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Chicago's Public Servants: Making History Interviews with William M. Daley and Jesse White Jr.

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Making History
Timothy J. Gilfoyle
Bill Daley and Jesse White have devoted their lives to public service. Daley grew up in Chicago’s best-known political family, but while his father and brother were fixtures in local and state politics, he has maintained a national profile, serving in the Jimmy Carter administration, on Bill Clinton’s cabinet, as national chair of Al Gore’s presidential campaign in 2000, and as White House chief of staff for Barack Obama. White, a standout athlete and inductee into the Halls of Fame for the Southwestern Athletic Conference, Alabama State University, and the Chicago Public League Basketball Coaches Association, was the first African American elected secretary of state in Illinois. Previously a state representative and Cook County recorder of deeds, White is now the longest serving secretary of state in Illinois history. He may be best known, however, as the founder and director of the Jesse White Tumblers.

William “Bill” Michael Daley was born on August 9, 1948, in Chicago, the seventh and youngest child of Richard J. and Eleanor “Sis” (Guilfoyle) Daley. Daley’s childhood home at 3536 South Lowe Avenue was a modest bungalow built in 1939 after the birth of his two older sisters. Nearby was Nativity of Our Lord Catholic Church and School. “We went to school a block and a half away from where we lived,” remembers Daley. “At lunchtime, we came home, which I think is a rarity today. You literally ran home, had a peanut butter and jelly or a bologna sandwich, and ran back.”

Jesse White Jr. was part of the Great Migration of African Americans to Chicago. Born on June 23, 1934, in Alton, Illinois, just across the Mississippi River from St. Louis, White was only seven years old when his family moved to Chicago. He was the middle of seven children raised by Jesse

Bill Daley (left) received the 2010 Bertha Honoré Palmer Making History Award for Distinction in Civic Leadership. Jesse White (right) received the 2015 Jane Addams Making History Award for Distinction in Social Service. Photographs by Dan Rest
At the twenty-first annual Making History Awards ceremony, the Jesse White Tumblers arrived for a surprise performance to the delight of those in attendance. Coach White (far left) spotted the athletes during their routine. Photograph by Dan Rest

White Sr. and Julia May White. The family settled on the Near North Side, first at 536 and then 466 West Division Street, an area then derogatively called “Little Hell” because of the high rates of poverty and crime. White remembers the neighborhood was populated by a “large array of people from diverse ethnic backgrounds, primarily Italians.” After World War II, urban renewal turned most of the neighborhood into the Cabrini-Green Homes.

Jesse White Sr. worked in the American aircraft industry before taking a job with Chicago Pottery. After several years of making sinks, bowls, and toilets, “he decided that he was going to open his own company, a janitorial company,” recounts White. “He was highly successful with it.” At the same time, the younger White attended Friedrich von Schiller Elementary School and then Robert A. Waller High School (now Lincoln Park High School). White remembers Waller as “the most cosmopolitan high school in the city of Chicago at the time.”

In 1955, Richard J. Daley, then clerk of Cook County, ran for mayor. His campaign materials emphasized his role as a husband and father. His youngest son, Bill, is pictured in the lower left. Promotional postcard created by Harry Johnson
One of Daley’s earliest memories is a political event. “My father was elected mayor in 1955, and I was seven. I remember election night. John and I, who were the youngest, were not allowed to go downtown,” he recalls. But Daley’s supporters followed him home. “That was about the last time a big crowd with the press came into the house. John and I were asleep. My dad woke us, picked us up, and a great celebration going on.”

Despite growing up in the mayor’s home, Daley believes he experienced an ordinary childhood. The day after his father’s election, for example, “we had to go to school,” Daley recalls. “My mom was pretty tough on that. We didn’t get passes on school very often, and we pretty much lived a fairly normal life.”

He describes a backyard spacious enough to play baseball. “My dad would come home and play catch with all of us,” relates Daley. “Generally, he ate dinner at home every night or most every night, and in the summer or the spring, we’d go in the backyard and play catch for a couple minutes at least.”

