then?

Hartigan: Well, no. I'd been involved in it with my dad, and then I was an assistant to two different precinct captains. But then, as far as being a precinct captain myself was concerned, yeah, in that sense it was.

DePue: When did you become the precinct captain? Was that after law school?

Hartigan: Yeah. I'm pretty sure it was after law school, yeah. And one of the things that I did that got me a little better known by the mayor was going back to those sixteen wards I told you about. That was a few years later. I felt (sirens in background) that the mayor was doing a lot of things substantively that he wasn't getting any credit for. You know, it was just the machine stuff.

There was a fellow named Vince Saunders, over at the Board of Health. He was a black fellow; he was a talented artist. We became good friends. So I said, "Hey, Vince, what if we took the mayor's programs, and we created a calendar, something with utility value that the precinct captains could give out and put in every home and the people would put up on their iceboxes or something? They'd keep it, though, okay?" Because, if you're going to do a giveaway, you want it to have utility value. You don't want something that people will say, Oh, that's nice (makes zipping noise).

What we did was, we took the thirty days before the election, and thirty, twenty-nine, twenty-eight, twenty-seven, like that. I would tell them, "This was the program; this is the pros of what the mayor did." You know, here's the two lines that describes the alley lights, the safety factor and

lighting the alleys, just like you light the streets and protection of women and children, all that kind of stuff. Then his side, this side of it, would be a sketch, showing that. Then the next one on the next page would be, let's say, doubling the number of parks in the city. He'd do a sketch about the parks, and my prose would go with his sketches. Then this side would be blank, so you could use it as a memo pad. So I called it a "Daley reminder memo pad," but D-a-l-e-y instead of d-a-i-l-y.

So we got it done, and that was really the first unique piece that I had done. I gave it to Ray, but I got it to the mayor. I got it to Ray too late, and it got to the mayor too late to make the kind of investment that would be necessary to print that many and get them all out to the precinct captains and get them distributed. The mechanics of doing that takes some time and money. So, other than him seeing it, Ray seeing it, and the mayor seeing it, and a few other people, that was it for that election. Then in '66—and they liked it a lot, by the way—'66, that's when the sixteen wards and with Douglas. Also the mayor got beaten in the bond issues that summer, which hadn't happened before. So I—

DePue: School bond issues?

Hartigan: I forget what they were, might have been water, school; I don't know, a bunch of them. But anyway, '66 wasn't (laughs) too good a year. So I sat down—and I've got it someplace—I wrote out maybe twenty pages in longhand, on a legal, yellow pad, of a whole campaign. Basically, the campaign is you've got a product; it's a marketing plan for a product, except the product here is a person or a person's record or whatever it might be.

DePue: Now, you're talking about Daley's upcoming campaign, for reelection in '67?

Hartigan: Yeah. After [Paul] Douglas lost in '66, and the bond issuance went down in '66, I wrote this campaign. Remember, I told you, here, this is the traditional; that's a linear campaign, what the wards are going to do, how the materials [get] to the wards, ta-da, ta-da, ta-da.

The campaign that I wrote went across the grain. If you would have government people, the patronage workers in the traditional campaign, you didn't have any in the one I put together. You had 15,000 kids—I call them kids—under twenty-five, nobody in government, all of whom cared about the city and felt that the mayor was a good mayor for the city.

What I tried to do, as I said to you before, was to try and put politics on the people's terms, not on the politician's terms. If a person had a background in advertising, then why not take advantage of that and let them do the brochures? If a person was good at finance, let them be on the finance committee, A, to recruit people from the finance industry or profession, and B, if there's a paper on the city's finances, maybe they participate in the research

of that. In other words, take advantage of the talents that these bright young people have, who don't want a job. They're not looking for anything; they just want to be involved. So we tried to put politics on the people's terms and make it substantive and make it fun, and we did. That turned out to be Chicago '67.

DePue: How did you find all this new blood, who were interested and willing to actually do the legwork of politics?

Hartigan: This is for a single campaign, single campaign, single candidate. It wasn't signing up for life. Nobody signed up for life, but still, it was a short-term involvement; let's put it that way. I always thought the best organizational tool that I ever saw was the organizational chart for Israel Bonds [commonly known name of Development Corporation for Israel (DCI)]. Did you ever see one?

DePue: No.

Hartigan: Terrific, they're just terrific. Those bond drives were so phenomenally—in those days, still are, I guess—successful. One of the reasons was that they took everything; they took every profession; they took every kind of work, and they would just…Let's say you were organizing the law profession, okay? So this column is law. Well, first of all, there's the public sector, *i.e.*, government offices; private sector, firms. Are they big firms, medium-size, small firms, individual firms? Are they teachers? What part of law are they in? And each of those has a box. So if you do that for that, and you take medicine. Well, medicine, that sounds good, what medicine? You take the basic breakouts of medicine, and you got the doctors and the dentists and the, *et cetera* (laughs). That keeps going. You got mental health and developmental disabilities.

Business, you take the Chamber of Commerce, and how many different divisions do they have of different kinds of businesses? Well, the organizational chart for Israel Bonds has got all of that in spades. Education, the same thing. So, we started out with me, and then I got together, I think it was eight other people. So it was a group of nine. I think the reason it was nine was, going back to the ROTC stuff, they say that the proper ratio for command is one to eight, nine total. In a squad, it's nine, okay? I think that's what occasioned the nine. The eight were the major divisions. One was recruitment, another one was finance; another one was research; another one was special events; another one was administrating the thing. But there was eight of those, and each of these eight people was in charge of one of those big disciplines.

Now, there's two sides to the coin. There's the recruitment and then evaluation of the talent and then assignment. The other side of the coin is execution of projects. Well, we had sixteen field offices. Who's going to man

them? Then what were they going to do, what kind of manning? Are they going to do events there; are they going to do precinct work there; are they going to do what? It's defining and redefining and breaking it down. Anyway, you start out with nine. Those nine people met in the basement of Butch McGuire's Saloon on Division Street, which is a very famous saloon.

DePue: Butch McGuire, you say?

Hartigan: Butch McGuire, yeah. He had the best place in Chicago in those days. He was terrific. And the reason we met there was because, if we tried to have those nine people meet down in the Loop, you're going to bump into people, and, "What are you guys doing together? What's going on here? Why am I not in?" You know, that kind of stuff. Well, you're not going to have to worry about running into them at 8:00 in the morning on Division Street (both laugh). Monday morning? I don't think so. So we could have the meetings there. We'd meet for an hour. We had an agenda that we followed, and we went from there. That group of nine, including myself, didn't exist, okay?

Now, if you take that, and you multiply the eight by three, that's twenty-four. That was the first level that existed, and the twenty-four fit the key areas of those boxes I was telling you about. That was the executive committee, the official executive committee. This one down there really was, but it really didn't exist.

Now, that one would meet at 3:00 on Monday afternoon. That one was five to one; the ratio was five to one or four to one, and that'd make it five. That's how you got up to 100, right, 100 plus that would meet at 5:00 on Monday. We'd go through a report on the eight main elements of the campaign that we were doing. What were the things that were coming up that we needed help on? The basic idea was that, if you had…Let's say we had ten events during the week. Well, we might not have enough people to make sure…Every one of them had to be a smash. By telling the 100 up here what was going to happen for the week, if we didn't have enough people or whatever the hell we needed, here's our (laughs) needs and to-do. Well, out of that 100, you have a pretty good chance of getting some help. So we'd just swing the resources in, and it was like having…You know, it's like in a battle, you got the cavalry, a little in reserve. All the sudden, everybody's working on the Thursday program. And they were good programs.

I think I told you, going back to the background that I had, about the music and politics and all the rest of it. We decided to put together a fashion show. It came off the idea of the calendar. The calendar was in 1963. So how were we going to [present] the substantive idea in a way that was appealing, that had merit, that was okay? Now, how would it work in 1967, as opposed to '63? It seemed to me that if we did a fashion show, a little bit different kind of fashion show, that we could incorporate that. So, instead of it being a Daley reminder memo pad, we took the same idea and had big pictures, big boards.

The guy who was the announcer, let's say, he would say, "Here's Marge Hartigan in her outfit from Carson's, on her way with the children to the zoo, and she's holding…As you can see from the picture, Mayor Daley has tripled the amount of park space for children (DePue laughs) during the last four years." So it was substantive, plus we had great jazz. We had either a trio or a quartet, live music, for each one of these things. And we would put it into the middle of a major building in town.

Think of it at the Merchandise Mart, that big court, as you come in. Well, we would leaflet, starting the day before, that tomorrow, at noontime, a rally for the mayor and fun fashions and jazz and giveaways and stuff. Then, when they came into work the next day, the same thing. Well, it didn't take long for people in Chicago, that age group, to figure out there was going to be a lot of good-looking girls and a lot of good-looking, eligible guys, and it's going to be fun, and it's free, and we get coffee mugs and we get brushes and jazz. It's fun, you know.

DePue: Was it an economical campaign, or was it more expensive to do this approach?

Hartigan: We raised our own money. We did; we raised over 300,000 bucks.

DePue: Wow.

Hartigan: And, god, if you ever put the in-kind service into it (laughs) I mean, think what it costs.

DePue: Astronomical by that time.

Hartigan: A fortune, yeah. Well, George Vest, in those days, was at the carpenters' union. I said, "George, we need something; we need a stage to do this thing on, and it's got to be portable enough that we can move it from one building to another building." So he designed the thing. What the hell would I know about how to put it…? It was really neat, though. It was a full-blown stage, and the wings folded in, and when it came down, (laughs) we put it on the back of a truck and took it to the next building. It was terrific. I don't know if you ever heard of a musician named Joe Vito. Joe Vito was the jazz. Joe Vito is probably, today, as fine a musician as there is in Chicago. He's played jazz, played trade shows, played with the symphony, played—

DePue: Did he have his own band?

Hartigan: Yeah.

DePue: What instrument?

Hartigan: Piano. He still does. I'll see him at, oh, like, for instance, the chairman of Abbott [Laboratories], he'd have a cocktail party at his house or a dinner at

his house. Joe's playing the piano. He was an elegant, elegant musician and a great guy. We're still friends today.

DePue: How hard was it to sell Daley on this whole concept? Because this is—

Hartigan: Not hard.

DePue: What you're describing is very different from the—

Hartigan: He loved it.

DePue: — patronage system that he had developed over the years.

Hartigan: He loved it. I read him the twenty pages. He changed one thing out of the twenty pages. The one thing was that I had modeled it after his Citizens' Committee. What I did, part of it was that he had the CEOs, so I wanted to make sure that we got the brightest young guys and gals who were the assistants to the CEOs, like Jim O'Connor, Commonwealth Edison—he later became the chair of Commonwealth Edison—Ira Harris. Ira is one of the top financiers in the country—he was the best guy in finance—a guy named Ed Brabeck was the top, young labor guy in town. They were the eight guys down here (laughs).

DePue: The foundation.

Hartigan: Yeah, they were the foundation, right. In any event, he [the mayor] said, "Make sure they all live in Chicago." And I said, "Well, a number of the people on your Executive Committee are from the suburbs." He said, "Well, yeah, it had to be that way, but this is your city; you're building your city. Make sure it's all Chicagoans that are building it for the future." You can't argue with that. It was harder, a little bit, but not much, because there's a lot of people that live in the city.

DePue: What I'd like to do here is have you just briefly walk us through the positions that you held, basically from when you graduated in '62, all the way up to that '72 timeframe, when you ran for lieutenant governor.

Hartigan: Okay. Let me tell you one other thing on this thing.

DePue: Sure.

Hartigan: I didn't exist in this thing. I did; I ran it, but I didn't exist. The reason was that this was for Daley. This wasn't for me. If I had existed, if I had been a visible leader of the thing, the jealousy would have been phenomenal. They would all have figured, what the hell are we going to break our necks for him for? That kind of thing. Later on, we went from 15,000 to 20,000 and then eventually to 25,000 by the time we did the third one.

DePue: The third race?

Hartigan: The first race was Chicago ‘67. There, all the graphics were very bright, very modern. There was a strong green arrow coming out of the silhouette of the city, with a ‘67. That was so untraditional for political literature in those days. And then, as you opened the brochure, it was smart. That was to say that there was a lot of young people interested in the future of the city, who were for the mayor. “We Care” was the next one.

DePue: Seventy-one?

Hartigan: Yeah, that was ‘71. The reason why I called it “We Care” was because we wanted to make it clear that there was a lot of people that were involved in the city and in government who cared every bit as much or more than the people in the streets, who were yelling about us and tearing Chicago down kind of stuff.

DePue: So the (laughs) significant footnote in there is the Democrat convention ‘68 and all the mud that had been slinging back and forth.

Hartigan: Yeah, yeah. Well, as I said to you, a month before that, we had been written up across the country as the best of the best, ta-da, ta-da-ta. It was a terrible problem to get back off of that. Some of it was deserved, but a lot of it wasn’t. That’s a whole different set of stories I could tell you.

In any event, the night of Daley’s election…Billy Singer ran against him. Bill had been with us in Chicago ‘67. But there was a guy named Eddie Barrett, who was the committeeman in the 44th Ward, and Barrett spent most of his time out at the Palm Beach Tennis Club. You know, he was very interested in the community. But he was still in power, to the point where he could…Singer, who would have been a great candidate for alderman, he just turned his back to him, ignored him, same stuff that was going on in 1966.

So Singer said, “The hell with him, let’s run against him and beat him.” That’s how the “independent movement,” started, all right? In any event, now Billy’s running for mayor. I figure, okay, I might as well send a little message. We got 5,000 people together. The first event we had was 5,000. It was out in Hyde Park at the…What’s that great big place out there? It’s something; I’ll think of the name. If you were counting on the independent liberal base and young people along the lakefront, and your opponent’s first event was 5,000 (laughs) of exactly that type, all in your face at one time, the first day of the campaign, it wouldn’t do a lot for your morale, and of course, we won.

Now, in any of these three elections, Daley was going to win anyway, but he won a different way by having this. We took the ballroom that was down in the Black Sun—where they’ve spent all the millions to restore the thing—and we put across the wall the old-time charts, where you see the 49th

Ward, Daley this and so-and-so that much? We had them, and we got a great party, post-election, after everybody's worked all day. They come in, and there's music, and it's a great atmosphere. The announcements over the voice-over, "In the 43rd Ward, Daley carried by 18,000 to 4,000." "Yeah!" Well, we didn't make anything of it, but it wasn't lost on Daley that I had chosen that room, because that was the room that looked over the statue. Remember the famous statue that in '68 had people draped on it and what have you?

The We Care, the people in that room, had proven—and those numbers had proven—that there were a hell of a lot more people that cared and cared very vigorously, about the city and its future. Just symbolically, looking down on the ones that weren't there anymore, that's what that was about. We never said it, but I think the mayor got it, (both laugh) and I got it.

DePue: Yeah, he probably did.

Hartigan: And then the last one [campaign theme] was "For Chicago," because he [Mayor Daley] was older and sick. He didn't need to run, but really, Chicago still needed him, as long as he was alive. He ran that last one, he did that one for Chicago.

DePue: Well, that would have been '75, during the time you were lieutenant governor.

Hartigan: Yeah.

DePue: But were you involved with his race in '75?

Hartigan: Sure, I wrote it.

DePue: Well, we'll get a lot more about being the lieutenant governor and maybe why you had the time to do that. Probably—

Hartigan: No, I was enormously busy, because, I think I told you, we did thirteen major programs on a bipartisan basis. We created the first Department on Aging in America, restructured mental health and developmental disabilities and did all sorts of stuff.

DePue: Well, that's a little bit ahead of where we're at right now. So, in walking through the positions you held from '62 to '72, the official positions.

Hartigan: I'm sorry, excuse me, '62 to '72. Well, I was labor.

DePue: You start off with the Chicago Board of Health, correct?

Hartigan: Yeah. Well, I was working for the Bureau of Architecture, which was the operational side of the city. But I was doing it in the basement of the Board of

Health. So I was really working that laboring job for the Bureau of Architecture. Then, when I went to work for [Dr. Samuel] Andelman[6]—

DePue: Is it Andelman or Handelman?

Hartigan: No, Andelman, A-n-d-e-l-m-a-n, maybe double n. He asked me if I wanted to come upstairs and go to work as his assistant. Well, I could tell the difference between the third floor and the basement. (both laugh) It sounded like a pretty good idea. So, up I went, and I was his administrative assistant. Then, when I finished law school the next year, then he appointed me as the counsel for the Board of Health. I had health and mental health—very interesting—and did some terrific programs out of there.

I was involved in the polio vaccine program, the whole Salk thing, which was the most successful public health program that was ever conducted in the country, I think. It was really something to see that whole thing put together. Public health is different than more traditional medicine. It's a different animal. It's like you could be a park ranger, and that's a whole different kind of thinking and responsibilities than just being an environmentalist, which they are, but, in a broader sense. Anyway. Well, Haiti. Haiti had a terrific need for both the public health side, because of the infection spreading and all that—

DePue: We're referring to the massive earthquake that Haiti just had.

Hartigan: Yeah, and Chile.

DePue: Yeah.

Hartigan: Anyway, anytime there's anything massive like that, public health has the structure to deal with it. Then they bring the private side in. So, he [Andelman] asked me if I wanted to be his assistant. So I did. Then, as I say, I became the attorney, after I graduated and got married. So I wrote an opinion for him on a question. I really worked hard on it, and I thought it was really a good piece of work. The next morning, the lead editorial in the *Chicago Tribune*, "Who does Andelman think he is?" They ripped that opinion. (laughs) Well, Andelman took my opinion, whatever it was. It was probably substantively right, but (laughs) the *Tribune* didn't care if it was substantively right; it was what they were against. (laughs) [They] just tore it to shreds. So I got a little lesson in—

DePue: Your baptism.

[6] Samuel L. Andelman dealt with a wide range of issues as Chicago's health commissioner in the 1960s, from the administration of polio vaccines as that disease waned to the distribution of antidotes for Mace amid the decade's civil unrest. Chicago Tribune Obituary

Hartigan: Yeah, baptism, yeah, certainly. It was his, too. We did a little different approach after that. Then I stayed there until I went over to the mayor's office in 1964, and I was administrative assistant to the mayor. Then, in addition, I was legislative counsel for the city. Then I was, in effect, deputy mayor by the time I left there. He called me in one day, and there was only two of us in the office at that time, and I was doing everything, I mean everything. And he said, "How would you like to be the general counsel for the Park District?" I was absolutely stunned. I was like, how would I like to go to Nome, Alaska?

DePue: I was going to say, that sounds like a significant demotion from what you're doing.

Hartigan: I was dumped five times. I never let on I was dumped, but I was dumped five times in different parts of my career. It was very interesting. I said, "Well, the only reason that I'm here is you gave me the opportunity. I guess if you feel I can make a contribution over there, I'll go try." I'm thinking to myself, Jesus, I've got all of these things I'm handling. What kind of transition, and how do you do a transition? So I'm thinking like twenty days, thirty days. I said to him, I said, "What kind of transition did you have in mind, mayor, because you've got me handling all these different things?" He looks at his watch. He says, "It's 2:30 now. Phil McFetridge will be in at his desk in the president's office at 3:00. Be there." So much for transition. (DePue laughs) It's good for your humility. Zip!

DePue: Did he ever explain why? Did you ever know why this move—

Hartigan: No, he never did, not until the governor's race. John Stroger got up…I had actually hired John, over at the Park District as an attorney. I brought Tom Hynes in; that's how Tom Hynes started. He and I sat next to each other in law school, and when I got to the park district, I figured I'd better get some good lawyers in here fast, (laughs) because there is a few problems, to say the least. So I talked Tom into it, and that started his government career. Tom, at the time, was the assistant dean, I think, at John Marshall. Also, he'd written a big chunk of the commercial code. He was brilliant, you know, a partner at Jenner. [Jenner & Block] His wife never forgave me. (both laugh)

DePue: Wasn't making quite as much money through the city, huh?

