

"picture for the papers"

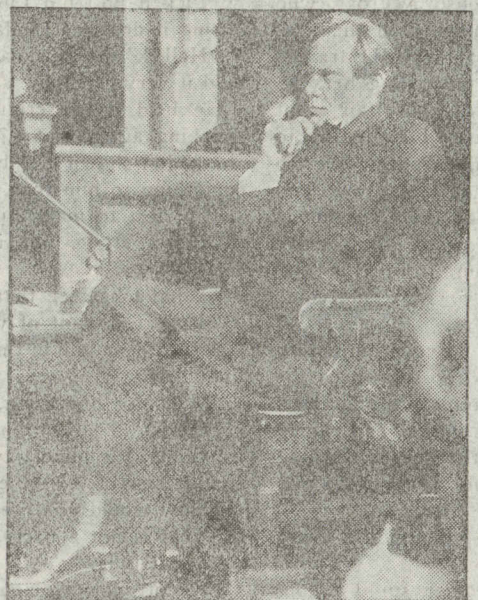
13 GAYNOR'S CHIEF CLAIM TO PUBLIC ATTENTION was from the fact that police skulduggery increased under his administration and also from the fact that he was the mayor who was shot. Arrest of the assassin (above) provided a splendid action picture for the papers. Gaynor, denied renomination by Tammany, died near the end of his term.



"... carried pointed epitaphs ..."

went to the death chair. Thousands flocked to his funeral, and the floral offering (example above) carried pointed epitaphs, such as "Sacrificed for Politics." Pried off Becker's coffin by police was a silver plate reading: "Charles Becker, Murdered July 30, 1915, by Governor Whitman." Charles S. Whitman, at New York district attorney, had prosecuted Becker, that achievement helping him greatly as a Republican candidate to capture the office of governor.

15 PRECEDING WHITMAN AS GOVERNOR was an ornamental orator who liked to think that he resembled either Abraham Lincoln or Henry Clay. Elected in 1912 with the support of Tammany hall, William Sulzer (right) went to Albany with high hopes, and an exalted opinion of himself. His mistake was that he refused to take orders from Murphy, so thereupon he was made to feel the power of Tammany. Charges were brought up in the state assembly, the speaker of which at that time was a man destined to loom large in politics in later years, Alfred Emmanuel Smith. Sulzer was found guilty of omitting sums from his campaign expense account and removed from office.

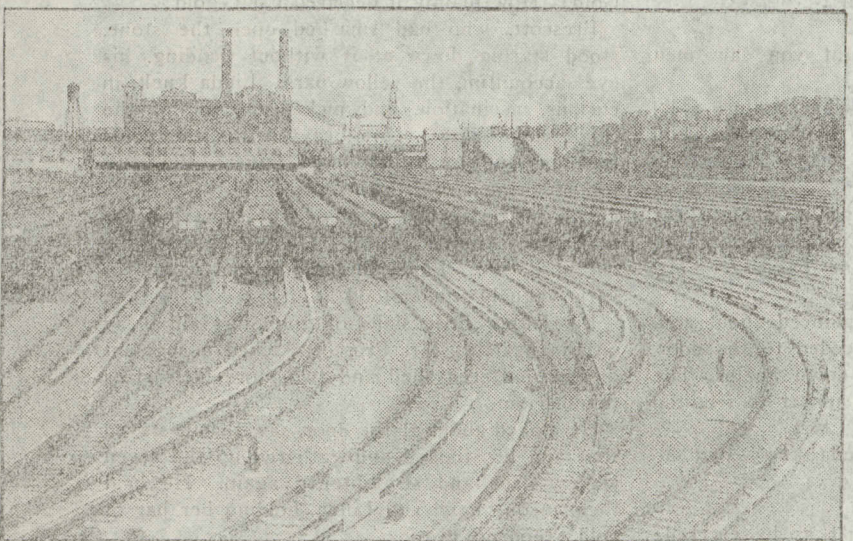


"... an ornamental orator ..."



(Photo copyright Underwood & Underwood.)
"... won on a fusion ticket ..."

