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ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY

DEMOCRACY REMEMBERED: LINCOLN, JESSE FELL AND STEVENSONS

IN LINCOLN'S TIME SPEECH WAS OFTEN ESSENTIAL TO ONE'S VOCATION, MOST OBVIOUSLY IN LAW, RELIGION AND POLITICS. IN ADLAI I'S TIME IT WAS TAUGHT IN SCHOOLS AND OVER TIME BLENDED WITH STORY AND HUMOR - MARK TWAIN THE NEAR PERFECT MANIFESTATION OF AMERICAN HUMOR. TWAIN OBSERVED:

" PHILOLOGISTS SWEAT AND LEXICOGRAPHERS BRAY,
YET THE BEST THEY CAN DO IS TO CALL HIM AD -LAY,
BUT AT LONGSHOREMAN'S PICNICS, WHERE ACCENTS ARE HIGH,
FAIR HARVARD'S NOT PRESENT, SO THEY CALL HIM AD-LIE."

IT IS "AD LAY" - WITH ORIGINS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT - BUT WE ANSWER TO MOST ANYTHING. AN OLD WARD HEELER IN CHICAGO, ONCE TOLD ME; "I'LL GIVE YOU A MILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF FREE ADVICE. DON'T CHANGE YOUR NAME." RECOGNIZING IT ON THE BALLOT WAS ALL THAT MATTERED.

LYCEUMS - FORUMS FOR ITINERANT SPEAKERS - PRECEDED UNIVERSITIES IN THE WEST AS A MEANS OF EDUCATION AND INFORMATION. IN POLITICS, THE DYNAMICS OF SPEECH HAD MORE IMPACT THAN THE WRITTEN WORD.

LINCOLN RECORDED ANECDOTE, HUMOR AND STORY FOR HIS SPEECHES.

"THEY SAY I TELL A GREAT MANY STORIES; I RECKON I DO, BUT I HAVE FOUND IN THE COURSE OF A LONG EXPERIENCE THAT COMMON PEOPLE, TAKE THEM AS THEY RUN, ARE MORE EASILY INFORMED THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF A BROAD ILLUSTRATION THAN IN ANY OTHER WAY, AND AS TO WHAT THE HYPERCRITICAL FEW MAY SAY, I DON'T CARE."

LINCOLN MAY HAVE INSPIRED ADLAI I TO DO LIKEWISE. HE JOTTED DOWN SCRAPS OF THE WIT AND WISDOM HE ENCOUNTERED AND STUFFED THEM IN A LOOSE LEAF BINDER WHICH EXPANDED OVER THE GENERATIONS AND BECAME KNOWN IN MY FAMILY AS THE BLACK BOOK. AS WORD OF THE BLACK BOOK SPREAD, FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS FROM NEAR AND FAR CONTRIBUTED TO OUR EVER EXPANDING BLACK BOOK.

WE AND OUR STAFFS REORGANIZED THE BLACK BOOK FROM TIME TO TIME BY SUBJECT MATTER AS A READY SOURCE OF MATERIAL FOR SPEECHES. MINE NEEDED IT MORE THAN THEIRS. MIKE ROYKO OF THE CHICAGO SUN TIMES SAID

MY SPEECHES MADE THE BLOOD RUN TEPID. THE BLACK BOOK HELPED ONLY SO MUCH.

I HAVE ORGANIZED IT FOR PUBLICATION AND ABSORBED SOME OF ITS WIT AND WISDOM IN COMMENTARIES ON AMERICAN POLITICS AND HISTORY, AS WE KNEW IT, FOR MORE THAN 150 YEARS. THE BLACK BOOK RECALLS ANOTHER POLITICS AND AMERICA. IT BECOMES A METAPHOR FOR A POLITICS, ALWAYS IDEALIZED, AT TIMES REALIZED - WITH LESSONS FROM A RICH AMERICAN PAST FOR A CHALLENGING AMERICAN FUTURE.

THE BLACK BOOK'S RECORDED EXPERIENCE BECAME MORE ECUMENICAL OVER TIME AS THE WORLD SHRANK AND AMERICA'S UNIVERSE EXPANDED. ORGANIZING IT BECAME A NEVER ENDING PROJECT AS MATERIAL CONTINUED INVADING IT FROM THE WORLD WE KNEW. SO, I CLOSED IT EARLY IN 2008 - IN CHINA WHERE MY ADVENTURES END. CHINA BECAME THE GREAT CREDITOR AND PRODUCER TO THE WORLD. IN THE BLACK BOOK AMERICA WAS CREDITOR AND PRODUCER TO THE WORLD. TODAY IT IS THE GREAT DEBTOR AND CONSUMER.