Hartigan: We turned a nothing into a really good law department. Anyway, so I get over there, and he didn't…Oh, I'm sorry; the way I found out why it was was, in the campaign, Stroger held an event for me, and he got up to introduce me. He says, "I'm introducing the most honest man in politics." I thought, That's nice of him to say. And he says, "And I know he is." He says, "And I don't think any of the rest of you do know why I know, so I'm going to tell you." He said, "This is the only man in all the years that I've been a committeeman that every single ward committeeman in the city signed a petition to Mayor Daley to get rid of him, that he's killing us as the liquor commissioner, (laughs)

because he was closing down all…" (laughs) See, when you close a place down, the place goes dark for a year. It can't be used for anything. The people who got the license…If you have the license or you got more than 5 percent interest, you can never hold another license, nor can your spouse, by the way, or anybody that's got more than 5 percent. The insurance gets blown. The committeemen in a lot of those wards had the insurance (DePue laughs) stuff. You messed up the insurance, the real estate, the liquor, the companies supplying the…everything.

Well, I never heard that, (laughs) that they'd got… And I did run the toughest program in the country. I told you, Mayor Daley, when he called me in, South State Street was running wide open, and he said, "I think you'd make a fine liquor commissioner." And I said, "What?" This is two weeks after I'd joined the mayor's office. I said, "Mayor, I can't tell you that I haven't frequented a couple of…that I haven't tested some of the product, but I don't know anything about…" I said, "What do you want me to do?" He said, "Do what you think is right." That's what he told me, Mark, in every major challenge area, is, "Do what you think is right." So I did. I set up a whole system…When we talk about what we were doing, I'll talk more about that. But we had the toughest program in the country against the syndicate. That's when my wife got threatened, and I did, and my kids, they tried to kidnap them. There was a lot of stuff going on.

DePue: But you didn't see this move coming at all?

Hartigan: Uh-uh. No, I didn't. The only thing about it, as I thought about it afterwards, is that I was the only one in the mayor's office that ever was really in politics, by choice. If you were anybody else working there, you didn't have to join the XYZ ward.

DePue: Well, that's contrary to, at least, my understanding of the way the Daley machine worked, if we can use that phrase, that it was all about patronage and people who had worked in the precincts and the wards. And if you helped the mayor, helped the system, the machine, you were rewarded with jobs.

Hartigan: Well, some of it was, yeah, but some of it wasn't, too. But in the mayor's office, specifically, I was the only one, and I did it by choice, not because I had to. Again, my dad had said, before he died…He wanted to be a judge, as I told you early in our session here. So it finally got to the point where it looked like he was going to be chosen, and even at that sort of last minute, it didn't happen. They put somebody else in, and so he was guaranteed the next one. Well, the next one came just after he died, unfortunately. So his lifelong ambition, you know…He said to me, "Neil, if you're going to mean something in this business, you've got to be in the room; you can't be out in the hall." I didn't really know what that meant, either.

But as I was in it, then I started to figure it out. Given the impact that the political structure had, the party [had], if I was going to mean something, governmentally, then I better get in the room where the people are chosen, in the endorsement process, as the nominees for those offices, okay? I did it, because I thought it was worthwhile to do it. Then, strategically, I thought, By being there, I could have a lot more to say about my own and other people's futures.

DePue: I'm not quite sure I know what you're saying. It sounds like you're saying that you were one of those people, part of the legendary slate makers, the slate making process.

Hartigan: Well, everybody was, yeah.

DePue: But I thought that was the formal Central Committee that was really the heart of the slate making.

Hartigan: That's what I'm talking about, the city Central Committee…Remember, we talked about there's two structures in a ward. There's the alderman and the two committeemen, one a Democrat and one a Republican. The Democrat and Republican are the elected leaders of the primary voters in those wards. The alderman, in this system up here, is a non-partisan; anybody from any party can vote for them. He or she sits in the City Council. That's the governmental process. This one, a Democrat, he or she sits in the Democratic Central Committee. The Republican sits in the Republican Central Committee. Those are the governing bodies of the party. Fifty are in the city Central Committee; thirty are in the townships. Together, they make up eighty of the Cook County Democratic Central Committee and eighty more of the Republican Central Committee. So we're all in that group. When you see the meeting taking place, it's the eighty elected members of the party.

Then you see that there's an Executive Committee; that'll be fifteen or twenty of the most successful ones, usually, that kind of thing, if there is an Executive Committee. That's not to say that there…If there is publicly, that's fine. There may not be one publicly. There might be one privately, and it might be five people; it might be ten people; I don't know. It just depends what the situation is. In any event, it's a good process, because the people, whether they exercise it or not, they do have the ability, the right, to elect their own political leaders. People get the quality of government and politics they demand. When they want to demand it, they can get rid of jerks. Not always easy, but it happens. Remember, I told you that thing about Rakove?

DePue: Yeah.

Hartigan: That was in the Central Committee, when he kicked my ass. (DePue laughs) I was going to really get into it with him—Marshall Korshak was in this meeting—he tackled me. Honest to god, he grabs me around the waist, he

throws me in the chair, he says, "God damn it, are you crazy?" He says, "Are you nuts?" (laughs) It was funny.

I was going to mention something else to you. (remembers) Oh, the time with the Hispanics. There was no elected Hispanic officials anyplace in the state, that I knew of, certainly not in Cook County. I thought that was terrible. Ray Simon was really the one who sort of educated me on the Hispanic community, especially the Mexican community. I got started. Marge and I had some friends, and they had a language school. I went to the thing at 7:00 in the morning, and she went at 3:00 or 4:00 in the afternoon—Neither of us had taken Spanish in school—to try and learn the rudimentary Spanish, so that whenever we went into the community, like if I went to an organization meeting or a dinner, at least I could give a little bit of a speech or remarks in Spanish, as a matter of respect for the community. They didn't really care if it was lousy Spanish. At least I was trying, and Marge was trying, and they knew that. I had made Manuel Toledo the head of my office. He was the first Hispanic that was ever the head of a constitutional office. I made him the highest-ranking Hispanic in the state. Now, we still haven't elected anybody.

I went to the mayor, and I said, "Mayor, there's no Hispanics. They were very helpful in all these campaigns for you. I know that they're helpful in some of the wards and what have you. I really think it would be good if we had some in elected office." He said, "Okay, I agree with you." He said, "You get a hold of the leaders and bring them in when we have the Central Committee meeting." He said, "Who do you think?" I said, "Manuel Toledo." I said, "You know how I met him. He was a legitimate community leader." And he really was. He had done an awful lot of community work, and the mayor knew him. So, we're going to do that. I also said, "I think it would be a good idea if we opened up the meeting. The press is killing us, because of these closed slate making meetings. Nothing's going on when you close the door anyway, so, why don't you open the doors?" (laughs) He said, "Yeah, okay, go ahead." So I did that; he did that.

So now here's the slate making. We got Manuel up for the Sanitary District, which is, next to the last of the whole…maybe the lowest thing on the whole ticket. Every Hispanic leader you can think of is in the back of the room. They all showed up, and they had a rally in front of the place and everything else. So we get started, and I forget what happened. Anyway, things sort of weren't going along so good. So the mayor decided to shut it down. He said, "Get up there and make an announcement that we're going to take a recess; there's going to be an executive committee meeting in such-and-such room, starting in ten minutes." I said, "Okay," and we do that.

We go into the room. He gets started, and I asked a question. I said, "Are we going to go through the ticket, Mr. Mayor, from the top down or the bottom up?" The one I was interested in was in the bottom. Well, if you go bottom-up you got a lot better chance than if he goes top-down, because if

top-down, the people that lose, that there's some sentiment for, they might put them in down here. Plus I didn't know that it was already wired. Nobody bothered to tell me about it.

So anyway, Jerry Cosentino was a pal of Richie's, and he was from Bridgeport, and I didn't know that. And so, when we finally get down to the sanitary district, all of a sudden somebody is nominating Jerry Cosentino. I'm thinking, Jerry Cosentino? Now, this is the thing that Manuel's supposed to get. Any other nominations? Yeah, so I nominate Manuel. Then, I don't know, somehow…Oh, we got into seconding or something, and Marzullo, who always liked me, and I always liked him, too—he and my dad had served together, and he was very nice—Anyway, he got pissed off at me. I said something. He was sitting right in front of me, and I said, "Geez, can't you let them have one?" "You goddamn Irish," he said. "You're the ones that got everything. The Italians, we got nothing." He was always saying they got nothing. He got anything he wanted, but they got nothing. Okay. So now I got the Italians mad at me, on top of it.

I'm watching Daley, and he's sitting there, and he's going (makes smacking sound), and that meant whoever, get up and make a seconding speech. If you didn't know what you were looking for, you wouldn't have noticed it, okay? (laughs) But I was watching my destruction (laughs) orchestrated before my eyes. So finally he winks at Eddie Kelly, who was the superintendent of the Park District. He was telling Kelly that Kelly should second the nomination for Manuel, (DePue laughs) so that at least I'd get a second on the thing. So I guess I lost, I don't know, twenty-eight to one or something like that. The worst defeat I ever had in politics was trying to put the first Latin on the ticket. Now the thing is—

DePue: But the mayor threw you a bone, at least something in the meeting, by winking.

Hartigan: Oh, no, that was so infinitesimal, that didn't even…I mean, that was pfft.

DePue: I'm sorry.

Hartigan: If that was the bone, it disappeared quickly, (DePue laughs) because right after the meeting sort of broke up, he and Keane are standing there talking to each other. Tom Keane was chairman of the Finance Committee and the committeeman of the 31st Ward, next to the mayor, the most powerful guy in town. And [Paul] Wigoda, who I had beaten for committeeman, was his law partner, so I was not…Even though he and his wife and my mom and dad had doubled [double dated] when they went to law school, I was very much on his bad list for beating his partner for the ward committeeman's job.

So the mayor says, "Come here." I walk up to the two of them, and the mayor says to me, he says, "When we go back in, I want you to announce the

ticket, and this thing should be closed down. We have enough of the press. Announce that." I look at him, and I said, "Wait a minute. I just got executed, and you want me to go in there and announce all the steps that went into the execution? I mean, do you want me to explain to everybody how bad I got executed?" He said something to me that I've never forgotten. He said, "Neil, when it hurts the most, that's when you can least afford to show it." You know, part of what he did to me…He came up a very, very tough way, and I always thought—even though I didn't like it a few times—that he put it to me to make sure that I could handle it when he wasn't around. You know what I mean? I guess you could call it tough love of the first order. (both laugh).

Oh, god, Mark, I went back in that room and…I was the "chairman" of the Executive Committee. I was about as much chairman of the Executive Committee as that bird was. (DePue laughs) As I said to you, I'm sitting in the audience getting my ass kicked, and Daley's…He's the chairman, of course. I got to make the…Oh, the Latins, I thought they were going to be in tears, because they were so heartbroken, all of them, because they expect me, their best friend, to be getting up there and to say, "For the first time in history, we have…" In any event, the next day I went to see him [Mayor Daley], and I said, "Why'd you do that?" I said, "If you didn't want to do it, why didn't you just say that. Why get the whole thing started?" He said, "Well, you got to know. You're never supposed to go in the room unless you know where the cards are." I said, "Yeah, yeah, that's true, but I thought I knew the dealer, and he was my friend." Oh…

DePue: What year was this incident?

Hartigan: Well, let's see, '72 to '76 is when I was lieutenant governor, so that must have been about '73, maybe '74. I'll tell you what did happen though, is we lost that time. But the next time, Art Velasquez was put on the state ticket for the University of Illinois' Board of Trustees; Irene Hernandez was put on the ticket for County Board, and there was a third one. So, the price of getting the door open, at all the levels, was getting (laughs) my ass kicked the year before. But it did, from then on. Well, you can see it.

I used to have a party each year, after the Puerto Rican parade and the Mexican parade. I got First Chicago to let me use their…They had this magnificent dining room, up on the fifty-fifth floor, fifty-fourth floor. It was all windows; it was like Windows over the World in New York, that kind of thing. Well, it was the same thing here. I would invite the leaders of…There's really four elements in the Hispanic community. There's the Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, the Cubans, the South and Central Americans. That's four. The Puerto Ricans, for a long time, had the most influence, because they're all citizens; they all can vote. The Mexicans couldn't. Mexican-Americans, some of them voted, but most of them didn't vote. And the others [Hispanic elements] were too small. That's why the Puerto Ricans were more dominant.

In any event, what I'd try and say in Spanish—in addition to the welcome and that kind of stuff—is, "Just take a look out those windows. If the community doesn't fight itself"—because they'd all fight with each other; it just was terrible—I said, "If you just get together and stop fighting, an awful lot of that can be things that the community's in charge of." Look at it today. Now they're the balance of power.

DePue: When did Chicago get its first Hispanic congressman? Was it about that same time?

Hartigan: Luis Gutierrez.[7] No, it was after that.

DePue: It was?

Hartigan: I forget how many years. I was reading the other day. I think he's been there, geez, a dozen years anyway. He just really ripped Obama.

DePue: I guess, for some reason, I was thinking he'd been there at least since the early '80s.

Hartigan: He was an alderman first. That's an easy one to come up with, but he—

DePue: Yeah, we can figure that out.

Hartigan: Luis was Puerto Rican, and that district was heavily Mexican. But, again, the Puerto Rican voting capability was what made the day.

DePue: Well, we're about at the time in this interview that…As a rule of thumb, I like to keep these things no longer than three hours, because—

Hartigan: Yeah, no, that's good; that's fine.

DePue: …people wear out.

Hartigan: Ooh, geez, we're at three and a half right now.

DePue: I think where I'd like to finish off…We can start next time with talking about running in the primary as lieutenant governor and then the race for governor in 1972, but is it worth talking about the 1970 Constitutional Convention (Con-Con)[8], especially in terms of the home rule provision that was—

[7] Luis Vicente Gutiérrez is an American politician and the U.S. Representative for Illinois's 4th congressional district, serving since 1993. Gutiérrez was the first Latino to be elected to Congress from the Midwest. Wikipedia

[8] Until 1970, Illinois had five state conventions for the purpose of creating a state constitution. Of these, the 1818, 1847, and 1869-70 conventions adopted constitutions that went into effect, while the proposed constitutions framed by the conventions of 1862 and 1922 were rejected. Illinois government basically

Hartigan: I wasn't really very involved in that. If I were to do my career over again, I would have run for it, but I just didn't. I was very, very busy doing an awful lot of other things. The reason I would is I think it would have been a tremendous opportunity to learn the roots of all the major areas of the government of Illinois and be in the middle of the debates about the future. It was a very worthwhile thing, I think, for the people that participated in it to be there. It was a disaster for me politically, because I was a committeeman, and I had tried to make the party the civic leader of our neighborhood, and we have become that. One of the guys that I had recruited was a guy named Peter Tomei. He was a precinct captain for me, a very able lawyer with Kirkland, [Kirkland & Ellis] I think. I had urged Peter to run for Con-Con, which he wanted to do. He became the head of the Constitutional Convention committee for the Bar Association *etcetera, etcetera*. In any event, I was going to run. There was two from the district, so I was running Peter and Esther, man, woman and the religious balance, the whole thing. I get a call, and I am told that the mayor wants Paul Elward.

DePue: Paul.

Hartigan: Elward. Elward was the state representative in our area. He and Esther were state representatives, and Esther became the senator. Anyway, they hated each other. Elward was a brilliant lawyer, brilliant constitutionalist and as inflexible as you can imagine. He'd go out, and he was a great hatchet man, because he was so tough and so brilliant, but common sense sometimes was a…Anyway, now Esther hears that Elward's going to be on the ticket. "Well, if he's going to be on the ticket, then I'm going to be on the ticket too." Okay, what do I do with Tomei? Tomei's the head of the Con-Con committee, at my urging, for the Bar Association. He's bright and independent, and he's a precinct captain for me. Everything I worked for was brought together in being able to run a candidate like that.

So, A) I didn't have a choice about Elward. I suppose I could have…Well, it's a weighted vote anyway. (laughs) If we tried it that way, I would have gotten weighted with some bricks around my ankles, I think. That was just a bad joke. I was stuck. I tried to talk Esther out of it. "No, if he's going to be there, I'm going to be there." So I'm stuck with the two of them. And Tomei just killed us, just killed us. He was the perfect candidate. I'd helped make him the perfect candidate, to the point where, after I had to tell him that I couldn't support him, he opens a headquarters on Broadway and has this big papier-mâché machine. The gimmick was, you stuff money into the

---

remained static from 1870 to 1970. The sixth constitutional convention, in 1970, produced a new constitution which was approved by voters on December 15, 1970. (www.idaillinois.org/cdm/landingpage/collection/isl2)

machine's mouth to beat the machine kind of stuff. I guess, if I wasn't the first one to put the money in, I was close. I went to the opening of his office and everything else, because I certainly wasn't mad at him. I liked him. I just was in an impossible kind of position. And they beat the shit out of me. All the stuff that I had about the machine, the vast majority was as a result of that, and that's supporting Peter.

DePue: So you were at the Chicago Park District. From the way you described—

Hartigan: Sixty-eight, after the convention. Sorry.

DePue: The way you described this, I get the impression that you felt like, okay, I'm being sent out to the woodshed, so to speak.

Hartigan: Yeah, I said Nome, Alaska. You could make it Siberia or the woodshed. (laughs)

DePue: Siberia would be a way.

Hartigan: In those days, the Park District was okay, but it really wasn't anywhere near what it is today and has been for a number of years now, as far as a first-class modern institution. The subject matter that I had been dealing with, it was everything the mayor was dealing with. The power was derivative; it was his power, but he had me involved in everything. To go from everything to this one small area…Although, when we got there, we did…You know that group I told you I put together, we did some good stuff. But that was one of the times that I was dumped, yeah.

DePue: The 1968 Democrat convention, is that something you talked a lot about with Gary? Is there something we should be mentioning here, as well?

Hartigan: Oh, yeah. I did talk with him, and you could read what I gave him. There were some real…some things that—

DePue: Well, that was a tough year, because '68 started with the riots after Martin Luther King's assassination, back in April.

Hartigan: Yeah, but they should never have happened. I told Gary the story about that. It struck me, after the earlier riots, that one of the things that happened is as soon as the Guard got on the street, the riot shut down. So, when I heard about Dr. King's death, 6:30 or whatever it was that night, 6:00 I get down to Memphis. I started thinking about what should we do? And I called up the mayor, and I said that I thought that it would be helpful to get the Guard alerted, so that they could get on the street much earlier, on a preventative basis.

DePue: Shapiro was governor at the time?

Hartigan: Shapiro was governor, yeah. So he thought that was a good idea. The logical way to do it was for me to talk to Jim Rochford, who was the superintendent of the police, and I did. Then Rochford got a hold of Hershey, who was the commander of the Guard, Dick Hershey from Bloomington, I think it was. And Sam Shapiro was the governor. The process for doing it is, the mayor would ask the governor to call out the Guard.

But the logistical steps going into it, you could have an impact on it. Anyway, Rochford gets going. He calls me back, and, I don't know, maybe it's midnight or something. He'd gotten a hold of them and explained to them that we wanted to get the communication set up, so that if anything got started…because, if you remember, the night Dr. King was killed, it rained that night. Well, when it rains, there's no rioting. It just doesn't happen. It's like snow; nobody riots in snow. In that sense, we got a break, if it was handled the right way. I called the mayor back at home and reported to him on it and that the thing was arranged.

Well, the idea was that the next morning Ray Simon and I called the Board of Education to see if anything was going on in the schools. The mayor was just starting a City Council meeting. They wouldn't tell us. Can you imagine that? The East Corporation Counsel, they wouldn't tell us. That's how stupid they were.