The Daley homestead was legendary to Chicagoans because of its modest size, especially for a family of ten. “My grandfather lived with us until he passed away in 1959.” Daley and his brothers slept in the attic, his grandfather in “a real small bedroom” beside the kitchen, his sisters in the middle.
Daley, like his brother John, chose to break with family tradition and attend St. Ignatius College Prep, pictured here in 1962. Photograph by Glenn E. Dahlby

Daley, like his brother John, chose to break with family tradition and attend St. Ignatius College Prep, pictured here in 1962. Photograph by Glenn E. Dahlby

room, and his parents in the front bedroom. “Mike and Rich were in one part of the attic, and John and I were in the back. The staircase was in the middle.” Daley chuckles, “Thank God we were all small because you couldn’t stand up, except in the very center of the attic.”

Daley’s childhood home was also in close proximity to the famed Union Stock Yard. “The smell of the stockyards was unbelievable,” recounts Daley. Once, his older sister Mary brought some friends home from college. “They got out of the car and immediately said, ‘Whoa, what is that?’” Accustomed to the smell, Daley responded, “I don’t know. What are you talking about?”

Daley attended Saint Ignatius College Prep for high school. His brother John had broken from the family tradition of attending De La Salle Institute. “I remember the president of De La Salle called up my mom. He wanted to come over and was outraged that John wasn’t going there.” According to Daley, his mother’s attitude was, “He’ll decide where he wants to go himself. I’m not telling him where to go. And it doesn’t bother me.” She prevailed, “so then I followed John to Ignatius,” recounts Daley.

Daley admires that Chicago neighborhoods have changed. Growing up in the city, he recognizes how local religious institutions shaped his community. “I think the ability to walk to school gave a cohesiveness. When I grew up, there was St. George’s for the Lithuanians, St. David’s which was Italian, and the Croatians were at St. Jerome’s. And they all had schools. It was just a different time. We miss that.”

White’s upbringing was also rooted in Chicago’s neighborhoods. While growing up on the Near North Side, he excelled in sports at Waller High School. He once scored sixty-eight points in a basketball game, and by his senior year, he was named to Chicago’s all-city teams in basketball and baseball. After graduating in 1952, White enrolled in Alabama State, a historically black college in Montgomery. “I was offered a scholarship to Beloit [College] and to Ripon [College] and to Northwestern [University]. But I was turned down because I didn’t have a sequence in math,” remembers White. “Tennessee State also said we’d like to have you, but then they called me back and said you’re only five [feet] eight and a half [inches]. You’re too short.”
White had the last laugh. In Alabama State’s third game in 1952, he scored twenty-nine points against Tennessee State. “Coach [John] McClendon walked over to me and said, ‘We’d like to have you at our institution. Will you consider transferring from Alabama State to Tennessee State?’ I said, ‘No, I’m happy with the institution that I’m a part of right now.’” White went on to become an all-conference athlete in both basketball and baseball before graduating with a bachelor’s degree in 1957. By then, his 1,620 points on the basketball court were a school record.

White’s athletic career did not end at Alabama State. “After I graduated from college, I came back to Chicago, went out to Wrigley Field, and tried out with the Chicago Cubs,” remembers White. “There were about five hundred people trying out at the time, and they only took five, and I was one of the five.” Four days before going to spring training, however, White was drafted into the army. “Instead of going to spring training, I ended up going to basic training at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri.”

While in the army, White trained as a paratrooper and was assigned to the 101st Airborne Division. The division’s eagle is visible on his shoulder patch (above, c. 1958). Upon leaving the service, he signed on to play for affiliates of the Cubs, including the Salt Lake Bees (left, c. 1963).
White made the best out of his circumstances. “I decided I wanted to learn how to jump out of airplanes,” he remembers matter-of-factly. For the next two years, White served in the 101st Airborne Division of the United States Army. “I did my thirty-five jumps, came back to Chicago, put my uniform in a closet. Got my ball, bat, and glove, and flew off to Mesa, Arizona, to play baseball in the Cubs organization.”