THE BLACK BOOK BEGINS IN CENTRAL ILLINOIS WITH ABRAHAM LINCOLN. GRAND FATHER ADLAI I THEN A STUDENT AT WESLEYAN RECORDS GRAND FATHER JESSE FELL PROPOSING TO SENATOR STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS JOINT DISCUSSIONS OF THE GREAT QUESTION - SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES - WITH A LAWYER LEGISLATOR NAMED ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"WHAT PARTY DOES MR. LINCOLN REPRESENT," DOUGLAS ASKED. "THE WHIG PARTY OF COURSE", SAID FELL. DOUGLAS DECLINED "WITH MUCH FEELING" , SAYING, "WHEN I CAME HOME FROM WASHINGTON I WAS ASSAILED IN THE NORTHERN PART OF THE STATE BY AN OLD LINE ABOLITIONIST, IN THE CENTRAL PART OF THE STATE BY A WHIG AND IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS BY AN ANTI-NEBRASKA DEMOCRAT. I CAN NOT HOLD THE WHIG RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT THE ABOLITIONIST SAYS, NOR THE ANTI-NEBRASKA DEMOCRAT RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT EITHER OF THE OTHERS SAY, AND IT LOOKS LIKE DOGGING A MAN ALL OVER THE STATE."

ADLAI I RECORDS A LATER ENCOUNTER WHEN MR. LINCOLN CALLED ON SENATOR DOUGLAS. THE GREETING BETWEEN THEM WAS "MOST CORDIAL AND AGREEABLE." DOUGLAS RELENTED. THE SEVEN DEBATES OF THREE HOURS EACH FOLLOWED AND WERE ATTENDED BY THOUSANDS DRAWN ON FOOT, HORSEBACK AND WAGONS TO BE A PART OF THEIR POLITICS. LINCOLN LOST A SENATE SEAT TO DOUGLAS, BUT THE DEBATES BROUGHT HIM THE NATIONAL ATTENTION FELL SOUGHT. HE THEN PERSUADED LINCOLN TO WRITE AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH WHICH LINCOLN SENT FELL ON DECEMBER 20, 1959 WITH A LETTER SAYING, "THERE IS NOT MUCH OF IT, FOR THE REASON, I SUPPOSE, THAT THERE IS NOT MUCH OF ME - IF ANYTHING IS TO BE MADE OF IT, I WISH IT TO BE MODEST." THE SKETCH DESCRIBED HIS PARENTS, HIS LIFE AND

CONCLUDED, “IF ANY PERSONAL DESCRIPTION OF ME IS THOUGHT DESIRABLE, IT MAY BE SAID, I AM, IN HEIGHT, SIX FEET, FOUR INCHES, NEARLY; LEAN IN FLESH, WEIGHING, ON AN AVERAGE, ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY POUNDS, DARK COMPLEXION, WITH COARSE BLACK HAIR, AND GREY EYES - NO OTHER MARKS OR BRANDS RECOLLECTED.” FELL USED THE BIOGRAPHY FOR ITS PURPOSE - TO PROMOTE LINCOLN FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

AT THE ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION OF 1860 FELL, SECRETARY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND HIS YOUNG LAW PARTNER, DAVID DAVIS, WERE CHARGED WITH ORGANIZING THE ILLINOIS DELEGATION TO THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1860. THAT CONVENTION AT THE WIGWAM IN CHICAGO REPORTEDLY SWELLED THE POPULATION OF CHICAGO TEMPORARILY BY 40%. IT WAS MY FAMILY’S FIRST REPUBLICAN CONVENTION - AND LAST.
ADLAI I REPORTS THAT AFTER THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION OF 1860 RESOLVED TO SUPPORT DOUGLAS FOR PRESIDENT, A DELEGATE CALLED ATTENTION TO THE PRESENCE OF THE FAMED CIRCUIT RIDING PREACHER AND SOMETIMES OPPONENT OF LINCOLN, PETER CARTWRIGHT. WHEREUPON “CARTWRIGHT, CARTWRIGHT’ RANG FROM ALL PARTS OF THE CHAMBER . HE ROSE AND WITH DEEP EMOTION AND A BARELY AUDIBLE VOICE, BEGAN:

“* ** MY SUN IS LOW DOWN UPON THE HORIZON, AND THE DAYS OF MY PILGRIMAGE ARE NUMBERED. I HAVE LIVED IN ILLINOIS DURING THE ENTIRE PERIOD OF ITS HISTORY AS A STATE. I HAVE WATCHED WITH TENDER INTEREST ITS MARVELOUS GROWTH FROM ITS FEEBLE CONDITION AS A TERRITORY UNTIL IT HAS REACHED ITS PRESENT SPLENDOR AS A STATE. I HAVE TRAVELED OVER THE PRAIRIES, SLEPT WITH ONLY THE CANOPY OF HEAVEN FOR A COVERING; I HAVE FOLLOWED THE TRAIL OF THE INDIANS, FOUGHT THE DESPERADOES, SWAM THE RIVERS, THREADED THE ALMOST PATHLESS FORESTS, IN ORDER THAT I MIGHT CARRY TIDINGS OF THE BLESSED GOSPEL TO THE LONELIEST CABIN UPON THE BORDER. YES, MY FRIENDS, FOR SEVENTY LONG YEARS, AMID APPALLING DIFFICULTIES AND DANGERS, I HAVE WAGED AN INCESSANT WARFARE AGAINST THE WORLD, THE FLESH, THE DEVIL AND ALL THE OTHER ENEMIES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. ”