16 AFTER THE SULZER AFFAIR Tammany refused to stand for the renomination of Gaynor, who had made feeble and futile attempts to defend the police lieutenant, Becker, but gave its indorsement to Edward E. McCall. Gaynor ran as an independent, but died before the election, his following going to John Purroy Mitchel (left), who won on a fusion ticket of Republicans and anti-Tammany Democrats. Temporarily out of the city hall, Tammany continued to contact big business, having learned before this that legal boodling in the form of costly contracts was considerably more profitable than petty preying on prostitutes or other kinds of minor grafting. Soon again, however, Tammany swept back into the city hall by supporting for mayor John F. Hylan, candidate of the ambitious Hearst.



"rusting on the rails" (Associated Press photo.)

17 FOOTBALL OF NEW YORK POLITICS since the day that a mule car first was driven up Fourth avenue has been the city's transportation system. Thirty-three years ago John B. McDonald, a Tammany man, was awarded the contract for the first subway. It was built with August Belmont's money and \$37,750,000 contributed by the city. Since then the city has been in the subway business, its most recent activity being the construction of a \$191,000,000 line extending the length of Manhattan. For months after its completion this newest line lay idle at a cost to the taxpayers of \$25,000 a day, its ultra-modern cars (above) rusting on the rails that parallel the Harlem ship canal. One of Tammany's surest vote-getters is the five-cent fare, one of the outstanding issues in the election of next Tuesday. Gullible people of New York have been taken in on this issue before, apparently not realizing that though they pay only five cents for a ride, they pay the rest of their fare in taxes.

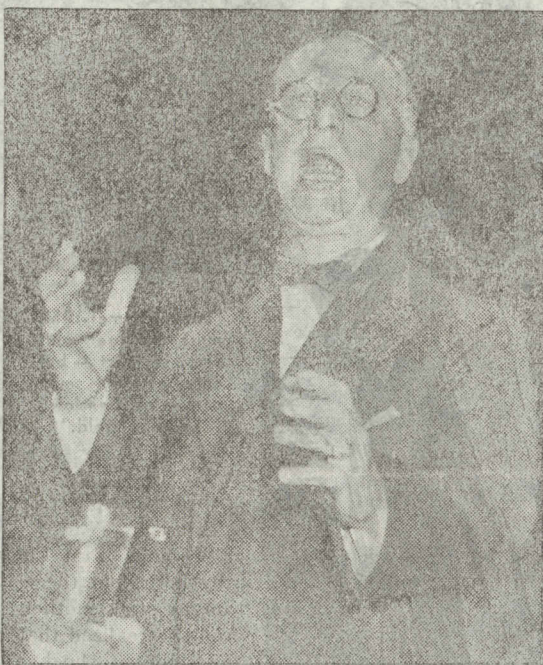


"... went after the stylish Jimmy ..."



"... continues to play Indian." (Associated Press photo.)

20 DESPITE SCANDALS AND ATTACKS, the Society of Saint Tammany continues to play Indian. Sachems and sagamores still parade in regalia and pose for pictures (fairly recent example above; left to right, James A. Foley, ex-Mayor Walker; Grand Sachem the late aged John Voorhis; Alfred E. Smith; John F. Curry).



"... a tremendous power ..."

22 STRAIGHTFORWARD AND FEARLESS, A MAN OF ACTION AND STRONG CONVICTIONS, Alfred E. Smith (above) nevertheless bears the tribal mark of Tammany. As everyone knows, he has wielded a tremendous power within Tammany hall, though there have been times when he has waved the tomahawk in open rebellion against it—just waved the hatchet, that is all. In the present campaign friends from within Tammany and from without attempted to draft him as a candidate for mayor, but the "happy warrior of 1928" doubtless felt that after testing of greater glories he never could consent to become a mere candidate for a city office. Smith served four terms as governor of New York through the support of Tammany hall, his earlier elections having been brought about by Murphy, the boss who died on April 25, 1924, leaving an estate of two million dollars.