For college, Daley attended Providence College in Rhode Island and Loyola University Chicago. “I went to Providence for a year, but never really got into it,” he admits. “I missed being back in the action. My dad was going to run for reelection in the spring of ’67. So I came back for almost a month with some spring break and stayed around.” The experience convinced him to transfer: “I finished up at Loyola while I lived at home and commuted.”

Daley’s Catholic upbringing and education shaped his political philosophy and world view. At Loyola, “The Jesuits were always very engaging on the issues of social justice,” he recalls. “When you go all the way back to grammar school with nuns and priests so much of the Gospel message every Sunday is about justice, fairness, and Jesus’s life, whether it was the money changers in the temple or treating prostitutes in a way that was kind, just, and fair.” He emphasizes how these messages profoundly affected him. “I’ve always thought that, that was a strength of the Gospel and the Church, not a negative, angry message that you get sometimes around abortion and other issues today.” But Daley is quick to say, “My parents added to it. It was a product of their religious upbringing, and they went through Catholic education themselves.”

After graduating from John Marshall Law School in 1975, Daley went into business. “I started with my brother John and we got our insurance licenses,” he explains. The brothers then opened Daley and Daley, an insurance brokerage business, at Thirty-Fifth and Halsted Streets, walking distance from their childhood home. “I then stopped the insurance stuff in the late seventies and joined my brother Michael’s law firm downtown. I began to do work with him, picking up some law business in the neighborhood.”

White’s first job was playing center field, shortstop, and third base in the minor leagues, an adventure that enabled him to see the country. His travels took him from Pennsylvania to the West Coast, even Honolulu on one occasion. In some places, he confronted racial segregation. “When we’d go to Texas, the black ballplayers had to
live with black families,” remembers White. “We could not live in a hotel, and we could not eat in a hotel.”

The worst racial incident White ever experienced, however, occurred in St. Cloud, Minnesota. He was wearing a brand-new suit and departing from a restaurant after eating dinner with his teammates. “This fellow came up to me and hit me on the shoulder. I said, ‘I beg your pardon, sir,’” remembers White. “He didn’t say anything. He just kept looking at me with fire in his eyes.” White tried to reason with the stranger, encouraging him to go back inside the restaurant and finish his meal. “The next thing I knew he threw me down on the pavement, knocked the knees out of my three-hundred-dollar suit, and my knees were bleeding. Then he got on top of me and started choking me.” White defended himself. The next thing he knew, he was on top of his foe, who finally relented. The police arrived, and White was in the middle of explaining what happened when suddenly his attacker apologized. “He said I want to shake your hand.”

White looked at him incredulously. The assailant explained, “I saw you sitting in the restaurant with this nice suit and tie on. I became envious. I became jealous. That’s the way I’m supposed to look, and I just couldn’t envision a black man looking the way I should look. That’s why I reacted the way that I did. I’m really sorry about it, and I know I’m wrong. I just want you to accept my apology.” White shook his hand. In retrospect, he smiles, “I was a little upset about the fact that I lost the suit.”

White carried this incident with him the rest of his life. “That’s why I teach my young people that they cannot dislike anyone because of race, creed, or color,” he emphasizes. “That is the ugliest card in the deck. You cannot play that way. I made it part of my program. There’s this big, wide, wonderful world out there. We have to figure out a way to love our fellow man and woman.”

Daley’s family pedigree and education encouraged him to enter politics. “I’d always go with my dad to all of that sort of stuff,” Daley recounts. In 1976, Daley worked on Jimmy Carter’s presidential campaign. Paul Sullivan ran Illinois for Carter in the general election, remembers Daley, “and I was the point person for my dad to the Carter campaign.” The experience proved invaluable since, in Daley’s words, “I got to know the Carter people and a lot of fundraising people.” After the election, Carter appointed Daley to the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity, a position he held from 1977 to 1980. This served as a springboard for his work on Walter Mondale’s presidential campaign of 1984.

Daley briefly considered running for Congress in the 1970s. Surprisingly, his father discouraged him. “I toyed with the idea in 1976 and talked to my dad,” he admits. “But he was not excited about it. He didn’t want to see me go to Washington.” The mayor offered good reasons. “I was married at the time with two little kids, a third one on the way,” remembers Daley. “Dad’s attitude was that it’s not a good life, going back and forth and commuting.”