TO RECALL THE PAST IS TO CONTRAST IT WITH THE PRESENT - ANOTHER POLITICS, ANOTHER AMERICA. HAROLD SINCLAIR, IN “THE YEARS OF GROWTH”, OBSERVED THAT JESSE FELL SPECULATED IN LAND (HIS LEDGERS REPOSE IN THIS LIBRARY): “ .. IN CENTRAL ILLINOIS JESSE FELL HAD DABBLED HIS FINGERS IN MORE OF THE RIVULETS THAN ALMOST ANY OTHER MAN. AND ALMOST EVERY THING HE TOUCHED HAD BEEN FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD. OF COURSE HE PROFITED HIMSELF; HE WAS WEALTHY NOW. BUT HE HAD GIVEN AWAY AS MUCH AS HE HAD KEPT ... MORE, IF THE VALUE WAS COMPUTED AS OF NOW ... HE HAD PROMOTED SCHOOLS AND ROADS AND RAILROADS AND AGRICULTURE AND TEMPERANCE MOVEMENTS; FOUNDED TOWNS; PARTICIPATED IN DOZENS OF BUSINESS ENTERPRISES WHOSE PROBABLE FINANCIAL SUCCESS WAS DUBIOUS BUT WHICH HE THOUGHT WOULD SERVE A NEED IN THE COMMUNITY. FROM

SOME HE HAD PROFITED HANDSOMELY. FROM OTHERS HE HAD NOTHING BUT TROUBLE AND LOSS.”

SINCLAIR GOES ON TO DESCRIBE HOW FELL FOUNDED THE FIRST PUBLIC COLLEGE BEYOND THE APPALACHIANS, ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY, AND HOMES FOR ORPHANS. HE PLANTED TREES, ESTABLISHED PARKS AND ACQUIRED A NEWSPAPER HE NAMED THE BLOOMINGTON DAILY PANTAGRAPH - A NEWSPAPER ON THE UNBROKEN PRAIRIES OF THE 1840'S, ITS NAME IMPLYING FIRST AMENDMENT OBLIGATIONS AND SOME FAMILIARITY WITH GREEK CLASSICS. EVERY COMMUNITY HAD ITS NEWSPAPER AND EVERY PAPER ITS COMMUNITY. SERVICE WAS EVERY CITIZENS WELCOME DUTY.

SINCLAIR DESCRIBES HOW FELL, A LAWYER , GAVE RISE TO HIS YOUNG LAW PARTNER, DAVID DAVIS, AND HOW THEY “NURSED THE GAWKY COUNTRY YOUTH NAMED LINCOLN AND SAW HIM GO BEYOND THEM INTO IMMORTALITY.”

LINCOLN’S STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE THE UNION IS ASSOCIATED WITH A MORAL ABHORRENCE FOR SLAVERY, BUT HE WAS A PRACTICAL MAN, HIS WISDOM ACQUIRED FROM EXPERIENCE, MUCH OF IT HARSH. HIS WAS ALSO A STRUGGLE FOR OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL. HE UNDERSTOOD THAT AN AMERICAN PEOPLE WITH THE OPPORTUNITY TO GET AHEAD BY SAVING AND HARD WORK WOULD HAVE A STAKE IN FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC AND ITS UNITY. HIS AMERICA WAS “FOR” AS WELL AS OF AND BY ALL THE PEOPLE.

LINCOLN WAS A WHIG - A BELIEVER IN STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE SYSTEM OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS. HE SIGNED INTO LAW THE NATIONAL BANKING ACT WHICH REVIVED THE NATIONAL BANK AND GAVE THE COUNTRY A SOUND SINGLE CURRENCY, ACTS WHICH GAVE LAND TO SETTLERS IN THE WEST AND TO STATES FOR COLLEGES IN ORDER TO EXTEND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY TO ORDINARY PEOPLE AND ANOTHER WHICH CHARTERED THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD SYSTEM.

FELL LETTER:

LINCOLN WAS FOLLOWED BY THE REPUBLICAN RADICALS, THE FAILED EFFORTS OF ANDREW JOHNSON TO CARRY ON A LINCOLNIAN POLICY OF RECONCILIATION WITH THE SOUTH - AND THE FIRST GILDED AGE - FOLLOWED BY POPULISTS AND PROGRESSIVES - BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND WOODROW WILSON - AND THEN THE REACTION, ANOTHER GILDED AGE. THE BLACK BOOK EXPERIENCED BURSTS OF POLITICAL ACTIVISM AND IDEALISM IN AMERICA - AND THE REACTION.