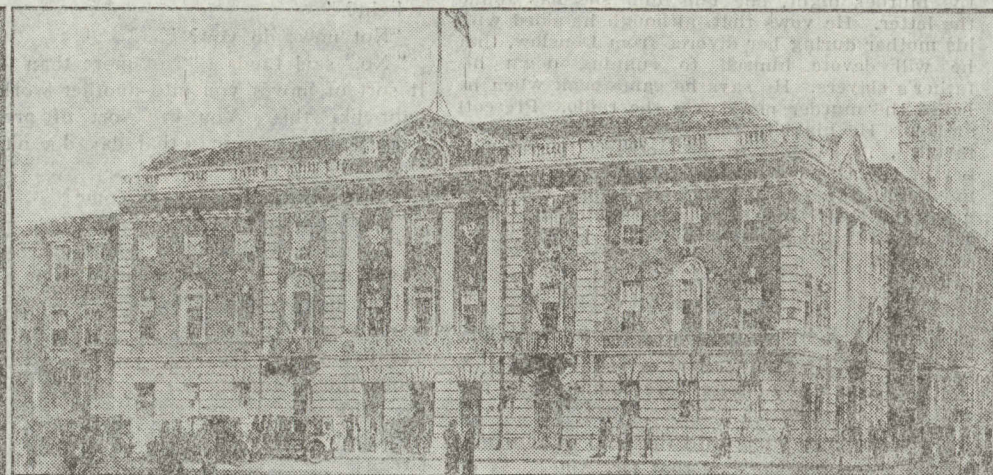
"... gained public confidence ..."

18 HERALDED AS THE DAWN OF A NEW DAY FOR TAMMANY, the election of 1925 put into the mayor's chair, dapper James J. Walker (right), ex-state senator, writer of a sentimental ballad, and popular man-about-town, friend of actors, jockeys, and pugilists. He rode into office, like his predecessor, Hylan, who finally was disowned by Tammany, on the popularity of the five-cent fare. He became the jolly glad-hander of Tammany, the premier playboy of the whole nation, ready to speak glibly on any provocation. He was re-elected four years later, and his popularity did not start to wane until the Hofstadter committee of the legislature began, in 1931, to dig into his acceptances of bonds and stocks as "personal gifts" from admiring friends.

19 COUNSEL FOR THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE, Judge Samuel Seabury (left), went after the stylish Jimmy and his real bosses in Tammany hall with hammer and tongs. Far and wide were the Tammany graft ramifications laid bare by Seabury. Judge George W. Olvany, ex-boss of Tammany, and John F. Curry, present boss, were involved in the inquiry, and Walker himself spent two days on the witness stand vainly trying to defend his acceptances of "personal gifts." Franklin D. Roosevelt, then governor of New York, removed Sheriff Thomas M. Farley from office on "suspicion and inference." Walker beat the gun on the next move, walking out before being removed, and later departed for Europe.