So some other stuff that had happened the night before ties into it. After we got the preventative thing in place, or we thought we had the thing in place, we were talking about other things. Ralph Metcalfe was a very good congressman and I thought a very good leader, and we were good friends. We were talking back and forth, through the night, and thought it would be a good idea to have a council meeting, on a positive basis, to salute Dr. King's contributions. I called the mayor, and he said okay. We sent the telegrams out about 3:00 in the morning. (laughs) You can just imagine the aldermen about 6:30, getting a ring to let them know they're invited to the meeting. Anyway, we got that set up.

Now we're down at the council meeting, and we didn't get any information. I told the mayor that. Then somebody called me over…His chair was here, then here's the podium; mine was down there, just to his right, then the clerk. And the cabinet was all over here. They said that rioting had broken out at Marshall High School, 10:00. I said, "God damn it, why? Where the hell was the Guard?" Well, what had happened was that Hershey, after all the arrangements…When Rochford tried to get a hold of him, he couldn't find him, because Hershey had decided to get in his car and leave. Well, he was going back to Bloomington, I guess, except he didn't have any…there's no communications in the car; there's no phone; nobody knew his license plate number; nobody knew what kind of car he had.

So while the whole riot's breaking out, we're looking for Hershey, got the state police looking for him and everything else. Finally Rochford gets a hold of Hershey at noon or 1:00 or something like that, in Bloomington, and tells him. He said, "What the hell are you doing?" Then the mayor had called the governor. The governor was looking for Hershey. So then the governor calls Hershey, at his home, to authorize the guard. At least the logistics has started to get together now, except for one thing. Hershey got back in his car—still hadn't told anybody what the license number was or the color was or anything else—and drove back by himself to Chicago. We're all waiting, while they're trying to find this guy.

By the time he got back to Chicago, it was like, I don't know, 4:00. He calls the Guard. The Guard's in the armory at 6:00; they're on the street at 7:00, and the riot's over at 7:15. It was the saddest, to have all of that happen simply because of one guy's stupidity, and you can't even say anything about it. But that's exactly…That's why, if the Guard had been called into the armory at 8:30 in the morning, so they could immediately been on the street, it would have stopped the whole thing, just tragic. That, as you said, was the prelude. Well, that and, also, there was a thing called the "Days of Rage." That's when Dick Elrod had gotten his neck broken. The guy that was the sheriff and the state representative.

DePue: Dick Elrod.

Hartigan: Yeah.

DePue: You said that you've already talked, quite in depth, with Gary about the Democratic Convention itself, so this might be a good point to stop today?

Hartigan: Yeah. Oh, that's fine. When we reconvene, I should tell you, as quickly as I can, because you ought to be aware of what it's about, unless you have made arrangements with him to read it, because there's just this stuff in the Democratic Convention.

DePue: Well, would you like to finish with that today, and then we can—

Hartigan: No, it'll take a little bit of time.

DePue: Then let's start with that tomorrow. That will be a great way to start.

Hartigan: Okay. We can either start with that, or if you had something else that you wanted to cover, we can do that and then come back to it or something.

DePue: Well, like I say, tomorrow I want to focus on the '72 election and then your years as lieutenant governor.

Hartigan: Okay, and then we can come back to the convention if you want.

DePue: Well, I think we'll start with the '68 convention—

Hartigan: Whatever way you want to do it is okay with me.

DePue: …then we'll go right into that election, if that's okay with you.

Hartigan: Yeah.

DePue: Thank you very much.

Hartigan: Do you want to leave this thing?

DePue: I can do that, yeah.

(end of interview #1)

Interview with Neil Hartigan

ISG-A-L-2010-012.02

Interview # 2: March 19, 2010

Interviewer: Mark DePue

DePue: Today is Friday, March 19, 2010. My name is Mark DePue; I'm the director of oral history at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, and today is my second session with Neil Hartigan. Good morning.

Hartigan: Morning, Mark.

DePue: We've gotten off to a little bit of a bumpy start—entirely my fault—and dealing with modern technology, which neither of us is exactly on top of sometimes. But we are ready to have another very interesting conversation. We left off yesterday with kind of a teaser about the Democratic Convention.

Hartigan: All right.

DePue: Nineteen sixty-eight Democratic Convention. And you're at the Chicago Park District, I would think, at that time, but still very—

Hartigan: Not quite. I was actually going to start at the Park District just before that, but because I was an elected delegate to the national convention, from the 9th Congressional District (clears throat), excuse me, I decided to take the starting date and make it the week after the convention, (laughs) not knowing that that would make any difference at all; it was just a lot easier, because it's a busy week when you're an elected delegate.

In any event, there was some things that took place that I think really add to the historical perspective, if you will, of that convention. That's what I was saying to you, a couple things that we might chat about for a minute or two or a couple minutes. One of the things, I had been in Springfield, so where normally I would have been the one dealing with the pre-convention activities and whatever problems might have been coming up, they were handled by a fellow named Dave Stahl, who had come into the office fairly recently. He was the one that was negotiating with the Chicago Seven[9], *et cetera*, whether the lake was going to be poisoned, you know, some of the things like that. So I was in Springfield and wasn't really into it. But when I came back, as I said, I did transfer over to the Park District, and the starting date was agreed upon as just the week after.

One of the things that I found interesting was, as one of the volunteers on the welcoming committee, which was headed by Congressman Morgan Murphy, which had, I don't know how many hundreds or maybe a couple thousand people in the various welcoming functions that are held in every city when they hold that kind of national convention. I had the job of welcoming the California delegation, which was led by Jesse Unruh, who was a pretty substantial figure in those days, who I think at that time he was the state treasurer and was on his way to run for the governorship and a variety of other things. In any event, they were flying in by private plane. They were landing at the military side of O'Hare Field. So I had a group of volunteers, a lot of young people, with the music and the packets to hand them, all that kind of stuff.

[9] Originally the Chicago Eight, also Conspiracy Eight/Conspiracy Seven were seven defendants—Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, David Dellinger, Tom Hayden, Rennie Davis, John Froines, and Lee Weiner—charged by the federal government with conspiracy, inciting to riot, and other charges related to anti-Vietnam War and countercultural protests that took place in Chicago, Illinois, on the occasion of the 1968 Democratic National Convention. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chicago_Seven)

Well, they came off the plane, and I never saw people as furious as they were, before anything happened. They were just mad. And Unruh was rude. I didn't really get it. People don't come to a convention like that.

DePue: You didn't know what they were mad about?

Hartigan: Yeah, I didn't, not really. I guess part of it was this feeling about Chicago having the convention and the mayor and this and that. I think that was on a Saturday. The next day…I had gone to high school with a fellow named Bill Plante, who you may know as the White House correspondent in recent years for CBS. At that time, he was very involved with CBS, but we were a lot younger then. In any event, he was hosting a reception out at his home, and one of the guests was Walter Cronkite. Bill invited me to come, so I did. Like everybody else, I had a lot of respect for Mr. Cronkite.

So I met him out [Cronkite] there, and we got talking a bit. He was furious at the mayor…how dare he; who did he think he was, forcing this convention to come here? I said, "Mr. Cronkite, I don't think that's what happened."

What it was that was that the television equipment in those days wasn't anywhere near as portable as it is now. As you know from your military background, when the Army moves, there's a logistics involved. (both laugh) Well, that was true of television. If you think back to the Republican convention in Miami, it was a terrible convention. (phone rings) They actually put the bridges up to, I guess—

DePue: Do you want to stop?

Hartigan: Yeah. I didn't want to mess up your recording with that.

DePue: Oh, I wouldn't worry about that.

Hartigan: To hell with it, then.

DePue: Just go ahead.

Hartigan: Okay. (phone rings) They put the bridges up down there to cut the convention center off from the people, who were rioting. I think there was seven or eight people killed in Miami at that time, if you go back historically. It was a very bad situation. That notwithstanding, although I did (laughs) help point that out to him, in terms of Chicago vis-à-vis…"I don't know why it would bother you to come to Chicago, vis-à-vis what you had in Miami." But the networks were all furious, because of what they perceived as the unnecessary cost, X number of millions, to move all their equipment and all their anchors and all their people up to Chicago. And they blamed—

DePue: They're going to have that cost wherever they went, though.

Hartigan: No, [not] if they stayed in Miami. The idea was that they wanted to have both conventions in the same site, in Miami. Then the equipment would be there for the two conventions.

DePue: But the parties get to decide where the conventions are, not the news media.

Hartigan: Yeah. But the news media was trying to make it very clear to both parties—especially the Democratic Party, because Republicans were going to Miami—that they wanted both. In any event, they felt that Daley had used his political power to take the convention away, to Chicago, and who did he think he was, *et cetera*? They were furious at him.

Then [there were] the other things that were going on, with the anti-war business and what have you. They didn't know, for instance, that the mayor really had been, in terms of the internal relationship with President Johnson, one of the strongest opponents of the war. He didn't think it made any sense. But there's only one president of the United States; there's only one leader of the party. Once the decision was made, then it wasn't the mayor's style to be critical of the decision of the leader publicly. So it didn't come out for years later about the level of his opposition and what have you.

In any event, I started to explain that to Mr. Cronkite. We're just standing there, (laughs) at this very nice, quiet party, and I said, "You know, the way it really happened, from everything I know, is that President Johnson called Mayor Daley. He said, "Dick, I need you to take the convention. There're all sorts of problems with the thing. You're the only one that really would have the ability and resources to have an orderly and proper convention" or something like that.

DePue: Now, at that point in time, do you think that Johnson understood that this is going to be a political circus, with all of the protesters coming? Did he anticipate that, and did Daley anticipate that?

Hartigan: I don't know what the intelligence was. As I say, I was in Springfield, where normally I would have been a lot more aware and could provide you with that. I just wasn't involved that way. I didn't have access to it. I do know that, earlier in the year, when the president announced on national television that he wasn't going to run again, the mayor said to me the next morning, "Come on, take a ride."

I grabbed my coat and got in the car. I had no idea where I was going. I thought he just wanted to talk to me about something while we were riding. So, we go out, and we go out to Midway. Or, no, I'm sorry; I guess it was O'Hare, again, the military side. When we pull up and we get out, I see Air Force One rolling down the runway. (laughs) Now I've got a pretty good idea of what the next thing is going to be. He says, "Come on with me." Okay, so I walk out; the door opens; down the step comes the President of the United

States. The mayor's at the foot of the steps to welcome him, and I'm a foot away from him.

He said, "Welcome to Chicago, Mr. President." He said, "You know, this is Johnson country. I heard the speech last night, and I hope you'll reconsider." And he [President Johnson] said, "Oh, Dick, I can't." He said, "I've tried every way I can, but this thing, it's just too big a question, and it goes too many different ways. I just can't get it resolved properly. So I just didn't—"

DePue: Now, he's talking about the war and the decision not to run for reelection?

Hartigan: Yeah. The night before it was his national address. That's when he announced to the country that he wasn't running. And the mayor is saying, very cordially, that (laughs) "We still love you" kind of stuff.

DePue: But that decision changes the entire complexion of what kind of convention it's going to be.

Hartigan: But I think that his thinking probably would have been that it would have neutralized the—

DePue: Oh, yeah.

Hartigan: I'm not talking about the mayor, because I don't know what his thought process was then. But as far as President Johnson, if he thought it was serious enough not to run for reelection, given the fact that he loved being president and everything else, then you would think that if he stepped back, that it could be a better kind of situation.

In any event, that's what happened that particular morning, which was of some interest. Later on, in terms of the convention itself, if you look at the video or the film of the Site Selection Committee meeting, you'll see that they're sort of stalling at the end of the meeting, the people up at the head table. You've got the Site Selection Committee of the national committees sitting there. They've just about finished their business. And from the side you see a fellow come in the door and come up to the front, right up to the podium, in a very hurried kind of way. It was Colonel Jack Reilly. Jack Reilly, as you may remember, was an older man. He had lost one of his eyes—he had a black patch over his glasses—I think in the service. He was the mayor's director of special events.

What had happened is that the president had called him there and told him that he needed him to take the convention. The mayor had not applied for the convention, didn't want the convention. But, with the president was asking him to do it on that basis, he's the leader of the country, leader of the party. So he dispatches Reilly that afternoon to get himself on a plane, get down to Washington in time. You'll see Jack Reilly walk up to the podium and say,

"Chicago's a wonderful town," ta-da, ta-da, ta-da, ta-da, ta-da. Obviously the chairman of the Site Selection Committee is in on the conversation, from the president to whatever the process was. All in favor? And Chicago "won." But it was not Mayor Daley's power play and wish to have the convention. It was (laughs) anything but that. Cronkite had no idea, so I told him that to start with.

Well, as you remember, he was really blasting the mayor. Then the mayor went on a head to head interview with him, in the CBS booth. I don't know if you've ever seen that interview, but it's one of the most remarkable political interviews you'll ever see.

DePue: Now, this is an interview between Daley and—

Hartigan: Walter Cronkite, a couple nights later. I think it was Tuesday, Tuesday night, before the convention started, because Cronkite had been just so tough on him. To say that the mayor held his own would be a mild understatement.

That's a little bit of the setting. What I'm saying is, you've got California and others all worked up before any of this stuff happened in the streets, *et cetera.* You've got the press at the highest level; they're all mad. Usually the coverage is very positive about a city and glowing and what have you, which up to a month before, it had been, as we talked yesterday about the best mayor in the country and the bright young men that he's brought into government, all that sort of stuff. That's one piece of it.

Sunday night, before a convention starts, there is always a meeting of the Illinois delegation, and it's a closed meeting. So we met. I think it was at the Sherman, which was still in existence in those days. It [the meeting] was closed. And the mayor, no matter what the numbers were, was always very formalized in terms of the way he would deal with an institutional body. I don't care if it was one that he was very well received or poorly received, he would do it, sort of, with *Robert's Rules of Order* and very precisely.

What he did was, he opened the meeting by asking for permission of the body to set aside, for a very special personal reason, our internal rule that no outsiders were allowed in the meeting, because there was a great leader in the Democratic Party, who was an old friend of his, a person who had served in President Kennedy's cabinet, a person who *et cetera, et cetera,* who had asked him, on a personal basis, to give him the opportunity to bring a friend of his to the delegation, because of the delegation's importance in the party, because he wasn't well-known, to give our delegates an opportunity to get to know him better.

Now, he didn't have to bother with any of that; he could have just said, "I'm going to introduce the speaker." But he would ask permission of the

body, which obviously in that instance was granted. So, in walks Abraham Ribicoff[10].

DePue: (laughs) No friend of the mayor.

Hartigan: Oh, yeah. This was Sunday night. It was exactly the opposite, exactly the opposite. This was the person who the mayor, for the only time that I remember, set aside the rule and did it on a personal basis, at the request of the delegation, the elected delegation of the National Convention, to allow an outsider to come into the closed session. And he did that for his friend, Abe Ribicoff.

Ribicoff comes in, and you would have thought that the mayor had been his original sponsor. This is, "We've been to the well together so many times. There's nobody that I think more of, the person most responsible for Jack Kennedy." Ribicoff had been secretary of HEW [Department of Health, Education and Welfare.]

I suppose most people would be aware that they were friends, but nobody had any idea there was this kind of in-depth thing. And lo and behold, who is the other half of the special favor for? It's for Ribicoff to have the opportunity to introduce Senator George McGovern to us. Now, I've met Senator McGovern. He's a nice man, (laughs) but he hardly would be the person…If George McGovern tried for fifteen years to get an invitation to that caucus, it wouldn't have happened. It happened because of the closeness of the relationship, friendship, between Daley and Ribicoff, over the years.

Monday is the day when people get into town. If you're the elected leader, if you will, of the town, they pay courtesy calls, people from governors and mayors around the country. So he [Daley] was doing that, basically, over in the headquarters, because these were political visits. Then comes Tuesday, the beginning of the convention. Well, Tuesday is…Everything is pretty wild and wooly by that time, the streets and what have you. There's all sorts of different stories about why and how, some utter stupidity and some very cynical plotting. There's a lot of different things. It wasn't everything on one side or the other. But, in any event, the mayor is now going on with Cronkite.

Now, we're on the [convention] floor, and one of the things that you have heard of and seen is what was called Fortress Chicago. They said that Daley's delegation is ringed by burly policemen and all that kind of stuff. Well, he didn't do that; I did that. The reason I did it was because, here we are up in the front. Right behind us was Wisconsin, which, if you remember, in that particular election, were really, really (laughs) outspoken; raucous would be polite.

[10] Abraham Alexander Ribicoff was an American Democratic Party politician. He served in the United States Congress, as the 80th Governor of Connecticut and as President John F. Kennedy's Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

California—I told you what they were like, coming off the plane before anything happened—is over here. And we had a lot of older people in the delegation, seriously. Joe Gill was eighty-four. So I said to Dan Shannon and Morgan Murphy and other guys, sort of my contemporaries, younger guys, I said, "Look, I don't know what's going to happen here, but if this thing really starts to get goofy"—I mean, you never know if these guys might start moving towards the stage or whatever is might be—"this could get sort of dangerous. Why don't we just stand, the young guys stand in the back and around the side of the thing?" So we did. That's as simple as it was.

That's what Fortress Chicago was. It was just, I thought, a commonsense idea just in case, just in case, because of the unruliness on the floor, with the kind of people who were in that delegation, just to keep them from getting hurt. And if you notice, everybody's looking that way—

DePue: Looking towards the stage.

Hartigan: Yeah. It's not guarding; it's just common sense. That's another piece of it. Now, we're getting our brains beat out, and who appears on the stage but Abraham Ribicoff. Well, finally, finally, we're going to have somebody that's going to say something good about us. This is the guy that, the night before, Sunday night, was praising Daley and us to the high heavens. The last time we've seen Ribicoff, that was on this highly personal, very unique situation that Daley extended the courtesy to.

Then he starts, the "Nazis in the street." Whoa. I honestly believe that what Daley said was faker, because he always said faker when he was mad. I was with him for a long time, in a lot of very stressful situations. I never heard him use, the other word. But he would say, "That guy's a faker; you're a no-good faker," that kind of thing.

DePue: But, if you're a lip-reader—

Hartigan: I'd still be astounded. You could get the best lip-reader in the country, and they'd have to go a long way to convince me that he said that. Maybe he did. But I know what I was saying, which was a lot worse that what…I'm not saying that the rest of us weren't saying…God almighty, this is the one guy who ought to be telling the whole story.

Later that night, after the thing's over, I got Dan Rostenkowski[11], who I'd known, if not all my life, certainly all my adult life, and I think the world of him. I said, "Danny, I thought I had some idea what was going on, but do

[11] Daniel David "Dan" Rostenkowski (January 2, 1928 – August 11, 2010) was a U.S. representative from Illinois, serving from 1959 to 1995. Raised in a blue-collar neighborhood on the norhtwest side of Chicago, Rostenkowski rose to become one of the most powerful legislators in Washington.[1] He was a member of the Democratic Party. The son of a Chicago alderman, Rostenkowski was for many years Democratic Committeeman of Chicago's 32nd Ward, retaining this position even while serving in Congress.

you have time to have a beer? Can you tell me what…? (laughs) Maybe I'm in the wrong… I don't understand what's going on." So we crossed the street and just sat there. He said, "Well, here's the part you don't know." He said, "Yesterday, Monday, Daley's got a schedule that would choke a horse. All these people coming in from all over the country; they all get appointments and what have you." So in comes Ribicoff—this is Monday morning, now—and [says], "I have to see the mayor; I have to see him immediately." "Well, you know, governor, he's got a lot of appointments and" da, ta-da, ta-da. I'm just telling the truth. The waiting room is jammed.