IN RECALLING OUR DEMOCRACY, A PARADOX EMERGES. THE FOUNDERS CREATED A REPRESENTATIVE FORM OF DEMOCRACY WITH A LIMITED FRANCHISE. AMERICANS STRUGGLED OVER THE YEARS TO MAKE IT A MORE DIRECT, INCLUSIVE AND ACCOUNTABLE DEMOCRACY. THE FRANCHISE WAS

MADE UNIVERSAL. SENATORS WOULD BE ELECTED DIRECTLY. THE CHINESE WERE FINALLY EMANCIPATED DURING WORLD WAR II WHEN CHINA WAS AN ALLY. IN STRUGGLING TO MAKE DEMOCRACY MORE INCLUSIVE AND ACCOUNTABLE, USUALLY IN THE NAME OF MORE DEMOCRACY, WE MADE IT LESS SO IN CERTAIN RESPECTS - EVEN AS ISSUES WERE BECOMING MORE COMPLEX AND THE CHALLENGES TO OUR GOVERNANCE WERE MOUNTING IN A DYNAMIC, INTERDEPENDENT, VIOLENT WORLD WHERE PEACE, IN THE WORDS OF ADLAI II, HAD BECOME A CONDITION OF HUMAN SURVIVAL - AND MAN WAS PASSENGER ON A FRAGILE SPACE SHIP EARTH.

THE ECONOMY WAS ALWAYS A CHALLENGE FOR POLITICIANS. ADLAI I OBSERVED THAT GOVERNOR OGLESBY STOOD IN THE FRONT RANK OF CAMPAIGN ORATORS WHEN SLAVERY, REBELLION, WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION WERE THE STIRRING QUESTIONS OF THE HOUR. BUT WHEN THE ONCE VITAL ISSUES WERE RELEGATED TO HISTORY AND SUCCEEDED BY TARIFF, BUDGETARY AND OTHER “EVERY DAY” QUESTIONS , HE WAS GREATLY HAMPERED. COLD FACTS, STATISTICS, ‘FIGURES RUNNING UP INTO THE MILLIONS, GAVE LITTLE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PLAY OF HIS WONDERFUL IMAGINATION. IN A SPEECH, OGLESBY SAID IN A DEPRECATORY TONE: “THESE DEMOCRATS UNDERTAKE TO DISCUSS THE FINANCIAL QUESTION. THEY OUGHTN’T TO DO THAT. THEY CAN’T POSSIBLY UNDERSTAND IT. THE LORD’S TRUTH IS, FELLOW CITIZENS, IT IS ABOUT ALL WE REPUBLICANS CAN DO TO UNDERSTAND THAT QUESTION.” THEY’RE HAVING MORE DIFFICULTY TODAY.

THE “DISMAL SCIENCE” OF ECONOMICS IN AMERICA HAD ROOTS IN THE SOCIAL DARWINISM OF HERBERT SPENCER AND THE LAISSEZ FAIRE OF ADAM SMITH. THE FITTEST WOULD SURVIVE. THE OTHERS DID NOT MATTER. THE BENEFITS OF AN UNREGULATED MARKET ECONOMY WOULD TRICKLE DOWN. ROBBER BARONS THEN AND SINCE HAVE SEIZED ON THIS ECONOMICS TO JUSTIFY THEIR PREDATORY PRACTICES, GREAT WEALTH AND THE INCIDENTAL POVERTY AND OPPRESSION OF THE LABORING CLASSES. MANY OF THEM ONCE PILED INTO AMERICA’S SLUMS WHERE THEIR REFUGE WAS THE SETTLEMENT HOUSE, THE CHURCH OR PERHAPS THE POLITICAL MACHINE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. IN A CHICAGO IRISH WARD, A LITTLE BOY’S PRAYER BEGAN: “OUR FATHER WHO ART IN HEAVEN, O’HALLORAN BE THY NAME.” O’HALLORAN WAS THE DEMOCRATIC WARD COMMITTEEMAN.

IN THIS ECONOMICS, ALSO SEIZED BY THE RICH SLAVE OWNING CLASS IN THE SOUTH, THERE WAS LITTLE SOCIAL ETHIC OR ROLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT AS A DISPENSER OF JUSTICE AND OPPORTUNITY FOR THE MASSES. IN THE BLACK BOOK , MUCK RAKERS EXPOSED ITS ABUSES AND APPEALED TO THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE AND INTELLECT. PROGRESSIVES AND DEMOCRATS RESPONDED. THIS ECONOMICS, TRICKLE DOWN - SUPPLY SIDE - “MAGIC OF THE MARKET PLACE” - CALL IT WHAT YOU WILL - RETURNED IN THE EARLY 1980'S. TAXES WERE CUT FOR THE WEALTHY, SERVICES FOR THE POOR AND SPENDING INCREASED FOR THE MILITARY. THE REGULATION OF FINANCIAL INSTRUMENTS

AND INSTITUTIONS WAS REPEALED UNDER CLINTON, THE DEMOCRAT. THE FIREWALLS WHICH SEPARATED OLD FASHIONED COMMERCIAL BANKING FROM THE MANAGERS AND TRADERS OF MONEY AND CREDIT WERE TAKEN DOWN. THOUSANDS OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN WERE DUMPED FROM THE WELFARE ROLES IN THE NAME OF WELFARE REFORM - BY DEMOCRATS. THEY HAD IN EARLIER TIMES PARADED UNDER BANNERS OF A NEW FREEDOM, A NEW DEAL, FAIR DEAL, A NEW FRONTIER, A GREAT SOCIETY - AND THE NEW AMERICA OF GOVERNOR ADLAI STEVENSON.

