

1 TAMMANEND, SAGA-CIOUS SACHEM OF THE LENNI-LENAPE, deserves something better than being remembered only as the patron saint of Tammany hall—especially when so many prefer to accept as more truly symbolic of New York City's powerful political machine the baleful Bengal tiger, voracious, cunning, and cruel.

New York, more often than not the prey of the predatory Tammany tiger, sometimes in righteous moments rises to twist the tail of the beast, a ceremony scheduled for repetition day after tomorrow, Tuesday, Nov. 7, when the city's electorate, probably more than two million strong, will surge to the polls to elect a mayor. The voters have a three-way choice—fat Mayor John P. O'Brien, Tammany's candidate; fiery little ex-Congressman Fiorello H. La Guardia, fusion candidate; and Joseph V. McKee, who served as acting mayor on Jimmy Walker's retirement and who is running as an independent. The campaign, swinging on toward its climax, has taken on all the appearances of a popular uprising against Tammany practices and Tammany waste. The abolition, through a deluge of ballots, of the New York machine's political tyranny would be greeted in many quarters with rejoicing, even in Washington, where the administration still remembers the national campaign of 1932 and looks ahead to that of 1936.

The history of Tammany, an institution which caters to the pockets and the vanity of its members and remains constant as a hereditary monarchy, goes back to the American revolutionary war, when it was founded as the Sons of Liberty or the Sons of Saint Tammany to counteract the activities of the Tories. Tammanend (above), the wise old Indian chief, became Saint Tammany of the Sons of Liberty. The war over, the society was disbanded, to be reorganized on May 12, 1789, by one William Mooney, an upholsterer, to combat aristocratic influence in the new republic. Its new name was the Society of Saint Tammany or Columbian order. Mooney, said to have been a revolutionary soldier who deserted to the king, appointed himself grand sacheem of the order. Under him were thirteen sachems, each over a tribe of Tammany, and a flock of warriors and hunters. This tomfoolery of grand sachems and sachems has been carried down to the present Tammany hall, to be indulged in on ceremonial moments; but it has nothing to do with the other side, the important business, of Greater New York's ruthless Democratic political institution, an institution which has named a large majority of the city's officials down through the years, which has played an important role in state politics, and which has extended its long-reaching tentacles into national elections on more than one occasion.

Tammany hall has wandered far from the lofty lessons of old Saint Tammany. Its name, in the minds of many, has stood for despotism, graft, and corruption. Reforms have come and gone, but it has weathered them all to date. It guards its permanence even at the expense of its individual members. It has been caught many times and exposed so completely that it has become an object of world-wide odium, but still it goes on. Its members have been jailed for hoodluming and for nearly every other crime under the sun, but with little lasting effect upon the organization that holds hundreds of thousands of votes in its pocket, to be delivered whenever and wherever needed to keep the city within its power. Mooney, a creature of limited imagination, set up the Society of Saint Tammany as a social order, with the creation of propaganda against the landed gentry as its excuse for existence, little dreaming that it would be transformed into an overpowering tool of politics. Hardly frazzled were the turkey feathers of the first grand sacheem's gaudy war bonnet before schemers saw the polling possibilities in the braves and warriors of the first thirteen tribes under Tammany.

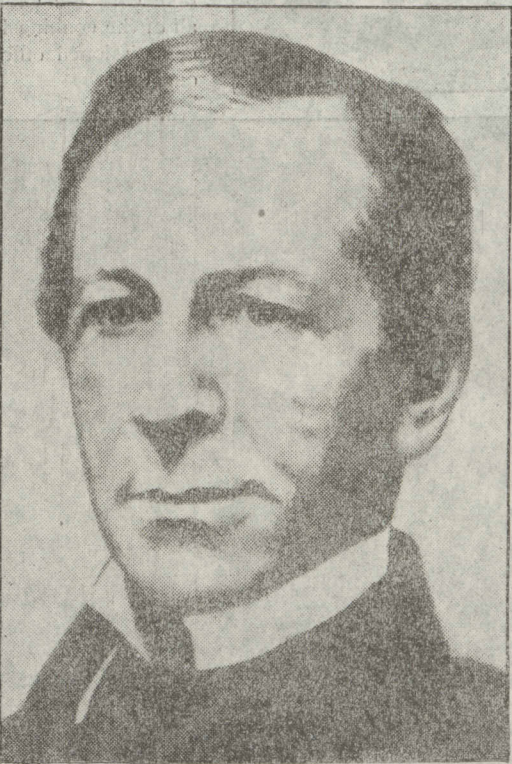


"... never painted his face..."

2 FIRST TO EMPLOY TAMMANY IN POLITICS was one who eventually became a black sheep of history. Aaron Burr (left) never painted his face nor wore feathers in a Tammany parade, but he got himself elected Vice President of the United States through the help of Tammany, the organization which he controlled until that fateful morning at Weehawken, July 11, 1804, when he slew Alexander Hamilton with a flintlock pistol. Two Tammany sachems were with Burr when he faced his rival on the so-called field of honor, and one of them was Burr's second in the duel.