Anyway, Mary Mullen, who is a very, very able lady, comes out to talk to him, in addition to the people who were manning the desk there. She knew him, and she says, "Really, this is the worst possible day, governor. He's just jammed, backed-up and everything." "Well, no. I've got to see him."

DePue: Now, which governor is this?

Hartigan: Ribicoff. See, Ribicoff was the governor of Connecticut before he was a senator. Anyway, Mary goes back in, and in the inner office, was the mayor, Dan Rostenkowski and Matt Danaher. Do you know who Matt Danaher was?

DePue: No.

Hartigan: I mentioned to you that he originally was the young guy who was the mayor's driver, when the mayor first ran for office. Then he became the alderman of the 11th Ward. He was the closest…He was like his son. He was the closest guy to Mayor Daley. Matt and Danny [Rostenkowski] were friends. They would be like Kenny O'Donnell's contemporary in the White House, that kind of thing. Those were the three, so she told him that…Ribicoff was really raising Cain and what have you. He [the mayor] said, "Well, geez, I can't do it. Danny, go on out and talk to him; tell him something, but I'm just so backed up right now."

Dan goes out and talks to him. Of course, they knew each other. He comes back in—and this is according to Danny, who's telling me this story—and he said, "Mayor, he just isn't going to take no. You'd be a lot better off just to see him and get it out of the way." So Daley says, "Okay."

In comes Ribicoff, having bellowed his way in. He says, "You got to call Ted Kennedy." He said, "You're the closest guy to Jack; you're the only one the Kennedys will listen to." And he [the mayor] said, "Well, that's not true, Abe. You were in his cabinet; you were the governor of Connecticut; you were friends with him for years. You call the family." He [Ribicoff] says, "No, you're the only one that can get him to do it."

He [the mayor] said, "Look, Abe, after the sacrifices that that family made, losing the president, losing Bobby, and there's only one adult male left, and they've got all those kids and all those nieces and nephews." I think right

now there's seventy-eight of them or something. Which, in my opinion, by the way, is one of the reasons that Chris Kennedy couldn't run for the Senate; that's another story. But Daley said, "I'm just not going to do that. It's not right to do that to that family right now, after all the suffering that they've gone through, and whose going to be…If, God forbid, something happened to Ted, who's going to be the person that's going to lead that family, take care of those kids?"

[Ribicoff], "Oh, goddam, it's you; you're out to destroy me." Now, the reason Daley's not doing it, is to destroy Ribicoff, huh? He [the mayor] says, "Destroy?" He said, "Abe, cut it out, will you?" He said, "You've been around a long time. You're going to win. If you're taking care of the people, the people know you for doing that, and you've got a good reputation. This isn't going to elect you or not elect you. But **you** call him; you be the one that imposes that burden on that family. And if, God forbid, something happens, you figure out how…How would you answer for it?" I don't mean answer publicly for it, I mean just to yourself for it.

Ribicoff is swearing and everything else, "You're out to destroy me, and I'm going to get you," and out he goes. Nobody knows anything about that, except Daley and Danny and Matt. When Ribicoff gets up there [to speak] and he goes into what he went into, we're all thinking, We've finally got somebody who's going to tell (laughs) some of the stuff he was saying the night before. So if you notice, it's not just Daley standing up; it's everybody got up, because we're all furious.

Nobody was standing up for us. In addition to that, if you remember, Carl Albert[12] had been ill; he had a heart attack. If you looked at the video of the convention, you'll see that at different times…You know how the podium is like two stories high, in one of those conventions? Well, one of the reasons for that is that there's rooms underneath it, and at the ground level, the floor level, there's a door. You'll see the door open and somebody come out and come up to the mayor, who, as the host delegation was sitting there, either say something to him or give him a note. That was that President Johnson was on the phone. The president had Air Force One warmed up on the runway in Texas, at the ranch. The first part of it was asking Daley to do something, because Carl Albert, who was a good speaker…But he was weakened by the illness and everything, and just the whole thing was out of control. "You got to get this thing under control and get back to the semblance of a convention." That was one of those messages.

That's when Daley had Dan Rostenkowski go out on the stage and ask the speaker if he could be of assistance to him and took the gavel. As you

[12] Carl Bert Albert, born May 10, 1908 in McAlester, Okla., died Feb. 4, 2000, in McAlester. He was an American politician, who served as a representative from Oklahoma (1947–77) in the U.S. House of Representatives and as Speaker of the House (1971–76). Because of his short stature (5 feet 4 inches) and the area of Oklahoma he represented, he was nicknamed the "Little Giant from Little Dixie."

remember, he was very forceful and what have you, which is, that's what he is. Albert never forgave him, furious at Danny. And the following December, if you remember, Dan was supposed to be in line to be the majority leader, when the leadership met down in Florida. All the sudden he got dumped, and it became Tip O'Neill and then Jim Wright, from Texas, instead of Danny. That was Albert paying Dan back. That's the price that Dan paid. The next night—

DePue: There's drama going on inside and outside the convention floor.

Hartigan: Yeah, but nobody knew about the drama inside. Nobody knew about the president. The next night is when the plane is warming up on the runway in Texas. He [President Johnson] was making up his mind; he was asking the mayor to keep the thing going, while they came to the conclusion whether it was necessary, to save the party and the country, whether he needed to fly back in and accept the nomination. Was the party too split with the McGovern–[Hubert] Humphrey…that sort of thing?

While he's making up his mind, and the plane's warmed up on the runway, he's asking the mayor, in the middle of all this thing, to keep the thing going, when the last thing you want to do is (laughs) keep it going. That whole dynamic was going on. He decided, finally, that he wasn't going to do it. I don't think, just in those things, that there's any awareness of those elements, that I've told you about, in terms of the atmosphere around the convention at the beginning of the thing; and then the dynamic, within the delegation the night before it opened; what happened on Monday, which is the actual day before; what happened at the beginning of it on the floor; what happened the next night on the floor; what happened the next night on the floor. None of that stuff seems…I don't think it's ever been recorded. I did tell him, in those conversations about that.

DePue: Gary Johnson, you're talking about.

Hartigan: Yeah. The other thing was Bobby Kennedy. I remember when Bobby Kennedy came to Chicago—

DePue: This would have been what timeframe?

Hartigan: May.

DePue: During our primary?

Hartigan: When he decided to run for president, Johnson was still in the race. Johnson gets out, and then I think that's when he formally announced. In any event, he came here for…was it a dinner he spoke at? I know part of that was that…What the mayor wanted him to do was to go out and show that he could win on his own. He could do something substantial to show the quality of candidate he was, and Daley would take care of the rest of the thing.

DePue: Now, did the Kennedy family already have a connection in Chicago?

Hartigan: Oh, sure.

DePue: Because of—

Hartigan: For years. Well, Joe Kennedy owned the Merchandise Mart. And Joe Kennedy, even before that, if you read that book I (laughs) showed you, (sirens in background) you'll see some other connections that he had in the liquor business in Prohibition and a few other things.

DePue: I just wanted to establish that, as well.

Hartigan: Well, yeah. And he and Mayor Daley had been good friends for years. Sargent Shriver ran the Merchandise Mart, if you remember—

DePue: That's right.

Hartigan: …for a number of years. And the mayor was the…I don't know if he was the most moving force behind Jack Kennedy for vice president in 1956. That's when Kennedy lost to Kefauver. That loss and the way he handled that loss did more to propel him towards 1960 on a positive basis than anything else. Yeah, the Kennedys were very involved in Chicago and very good friends of the Daleys for years, still are.

What was supposed to happen was that Bobby gave this big speech here and was very well received, but it was his turn to show that he could have a major win. The night of the California primary, the next morning was going to be the first morning that I ever campaigned for myself as a candidate. That was after I knocked the committeeman out, knocked the vote out. This was my first election, because the committeemen, as I mentioned to you, in both parties, is an elected office. So I was going to go out and do for myself for the first time; i.e., campaign at the "L"[13] stations and that kind of stuff, what I had been a worker doing for my dad (laughs) and for the mayor and for I don't know how many other candidates in my life.

I was watching the results from California, and I saw him [Bobby Kennedy] get shot. At the end of the speech, the victory speech, and he said, "On to Chicago," that message to me was, "I'm coming there to take you up on it," (laughs) because that was the deal. If he could do it in California, Daley would take care of the rest of it. Obviously his candidacy would be an important part of it, but in terms of a full-blown, every relationship across the country and that kind of thing, that he'd [Daley] be behind him.

[13] The Chicago "L", short for "elevated", is the rapid transit system serving the city of Chicago and some of its surrounding suburbs in the state of Illinois. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chicago_%22L%22)

Then, when you saw him shot a few minutes later, I just—god, it was the worst…first Jack and then Martin Luther King, and I told you that whole story yesterday, about I was up all night trying to put that thing and an unnecessary riot, and then Bobby on top of it. You know, god. So I couldn't do it; I couldn't campaign. If I ever felt bad or empty or whatever you want to call it, I mean, it was just…And I had a hard time sort of getting myself back into the idea that it was worth it to do it again.

People that didn't go through those deaths and that period, I don't think they understand it. I mean, you can't read about that in a book, not the way it was, if you were around it.

DePue: Well, all that comes to a crescendo, of course, in the streets during the convention, with the rioting, with the student protests, primarily about the war, but just about circumstances in general. Like you said, '68 had been an incredibly traumatic year, with the Tet Offensive, with the two assassinations, and now finishing with that.

Hartigan: Yeah. Yeah, I thought that the Chicago Seven, first of all, they're very bright people. They're bright; they're clever; they're tough, and they're very Machiavellian. And the stuff that they were selling—the possible poisoning of the water in the lake—I mean, there was all sorts of stuff. It was all over the place, as far as a heightened atmosphere, as far as a need for security.

Security at a convention is pretty high anyway, but a lot more so because of that. I wasn't involved in it, so I don't know the mechanics, but I didn't think the city responded well. I thought that the whole permit thing was stupid. There was a lot of ways you could handle the situation. They [Chicago Seven] were so much better at the public relations side, and they had a pretty favorable, young press that was (laughs)…They were as much activists sometimes, I mean, just the moving of the damn thing, with the top guy in the business, had him furious. So I always felt that there was some very, very clever people that were running it. Their idea always was to shut the thing down or to make it as horrible as possible.

DePue: Well, they ran their own candidate for president.

Hartigan: Yeah, they did, and one of the things that they did very well was that they took over the internal mechanics of the party. That played out in 1972, because that was how we got kicked out. I mean, in nineteen seventy—

DePue: Yeah, I was going to ask you later. You want to go into that now? I mean, that's another long story, I would think.

Hartigan: No, not too long, I hope. (laughs) But just to finish this thing out, you've got to understand, there are five municipal corporations in the taxing base of Chicago. If you turn over your real estate tax bill, you'll see it's the city of Chicago, Board of Education, Chicago Park District, *et cetera*, Metropolitan

Sanitary District, and then, I don't know; I forget what the fifth one is. It's hard to understand the degree of separation. If you remember, on the riot thing I told you about, the Board of Education, when Ray Simon and I were just calling to find out if anything was going on, and they wouldn't tell us.

It's thought of as a monolith, that Daley has absolute control over everything. Well, I'm not going to say that he never made any mistakes—like anybody else, he made his share, I suppose—but you got to understand the park district. When I got there, (laughs) I had to defend those cases. There wasn't any paper around. I don't think anybody that worked for the park district was there after 3:00 in the afternoon, and most of the stuff happened at night. It was just crazy, trying to patch what the hell had happened. Okay, so there was some really dumb mistakes, the permits and on some other things.

I think that there was a huge number of a very well-intentioned, young people, who also got manipulated, because they were getting their information about what was going on off of the television, which (sirens in background) was…Part of it was, they'd say, "We'll meet you at Balbo and Michigan at 2:30." That's when the riot's going to start. And the crews would be there, and the riot would start. They were determined to have a very, very highly visible series of confrontations to shut the convention down.

DePue: "They" being what later became known—or even then, I suppose—as the Chicago Seven, which we're talking—

Hartigan: Well, the Chicago Seven were the basic brains in the operation, and then there were some local pieces that certainly went with it, but, you know, Abbie Hoffman and [Tom] Hayden and those guys—

DePue: Jerry Rubin.

Hartigan: Yeah. They were smart, tough people. So, in any event, (sirens in background) the fact that the only thing that was being seen…There wasn't any positives being seen on television by the people, who these people were urging to engage in some activity that wasn't the best activity either. You can make a pretty good case, if a policeman's working sixteen or eighteen hours and getting spit in the face. There was some pretty bad stuff that happened to policemen.

I don't care if it was then or today, you put…Last night I was coming down Michigan Avenue, and there was a war protest. There was policemen all over the place, but to protect them. But those people were…I don't know how to explain it. There was a dynamic within the group, of fury. They're so outraged by what they think is a horrible policy of don't Iraq, Iran…all of the war stuff today.

Anyway, I'm not going to debate the 1968 convention. I can only tell you about it from my own role, as I have, but I think those things that I

mentioned, that aren't known, I think they certainly had a lot to do with some of the atmosphere around the thing.

DePue: I think this might be a good time to take a quick break, and then we'll pick it up. The next thing I wanted to ask you about would be the Rights in Conflict Commission, otherwise known as the Walker Report, and—

Hartigan: It was conned, yeah.

DePue: Just a second.

Hartigan: It was [Victor] de Grazia and [Dan] Walker. (laughs)

DePue: If you don't mind.

(pause in recording)

DePue: When we had just broke off, you were talking about the torchlight rallies, so I wanted you to spend a couple minutes on that.

Hartigan: All right. The torchlight rally, going back years and years, was the traditional way that…It was sort of the culmination of the political campaign in Chicago. It's usually the Friday night before the Tuesday election. The most famous one of them all was the one for John Kennedy. Mayor Daley had, in 1960…which was enormously helpful to him from the accounts that you read from across the country and that sort of thing. Well, in any event, the same thing had been done for President Johnson. Now the candidate was Hubert Humphrey. So the place was filled.

DePue: What place was this?

Hartigan: I'm trying to think of it. Well, there was the auditorium—

DePue: That's okay, we can get that when we get to the transcripts.

Hartigan: Yeah. But, in any event, there was different places used. There was Medinah Temple, there was the auditorium, but I think it was probably Medinah Temple [Mr. Hartigan is correct]. Anyway, the place was jammed, and as you'd expect, the parade had been very positive.

Now, the dignitaries are on the stage, in the first row, stretching across the stage of the elected officials and the mayor, the center piece of it. Senator Humphrey arrives. Well, Humphrey had always been popular in Chicago, because of the causes that he had led and his work with labor. When I heard him give a speech at 7:00 in the morning to the leadership of the Plumbers Union one time, (phone rings) it sounded like it was 9:00 on the most important night in the (both laugh) period. He was terrific. He went across the

stage, shaking hands with the dignitaries, as… Normally a candidate, when you arrive, you do at least some of that, before you get to the podium.

He got to the mayor, who was in the middle, and skipped him. I thought, Oh, he just forgot. He was shaking hands with so many people, he just moved to the next person. But then it got pretty obvious that he'd skipped him on purpose, because the mayor tried to shake hands with him, and then it was sort of like…He got that look on his face like, "Oh," that he realized that he was getting stiffed and publicly. The whole thing was Humphrey, in the aftermath of the '68 convention, even though we'd all worked our heads off, and certainly Daley had, for his election, including this rally at the end of it, he wanted to put a distance between himself and Mayor Daley, on a personal level.

Well, A, I have always had the utmost respect for Senator Humphrey. I met him when I was in college; I liked him; I admired him. But that was an unbelievably rude thing to do, just in terms of basic courtesies, to do that, and as far as politically, it was stupid (laughs) and could not possibly have helped him. I didn't believe that he would do that. He would have been better off not coming or having a change in the schedule, do something.

DePue: He, just in that process, de-energized the entire get-out-the-vote effort for the general election campaign, at least in the city of Chicago.

Hartigan: Yes and no. There's a lot of different ways that somebody like Daley…First of all, Daley didn't deserve it, for a variety of different reasons. But there's a lot of ways he can help you, and (sirens in background) he doesn't have to do anything to hurt you; just don't do anything. I mean, don't do all the extra things. I don't know what extra he could have done, as far as Humphrey was concerned. Maybe he did them anyway, but I thought it was beneath the senator to do something that publicly on that personal a level.

DePue: Well, for everything we've been talking about here for the last forty-five minutes or so, the entire nation was galvanized in their attention to the Democratic Convention and especially to the riots outside the convention hall itself.

It wasn't too long after that that, like normally happens in American government and politics, there is a commission that's organized to investigate the riots themselves, and ended up being Dan Walker, who was an attorney for Montgomery Ward, at the time—but he'd had some dealings with the Daley administration before that, on kind of a cursory level—was the lead of that particular commission, and the result was the Walker Report.

Hartigan: Who wrote it?

DePue: Well, I think you know the answer, so I'll let you say that.

Hartigan: I think the answer is Victor de Grazia, wasn't it?

DePue: Victor de Grazia was Walker's very close political associate, if you will. He was the man behind the curtain.

Hartigan: Victor made Machiavelli look like a Cub Scout. (DePue laughs)

DePue: They were very close.

Hartigan: (laughs) Yeah. But he also was a very good writer, and he wrote the report. From everything that I've ever read, he did.

DePue: And there's one very short passage in that report that—

Hartigan: Was on purpose, wasn't it?

DePue: Oh, it was discussed; it was definitely discussed between the two men, whether or not they wanted to use the term, the phrase "police riot" to describe this. And it ended up staying in the report.

Hartigan: Yeah. Gee, it's a remarkable surprise, isn't it? Now, why would you guess that Dan Walker, who really—what had Dan Walker's role been in Democratic national politics, Democratic local politics? Of all the lawyers who could have written that report—

DePue: Well, Dan Walker, I think—and I certainly don't want to speak in his behalf—but he had real angst towards Daley and the Daley machine, which is going to be obvious when he makes his '72 run. Part of that maybe stems from the 1960 campaign, when Walker appeared before the slatemakers, wanted to be attorney general, and, as far as he was concerned, was snubbed. They had somebody else in mind, and they offered him a different position. He wasn't interested in a different position.

But he had also been walking the streets and working for the Democratic Party in Chicago in the late '50s, *et cetera*, so he had some experiences that obviously soured him on that whole relationship. But what I wanted to—

Hartigan: I'm not an expert on that period of Dan's activity, but as I recall, the mayor was encouraging and played a role in him getting the initial selection for attorney general. Then, at the last minute, the people who were supporting Bill Clark—

DePue: Yeah, William Clark was the one who ended up getting it.

Hartigan: …intervened, whose family had…John S. Clark, and the Clarks as a whole, had been involved in the Democratic Party for a long time, in a variety of

ways and positive ways. So there was a change made, where Clark became the nominee for attorney general.

Dan was offered some other position on the ticket; I forget what it was. Well, I can understand being upset. I told you yesterday, I was dumped five times. When I tried to put the first Hispanic on the ticket, I was supposed to be the candidate for governor. I was beating Walker—which we'll get to later—by fourteen points in the polls, and I ended up not running for governor. Then I was supposed to be secretary of state. I had 82 percent of the vote when I went in, and I came out running again for lieutenant governor, when it had all the appearances, because of the way the constitution inter-tied together. And I was going to be an early retiree, and I was, at the ripe old age of thirty-six. Did I deserve just those few things?

I'll give you a few more over the years, (laughter) but just those things; those were pretty major offices. Okay, I didn't think it was fair, but I never spent a lot of times worrying about fair in politics. I sort of kid around about it, it's a medieval event, in which things are bartered and sold. I mean, could Dan be disappointed? Sure, he could be disappointed. Does that mean that the hatred and the bitterness and all that…? And, as far as the work in the party, I think he did something in Beverly. As I recall, it was not very much. He went out to the northern suburbs, I think, and did something there. But, if those two things were the criteria—

DePue: I don't mean to try to express exactly what his feelings were about the Daley administration at that time.