CLINTON WAS THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT OF THE NEW ERA. THE ERA OF THE DEAL - OF MONEY AND TACTICS - AND IN PART OWING TO REFORMS WE ADOPTED OVER THE YEARS TO MAKE OUR POLITICS MORE ACCOUNTABLE AND INCLUSIVE - AND DEMOCRATIC. THAT'S THE PARADOX. PRIMARY ELECTIONS WERE FORMALITIES IN THE OLD DAYS AND WELL INTO MINE. SOME $8 BILLION DOLLARS WAS RAISED AND SPENT IN THE LAST FEDERAL ELECTION CYCLE - AND THE MONEY NO LONGER SHUTS DOWN WITH THE ELECTION. CANDIDATES WERE SELECTED IN CONVENTIONS. PARTY ORGANIZATION WAS STRONG - AT TIMES ABUSIVE - BUT IN THE BLACK BOOK THE POLITICAL PARTY STOOD FOR SOMETHING MORE THAN POWER AND MONEY.

I WAS A SERGEANT AT ARMS AT THE 1948 DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA WHEN A YOUNG, UNKNOWN MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS AND CANDIDATE FOR THE SENATE CHALLENGED THAT SMOKE FILLED ROOM FULL OF HOT, SWEATY, MEN TO DO THEIR DUTY AND ADOPT A STRONG CIVIL RIGHTS PLANK. THOSE POLITICIANS, ASSEMBLED FOR SERIOUS BUSINESS, ROSE TO HUBERT HUMPHREY'S CHALLENGE - AND DROVE MOST OF THE SOUTH OUT OF THE PARTY.

IT WAS HOPELESS YEAR. HARRY TRUMAN WAS NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT AND COUSIN ALBEN BARKLEY FOR VICE PRESIDENT. THEY BARNSTORMED THE COUNTRY BY TRAIN, RAILING AGAINST THE DO NOTHING REPUBLICAN CONGRESS.

IN ILLINOIS THE PARTY LEADERS GATHERED BEHIND CLOSED DOORS TO ENDORSE A FORMER NEW DEAL BUREAUCRAT, SENIOR OFFICIAL OF THE ROOSEVELT AND TRUMAN ADMINISTRATIONS DURING WORLD WAR II, AN ARCHITECT OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN ISOLATIONIST MID AMERICA WITH NO POLITICAL BASE, FOR GOVERNOR. THEY ENDORSED AN EMINENT PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO FOR U.S. SENATOR. ADLAI STEVENSON AND PAUL H. DOUGLAS WERE CANDIDATES OF THE BOSSES. THEIR NOMINATIONS COST NOTHING.

MY COUSIN TIM IVES AND I WERE THE DRIVERS - DAY IN AND DAY OUT THE GUV, AS HE WAS KNOWN TO FRIENDS, BARNSTORMED THE STATE, AT FACTORY GATES AND COUNTY SQUARES, RAILING AGAINST THE CORRUPT ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR GREEN, AT NIGHT EXHORTING THE FAITHFUL

AT COUNTY MEETINGS DOWNSTATE AND WARD MEETINGS IN CHICAGO TO GET EVERYONE REGISTERED AND OUT TO VOTE THE STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC TICKET. THAT'S THE WAY IT WAS AND WELL INTO MY TIME. THE STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC TICKET. PEOPLE RESPONDED. WE EVEN HAD A TORCH LIGHT PARADE IN REPUBLICAN BLOOMINGTON. WE ALWAYS HAD MORE FRIENDS THAN VOTES IN BLOOMINGTON.

ADLAI II WON BY THE LARGEST PLURALITY IN THE HISTORY OF ILLINOIS. HIS CAMPAIGN COST $157 THOUSAND. I DON'T REMEMBER ANY FUND RAISERS, LET ALONE POLLS AND CONSULTANTS.