During the 1980s, Daley continued working at Daley and George, his brother’s law firm. Then, in 1989, he became first vice chairman of Amalgamated Bank of Chicago, and a year later, he ascended to the position of president and chief operating officer. Three years later, he was named a partner at the law firm of Mayer, Brown & Platt. Daley remained active in Democratic Party politics throughout this period, working on his brother Richard’s 1983 and 1989 mayoral campaigns, chairing Bill Clinton’s campaign in Illinois in 1992, and cochairing of the host committee of the 1996 Democratic National Convention, which was held in Chicago.

Like Daley, White was also engaged in public or volunteer work while working full-time. Back in Chicago during the off-season, White taught at
Edward Jenner and Schiller Elementary Schools during the day and worked for the Chicago Park District in the evenings. For a time, he lived in the Marshall Field Garden Apartments in Old Town along with his almost-teammates Ernie Banks and Gene Baker. They were the only African Americans residing in the complex. By the 1970s, White had assumed many roles in the Cabrini-Green neighborhood: scout leader, crime fighter, social worker, baseball coach, and food distributor. His selfless activism earned him the sobriquet "the Hoodlum Priest."

On one occasion, White was asked to organize a gymnasium show at the Rockwell Garden Housing Project in 1959. That "was the beginning of the Jesse White Tumbling Team," he points out. Although his talents were in baseball and basketball, creating a tumbling team was not surprising. "I was a gymnast as a kid," White explains. "I had taught gymnastics in college, for the [Chicago] Board of Education, the park district, and the YMCA."

White envisioned his tumblers as a vehicle to address poverty and crime in the Cabrini-Green neighborhood. Then and now, he insists that participants be more than just talented athletes but also good students and selfless human beings: "They have to be leafless, smokeless, and pipeless," he summarizes. "The only time they can practice pharmacy is after they’ve earned the white coat—that means no drugs." White emphasizes formal education, insisting that no tumbler be "a part of SWU, Sidewalk University, where you drop out of school and hang around the corners getting in trouble with the law."

While White was turning his tumblers into an internationally recognized phenomenon, Daley was at the center of two national controversies. The first concerned the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In 1993, when Daley was named special counsel to President Clinton to promote passage of the controversial legislation, he confronted
considerable skepticism from fellow Democrats. Dan Rostenkowski, a Chicago congressman and chair of the House Ways and Means Committee, was blunt: “What the hell are you taking this thing for?” Daley responded that Clinton genuinely believed it was necessary, adding that the president already had twenty-nine Democrats on his side. Rostenkowski burst into laughter. “You don’t have twenty-nine Democrats,” he retorted. “You got about two Democrats. This is a dog. They didn’t do you any favors.”

Absent any favors, Daley went door to door on Capitol Hill, convincing Democrats and Republicans alike about the benefits of the agreement. Clinton came to refer to NAFTA as “the Lazarus Project,” because he thought Daley “raised it from the dead.” In the end, Daley helped convince 102 Democrats in the House of Representatives to support the legislation. The agreement passed the US Senate, 61–38, and the House, 234–200. One reporter even dubbed Daley “the quarterback of political persuasion.”

Daley’s success and acumen convinced Clinton to name him to his cabinet, where he served as US secretary of commerce from 1997 to 2000. Ironically, Daley had less contact with the president as a cabinet member. With any president, according to Daley, “if a cabinet member doesn’t give him a problem, then that’s good. It’s the problems that come to the president. So if you’re not being brought to the president with some problem, generally things are working pretty well. And I always had a great relationship with Clinton.”

The Jesse White Tumblers have grown into an international phenomenon. Today, the team’s seven units present more than 1,500 performances per year. Above: White, back left, with a group of tumblers in 1986.
Secretary White (left) presents a certificate of accomplishment to United States Senator Barack Obama, c. 2006.
The second controversy was Bush v. Gore and the disputed presidential election of 2000. Daley served as the national chairman of Al Gore’s presidential campaign. When the final count of votes in Florida came under intense scrutiny, the entire election became a legal matter to be ultimately settled by the US Supreme Court.