Hartigan: No, but how did he get chosen, of all the people who could have been the head of that commission? And how did de Grazia happen to be the scribe? I'm an optimist, but frankly, I don't believe in coincidences like that, just coming out of the blue.

DePue: Are you saying, then, that the report, and especially that particular phrase, "a police riot," and the criticism, obviously, that that implies about the Chicago police force and then, obviously, with Daley himself was Walker's way of unfairly jabbing Daley? Or is that his—

Hartigan: Well, I would think that, given the *modus operandi* that I saw with Dan and Vic and Norton Kay and Dave Green—you know, the key group around Dan—they're very bright people, very talented people. As I said to you, there was a plan. The plan was first to run for governor and then to run for president.

To come from no place, to run for governor, you had to do it. It had to be carefully thought out. This commission became a vehicle for him. You don't get headlines, unless you're dealing with the symbolism. Walker was

the best; that group was the best I ever saw in politics, of dealing with symbolism, understanding the communications.

DePue: Okay, you said, both Walker and Edgar. Which one are we talking about?

Hartigan: I didn't say Edgar at all.

DePue: You didn't? Okay, I'm sorry.

Hartigan: No, no, Victor.

DePue: I misunderstood you, then.

Hartigan: Dan, Vic, Norty [Norton] Kay and Dave Green, that was the numbers guy. They were a terrific team. There's no doubt about that. And the march, the walk across the state, well, Lawton Chiles had done that in Florida; he copied Chiles. Nobody had seen it up here. But they were smart enough to take a vehicle that worked well for him.

He brought Jim Dunn in from Ohio. Jim Dunn was the best radio person that I ever met in the business, to this day. He had done the stuff in Ohio for the governor's race there, constructing sort of a satellite radio network and satellite television, where you could do a basic interview, and then they'd spread it through all the markets in Illinois. They were really good.

All I'm saying is that, when you see the various elements leading up to Dan's running for governor and the race for governor, they're part of a plan. Then, when you measure him—I told you before—you measure Dan Walker from Washington, backwards, not Springfield or Chicago, backwards, once he got there.

DePue: Well, you're getting into some of the details here, but what we haven't specified exactly is that, of course, he now has this statewide and national reputation, because of this report that came out—

Hartigan: Well, first of all, excuse me, I don't think that the report—maybe my memory is blurred at this point—but I don't remember the report being that big a deal. It became a bigger deal later on.

DePue: Well, you're certainly correct that he was still very much an unknown, that he had to—

Hartigan: Totally.

DePue: …had to pretty much start from scratch. And the gimmick—that you talked about already—that he came up with, when he made the decision, about 1970, shortly after this report came out, to run for governor, was to present himself

very much as an outsider. He knows he's not going to be the party's candidate. In fact, he very deliberately decides that he's going to run on platform of being…Would it be fair to say, anti-Daley?

Hartigan: Oh, yeah, sure.

DePue: And he comes up with this gimmick of walking the state, starting from the southern tip of Illinois all the way to the north, well over 1,000 miles by the time he was done, and finishing up in Chicago.

Hartigan: And he was a superb personal campaigner, one-to-one campaigner. Once we got teamed up, after the primary, I campaigned with him a lot. I learned a lot from him. I think I told you that a couple of times during our chats, that he was very, very good at that.

DePue: Before the primary election…In the primary election, it's basically the party's preferred candidate, which is Paul Simon, and at the time, Paul Simon was viewed by a lot of people as being…He was the amazing wonder kid, if you will, in Illinois politics. Everybody thought he was going to win, that this upstart Walker couldn't possibly beat somebody as popular and well-known as Paul Simon.

Hartigan: That's right.

DePue: What did you think of Walker's campaign, before that primary victory, during the campaign itself?

Hartigan: Well, it was a mixture of the thing. Frankly, Paul beat himself, unfortunately. I had then and have now the highest respect and admiration for Paul Simon, for Jeanne Simon. I think they were terrific people.

But what happened was that, after I had gotten the endorsement of the State Central Committee for lieutenant governor, obviously, I was then working with Paul's apparatus. He had the campaign and had had it for some time, as far as the whole campaign apparatus and what have you. So he told me, the night before, something that somebody did. [He told me to] be at the headquarters at 9:00 the next morning, that they were going to have a press conference, okay. So I went there, (laughs) and I (cell phone rings) walked in. So he…Excuse me for one second; I thought I turned this off.

(pause in recording)

Hartigan: I'm sorry; excuse me.

DePue: Okay, we're back on again.

Hartigan: Let me just go back to Dan Walker for a second. When Dan's book came out, last year or whenever it was, you know, I read it just to see what he had to say

and what his view of history was, (laughs) very interesting. I had no idea—you're talking about his role in the Democratic Party—I didn't know he was involved in anything, in Beverly or in the suburbs or… And I thought I was fairly involved (laughs) in the Democratic Party in those days. I didn't even realize, frankly, the '72 thing or the '70 thing, or whatever it was. No, it must have been earlier than that, because Bill Clark was attorney general long before—

DePue: Yeah, well, he went before the slatemakers in 1960.

Hartigan: Sixty, yeah, it must have been '60, because I would have come in about the '64 kind of thing. I only say that just as this persona, who was an important figure, and that's—

DePue: Well, he always viewed himself, though, from the late '50s. He was involved in these independent Democratic movements; independent, as in independent from the Daley machine. Of course—

Hartigan: But the late '50s—

DePue: Even as early as that, he was involved.

Hartigan: The Daley stuff didn't start, really…Was Paul Douglas independent? You could say he was independent, but there's no independent movement, and he certainly supported Mayor Daley; I heard (laughs) any a number of times. He came in as an independent in 1948. The independent movement really was much more Bill Singer in 1963—

DePue: This was very much grassroots stuff, early on, and it didn't get much momentum until, as you said, in the mid-'60s, when it started to pick up.

Hartigan: Well, I guess I wasn't—

DePue: This is how he's portraying his involvement—

Hartigan: Oh, yeah, I don't doubt that. I think that, when you're going to run for an office, depending on what the office is—and of course, this is the highest office in the state—it isn't something that you just decide overnight that you're going to run. I mean, over a period of time, you usually try and position yourself in different kinds of things that give you as strong a background as you can for public acceptance of you as a candidate. That's sort of common sense.

How they write it…And Norton and Victor, very clever, as far as writing was concerned. You know, they would take the Naval Academy piece, and they'd take this independent Democratic activist kind of thing. They'd do a lot of that. But I'm talking about, in the real world, (laughs) what it meant. I'm just saying, for one person, who I think was pretty active in the

Democratic Party in those days, if he was this major figure, I guess I must have been operating in Minnesota or somewhere. (laughs)

DePue: I think he would agree with you, that he was not a major figure in the Democratic Party. He and Vic, as you mentioned, deliberately portrayed themselves as very much the outsiders, in part…Well, I'll ask you this. What did you think about the persistent allegations—all the way through the primary campaign especially, but in the general election as well—the allegations about corruption, vote fraud, patronage abuses going on in the Daley machine, as he would describe it. I mean, you—

Hartigan: Now, this is the fellow that wanted the endorsement of the Daley machine. And his basic anger against Daley was that he had the endorsement, with the mayor's help, and then it didn't finally get accomplished, because Bill Clark got chosen. Something doesn't square up. That sounds like—

DePue: You don't think there's anything to his allegations? There have been tons of print spilled on this very subject, about corruption in politics, the vote fraud especially, the 1960 election, the turn out the vote, all of that.

Hartigan: Well, on that one—first of all, I wasn't there—I was only there in the sense that I was in law school, and I certainly was trying to do whatever I could do for John Kennedy, which wasn't a heck of a lot. But as I recall, there was a presidential and a congressional investigation exactly on those points. I know Ray Simon… I don't know if the mayor, but I know Ray Simon and somebody else were called to testify in Congress, and all those allegations were proved to be groundless, as far as Daley was concerned, because I guarantee you—if you remember, the Republicans were still in office—if it was there, they would have been more than delighted to have indicted him.

DePue: You're talking about Stratton, Governor Stratton, at the time?

Hartigan: No, Daley.

DePue: Well, you said the Republicans were still in office.

Hartigan: National administration. Remember, Eisenhower was the president; they had the Justice Department; they had everything. There's an awful lot of things that happened in my own lifetime, if you will, where I was there, and I can talk about those things, not on a third-person [basis], but on an accurate basis. I can only give you impressions about some of the other things.

What I'm saying about Dan and the Walker Report and de Grazia writing it and the rest of it, I saw them; I was there; I did a number of things with those guys. Once we became a team, I was involved in a lot of the various sessions and what have you. So, you know…Okay, go ahead.

DePue: What I'd like to turn our attention to is that I've been remiss in not bringing this up. How was it that you became the candidate for lieutenant governor?

Hartigan: Okay. Let's…If I might add just one other thing. Before we took that break, I had just said that Paul beat himself, and he did.

DePue: Very good, yeah.

Hartigan: I think we should go back to that. When I walked in that morning, he said, "We're going to come out for an increase in the income tax." And I was—what the heck was I then?—I was thirty, maybe, thirty-one at most, because I was thirty-two when I took office. So I said, "Well, you know, this is my first statewide campaign that I've ever been involved in, so I don't mean to suggest that I've got all the answers, but Paul, did you talk to anybody about this?"

DePue: And it's worth mentioning that, during the Ogilvie administration—

Hartigan: Clearly.

DePue: …that was the initial establishment of an income tax for the state.

Hartigan: Sure, and that's what beat Dick Ogilvie. It was the Ogilvie income tax, and that's exactly what I said to Paul. I said, "Paul…" Then his response was, "Oh, don't worry. We know all about it; we've taken care of it." And I said, "Paul, I don't mean to be too simplistic about the thing, but there's 5,000 precincts in this county, (both laugh) and there's people that are more than willing to go door to door for you and work very hard, because they believe in you. Right now, that's Ogilvie's income tax; that's the best issue that we've got, you've got. The minute you do this, it's going to be Simon's income tax.

It'll make it so much harder for them to draw attention to the positive things that you've done, because of the symbolic nature and the bitterness over the income tax." He says, "I've got it all taken care of." Of course, he hadn't talked to anybody. What he had—I later learned—decided was that they felt they had the primary won and that they were going to get some of the tough ones out of the way in the spring.

In other words, he felt the income tax increase was necessary. If they dealt with it in the spring, by the fall, when it was head to head, it'd be old news. It didn't occur to them that Walker and his team would be tough enough and smart enough to jam that thing down his throat 100 different ways. That's what beat Paul Simon, okay?

Sure there were other allegations. I mean, what Dan was trying to do was to take the guy who had always been the ultimate Mr. Clean and try and change him, by virtue of the fact that he was the endorsed candidate of the Democratic Party, change him into somebody who had sacrificed his morality and manhood and everything else for support. I mean—

DePue: Well, Walker wasn't mincing words; he was claiming that Simon was Daley's candidate; he was in Daley's pocket.

Hartigan: Yeah, that was the theme. In my opinion, he would have lost to Simon, without the income tax, because that theme, that was tried a lot of times. Paul Simon was a good candidate, with a good reputation of independence in all sorts of different ways. At the same time, [he] would be very clear in saying that he accepted the endorsement of the Democratic Party and of the 102 chairmen, including the chairman of the largest and strongest part of the party, Mayor Daley. So what?

Politicians that think that people don't have common sense, and they aren't able to separate the wheat from the chaff, in terms of these idiot attacks, (laughs) they're kidding themselves. Was it a good tactic to take? It was his only tactic that he could take. The more venom, the more he could tap into real or perceived problems…What Dan was doing was playing downstate off against Chicago and the independent. He was playing a lot of different themes. And that, for a candidate who is not endorsed by the Democratic Party or the Republican Party, is about the only way you can go.

Normally you wouldn't have, though, somebody as substantial and as positive a candidate as Paul give the opponent what they needed, in order to make the whole thing work.

DePue: I think Walker himself would say that—

Hartigan: He was probably astounded. (laughs)

DePue: …that the thing that put him over the top was the Supreme Court decision that allowed crossover votes. So the primary, since there wasn't much of a Republican primary in the gubernatorial race, a lot of Republicans voted for Walker, as well.

Hartigan: Well, that's a tactic. I don't mean a tactic in talking about it, but…Maybe "tactic" is not the right word. Maybe that would be an element in the victory. But you wouldn't have had that…The reason that that was important was the Republicans who would be supportive of Ogilvie would want to get the weakest candidate, okay? So the Supreme Court said they could cross over. So they're going to vote against Simon to give Ogilvie Walker for an opponent, prevailing wisdom being that that would have been a better candidate for Dick Ogilvie to run against, in terms of strength and what have you.

But, even with that, absent Paul coming out for the income tax, it just wasn't there. That was the issue that just gave legs to everything else they were trying to do.

DePue: Let's go back to the question of how you ended up being the lieutenant governor candidate.

Hartigan: Sure. Well, I had known Paul and admired him for some time. I remember going back to what we talked about, the Board of Health, when I was liaison to Springfield. Well, I got to know him a little bit then. And (clears throat) Excuse me. (sirens in background) Then I wrote and ran the *Chicago '67* thing. *Chicago '67* and then *We Care* in '71.

If you're going to run for governor in '72, and you're thinking about it, then to have somebody for lieutenant governor, who has a governmental background, who is identified, has the respect, publicly, of the mayor, who's put together a campaign with 15,000 non-governmental people (laughs) in it. It still was a very bold thing for him to do, to invite me.

He said he and Jeanne would like to have dinner at our house. Okay, I had no idea what it was about. I said, "Great." "Come on up, next time you're in Chicago." So we had dinner. So we're sitting there, just like you and I are sitting here right now, and he said, "You know, there's talk that I'm going to run for governor next year, and I am going to run for governor next year. Frankly, we're here, because I was wondering if you'd like to be my running mate for lieutenant governor." I almost fell off the chair. I no more thought that's what he wanted to…(both laugh) I said to him; I said, "Paul, if you're crazy enough to ask me, I'm delighted to accept." (both laugh) "Okay, great," you know? I mean, you just go, Wow.

We finished the dinner, and that was that. Be in touch. So I went to see the mayor, and I told him about the dinner. I told him about the invitation, and I said, "What do you think?" And he said, "Let me think about it." Okay? So I didn't make too much of it; I just got busy getting ready to be a candidate for lieutenant governor. To do that, there was the slatemaking sessions, one in Springfield—It always started in Springfield—and then the second one was usually a day later in Chicago.

So, I didn't hear anything from Paul. I assumed it was still on, but I'd never done it before, so I didn't know what (laughs) to expect to hear or not to hear. I did, though, hear later on that Tom Keane had been one of the people who had been Paul's advisor, a senior advisor. Alderman Keane, as I told you before, was the alderman of the 31st Ward and the chairman of the finance committee, a very, very tough, smart guy. And Wigoda was his partner. Wigoda, being Alderman, Paul Wigoda was the guy I beat for committeeman.

I don't know what the conversation was, but I gather that the gist of the conversation was, why would you pick Hartigan? There are better people that him around. So, somehow the idea became that Paul would give Keane a list of five people that he [Paul] felt comfortable with and give it to Keane, and Keane would give it to the mayor. I guess that was the way it went or something like that.

Now, I'm not supposed to know anything about this, right? I can't actually remember how I found out, but I did. I was surprised, to tell you the truth. First, I was surprised that Keane was his counselor. They didn't fit as a matched pair, very well. Secondly, that if for some reason Paul had felt that it didn't work, he certainly could have told me that. I would have understood; Marge would have understood.

In any event, I don't know…I think it [the list] was probably Phil Rock and Tom Hynes and Shannon Davis. I don't know, but five guys, I guess; maybe I was the fifth one. I never saw the list, so I can't tell you if that was the list, but that was what I had heard, all of whom I knew very well and got along with fine.

I just figured, Well, I'm still invited, so I'll get ready for it. As I had done in the campaigns that I had ran—I told you—we tried to change the graphics; we tried to have a whole different approach to the thing and go across the grain.

DePue: Was there some mention about your role in those campaigns and the success of those campaigns that you saw as an asset to have in his?

Hartigan: Well, I don't know specifically if that…You mean at that particular dinner?

DePue: Yeah, that he saw you as an asset, because you obviously had done very well in helping Daley get reelected.

Hartigan: No. I had a pretty good reputation generally (laughs), I think, at the time. It was pretty substantive and, at the same time, did the new things in politics, as well as—

DePue: Well, would he have known about your role in the Liquor Commission, and—

Hartigan: Oh, sure.

DePue: I would think something like that would appeal to the man, too.

Hartigan: Yeah, sure. I had a pretty decent record. But I was also thirty-one years old. There were any number of other people that certainly he could have picked. I mean, obviously—like I said—when he came to the house, it didn't occur to me that's what it was about. (both laugh) But as long as he had made the offer, I thought I should get prepared and follow up. So anyway, I did. I put together the biography and the pictures, so that when it came time for the actual meeting, I would have the paraphernalia, if you will, prepared for a first-class candidacy. And I wrote a platform, what I thought the lieutenant governor should do, the elderly, among other things, the Department on Aging, *et cetera*.

Now, I still haven't heard back from the mayor. I asked for an appointment ten days before, no, didn't hear anything back. I never had any trouble getting an appointment with him or seeing him, but I did now. I didn't know what was up. So finally, the day before the thing, I called. A woman named Kay Spiros was his secretary, and I said, "Kay, would you see if I could get five minutes with him?" It wasn't going to be a long conversation, just, what do you think? She said, "Well, he can't do it today." I said, "Would you ask him if I could talk to him on the phone for a couple of minutes, because tomorrow is the slatemaking in Springfield, and Paul had asked me to be his running mate, and I had talked with the mayor about it, and he said he wanted to think about it, and I was wondering what his thoughts were."

Finally she came back on the phone and she said, "Well, unfortunately, he's not able to talk with you on the phone, either, but he said to tell you to do what you think is right."

DePue: You've mentioned that he said that quite a few times.

Hartigan: Yeah, he did. He said that on the liquor commission. On big things…I read that two ways. Number one, it wasn't going to be his candidacy. He ran his own races, and he was responsible for how he did or he didn't do, but him supporting somebody, you become his candidate, right, to varying degrees. He knew how to be very clear about wanting you to be his candidate or you showing that you should be a (both laugh) candidate. If you lose, it's your loss, not his loss. So, okay. I can't tell you I was real happy about that being the answer, but I figured, All right, see what we can do.

There was a young guy in the neighborhood that had done some work with me in the ward. I got a hold of him. His name was Rick Jasculca; he was nineteen. Rick Jasculca is the founder of Jasculca Terman, which is today the best public affairs, public relations firm in the country and major political activity, as you know, for the presidents, for the pope, for everybody. But in those days, Rick was nineteen, and this was the first thing that he did. So we put the thing together. We had this great packet, and it had a press release, like Madison Avenue had turned it out (laughs) and the picture and the platform and biography and everything.

We got down to Springfield, and I had talked to John Touhy, who was the Illinois Speaker [of the House], and who I had dinner with every night, when I was legislative counsel for the city. I used to ride back and forth with him, in his car, to Springfield, so I was like (laughs) part of the family. And then Jim Ronan was the state chairman.