THE GOVERNOR ELECT SEARCHED OUT AND RECRUITED PROFESSIONALS TO HIS ADMINISTRATION. THEY DID NOT COME WITH ENDORSEMENTS OF CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTORS AND PARTY LEADERS. THEY DID NOT PAY TO PLAY. THEY SACRIFICED TO SERVE. WILLARD WIRTZ, A PROFESSOR OF LAW AT NORTHWESTERN, RECALLS A TELEPHONE CALL FROM THE GOVERNOR ELECT ASKING HIM TO SERVE AS CHAIRMAN OF THE LIQUOR CONTROL COMMISSION. "THE WHAT", HE EXCLAIMED. "I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT LIQUOR CONTROL." THE GUV REPLIED YOU KNOW HOW TO KEEP YOUR HANDS OUT OF OTHER PEOPLE'S POCKETS DON'T YOU? THAT'S ALL YOU NEED TO KNOW." WIRTZ SERVED. HE AND MOST WENT ON TO SERVE IN HIGH PLACES IN THE KENNEDY AND JOHNSON ADMINISTRATIONS - NOT ONE WENT ON TO BE A LOBBYIST, INFLUENCE PEDDLER - OR CONVICT. RICHARD J. DALEY WAS SOMETHING OF AN EXCEPTION. HE PROBABLY CAME WITH THE ENDORSEMENT OF COOK COUNTY DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN, JAKE ARVEY. DALEY SERVED WITH DISTINCTION AS DIRECTOR OF REVENUE AND WENT ON TO BECOME THE LEGENDARY MAYOR OF CHICAGO.

STATE GOVERNMENT WAS REFORMED. BLOCKED IN THE LEGISLATURE, THE GUV APPEALED TO THE PEOPLE IN WEEKLY RADIO PROGRAMS. HE WON SUPPORT FOR A GAS TAX INCREASE AND BETTER ROADS, REFORMED THE MENTAL INSTITUTIONS, CRACKED DOWN ON GAMBLING. STATE AID FOR EDUCATION WAS DOUBLED. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT WAS MODERNIZED. THE STATE POLICE WERE PUT UNDER CIVIL SERVICE. IT'S A LONG LITANY. BILL WIRTZ CALLED IT "IDEALISM WITH MUSCLE". PAUL POWELL OF SHOE BOX FAME LATER, WAS SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE. FORCED TO GO ALONG WITH INCREASED TRUCK LICENSE FEES, THE GUV THANKED HIM FOR THE SUPPORT, TO WHICH POWELL RESPONDED: "I'M SURE GLAD TO HAVE THE THANKS BECAUSE IT COST ME FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS." THE GUV EXPLAINED THAT "CLEANLINESS WAS NEXT TO GODLINESS, EXCEPT IN THE ILLINOIS LEGISLATURE WHERE IT WAS NEXT TO IMPOSSIBLE.

THE GUV REPLACED SOME 30,000 REPUBLICANS WITH GOOD DEMOCRATS. LARRY IRVIN OF BLOOMINGTON WAS IN CHARGE OF PATRONAGE. ONE GRATEFUL DEMOCRAT ASSURED THE GUV HE HAD BEEN A LIFE LONG DEMOCRAT EVER SINCE HE GOT HIS STATE JOB. OF COURSE, THIS WAS SOMETHING OF A COME

DOWN. ADLAI I, AS ASSISTANT POST MASTER GENERAL IN GROVER CLEVELAND'S FIRST TERM REPLACED 40,000 REPUBLICAN POST MASTERS WITH GOOD DEMOCRATS, A PUBLIC SERVICE FOR WHICH HE WAS REWARDED BY HIS GRATEFUL PARTY WITH ITS NOMINATION FOR VICE PRESIDENT IN 1892. GROVER CLEVELAND WAS A REFORMER.

THE GUV MOVED AROUND THE STATE IN AN ANCIENT CADILLAC LIMOUSINE WITH OLD CAPTAIN VAN DIVER OF THE STATE POLICE BEHIND THE WHEEL, MENDING FENCES AND INSPECTING STATE INSTITUTIONS. AT THE ENTRANCE TO ONE, THE LIMOUSINE WHICH HAD CLOCKED MORE THAN 300,000 MILES BROKE DOWN. A STATE TROOPER ARRIVED UPON THE SCENE TO FIND THE GOVERNOR'S FEET PROTRUDING FROM BENEATH THE VEHICLE WHICH HE WAS REPAIRING. INSPECTING A MENTAL INSTITUTION DURING THE SOCIAL HOUR, HE DANCED WITH A WOMAN INMATE AND WAS PLEASED TO HEAR THAT HER LATE HUSBAND, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SPOKE WARMLY OF HIM.

THE GUV'S NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT IN 1952 DID NOT COST ANYTHING EITHER. HE ENTERED NO PRIMARIES. HE WAS DRAFTED BY ANOTHER CONVENTION OF POLITICIANS AFTER AN INSPIRING WELCOMING ADDRESS. HE STARTED THE CAMPAIGN AT THE CONVENTION WITH NO STAFF, NO PROGRAM AND NO MONEY. THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE RAISED MONEY FOR HALF HOUR BLOCKS OF TIME ON NATIONAL TELEVISION FOR ELOQUENT AND SUBSTANTIVE SPEECHES TO CHEERING PARTISANS. HE TOOK OUT FIVE MINUTE BLOCKS OF TIME FOR FACE TO FACE TALKS WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

COURTING THE FARM VOTE, HE BROUGHT THE CAMPAIGN TO BLOOMINGTON, WAIVED THE ENTOURAGE INTO THEIR CARS, SHOUTING FOLLOW ME TO THE FAMILY FARM - AND GOT LOST. HE COULDN'T FIND OUR FARM.