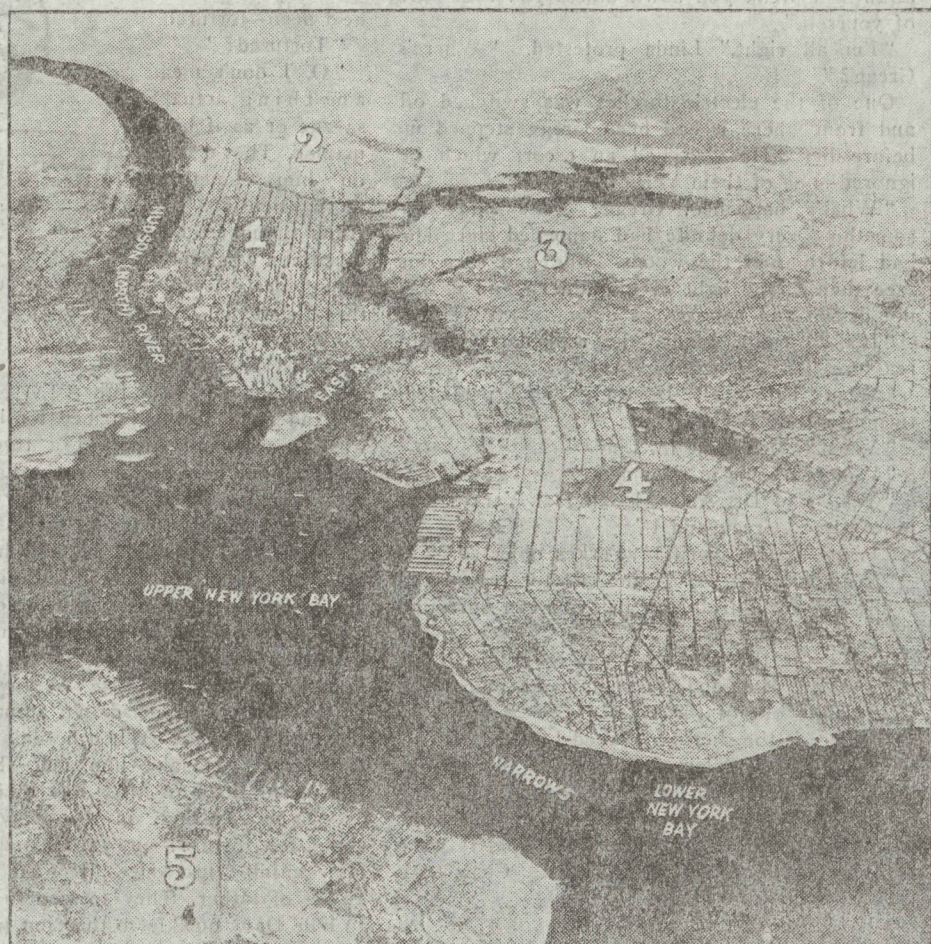


"... premier playboy ..."



"... proud of its new home ..."

21 TAMMANY OF TODAY is proud of its new home (above) at Union Square East and 17th street. On Jan. 8, 1929, the cornerstone of this newest "Wigwam" was laid, while Walker, Smith, and the feeble old Grand Sachem Voorhis made speeches and the braves and warriors of the tribes of Tammany whooped approval.



"... in open revolt against Tammany ..."

24 THE NEW YORK THAT GOES TO THE POLLS NOV. 7, its five spreading boroughs (above) in open revolt against Tammany, apparently is on the verge of "twisting the tiger's tail" again. These five boroughs, Manhattan (1), the Bronx (2), Brooklyn (3), Queens (4), and Richmond (5), were combined in 1898 to form Greater New York. Tammany's strength in earlier days lay in Manhattan, but when Brooklyn was admitted its center of power shifted to that borough. How far these sections will go in supporting O'Brien can be only speculation today. McKee, the independent, is expected to draw heavily from Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx. La Guardia derives his principal strength from Manhattan and possibly from Queens.

25 STRAW VOTES GATHERED BY THE NEW YORK NEWS and other publications show Joseph V. McKee (left, indicated by arrow), the independent, running ahead of his opponents, though he entered the race late. McKee, while acting as mayor after Walker's resignation, gained public confidence by a sincere effort toward municipal economy and a refusal to be bossed. "I'll eliminate unnecessary expense and unnecessary jobs," is one of his pledges.

26 ON SEPT. 16 THE BETTING ODDS WERE 2 TO 1 that O'Brien would defeat Fiorello H. La Guardia (right), the fusion candidate. By Oct. 20 the odds were 8 to 5 that McKee would beat O'Brien, with even money offered that he would poll 150,000 more votes than the Tammany candidate.

27 MEANWHILE THE WRATH OF REVOLTING POPULACE seems to be centering against Mayor John Patrick O'Brien (right), who likes to be called "the Surrogate." McKee has referred to O'Brien as "well-intentioned but impotent," pointing out his affiliations with Tammany hall. Seabury, the nemesis of Walker, continues strained efforts to try to make the voters think the only way to save the city is by electing his candidate, the nimble-tongued La Guardia.



"... the fusion candidate ..."



"... likes to be called 'the Surrogate' ..."