The Central Committee's first meeting is in Springfield. That's all the downstaters come to that meeting. Then, the second meeting is sort of the combination of the downstaters and the Chicago area people, where the final decision is made. And the second thought I had, about the mayor, is he wanted

to see what the reaction would be, how I would handle the downstate slatemaking. Would I get beat up; would I be acceptable; would I be unacceptable; would I be what? Because, if I was unacceptable, if they say, "What is he, crazy? He's thirty years old, and he's Daley's guy," all that stuff. If I was unacceptable, by the time I got to Chicago the next day, it would have all been my idea. (both laugh)

Now, here's Touhy and Ronan. Jim Ronan was the state chairman; Jack Touhy's the speaker, both very close to the mayor. The mayor hasn't told them that he's endorsing me, and in the normal course of events, they don't want, at that level, be endorsing somebody that isn't the mayor's candidate. How would it be if they endorsed you, and then Daley endorsed somebody else the next day? They'd look like they were, you know…

There's two doors into the place. I put Rick at one door, and I get at the other door. We both got these brochures, passing them out, shaking hands with people going in, *et cetera*, *et cetera*. Now, bear in mind, Mark, that…I think I told you that I didn't come from power or money. I always thought that everybody's got twenty-four hours, and at least in those days, I could pretty well outwork just about anybody. I don't mean to sound vain, but, as far as hard work.

When I was down in Springfield, I told you I was covering 300 bills. Nobody ever covered 300 bills. I mean, 300 bills is a lot of territory, running back and forth between the House and the Senate and the committees and up and down, ba-ba, ba-ba, by myself. Okay? The reputation that I had was…Well, how will I put it? It went back to Daley, was that all I did, I was always working; I never hung around with the guys, you know, sort of a pain—

DePue: You weren't going to the night spots in Springfield with the other—

Hartigan: No, no.

DePue: Where, sometimes, a lot of the deals were made.

Hartigan: Oh, a lot of things were made. But Daley didn't either, when he was there. That was his reputation, a hard worker, kept his nose clean.

DePue: Good family man.

Hartigan: Good family man. I was in love with my wife, (DePue laughs) and I love my kids, so what am I going to hang around for? In any event, not being one of the boys, if you will, has always been a bit of a problem, as far as I'm concerned, with different elements of the party. Remember, I told you about all fifty of them signing the petition? But that day there wasn't anybody in that room that didn't know that I had been the mayor's person in Springfield, that I had worked very hard, was well thought-of, da-da, da-da, da-da. In other

words, what would have had some appeal to Paul would be that I would be acceptable to the people up north, and these people, the rest of the state, will find out.

DePue: Did they know that you were Simon's candidate?

Hartigan: Oh, yeah, sure.

DePue: And they certainly had a high regard for Simon, I would think.

Hartigan: Of course, yeah. And I had always gotten along well with them, on a personal kind of level. Okay, none of these other guys, by the way, that were on this alleged list, was there. Now the office gets called; I go in, and I sort of tore things up pretty good. I was not bad as a speaker. And Jim Ronan, he gave me a very nice introduction. Well, what never really got very visible was the committeeman of the 7th Ward, who was a much older man. He was married to Margaret Maloney. Margaret Maloney and my mother went to Teachers College together.

The Maloney family has the Maloney Funeral Parlor at Devan and Glenwood, which was right next door to the political office, the ward office that I opened up there. And John E. Maloney, who today runs the place and runs a couple of places, I coached him when he was in fifth grade in the grammar school basketball tournament. And my sister and my father and my mother and my daughter and my wife, there wasn't anybody that wasn't Maloneys. So I didn't know Mr. Ronan real well, but he'd always been very nice to me, and his wife had been very nice to me. (laughs) There was a lot of goodwill there; let's put it that way.

Now, Touhy, I did know pretty well, and he was also a Georgetown guy. At the end of the speech, Mr. Ronan—they're all sort of screaming pretty good—says, "Well, it was outstanding; the remarks were outstanding, from a fine young man, and is there any comments?" "Speaker Touhy." So Touhy gets up, and he…Did you know John Touhy at all?

DePue: No, no.

Hartigan: That was before your time. Well, John Touhy, sort of short in stature, gray mane of hair, and a tough, terrific guy. He would inspire loyalty. He just was a great guy and knew the business inside and out. He said, "Mr. Speaker, I always believed that my father"—who was the county commissioner and the committeeman of the 27th Ward—"was the smartest man that I ever knew, and I remember him telling me that, when you got a pat hand, you don't have to do a thing. I got a pat hand today," and sat down. (DePue laughs) Now, Ronan hadn't endorsed me; Touhy hadn't endorsed me, so the mayor couldn't get mad at either one of them. But by the same token, nobody in that room thought they hadn't, (laughs) the way the whole thing played.

Now, the next day, I'm coming up to Chicago, and all he's [Mayor Daley] getting back and everybody up there is getting back, is great reports. Not only am I not a burden to him, but I'm (laughs) a plus at that point. So I give another pretty good speech in Chicago that day. The place went up again, and so I became the nominee.

That was fine with Paul. That's where he started, so it wasn't…And the subject never came up about the other thing. That night he had me flown down to…It was the first, gosh, it was down around Champaign. It was an agricultural meeting, to start getting me to understand what the agriculture issues and what have you was. It was pretty neat. Anyway, that's how I got to be the nominee.

DePue: I'm afraid that we're up against the clock right now, so I hate to end (laughs) right here, but we'll pick it up here—

Hartigan: There's no short stories in my life, I guess, huh?

DePue: We'll pick it up here, and we'll go into much more about that campaign in 1972 and then, obviously, your years as lieutenant governor. That'll be the next session.

Hartigan: All right.

(end of transcript #2)

Interview with Neil Hartigan

ISG-A-L-2010-012.03

Interview # 3: November 12, 2010

Interviewer: Mark DePue

DePue: Today is Friday, November 12, 2010. My name is Mark DePue, the director of oral history for the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library. I'm here this afternoon, a gorgeous afternoon, in Springfield, Illinois. I'm in the library building with former Attorney General Neil Hartigan. Good afternoon, Neil.

Hartigan: Good afternoon, Mark; how are you?

DePue: Good, good. It's been quite a while since our last session—we both got busy going different directions—but when we last met, we finished off with your very interesting story about how you went before the Illinois Democratic Central Committee, basically the slatemakers, and were blessed with getting the nomination for the Democratic Party for lieutenant governor. Now, you're cringing at my having said all that. But that's where we left off.

Hartigan: Yeah. I didn't remember, Mark, if…There's two stages to it. One that I know we talked about was when I came down to Springfield and what was entailed in that. The other was that the following day, the final part of the process is that the committee goes to Chicago, and you reappear before the committee of the whole.

DePue: You talked about both parts of that.

Hartigan: Okay, fine.

DePue: We got you nominated as lieutenant governor candidate for the party; so you make the ticket. At that point in time, obviously, you have to run for the office, and Paul Simon is the party's candidate, if you will.

Hartigan: Yes, he was.

DePue: And there's an upstart running at the same time. The upstart, obviously, is Dan Walker, who was a U.S. attorney who'd made his fame commenting, doing an investigation on the Democratic National Convention in 1968, producing the Walker Report. But let's pick it up with the general—

Hartigan: Was it U.S. attorney? He wanted to be U.S. attorney, but I don't think—

DePue: He was state's attorney.

Hartigan: No, wasn't either. What he was was general counsel for Montgomery Ward. He had been interested in being either the U.S. attorney or the state's attorney. I don't mean to be—

DePue: No, no, that's fine, and we'll make sure that—

Hartigan: In his book, he (laughs) gives a whole different history. I mean, I go to the point that we're at, I didn't know him. I knew his name and a little bit about him, but that was about it. So, when I read his book about all the things he had done in the Democratic Party, I thought I must have been on Mars for (laughs) those periods. In any event, go ahead.

DePue: Well, he always saw himself as an independent Democrat, and that was an important distinction for him. And, you're right, he'd wanted to be attorney general and was turned down by the slatemakers at the early…I think it might have even been 1960, that timeframe.

Hartigan: That's right. Then he decided he was independent. If he'd been chosen, instead of Bill Clark, then he would have…In fact, he had asked Mayor Daley—

DePue: Tell me about your relationship with Paul Simon. Let's start there.

Hartigan: Well, I admired him a great deal. (clears throat) Excuse me. I got to know Paul when I was in the health department. I think I had mentioned to you that my dad had told me you can't know anything about government or politics in Chicago or Illinois until you get out of Chicago, and I didn't know what that meant. One of the things that I did was to ask, when I became the assistant to the health commissioner, for the responsibility of being the liaison with Springfield, as well as with the mayor's office, because the Board of Health was at 54 West Hubbard. It was the only department outside of city hall. In those days, everything else was in one building. So there was that liaison opportunity, as well as the rest of the functions.

Coming down to Springfield…I had come here as a young guy, young kid, really—my whole family did—because there's a family in Springfield, the Caseys, a big family in Springfield, and they're our cousins. We used to come down and stay with them and go to the fair, which was, (laughs) you know, a highlight, as far as we were concerned. We had a good time.

In any event, I came down to Springfield, not knowing exactly what my dad was talking about but figuring his advice was always pretty good. I think the first thing that struck me was, a day or two after I arrived, I was up in the gallery. I was sitting there, and the back-and-forth, it sounded like a different language.

DePue: Was this the Illinois Senate gallery?

Hartigan: No, it was the House gallery at that time. It sounded like a different language. I thought maybe I was on Mars or somewhere. It's "Will the gentleman from so-and-so yield to the gentleman from so-and-so?" There practically weren't any ladies in the body at that time. Then the subject matter, everything that was being discussed, it was education, health, things that women really, generally are much more knowledgeable about than the men are. Certainly in

those days, that was true, because they were sort of the backbones of the volunteer activities around the state. Those were two things that really struck me as odd, and yet it was wonderful training.

I did meet Paul Simon, not too far into that. He was a very decent guy when you got to know him a little bit. And then, over the years, when I was in the health department, I knew him a bit from the legislature. Then, when I got hired as an assistant in the mayor's office, then I asked the mayor the same thing, if I could be the liaison with Springfield. Then, of course, I got to know him even more so there. And Jeanne was in the legislature. She was—

DePue: Jeanne Hurley, his—

Hartigan: Jeanne Hurley, his wife, yeah, who was very, very capable, terrific person. Jeanne represented the North Shore, which was no small feat, a woman Democrat to be elected on the North Shore. She was very highly thought of, and eventually, of course, they got married. Where, I guess, Paul's interests in the lieutenant governor thing—which I assume is where we're going—I think that was triggered by when I wrote and put together *Chicago '67*, which I described to you, and also the role that I was playing in the mayor's office, at that time, in a variety—not only the legislative stuff—of different and other important areas.

He was from downstate, and [there is], obviously, the balance question. You're going to get somebody from Chicago that's going to balance it out. He and Jeanne came to dinner at our house one night. At some point, I guess, after we got through the initial part of the meal, he said, "I'm going to run for governor next year, and I was wondering if you'd like to run for lieutenant governor with me, because I'd like you to do that."

I almost fell off the chair. I said to him, (laughs) "Well, if you're crazy enough to ask me, sure; I'm delighted to do it." Marge was very happy with it, as well. It was very personal, and it was very nice. I think, from his point of view, he was getting somebody that obviously had a relationship with the mayor, on a positive basis, and most of the other people that he would be interested in having some support from.

DePue: Would you characterize his relationship with Mayor Daley as close?

Hartigan: I don't know. They seemed to get along pretty well, but I never really had an occasion to see the inner working. Paul—which will come into the story in just a second—for whatever reason, he had Tom Keane, Alderman Keane, as his advisor. With all due respect to Alderman Keane, who was a brilliant guy and very powerful, chairman of the finance committee and what have you, he and Paul were polar opposite, (laughs) in a lot of respects, as…I don't know. I think he felt that Alderman Keane knew what was going on, had a lot of relationships, *etcetera*.

DePue: Well, I had asked the question—I didn't mean to interrupt your thought process here, but obviously, once you get into that primary campaign, Dan Walker is going to be painting Paul Simon as a close associate of Mayor Daley.

Hartigan: Well, with Walker, that's true. It was Walker and de Grazia. The foursome was Walker and de Grazia were the two key parts.

DePue: Victor de Grazia.

Hartigan: De Grazia (laughs) would make Machiavelli look like a Cub Scout. He was very, very talented, very no-holds-barred. There was nothing sacred about anything. Then, oh, let's see, Green and Norton Kay were the other two guys, I would say, [who] were the inner foursome.

David Green was the numbers guy, and Nort, of course, was the communications person. There was others, but basically that was the core group. Dan, as I mentioned, he was the general counsel for Montgomery Ward. He had been involved in the [Walker] Report—actually, Victor was the one that wrote it, Victor de Grazia. I don't know if that's the name you put down, first name you had for him.

DePue: Yeah.

Hartigan: That was supposed to be Dan's springboard, as far as the piece that was to give him the independent credentials, *etcetera*. He, I suppose, was involved somewhat in independent activity, but his involvement was basically for himself. (laughs) He might have helped other candidates; I don't know.

I really hadn't seen much of him. The piece on the convention was after the convention. It was all calculated. Dan and Victor, they all understood symbolism and modern communication far better than the Democratic Party in Cook County did, in Chicago, in the state, for that matter. So, in developing his persona, they would do things that made him a man of the people, made him an independent, made him this, made him that. The walk, of course, was one of the more famous things. He copied that from Lawton Chiles in Florida, who'd done it two years previously. Dan did it, and did it well, to his credit. He was smart enough to take a new technique that nobody had seen around here and use it extremely well.

He got a fellow named Jim Dunn from the [John Joyce, "Jack"] Gilligan campaign in Ohio. Gilligan was running for governor in Ohio. It was mostly with radio, but then they did it with radio and television. What it was was the art of doing the statewide feeds and targeting the individual markets. In other words, if you're doing X today, you can go into a studio—or you don't even have to go to a studio—with Jim Dunn, and somebody's drafted the message and what have you. You can talk to "you" in Springfield and "so-and-so" on another call, in southern Illinois. It could be the same message;

you could do different messages, but he was very, very accomplished at the techniques they'd use on statewide radio and statewide television and the symbolism that was involved.

If you remember, they used to have somebody…Let's say I was here, and you're Dan Walker. They'd be shooting; the camera would be set up back here; they'd shoot over the shoulder, right? So nobody would know who I was, all right? But I'd be asking the questions, and then he would be saying, "Here in Rock Island, you've got a serious problem, da-da, da-da, da-da." So he was in the studio in Rock Island, for all practical purposes. Then, five minutes later, he's in the studio at Carbondale. They knew the thirteen media markets, and they were very, very good at it.

In any event, Paul made Dan. That's not to say Dan wasn't bright and wasn't hardworking and didn't have a very sophisticated team that hadn't carefully looked at the gaps. As I think I told you, when we were talking earlier, when you see Paul Douglas in 1966—that was '66; this is '72—losing sixteen wards in Chicago. That was the reason that I wrote that whole *Chicago '67* thing. Well, Victor could read that as well as I can read it and understand that.

The studies of the various voting patterns in the state…There's, I'd say, about eight different states in Illinois. Historically they talk about Chicago and downstate. Well, downstate would be Paul Powell and Clyde Choate, as a practical matter, and that was far southern Illinois, okay? Now, Rockford was the second-largest city in the state, and it was north of Chicago, but they'd call that downstate, too. (laughs) But that was a different area; the Quad Cities was a different area; the metro area's a different area, that sort of thing.

Walker and de Grazia were very careful. They understood that. You see, somebody from Chicago generally wasn't involved in statewide campaigns. I mean, it wasn't a statewide party apparatus, in the same sense that Walker and de Grazia were able to develop the thing.

When I say Simon, that Paul made him, well, one day Paul said to me, "We're going to have a press conference tomorrow at," I don't know, 10:00 or something, "I want you to be there." I said, "Okay." I went over there, and a little bit before the…We'll say it was quarter to 10:00. He said, "We're going to call for an increase in the income tax." I said, "You're going to do what?"

The one thing that I was was that I was heavily involved—I think I told you that I was the only one in the mayor's office, for instance, that was in local politics, and that was by choice—I said to him, "Paul, right now there's 5,000 precinct captains in Cook County that are very enthusiastic about your candidacy. They're going to go to the doors all over the place, as our people all over the state, to say very good things about you. One of the reasons is

because it's Ogilvie's income tax. The minute you come out for this thing, it's going to be Simon's income tax."

DePue: Everybody's thinking at that time, that's the campaign issue that Ogilvie is vulnerable on, because he was the first governor of Illinois to insert this income tax.

Hartigan: Paul didn't see Dan as that serious a candidate. He said, "Well, we're going to try to get some of the tough ones out of the way in the spring, instead of waiting for the fall." In other words, he didn't want the income tax. If he called for it in September, they'd be right adjacent to the thing [election]. He'd rather call for it in the fall, when the primary…so it's more of a back burner kind of thing. At least that was the judgment.

Well, it wasn't that at all. Walker just pounded him and pounded him on that one, and also the idea that he was the mayor's candidate. It's a catch twenty-two. I had the highest regard for Mayor Daley, as a person, as a government official, a political leader. The perception of him, visually, was not the same thing that…Walker (laughs) had the…Their looks were different, but Daley knew 100 times more about government than Dan did.

DePue: Well, the irony of it, I think, is that the 1950s was the origins of this nascent group called the Independent Democrats of Illinois, and they all were aligning themselves with Adlai Stevenson, after his loss in the presidential election. But who are the leading lights of that? Well, it's not Dan Walker; it's Paul Simon and people like that. So now you've got (laughs) Dan Walker and his ally from ten years before, and he's castigating that he's too close to the Daley machine.

Hartigan: Well, yeah. Paul, if you remember, was an independent newsman from the metro area, down in Madison County, who had stood up to some threats and everything else. I mean, he was a very good person. He had been involved in a lot of fights for the right kind of politics and the right kind of government, so for him to be castigated as a machine hack, for all practical purposes, nobody would believe it.

But the income tax thing, all of the sudden, people were stunned, and that made some of the other stuff more believable. It was really unfortunate for Illinois, because he had so much that he would have brought, in the way of good ideas and good values, to the governorship. It was really Illinois's loss.

DePue: During the primary, was there any planning between the two of you, in terms of what he wanted you to do for campaigning and what he was going to be doing in the campaign?

Hartigan: With Paul?

DePue: Yeah.

Hartigan: Oh yeah, sure, sure. I remember the first night that I had gotten endorsed…I'm trying to think of the name of the town that he sent me to. It was, oh, down in central Illinois, and there was a big farm meeting, and (laughs) he said, "You'd better learn about agriculture." Somebody took me down there. I'll think of the name of the town. Well, I knew there was a lot I didn't know about a lot of things, but (both laugh) that was even more so. No, we got along fine, during the course of the campaign, and there was centralized scheduling and what have you.

What I had done is, when I had run, myself, I had written a platform. Actually, it was one of the things that the mayor said, "Always have your own program." So I thought it was a good idea since, what is a lieutenant governor? What value can it be? [I planned] to define it and spell out some things that, if I get the opportunity to be lieutenant governor, that I was going to try and do. So I wrote a platform.

I think there's instruments in politics that people overlook or laugh at or whatever. But, if you can use the instruments intelligently and with decent timing, they can turn out to your benefit, in terms of getting things done. So I had that, and then I had this whole network, of course, of *Chicago '67* people, which we had 20,000, I think, or something like that, involved in it. That was a pretty good sized network. I obviously covered a lot of stuff for them up north.

Normally when you have an upstate–downstate kind of candidate balance, the idea would be to get as much of the state accomplished as you can, early enough. But then, for the governor really, once you turn into Labor Day and come into the main part of the campaign, then you focus in the heavily populated Chicago and collar counties. That isn't to say you don't have a plane, and you don't go back and forth, but in terms of a balance, it would be more that way, okay. So then, in the earlier part of the [campaign], once we got together as a team, I might do more things up north, northwest, and that sort of thing. Then, later on, I might do more things downstate.