3 TAMMANY BY 1806 BEGAN CONTROLLING PUBLIC OFFICES. Early in the thirties it started collecting not only actual spoils of victory, but fees from dives and gambling houses of old New York. Its frauds first were exposed in 1837—thefts so large that they were given the dignified name of defalcations. Congress investigated. The case of Samuel Swartwout, Tammany collector of the port of New York, was a particularly odorous one.

But never for long was Tammany dominated by a single individual until there appeared upon the scene the tall and handsome Fernando Wood (right), first a congressman and later the "model" mayor. He straddled the fence between two Tammany factions, "Barnstormers" and "Hunkers," to be elected for the first time the city's chief executive in 1850, the year before the notorious "Forty Thieves" of the board of aldermen swung into action, selling ferry leases and street car franchises to the highest bidders and robbing the city right and left. One of Wood's most evil-smelling deals was the letting of a street-cleaning contract to one A. J. Hackley for \$279,000, though another had bid \$84,000 less. Tammany in Wood's time was violently pro-slavery.

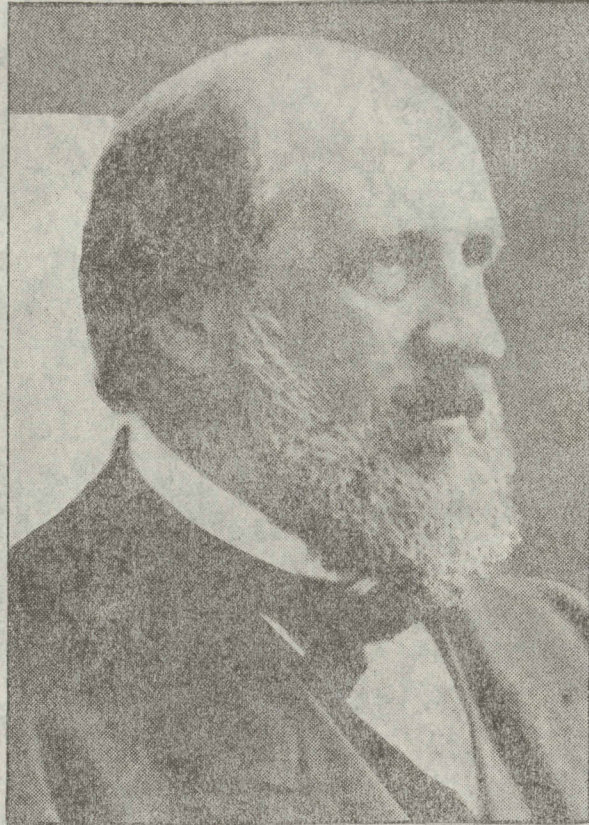


(From M. R. Werner's "Tammany Hall.")
"... the 'model' mayor ..."

NEW YORK REVOLTS AGAINST TAMMANY'S COLOSSAL WASTE



"... wise old Indian ..."



"... then was grand sacheem ..."

public purse, mount as high as 200 million, counting the vast issues of fraudulent bonds that were unloaded onto investors. In one month in 1869 Andrew J. Garvey, city plasterer, who later turned against his boss, submitted a bill of \$153,753 for plastering—quite a sizable plastering job for early New York.

Nearly a half of the city's population then was foreign born, and Tammany controlled virtually every alien vote. Irish and German especially were catered to by Tammany hall.



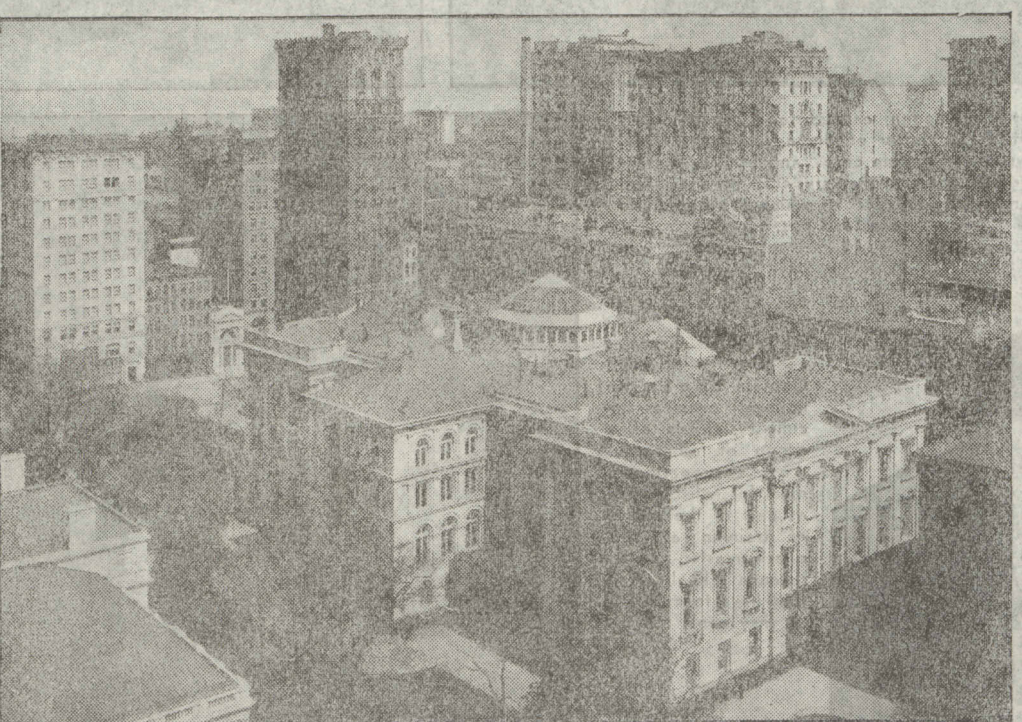
(From Harper's Weekly.)