IN THAT CAMPAIGN, THE 1956 CAMPAIGN AND DURING THE EISENHOWER INTERREGNUM BETWEEN CAMPAIGNS HE LAUNCHED THE STRATEGIC ARMS CONTROL PROCESS, SUPPORTED THE UNITED NATIONS AND LAID THE PROGRAMMATIC FOUNDATION FOR THE NEW FRONTIER AND THE GREAT SOCIETY. THE OPPOSITION DID MORE THAN OPPOSE. ARTHUR SCHLESINGER CALLED KENNEDY THE EXECUTOR OF THE STEVENSON REVOLUTION.

EISENHOWER RAN ON A PROMISE OF CHANGE. FOR THE GUV, DEMOCRACY'S FUNCTION WAS TO INFORM THE PEOPLE SO THEY COULD MAKE A SOUND JUDGMENT. WHAT WON WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN WHO WON. TRUST THE PEOPLE WITH THE TRUTH, HE SAID, ALL THE TRUTH. HE DID NOT NEED POLLS TO TELL HIM WHAT WAS RIGHT. EISENHOWER, A MODERATE, SAID LATER THAT IF HE HAD KNOWN STEVENSON WOULD BE THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE, HE WOULD NOT HAVE RUN. THE CENTER WAS FIRM IN THOSE DAYS - AND INTO MINE. EVEN DURING WATERGATE AND VIETNAM, I RECALL NO PARTISANSHIP IN THE SENATE. LIKE GENERAL WASHINGTON, EISENHOWER HAD WARNED THAT OVERGROWN MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS WERE INIMICABLE TO A HEALTHY

CIVIL SOCIETY. THE MILITARISM OF AMERICA'S GOVERNMENT AND POLICIES WAS IN THE FUTURE. THE CITIZEN SOLDIER WAS STILL A STAPLE IN THE REPUBLIC'S FOUNDATION.

IN THE BLACK BOOK, POLITICS IS THE NOBLEST OF PROFESSIONS WITH MORE POWER FOR GOOD AND FOR EVIL THAN IN ANY OTHER.

THE 70'S WERE A TRANSITIONAL DECADE. MONEY, TACTICS, AN EPISODIC VISUAL MEDIA, VIETNAM AND WATERGATE CONVERGED. I LED MANY OF THE REFORM EFFORTS WHICH FOLLOWED. SOME WERE SOUND. WE LIMITED FEDERAL CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS. I CHAIRED A NEW SENATE ETHICS COMMITTEE CHARGED WITH ENFORCING AN ELABORATE CODE OF ETHICS - AND A SPECIAL COMMITTEE WHICH REORGANIZED THE SENATE FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY. COMMITTEE JURISDICTIONS WERE RE ALIGNED TO COINCIDE WITH CONTEMPORANEOUS ISSUES. BUT SOME OF OUR REFORMS HAD UNEXPECTED RESULTS. WE OPENED OUR COMMITTEE MEETINGS TO LET IN THE SUNSHINE AND LET IN THE LOBBYISTS, INTEREST GROUPS AND CONSULTANTS WHICH PROLIFERATED AND MULTIPLIED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE NEW ACCESS TO THE POLITICAL PROCESS. THE MONEY POURED IN. K STREET - HOME TO THE LAWYERS, LOBBYISTS AND CONSULTANTS IN WASHINGTON - HAS NEVER BEEN BUSIER THAN IT IS TODAY. ABOUT HALF THE RETIRING MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ROUTINELY REMAIN IN WASHINGTON TO MAKE MONEY AS LOBBYISTS AND CONSULTANTS. THAT WAS UNHEARD OF IN THE BLACK BOOK. EAR MARKS DID NOT EXIST. FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS DID NOT RETAIN LOBBYISTS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS TO INFLUENCE AMERICAN POLICY - THOUGH THE OLD CHINA LOBBY WAS SOMETHING OF AN EXCEPTION. THERE'S ALWAYS AN EXCEPTION TO HELP PROVE THE POINT.