Daley was realistic from the start. “Lots of elections are screwed up,” he explains. “Generally, if it isn’t changed in the first twenty-four hours, literally by finding ballots or finding that somebody wrote 681 instead of 186, so they entered a number wrong, the first [candidate] who is ahead or perceived ahead will win the recount.” Simply put, “it’s very tough to win a recount.”

Daley presented Gore with that harsh reality: “This guy’s brother [Jeb Bush] is the governor. Every judge is appointed. You can’t get a promotion of a judge down there without the governor basically signing off on it. So the odds of winning this thing are very slim in every count. I know we got to do it, but we got to be realistic about this thing.” Daley remembers it as one of “the most intense, difficult experiences” of his life. On December 12, 2000, the US Supreme Court reversed the Florida Supreme Court request for a selective manual recount of the state’s presidential election ballots, effectively awarding the White House to George W. Bush.

By 2000, White was also a highly visible figure in Chicago politics. He was first elected to the Illinois House of Representatives in 1974, representing a North Side district that was more than 80 percent white. He liked to say that he represented “the Gold Coast to the Soul Coast.” White entered Chicago politics at the behest of George Dunne, the Cook County Democratic Party chairman and Forty-Second Ward committeeman. “George Dunne was probably the finest human being I’ve ever met,” White states without reservation. Dunne took an interest in White when he was young, providing him with a
White fondly remembers, “Every Monday night for about thirty years I would eat dinner with him.”

White did not abandon his social activism upon election. He continued teaching at Schiller and remained an iconic role model to the youth in Cabrini-Green, as the tumblers became ever more prominent. In 1992, White was elected Cook County recorder of deeds. Six years later, he became the first African American secretary of state in Illinois history, receiving 55 percent of the vote. White was reelected four more times with more than 60 percent of the vote in each contest.

Less well-known is that White’s introduction to civic life came in Montgomery, Alabama, when he was a student at Alabama State. A young minister by the name of Martin Luther King Jr. organized a bus boycott while White was an undergraduate. “Dr. King used to come to all of the basketball games, so he knew me well,” explains White. White remembers attending church and hearing King announce “that Rosa Parks had been arrested and that the city fathers had asked him to lead the effort to desegregate the Montgomery Transit System.”

Dr. King joins George Dunne as White’s most influential mentors. They were “two of the finest individuals I’ve ever had a chance to meet,” he is quick to state. White remembers King as “a mild-mannered individual, as honest as the day is long, as genuine a person as you ever want to meet. He was everything that you would want in a leader. He’s everything that you’d want in a father.”

While White was proving to be a transformational secretary of state, Daley returned to the world of finance. In 2001, he was briefly at Evercore Capital Partners before being named president of SBC Communications. For the next three years, Daley worked in Texas before returning to Chicago as the

Above: White excelled as a student-athlete at Alabama State. As an undergraduate, he witnessed the work of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. during the seminal Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955 and 1956. Left: Secretary White (left) presents a commemorative license plate to “Mr. Cub” Ernie Banks.
Midwest chairman of the newly merged JPMorgan Chase and Bank One. In 2007, JPMorgan Chase named Daley head of its newly created office of corporate social responsibility, in which he coordinated the bank’s global strategy as it affected public policy, charitable giving, environmental issues, and community affairs. Over the course of four years, Daley reorganized corporate philanthropic functions into one department and developed a unified charitable giving strategy with nonprofit organizations.

But public service called again. In January 2011, President Barack Obama named Daley as White House chief of staff. Daley had been a prominent supporter of Obama during the 2008 presidential campaign and briefly served on the advisory board of the Obama–Biden Transition Project. He succeeded Rahm Emanuel, who had resigned in order to replace Daley’s retiring brother Richard as mayor of Chicago. Daley served for a year in the White House and in 2014 joined Argentière Capital as a managing partner.