When Dan did beat Paul, I learned a lot from Paul, and Gene Callahan was a genius; he was terrific. Paul had an issues book. You know, it was a briefing book that you'd have for each day, and there was core information. Usually it would be about the educational statistics on the county or the counties that we might be going through, and then other things of particular interest in those areas, who the elected officials were, who the main people were, that sort of thing, the background on the various events you were going to be addressing, *etcetera*.

But there was a lot of substantive stuff, in terms of things of importance, also the history of the area, by the way, the various things that you're going to be doing during the day. I mentioned education. Education was one; I think mental health was another one. Some places there was

environment, other places there was coal, other places it was agriculture, but I really learned a lot from studying those things.

Paul was a good campaigner; I learned a lot from him. Our wives would go a different way, as well, and they were both good campaigners. One of the things that happened…One day, there was two planes. We weren't that long on money, but there was two planes this day. There was a reporter from *Paris Match* that was following Paul. Paul and I were on the first plane. The guy from *Paris Match* was here; Jeanne Simon was here, and my wife Marge was here. We were getting boxes of sandwiches or whatever it was, eating lunch on the plane. All of a sudden, the door on the plane, with the guy from *Paris Match,* flies open. He's going out the door. Jeanne Simon tackled him. Marge tackled Jeanne Simon. This is a true story. I wasn't there, obviously; I was in the other plane. That's the last time that Simon and I (both laugh) were in different planes…But honest to God, that really happened.

In any event, I did learn a lot by watching Paul, seeing how he handled the questions. I met a lot of people, and I tried to introduce him to a lot of people, too. It was a very good experience.

DePue: Bob Hartley, Robert Hartley, who wrote the biography on Simon, basically said that Simon just didn't take Walker seriously enough.

Hartigan: That's right.

DePue: He didn't run a rigorous campaign. He was criticized for running a campaign like an altar boy, perhaps.

Hartigan: Well, (laughs) I can hear Bob saying that, or writing that. He's a very good newsman. Yeah, I think he underestimated him and underestimated the effect that the income tax would be having on him. He genuinely felt that he was in strong shape, that he had good support all over the state, that he was very well liked, *etcetera*.

Then, here's Walker. The way Walker would campaign was he had this focused walk kind of thing. That's not going to beat Paul Simon. But he'd have a lot of other stuff going on all over, because of some of the techniques that I was telling you about. So he was eating away, and basically, anybody that was against anything in the state, they found a home with Dan. The stuff that Victor and Nort (laughs) and the rest of them could drum up, it appealed to a lot of people along those lines.

But it wouldn't have happened, in my opinion, until the income tax. That's what exploded things. I still don't think that he grasped the depth of the underlying impact that it had, instantly, and then how it was forced and reinforced and reinforced on a more and more negative basis.

In addition to that, there was also at the beginning of his campaign… Walker had a six-lane highway to operate in. Nobody was challenging him. In Paul's campaign, he also had the situation with the Hanrahan[14], you know, the raid, the Panther raid and Roman Pucinski[15]. Paul felt that Ed Hanrahan should be off the ticket and that he'd be willing to do it. Well, I don't think they knew (laughs) Ed very well. In any event, if you remember, they came back from a swing downstate and said he's hurting the ticket badly, and this whole thing has to be resolved, and about getting him off of the ticket.

DePue: "Him" in this case being…?

Hartigan: Ed Hanrahan, who was state's attorney. Well, the County Central Committee met and removed him from the endorsed ticket, and Judge Raymond Berg replaced Ed as the candidate. And Hanrahan ran against the party and beat the party. I don't know if you remember the business about the St. Patrick's Day parade, where he lifted his chapeau and the—

DePue: I'm afraid most of this is before my time.

Hartigan: …the dove of peace flew out from underneath his hat (DePue laughs) as he was at the reviewing stand with the mayor. Pucinski told the mayor that, after he had met with Ed, that he was going to resign. I called the mayor up; I said, "I'm new at this, but let me tell you something. He's not going to resign."

I said to Paul, just to go back to that, on the income tax thing, I said, "You know, Paul, you're much more experienced, and it's the first time I've ever run, but," and then I mentioned the 5,000 people at that meeting. They had a clear message. Here was Paul Simon, the perfect candidate, and then (laughs) **bang,** it went from being Ogilvie's income tax to Simon's income tax. He said, "Well, you just don't understand." I said, "I guess I don't understand." I said, "Did you talk to anybody about it?" "Oh, you don't understand." Well, (laughs) that meant that he hadn't. He didn't have to. I don't ever remember him in that kind of a conversation with the mayor, but you would think that…It's just common sense for that big an issue.

DePue: Even if it's going to play one way, perhaps, in the Democrat primary, but then you've got independents and Republicans voting in the general election. I think that would even be more unpopular with that group.

Hartigan: Well, yeah. But for the moment, okay, if there hadn't been a misjudgment on the primary, you never would have gotten to that second step.

[14] Edward Vincent Hanrahan was a Cook County Illinois State's Attorney who had been groomed as a prospective successor to Mayor Richard J. Daley. His career was effectively ended after Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton and member Mark Clark were killed in a raid by police attached to his office in 1969. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Hanrahan)

[15] A Democrat politician from Chicago, IL who served as a U.S. Representative from 1959 to 1973 and alderman from the 41st Ward of Chicago from 1973 to 1991. He was considered a longtime leader of Chicago Polonia and was seen to represent its interests in Washington, along with Congressman Dan Rostenkowski.

DePue: Were you surprised, then, when primary election day came, and Walker was able to squeak out a victory over Simon?

Hartigan: Oh…I don't know about surprised. I don't agree with Bob, in the sense…Paul worked very hard. He was about as hard a working guy…He didn't get combative. That's not because he didn't have the courage to do it; he did. He had the kind of political courage that his actions identified the kind of value courage he had and political guts and that kind of stuff. But he let them bang him around too much. Paul was sort of doing the Marquess of Queensberry at the same time that de Grazia was plucking his eyes out. (laughs) It was sort of two different approaches to life.

DePue: Yeah, the Machiavellian approach versus—

Hartigan: No, I said he'd make Machiavelli look like Cub Scout. (DePue laughs) But it was a shame. I felt terrible about it.

DePue: Did you, shortly thereafter, have that meeting with Walker, in terms of some kind of a strategy to now campaign for the Democratic ticket as a team?

Hartigan: Yeah. I don't remember exactly how it happened, but I met with him and—

DePue: Did you feel any tension? Was there any acrimony between the two of you?

Hartigan: No, I thought that there might be, but it was exactly the opposite, because I was an asset, as far as Walker was concerned. All the people that he was unpopular with, I was popular with. So why wouldn't we? He said (imitating Walker's voice), "We're going to run together and govern together." That was the theme, until 4:00 the morning of the election.

DePue: Now, Simon had pretty much defined the position of lieutenant governor in his own—I want to say in his own image—but he very much took an activist approach to redesign that job and designed it as the ombudsman for the state of Illinois, for people to come to the lieutenant governor if they have issues and concerns. Was that something that you envisioned, as well as lieutenant governor?

Hartigan: Yeah, but there was a difference. The Constitutional Convention of 1970 was the difference. When Paul was elected, he was elected with Dick Ogilvie. You could have a governor of one party and a lieutenant governor of another. Also, the lieutenant governor was more of a legislative office than it was an executive office, because you presided over the Senate, like the vice president does.

And Paul had been in the Senate. It was a substantial office, in that sense. In the interrelationship with Ogilvie, because Ogilvie obviously wouldn't give him substantive things to do, Paul designed the other aspect of the office, the new lieutenant governor's office, with the ombudsman idea that

comes from Scandinavia. It was something he was very good at and fit him perfectly, so he went on from there.

But, by the time I was running for it, then there no longer was any role in the legislative branch. It was in the executive branch, and it was just a vacuum. They had changed the system in a bad political compromise, basically, so that you couldn't have a governor of one and a lieutenant governor of the other, instead of (laughs)—

DePue: Of parties, different parties.

Hartigan: Different parties, yeah. Instead of that, they say, "Well, within the primary, within the party, you can have different people, which made no sense at all. What it should be like, this thing that they had going on about what it should be, if I was going to write an article and send it into an op-ed piece, [I would have] said is, If there was anything, the governor, the gubernatorial candidate choosing the lieutenant governor candidate as the person most closely allied with his views, which, God forbid, if he had to step in and replace the governor, temporarily or permanently, the people would have gotten the same thing they voted for with the governor. There's a logic to that, and it could still be an important office.

Anyway, when we won, Walker and I won, at 4:00 in the morning, he said, "Couldn't have done it without you," gives me this big *embrazzo* [hug], (imitating Walker's voice) "I said we'd run together and govern together, and that's what we're going to do, and I just can't tell you how grateful I am." Okay, fine.

At 9:30 the same morning, he had asked me to come down to a pre–press conference meeting in his suite. That's when he announced that, "Naturally you're going to resign as a committeeman, the ward committeeman." And I said, "Well, why, Dan?" I said, "You know, the people in Rogers Park, they helped my dad; they helped me. They sort of felt pretty good about somebody being elected from their neighborhood, on a statewide basis. What will I tell them they did wrong, between yesterday when we were running together and governing together and this morning?" He says, "Well, you don't understand."

See, he didn't want to fight with Daley; he wanted to look like he was fighting with the mayor, all right? Symbolism. It was easier, from his point of view, to whack me, because what he said is, I'd have no office, no job, no car, no anything, you know, from running together and governing together, because I wouldn't take a dive and turn my back on—

DePue: I want to make sure I've got this straight. You're talking about right after the primary victory for both you and Walker?

Hartigan: No, the general election.

DePue: This is after he won as governor.

Hartigan: We won as governor and lieutenant governor, because then we're teamed.

DePue: Right, right, right.

Hartigan: Maybe I didn't bridge it the right way, but after he won (the primary), then I got together with him. Then we did some campaigning together. I learned a lot from doing the campaign. He was a very good, personal campaigner—a different style than Paul; Paul was good, too—but I saw a different kind of approach to things with Dan and a different structure. I learned that way. So it was a very, very busy summer.

In fact, de Grazia…Let's see, about two weeks before the election, maybe three weeks, he asked me to go to dinner with him. I said, "Okay." So I was wondering, What is this going to be? We sat down, and he said, "Where do you think they're going to try and screw us?" So I told him, okay? Well, the thing about Victor…He was the campaign manager; he was a good campaign manager. He was protecting the backside of the campaign. It's one thing to know what you wanted to do to get your program out there, but how do you keep it from getting stolen back here? He was happy with the meeting, and I was happy with the meeting, and we both won. (laughs)

DePue: Do you recall anything that you told him specifically when he was asking you?

Hartigan: My memory isn't quite as— (laughs)

DePue: I wonder if you could tell us again…It's the day he wins; then you have the big election night victory and the celebration. Is it the next day that he kind of drops the bomb on you?

Hartigan: No, it was that night. You remember, it was close, and then at 4:00 in the morning, that was when it finally is apparent that we had won. So I met him over where the campaign celebration was. That's when he gives me the big *embrazzo*, "We're going to run together and govern together" and blah, blah, blah, "Couldn't have done it without you." Then it was five hours later, at 9:30, (laughs) that the whole thing went 180 degrees differently.

DePue: If—

Hartigan: So I never went to the press conference, because I told him I wasn't going to…He wanted me to repudiate Daley and the Democratic Party in Chicago, for all practical purposes.

DePue: Was there a tradition that lieutenant governors would also retain another elective office?

Hartigan: (pause) I'm trying to think who (laughs) the lieutenant governors were.

DePue: Well, in part, there's a difference now, as you described yourself, in what the lieutenant governor used to be, where he presides over the Illinois Senate, and now we're…I'll read you the language here, just so it's in the record. This is Section Fourteen of the 1970 Illinois Constitution. This is what it says for lieutenant governor duties: "The lieutenant governor shall perform the duties and exercise the powers in the executive branch that may be delegated to him by the governor and that may be prescribed by law." That's not much.

Hartigan: Well, basically, the "may"…He had said during the campaign, "We'll run together and govern together." That would assume that the subject matter would cover 257 boards and that sort of thing. But then, when I wouldn't turn my back on all the people that I'd known, as I said, they'd helped me and my dad and everything. It was the kind of bush [league] politics…He wanted me to be the symbolic…He wanted to be able to whack me and make it look like he was fighting with Daley.

If they wanted to fight, that's one thing, but I thought, I took you at face value; I raised about $300,000—which was a lot of dough in those days—I worked my head off, and I bought into everything you said was the truth. Now, I mean, (laughs) who was kidding who? In any event, what I did was I went to Mike Howlett. Howlett had this huge office for secretary of state; it had just been redone. Have you ever gone in the secretary of state's office, personal office?

DePue: No.

Hartigan: John Touhy one time said, he said, "I thought Hitler had the biggest office in the…His office in the Reichstag was the biggest one, but yours is bigger." (both laugh) Mike took a section of his office that had a door opening right next to the governor's office, and he gave me that section of his office for a lieutenant governor's office, so it looked like I was part of the governor's office, (laughs) which was very nice of him to do.

DePue: I want to make sure we got this in here, and I think you've mentioned it before. Tell me precisely what Governor Walker said to you when you said, "No, I'm not going to repudiate Daley. I'm not going to give up my ward seat."

Hartigan: He said, "Then you'll have no office, no job, no car, no anything." That's that.

DePue: Did you have any response to him?

Hartigan: I said, "We'll see." So I just went out and put things together a different way.

DePue: What was the relationship like between the two of you after that time, once he's in office?

Hartigan: Well, we were both in office.

DePue: Right.

Hartigan: (laughs) Well, he was serious about the whole thing, and I thought it was really cheap. It was push politics. You don't tell everybody in the state one thing, and then you're lying through your teeth.

DePue: Were there any official announcements about what your job was going to be, or just—

Hartigan: I guess so. Yeah, I think he probably answered that question. In any event, I didn't get into it with him. I just went out. As I told you, I had written a platform, and Mike gave me the office, so I got that going. I got the office from him. They couldn't take the salary away, because that was statutory. They couldn't take the car away, because that was part of the security thing, and he couldn't do anything about that either.

On the substantive side, what I did was I did the ombudsman that Paul had done. But then, each of the things that I did, that I had said I would do in that platform, as I was getting them accomplished, with research, with organizing a good strategy, I would write to everybody in the legislature and invite them to be sponsors of the bill. You know, if you get the 50.1 percent, you win. So I invited all the Republicans, all the Democrats, created the first Department on Aging in America. In each responsibility, I would always put a statutory responsibility for the lieutenant governor into the legislation, so that, at the same time I was creating this over here, I was fleshing out the new lieutenant governor's office, in addition to the ombudsman.

For instance, I was the chairman of the Technical Advisory Committee to the Department on Aging, which was a way that I helped guide the coming into existence and the growth of it and what have you. It's funny, (laughs) they used to have strategy sessions. Before the Technical Advisory Committee would meet, de Grazia would have a strategy session. He'd call his staff in, and they'd scheme on how they were going to screw me up in the meeting and take control of the Technical Advisory Committee and the Department on Aging. One of the things you learn early is, if you got the microphone and the gavel, you got a pretty good leg up. (laughs) So I used to win those battles pretty regularly. Oddly enough, the guy that he had assigned that job to, you know, to be the guy that would make sure that I didn't accomplish anything, was Jim Houlihan, the guy that's the assessor in Cook County.

DePue: Yeah.

Hartigan: We're good friends today. He's a great guy. I could never understand why he was mixed up with those guys to start with. (DePue laughs) But in any event, I told Houlihan, a few years ago, I said, "Thank God they assigned you. My

God, if they'd assigned anybody with any brains, they could have put me out of business." We kid around about it every once in a while.

I did that, and then I restructured Mental Health into Mental Health and Developmental Disabilities. I wanted to have a separate department for the developmentally disabled. Walker opposed it. Everything I did, I went to the governor first. I respected the office, never made fun of it, the governor's office. I would take the thing to him, and I'd say, "This is a program that I think is worthwhile, and I'm wondering if you'd like to take the lead on it." He'd basically say, "Get the hell out of here." I was never in the mansion. Marge and I were never invited at the mansion. She took a Junior League tour; that's how she saw it. (laughs)

In any event, we had this big fight, and I was winning the thing. We went in the caucus, in the Democrat caucus, the party caucus. He and I went head to head. He decided to go in and address the caucus, so I said, "Okay, I'll address the caucus, too," right next to each other, back and forth. I clocked him. (both laugh) So, that ended up with the Department of Mental Health being restructured into Department of Mental Health and Developmental Disabilities.

There's 1.25 million disabled people and thirteen categories of disability in the state, and they didn't have parity. In other words, if you were in the mental health side, the salaries were better; the facilities were better, da-da, da-da. I thought there should be parity, just like we did with the Aging. Aging was the third-level office in Public Aid. These are the people who've worked and paid taxes for fifty years, to help build this society. Their problems are in Public Aid in the third-level office? They're not welfare. It was crazy. So we took it out of there and created this separate department.

Well, I was trying to do the same thing with the disabled, but we were able to restructure that. Then Walker did two things, he asked me to represent the state at the inauguration, because he didn't want to go there.

DePue: Presidential inauguration.

Hartigan: Yeah, President Nixon, and Walker didn't want to be part of that stuff. So he sends me down there. Well, from different things, I knew some people down there, (laughs) and I decided, since I was representing Illinois, that I should be entitled to the same treatment from the White House that New York got or California got, so I told them that.

One guy that I'd gone to Georgetown with, I think he was [John] Erlichman's top aide or something, and he was in charge of the inauguration. I said, "I want a tonga(??) lesson (laughs). We really were treated exactly the same as everybody. I was sitting there with Nelson Rockefeller and Ronald Reagan. If you look at the pictures, we're all in the same picture. It was a

fabulous experience. [I] did all the presidential balls. It was extraordinary. Then I'd call back, and I was on the Wally Phillips Show, and I was on a bunch of radio feeds and everything. It was terrific. I really enjoyed the heck out of it.

The night before the inauguration, I went to the Kennedy Center, and there was an Illinois box. Everybody's seated and the lights are dimmed and, all of a sudden, the doors in the back of the center box, I don't want to say fly open, but opened pretty dramatically, and in walks Richard Milhous Nixon. I thought to myself, there's the most powerful man on the face of the Earth. McGovern hadn't laid a glove on him. All the stuff that McGovern was saying, he was right, but it didn't take. I've often how that was January, January twentieth, or nineteenth, I guess it would have been, and how, five months later, he was gone. You want to talk about the dynamic of a democratic society, my lord!

DePue: Well, the other part of that, I think, is fascinating is—I'll phrase this as a question—Did Dan Walker have presidential ambitions at that time?

Hartigan: Oh, yeah, sure.

DePue: And of course, now that you've got a seriously injured Nixon, and he's taking the party down with him, then he would seem to be positioned pretty well for the '76 election campaign.

Hartigan: Well, he wanted to be. Victor was in the hospital at the time of the [Illinois] inauguration. Dan had changed it; instead of having it inside—I don't know if you remember—he put it outside, put it in front of the statue of Lincoln. It was freezing cold and everything. And de Grazia—I don't know if he had had heart, stroke, or something. I forget what it was—I was told that, when Dan finished his inaugural address, Victor pops up, claps his hands and he says, "Sixteen hundred Pennsylvania Avenue, here we come." (DePue laughs)

You had to measure Dan Walker from Washington, DC, backwards to understand what he was doing. If you'd say, Well, why would he do that? It doesn't make any sense, in terms of Illinois politics. Some people you measure from Washington; some people you measure from Springfield; some people you measure from Chicago; some people you measure from wealth, whatever is the predominant thing. Well, Walker's was the things that didn't make any sense, often made sense presidentially. That was why he was whacking me around, because his credentials were for whacking Daley. He was the guy that beat Daley, okay? Then as he governed and he got worse and worse, he lost his credibility.