THE OLD FASHIONED PATRONAGE OF MENIAL JOBS WAS OUTLAWED. THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA WAS DRIVING UP COSTS OF CAMPAIGNS. PRIMARY ELECTIONS INCREASED THE COSTS. CAMPAIGNS BECAME LONGER. PAY TO PLAY FOLLOWED - AND CORRUPTION ON A SCALE AND AN AUDACITY NEVER IMAGINED IN THE BLACK BOOK, ITS ROOTS IN COOK COUNTY AND THE FIRST GILDED AGE NOTWITHSTANDING. AND AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT. THE SPRINGFIELD I LEFT AS A STATE TREASURER IN 1970 FOR THE SENATE BORE LITTLE RESEMBLANCE TO THE SPRINGFIELD I RETURNED TO AS A CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR IN 1981. IT WAS OVER RUN BY LOBBYISTS AND INTEREST GROUPS. AND IN ALL BRANCHES. A SEAT ON THE ILLINOIS SUPREME COURT NOWADAYS FETCHES AS MUCH AS $4 MILLION. ROD BLAGJOVICH WAS NOT POSSIBLE IN THE OLD POLITICS. IN 2001, THE PARTY LEADERS TRIED TO PERSUADE ME TO RUN AGAINST HIM. HE WAS THE POPULAR CHOICE - NOT THEIRS. HE RAKED IN THE MOST MONEY AND WON THE NOMINATION.

BARAK OBAMA'S CAMPAIGN COST ABOUT THREE QUARTERS OF A BILLION DOLLARS RAISED OVER TWO YEARS OF CAMPAIGNING FROM ONE MEDIA EVENT, FUND RAISER AND INTEREST GROUP TO ANOTHER WHILE UTILIZING THE

INTERNET TO SOAK UP MORE MONEY FOR MARKETING - AND FOR MORE FUND RAISING. PARTY ORGANIZATIONS BECAME THE “ORGANIZED APPETITES” OF WHICH WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN WARNED IN THE BLACK BOOK. NATIONAL CONVENTIONS WHICH DEBATED TRANSCENDENT ISSUES LIKE CIVIL RIGHTS AND WAR BECAME MEDIA EVENTS.

DEMOCRACY IS FRAGILE. LONG BEFORE PATRIOTISM ERUPTED ON THE LAPELS OF POLITICIANS THE GUV SAID IT WAS THE “TRANQUIL STEADY DEDICATION OF A LIFETIME.” WE VOLUNTEERED IN WAR TIME OR WERE DRAFTED. THE ARMIES STOOD DOWN WHEN WAR ENDED. ALEXANDER HAMILTON WARNED OF WAR FEVERS EASILY STIRRED IN THE HUMAN BREAST. DEMOCRACY’S ROAD TO AUTOCRACY AND WAR IS WELL TRAVELED. HITLER CAME TO POWER THROUGH THE BALLOT BOX.

THE CONSTITUTION WAS INTENDED TO MAKE CONGRESS A SAFEGUARD AGAINST WAR. “THE MILITARY WAS FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE”. BUT IT TOOK LITTLE MORE THAN AN EXPLOSION IN THE COAL BUNKERS OF THE BATTLESHIP MAINE IN HAVANA HARBOR, A FICTITIOUS ATTACK IN THE BAY OF TONKIN OR FICTITIOUS WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION IN IRAQ TO EXCITE THE FEVERS - AND THE POLITICIANS. IT IS EASIER TO MAKE WAR THAN TO MAKE PEACE, ACCORDING TO THE BLACK BOOK. THE TWO BRAVE SENATORS WHO VOTED AGAINST THE BAY OF TONKIN RESOLUTION WERE DEFEATED FOR RE ELECTION. RARE IS THE CONGRESSMAN ABRAHAM LINCOLN WHO DEMANDS EVIDENCE OF THE CASSUS BELLI.

TERRORISM IS NOT OF RECENT INVENTION. FOR THE U.S. IT WAS EASILY FORESEEN, MEASURES TO PREVENT IT PROPOSED. BUT IGNORANCE IS EASILY ACQUIRED AND OFTEN CONVENIENT. PEACE CAN BE FATAL TO THE PEACE MAKER - AS THE BLACK BOOK RECORDS.

IN THE BLACK BOOK HOPE IS ETERNAL. AMERICANS NEVER DOUBT THEIR FUTURE OR THEIR COUNTRY’S. THE 2008 ELECTION REENGAGED MANY AMERICANS IN THEIR POLITICS, NOTABLY THE YOUNG. REASON RETURNED TO WASHINGTON - AND MORE RECENTLY TO SPRINGFIELD. THE HOUR IS LATE. THE CHALLENGES ARE DAUNTING. OUR MONEY DRENCHED POLITICS IS UNCHANGED. BUT THERE IS REASON FOR HOPE.

AN INTERNATIONAL ADLAI STEVENSON CENTER ON DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN ORGANIZED AT OUR OLD HOME IN LIBERTYVILLE. IT AIMS TO BRING PRACTITIONERS FROM THE REAL WORLD TOGETHER WITH ‘EXPERTS” AND SCHOLARS TO ADDRESS SYSTEMIC CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT.

AND I HOPE THE BLACK BOOK WILL RECALL FOR SOME THEIR RICH PAST, ANOTHER POLITICS AND TIME, AND ENCOURAGE SOME TO CARRY ON.