The Illinois secretary of state is among the most powerful secretaries of state in the nation. In addition keeping official records and laws (as in most states), the officeholder issues licenses to motor vehicles and their drivers (Illinois does not have a department of motor vehicles) and serves as the state librarian, state archivist, custodian of the state capitol, and registrar of corporations, lobbyists, and notaries. White has been a tireless advocate for traffic and automobile safety. In 2007, he introduced one of the nation’s leading driver licensing programs, requiring teenagers and other new drivers to have fifty supervised hours behind the wheel before receiving a license. Illinois also restricts newly licensed drivers, allowing them to transport only one unrelated passenger at a time. Additionally, White addressed the growing problem of driving under the influence by introducing the BAIID (Breath Alcohol Ignition Interlock Device) and policy of requiring some stopped drivers to blow into a tube that detects the presence of alcohol. Since the adoption of the program, alcohol-related traffic deaths in Illinois have dropped by 44 percent.
White, as secretary of state, is also responsible for more than five thousand libraries in Illinois, distributing $77 million in support grants and $50 million in construction grants. In 2007, he received the Robert R. McClaren Legislative Development Award from the Illinois Library Association, in part for creatively redirecting federal funds throughout the state.

Another of White’s major accomplishments is the growth of the state’s organ donor program. In this case, his motivation was personal. “My sister became ill and was in dire need of a kidney,” he explains. “There was not a match within the family, so she put her name on the organ and tissue donor list.” That saved her life, according to White. “Someone showed her the love that she richly needed and gave her a second chance at life.” The experience inspired White to considerably expand the program when he became secretary of state. By 2012, Illinois was fourth in the nation for organ donor registrants.

Both White and Daley consider their public service to be their most significant accomplishments. For Daley, his service as secretary of commerce “was a great honor that I think was the highlight in my life professionally.” In particular, “representing the United States of America and what it symbolized to much of the world was most exciting.” For White, the more than fifty years he has devoted to the Jesse White Tumblers embodies his commitment to and importance of volunteerism. “This world would be a better place for all of us if we could find more people who would say, ‘I want to make this world a better place in which to live,’” he believes. “I’m not looking for anything for myself. I just want to give back. I got mine. I want you to get yours.”

Timothy J. Gilfoyle is a professor of history at Loyola University Chicago and current president of the Urban History Association, which will hold its biennial conference in Chicago in October 2016.

Daley received the Bertha Honoré Palmer Making History Award for Distinction in Civic Leadership on May 13, 2010. He is pictured here with the late Maggie Daley, his sister-in-law, who presented the award. Photograph by Dan Rest.
ILLUSTRATIONS | 56–57 top, Chicago History Museum; 57, bottom: ICHi-69963; 58, top: ICHi-76627, bottom: courtesy of Bill Daley; 59, ICHi-88651; 60, courtesy of Jesse White; 61, center: i88548, bottom: ICHi-24433; 62, top: ICHi-88547, bottom: i88550; 64–66, courtesy of Jesse White; 67, courtesy of Bill Daley; 68–69, courtesy of Jesse White; 70–71, Chicago History Museum.


ENDNOTES


6 Jesse White, oral history interview by Timothy J. Gilfoyle, May 18, 2015, deposited in the collection of the Chicago History Museum.


8 White, interview.

9 White, interview.

10 White, interview.

11 Daley, interview.

12 Daley, interview.

13 Daley, interview.

14 Daley, interview.

37 Daley, interview.
39 Daley, interview.
40 Daley, interview.
45 White, interview.
46 White, interview. White lived at 1359 North Hudson Avenue.
47 Terry, “Jesse White’s Cabrini Green.”
48 White, interview.
49 White, interview.
50 Daley, interview.
54 Kahn, “Public Lives.”
56 Daley, interview.
57 Daley, interview.
58 Daley, interview.
60 White, interview.
62 White, interview.
63 Terry, “Jesse White’s Cabrini Green.”
64 “Jesse White (Illinois),” Ballotpedia.
65 “Jesse White (Illinois),” Ballotpedia.
67 White, interview. On Martin Luther King Jr.’s later civil rights campaign in Chicago, see James R. Ralph, Northern Protest: Martin Luther King, Jr., Chicago and the Civil Rights Movement (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).
68 White, interview.
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78 White, interview.
80 White, interview.
82 Daley, interview.
83 White, interview.