One of the reasons that things played out the way they did four years later was because he and the mayor had worked out a deal. I was supposed to be the price of it. I was going to be replaced on the reelection ticket. They had

this retreat—de Grazia, Green, the same guys I told you about—and what the deal was was that Walker would be endorsed by the mayor for reelection as governor, which would then clear his path for a big run. He had organizations set up in a couple of different states already. If he won in Illinois, then that was the kickoff for the presidential thing, see, four years later.

Anyway, they met over Labor Day, and when they came back, I think two weeks into September, maybe it was three weeks—you'll find it in the clips somewhere—I was beating him by fourteen points (laughs) at the time. I was beating him by more than Howlett or Dixon was. He said, "I dare Daley to run somebody against me. I don't care which of those stooges, Howlett, Hartigan, Dixon, whoever he runs, I'll massacre them," something like that.

The point was, common sense would say, why not take a pass in the primary, get yourself reelected, and then you're launched. He felt that he had been damaged so much, or they felt that he had been damaged so much by some of the things that he had done, that he had to beat Daley again. He had to restore his credentials with the eastern press.

DePue: You're talking about the fall of 1975?

Hartigan: Yeah, for the '76 election, the fall of '76.

DePue: Well, the fall of '76, that would have been after the primary election already, and he lost in the primary in the spring of '76.

Hartigan: Sorry, you're right. You're exactly right. It was '75, sure, of course it was.

DePue: Can we go back and talk a little about the '74 election, because I know Walker in that year basically was pushing a new slate of legislators, because he was tired of losing all the battles against the Daley folks who were aligning themselves with Republicans and defeating practically everything on his agenda.

Hartigan: I'm going to have to try and think a little bit about that. Seventy-four, '74, '74…When was the…See, it was '70. It was '70 that Quinn was involved, you know, in changing the size of—

DePue: The Cutback Amendment?

Hartigan: Yeah. When did that happen?

DePue: That was 1980 when that was on the ballot.

Hartigan: See, Quinn was with Walker; he was one of Walker's guys. That was a disaster. I mean, as far as good government in the state is concerned.

DePue: The Cutback Amendment?

Hartigan: Oh, god. Well, the minority representation. Think of the people that came out of those districts that never could have gotten elected otherwise. Some of the best talent in government was the Democrat elected out of an overwhelmingly Republican…You know, because it had to be two and one or vice versa. But '74, I'm trying to think, who was on the ticket in "his '74?*

DePue: Well, I know that Walker got just a couple more people who would have been considered aligned with him in the legislature, so not nearly enough to defeat—

Hartigan: What I'm trying to think of, though, is who was on the… See, the off-year election would have had…maybe Stevenson, one of the senators. Senator, treasurer…You know, there's three jobs that ran in the off-year. Whereas, in the normal election, the full election, you'd have governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, the whole thing. So I was just trying to remember who were the main people on the ticket in '74?

DePue: Well, I'll show you what I've got here. This might help you. It's toward the top of the list, for those constitutional offices.

Hartigan: Yeah…I'll have to go try and take a look at some of the stuff I have.

DePue: That's all right. That's fine. The other thing that I know that happened after this election, now you've got to select the legislative officers, and again, he wanted to have his own guy in as the Speaker of the House, because the Democrats took control of the House that year. And you mentioned this name before, but Clyde Choate—

Hartigan: Choate, yeah.

DePue: …normally would have been the Speaker, and Walker, again, didn't want that, didn't want Choate, because he was too closely aligned with Daley.

Hartigan: Who did he want?

DePue: Well, he ended up with William Redmond, I think. I don't know—

Hartigan: From DuPage?

DePue: Um-hmm.

Hartigan: Hmm. I remember that, but I don't know how that played out.

DePue: Well, that's fine. Basically you're saying you weren't involved with that. If he's cutting you out of everything anyway—

Hartigan: Well, I mean, I just continued doing what I was doing. I had this program. Representing the state at the inauguration was one thing. The other thing, he

asked me to go to handle the airport at Columbia–Waterloo. [I had] no more idea what the hell that was about than the man in the moon. So I did some homework, and here's Columbia–Waterloo, down in Madison County, St. Clair, you know, right across the river from St. Louis.

I go down there. It was a Thursday, and it was a cold, rainy Thursday. I don't know, it was 8:00, 8:30 in the morning. Anyway, I walked into this, probably county building or something in Monroe County, which is the basic county that it was in. There must have been 200 of the angriest, German farmers that you ever saw in your life there. I mean, they were really ticked, because they were going to be thrown off their land, by the condemnation [of the land by the state]. So, instantly I knew why I was there, instead of Walker. (both laugh) A, he didn't think that they had a snowball's chance in hell, but B, he had to show that he tried. He didn't want to take the heat, so he set me up. Okay.

So I turned the lemon into lemonade, with a lot of work, over a long period of time. I basically told them that I lived two blocks from the house I grew up in. I understood how I felt about my community. I understood how they felt about their community, they're out on the land. I said, "Agriculture's the greatest strength of Illinois." I said, "I'll work with you. I'll keep you involved in every phase of this thing. What I think we can do is get you top dollar," because I had been the attorney for parks and museums in Chicago. We did a lot of condemnation, so I did know something about that and appraisals and what have you. I said, "I'll get you the top dollar, with legitimate appraisals, and if it's going to happen…"

The idea was, it would four times the size of O'Hare. There would have been 32,000 jobs. I mean, it was a phenomenal project, because Lambert, see, was unusable almost. The airspace was the worst in the country (laughs). Well, just like O'Hare, when you put O'Hare out here, that pulled the economic development to the northwest, all right, and made all of that good stuff. Well, here's Monroe County over here; here's the Mississippi River; here's downtown St. Louis, okay.

What should happen is, coming across St. Louis to get to the airport, that's going to strengthen downtown St. Louis, just like the same thing in Chicago. So, I said to these farmers, "That's the benefit that the state, as a whole, can have." And I said, "If the state's going to get that, then you have to be treated fairly. What I think we can do, Dean [Orville] Bentley at the University of Illinois School of Agriculture runs the best school of agriculture in the country. I think we should ask him to develop a model program for how we can take land, as proximate as possible, to the land that you now have. If this airport's to be built, relocate you on that land, and giving you a top dollar for your existing land, and giving you every kind of support that we can give agriculture in this state, the state-of-the-art techniques, the whole thing," a

pretty neat idea, actually. So, okay, we ended up working together on the thing.

I'm going back and forth to Washington, so the guys that are involved in this thing are like Ehrlichman, Haldeman. The guy who was the head of transportation was Butterfield, Alec Butterfield, nice guy. Alec Butterfield, however, was the fellow who went in and testified that Nixon's secretary had the tapes. (both laugh) Well, when that came out of his mouth, "Aaaah," you know. One day, I remember—it was funny, with Percy, I knew Percy when Percy's daughter had been killed—

DePue: Charles Percy.

Hartigan: Yeah. He was from our community, originally, and I had known him different ways, and we got along fine. That night I probably got a call about 5:00 in the morning—because I was deputy mayor—about this terrible tragedy. So I told the superintendent, I said, "I know the mayor wants you to do everything you can, personnel, any kind of support you can." About 6:30…I waited—the mayor usually was up by 6:30—and then I called him and told him. He said, "No, you did the right thing." Then he called Percy. Anyway, so Percy comes…we're at some event, and Butterfield's there and… I mean, these guys are toxic (laughs). By this time, Percy, he's okay with me, but he doesn't want —any pictures taken with those guys. (laughs) It was almost funny. Anyway, bottom line of the whole thing is, we won.

Oh, I didn't tell you, there was a guy named John Kluczynski, Johnny Klu, and he was a very, very important congressman, in transportation, in particular. He used to play cards with Lyndon Johnson. That was the level he (laughs) was operating on. Anyway, he and my dad were friends, when my dad was alive. So I went to see Congressman Kluczynski. And I said, "Walker stuck me with this thing. Could you help me out?" So he said, "Do it." Well, you get the guy who's the muscle on transportation to say, "I want to do it. I want it done," all of the sudden I got a hell of a lot of help from all sorts of places.

[The] end of the whole story is, I hadn't been able to go into St. Louis without a disguise, for a couple years, because they didn't want the airport on the Illinois side. They wanted it on the other side. But Coleman was the secretary of transportation. He and I signed the agreement for Illinois to get the airport at Columbia–Waterloo. Then, in a couple months, I left office, and then Tom[16] [Eagleton]…what's his name? He was lieutenant governor, and then he was a senator. He was McGovern's running mate, Tom, Tom, Tom, for vice president. I'll think of it. Anyway, he was the senator in Missouri, and he really went after it, getting the thing killed in Illinois. And Adlai didn't do

[16] Thomas Francis "Tom" Eagleton was a United States Senator from Missouri, serving from 1968 to 1987.

too much about saving it or couldn't save it. I don't know; he never talked to me about it.

DePue: So bottom line, it never happened, not there, at least.

Hartigan: It didn't happen. What they did was that they updated Scott [Air Force Base] to a certain degree, but nothing like that. The mayor [Daley] didn't want it either. He was mad at me about it, because, it would compete with O'Hare. (both laugh) But I just…

DePue: Speaking of the mayor, you'd mentioned yourself that this whole rift between you and Walker started because you weren't willing to give up that position with the ward, the ward committeeman?

Hartigan: No, it wasn't…Well that—

DePue: Did you stay involved in Chicago politics? That's the question.

Hartigan: To a certain degree, but nothing terribly substantial. My ward, (laughs) it was interesting. Walker and Thompson, they all pour money in against…and everything else. The 49th Ward, which is my ward, it's lakefront, as you know. So, the 49th Ward, the 43rd Ward, and the 5th Ward were the three toughest wards in the city, because of the makeup of them, okay? So they figured out that they couldn't beat me—because I was winning pretty readily—so they do…They would take the Achilles' heel, *i.e.*, the ward committeeman business…

One of the troubles of being a ward committeeman is you're selling a whole ticket. So, we could do well in our ward for, let's say, twenty-three of the twenty-five candidates. But the two that were the real fights, they'd pour people and money (laughs) and everything in to try and make sure that I'd lose at least one of them. Then they'd feed their press pals about how I was weakened by losing the (laughs) clerk or some crazy thing. It was so ludicrous to be flying so high as lieutenant governor, and then this one guy doesn't win the ward kind of thing. Anyway, be that as it may.

DePue: So your involvement in the Chicago politics was minimal, would you say?

Hartigan: Oh, I wouldn't say minimal. When you say Chicago politics, basically what it is, it's between elections. If you're not in the city council, or you're not in the administration, you're just trying to do things for your own community, really. I would still do that. But, when you got 102 counties to cover, the time element makes the other thing pretty difficult.

DePue: Let's go back to the '76 election, then. You've already explained quite a bit about that. The Democratic primary, in the spring of 1976, Howlett now leads Dan Walker, so Mayor Daley got his revenge in that respect. Would that be a fair assessment?

Hartigan: Well, he didn't characterize it that way. As I said to you, he'd offered him the deal. And the reason I knew that the thing was on, Abe Marovitz and I—you know, the federal judge, Abraham Lincoln Marovitz—we were at…I forget the name of it…I don't know, some dinner, and we're sitting next to each other. Walker was the speaker. Well, Walker gets up and gives this **glowing** tribute to Daley. I never heard anything like it in my life. (DePue laughs) I'm looking at Abe Marovitz; I said, "Are you hearing the same thing that I'm hearing?" He says, "Yeah." He was as stunned as I was.

The next day, in Springfield, on the floor of the legislature, they were passing out copies of Walker's remarks about Daley, so all the members would know of his praise. In other words, the game was on for them to get together. So, as I said, I was never officially told, but I know that I was; I was the price.

One of the things they were mad at me about was that I had done tax relief for senior citizens, sales tax relief for senior citizens—and he really clobbered them—that I wouldn't sell the senior citizens out. So I was marked to go. Then, when the deal didn't take place, I was still there, and I got re-endorsed, I guess, or re-nominated, or whatever you might call it; although (laughs) I was supposed to…

I went to see the mayor about running for governor, because I was beating Walker by fourteen points, as I told you. So, he came back and he said, no, he thought I should run for…I'm trying to think, was this '76 or was this '80? He said I should run for secretary of state, that Howlett should run for—yeah, it must be '76—that Howlett should run for governor, because Mike had more relationships, more experience, more substantial. He felt that Howlett, in the Democratic primary, would be a stronger opponent for Walker. So I was supposed to be secretary of state. I campaigned for it, and I went in with 82 percent of the State Central Committee for me.

DePue: When you say you campaigned, this is to the central committee?

Hartigan: Uh-huh, yeah. But, you know, you put events together, so there's more visibility to it. But basically, I had 82 percent, on a statewide basis. What Daley had said was that Rich would be my campaign manager, which was ludicrous (laughs) to say the least. Anyway, so on Sunday, before the Monday hearings, I'm having this huge rally, up on Ashland in the…Oh, I'm thinking it was a veterans' hall or something, I think. Bob Johnson, from the auto workers, which was a huge force in those days. I mean, everybody was there. People were falling out the windows, it was so jammed. All the television stations…This is a Sunday afternoon in Rogers Park…It was a great rally. Everything was in good shape.

I get home, and I get a call from a guy, and he said, "I want to tell you about something that happened this afternoon." I said, "What?" He said,

"Well, I had a fundraiser for Alan Dixon at my house, and towards the end of it there was a call from Dan Rostenkowski." He said, "Alan took it in my library" or whatever. He said, "I was the only other one in the room." He said, "Rostenkowski said, 'Alan, you got to have'" —I'm trying to think of a polite word for what he told me he needed— (laughs) "strong," (laughs) well, that's not it. Anyway, we'll come back to the word. But, if you want it, you got to go get it.

He said, "You got to tell the mayor." He said, "You don't call him, Mr. Mayor; you don't call him Mayor; you call him Dick. Say 'Dick, god damn it, if Howlett's going to be the governor and Hartigan's going to be the secretary of state, what the hell is there for the rest of the state?'" And he was supposed to say that I've always supported you, but I want you to know that, if that happens, I'm going to run as an independent for secretary of state.

So I figured *bon voyage*. Well, the reason Danny [Rostenkowski] did that—who is my friend. (laughs) He really was my friend and was until he died—was because he didn't care about being the chairman of ways and means; he wanted to be mayor. In his heart of hearts, that's what Dan Rostenkowski wanted. He didn't want to be president; he wanted to be mayor. He was so much a Chicagoan that it was…He figured that the mayor had Ritchie to be the campaign manager.

DePue: Ritchie, his son, you're talking about.

Hartigan: Yeah. Well, you never saw him; he wasn't in the campaign office. But the mayor had said that to me, so he must have said it to Dan, too. He figured that the mayor must have had Richard doing that, so that if something happened to him, I'd be secretary of state, and that would pave the way for Richard to be mayor. I'd have the patronage and the ability to raise money to help Richard get there. And Dan wanted that, so he had to make sure (laughs) that I didn't get secretary of state.

The other part of it was that Jack Touhy—who I rode back in forth with, I ate dinner with every night and everything else for years—he and Mike Howlett were each other's best friends. So he was sort of the architect of the thing, as well, because he figured Howlett couldn't win if it was two Irish guys. No matter how much he liked me, I was young; I had my time. (laughs) This is it for Howlett. So he wanted Dixon, too, to strengthen Howlett, because Howlett had to show that he took Daley on and got a downstater on the ticket.

DePue: So the bottom line of all this maneuvering is, you end up as the lieutenant governor candidate again?

Hartigan: Um-hmm, yeah, exactly. I gave the best speech I ever gave in my whole life. I know I'm going to get it stuck in my ear, (laughs) but I figured, If I'm going

down, at least I'm going to enjoy this. So I got up in the meeting—it was in the Bismarck, the Walnut Room, I think it was—and I started about how proud I am to have the support of the party to be the lieutenant governor, da-da, da-da, da-da. I said, "I grew up in a political family, and in our family it was a calling of the highest order, public service and helping people that really deserved help."

He said, "To me, service and loyalty and some other things are the most important characteristics a person can have," whatever. Loyalty was the key word here. Then I said, "I'll never forget how in 1948 my dad came home from Philadelphia. He was telling all of us, our family, about what went on down there. That was when Strom Thurmond was trying to destroy the Democratic Party, on a racial basis, and Harry Truman had the guts to throw him out of the convention and be part of that kind of politics.

I remember my dad saying, "I was never so proud'"—I helped my father's speech a little bit on this—but he said, "I was never so proud about anything as I was when Truman did that. All the sudden somebody grabbed the stanchion for the Illinois"—you know, how you have the state [symbol]—"and led us through the hall. We led the parade, for Truman," okay? He said, "It was a new leader; it was a person of courage and loyalty, somebody you could really believe in."

I said, "That's why my dad felt so strongly about the Democratic Party, and I feel the same way today, because we have the person who epitomizes that in politics more than any other leader in the country, and that's why he's the strongest Democratic leader in America, Richard J. Daley." (DePue laughs; Hartigan makes growling noises). But it was a hell of a speech. I ripped it up. They were cheering, screaming; they were throwing chairs and everything else. It was really fun. So, I couldn't look at him, but…

Anyway, we go up to the suite. Marge says to me, after a while, she said, "What do you think?" I said, "I'm dead." She said, "Why do you think you're dead?" I said, "Well, you know what I told you last night?" She said, "Yeah." I said, "We wouldn't be sitting here this long over here, because he's over there. If it had worked, we'd be over there now." So it went on a little longer.

Then I get a call, the mayor wants to see us. I go over there, and I walk in in the back room, behind the front part of the headquarters. He had a private office there. Here's Jack Touhy, my pal. The mayor's behind the desk; Touhy's here, and I sit down here in this chair. So he said, "Jack, you tell him." (laughs) He [the mayor] didn't want to do it. So, Touhy said, "Well," blah, blah, blah, "and tough things have to be done; you're a great young man," and blah—you know, all that.

John Touhy was a terrific Speaker of the House. You want to talk about people who…Well, I told you how he (laughs) was the one that made the speech for me to get nominated. The mayor's telling me how lucky I am, a young man, [to] have the opportunity to be a candidate for lieutenant governor. I know it's history, *bon voyage*. It didn't take a rocket scientist to know that I was on the deck of the *Titanic* in that way. (DePue laughs)

In any event, I worked real hard for Mike, all over the state. I did a lot of stuff with him to try and buoy him up and everything. The mayor had said to me, he said, "He's got to come back from Florida, with a good answer on this Sun Steel thing," which was nothing. I mean, he disclosed it and everything else, but he just couldn't handle… Mike had been so well-treated by the press all of his life, and he treated them so well, that he couldn't believe that they were against him now. Well, he was a candidate for governor now; it's a different game.

DePue: Well, we're at a point in time where we're going to have to call it quits for today. This is not a bad time to call it quits, because we're at the cusp of another change here. The next time we meet, we'll primarily focus on those years where you were outside politics, and then coming in as the attorney general. Primarily it'll be on the attorney general years.

Hartigan: Well, I'll just give you one last sentence to close this one out. I did go back to see him the next day. I said, "Mr. Mayor, why didn't you just tell me what you had to do?" And he said, "Aw, geez, yeah," he said, "Sis is really mad at me. She said, 'How could you do that to a fine young man like that?'" Mrs. Daley was always—I mean, I loved her. She was Marge's example. She's a great lady. So she must have really given him (laughs) when she heard what he had done, as far as I was concerned. So he said, "Well, Neil, you know," he said, "you never go in a room unless you know where the cards are." And I said, "Mr. Mayor, I know you feel that way, but I thought I knew the dealer." (DePue laughs)

DePue: Well, that's a great way to finish for today.

Hartigan: There you go. I thought you'd enjoy that one.

DePue: Thank you very much, and we'll meet up again.

Hartigan: My pleasure, sir.

(end of transcript #3)