"... brought about the ruin of the grafters ..."



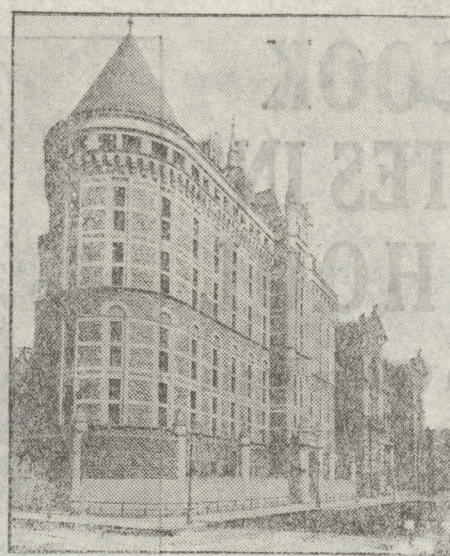
"waged ... war"

5 BESIDES ORIGINATING THE TIGER AS THE SYMBOL OF TAMMANY, the donkey as the mascot of Democracy, and the ponderous elephant as the creature best typifying the G. O. P., Thomas Nast (left), the caricaturist, waged relentless war on Boss Tweed and his unsavory "ring" through a series of cartoons (examples above) which eventually brought about the ruin of the grafters. What Nast accomplished with pictures the decent newspapers of the city duplicated with words, placing the brand of thief on Tweed and his colleagues. Nast refused to sell out for a half million dollars when approached with an offer to pack his pens and go to Europe.



"... still standing in City Hall park."

6 OUTSTANDING IN THE TWEED PROGRAM OF GRAFT was the colossal steal in connection with the construction of the New York county courthouse (above), still standing in City Hall park. Work was begun in 1862 on this rather unimposing structure, for which \$6,200,000 was appropriated and for which an additional \$6,000,000 was paid out of the city treasury. The bill for carpets was nearly \$700,000; brooms to sweep the new building were billed in an amount of \$41,000. On Dec. 16, 1872, Tweed was arrested on indictments charging felony, forgery, larceny, misdemeanor, false pretense, and conspiracy. He resigned as commissioner of public works, an office he had grabbed in his campaign of plunder; as director of the Erie railroad; and as grand sacheem of Tammany, and hired seven astute lawyers, among whom was the young Elihu Root. In his first trial the jury disagreed.



"... served twelve months in Tombs prison ..."

8 EVEN MORE INTIMATELY ASSOCIATED with the sachems and braves of Tammany than Tombs prison is the old Wigwam, or Tammany hall (right), in 14th street. Occupied as headquarters of the central Democratic political machine of the city from 1863 until six years ago, it came to stand for all the good deeds (Tammany's charity always began at home) and all of the evil that had been marked up in bold black marks against the Society of Saint Tammany over a stretch of nearly sixty years. Tammany had had earlier halls than this, five of them, in fact, the first of which was the initial Wigwam in Broad street, occupied in 1789 and 1790. The hall in 14th street, getting dingier all the time, finally was sold in December, 1927. Tammany needed new and modern quarters.



(© Underwood & Underwood.)
"glum Irishman"

10 DURING THE REIGN OF CROKER police corruption flourished in New York as it never had before or has since. The Lexow investigation (1894) and the Mazet investigation (1899) brought to light an insidious police system that annually was draining gambling and vice of millions of dollars. A considerable proportion of the "take" found its way to the major graft syndicate within Tammany hall itself. The investigations were inspired by Thomas C. Platt, Republican boss, who often worked hand in glove with Croker, but who at the time was in conflict with the Tammany boss, and by Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst (right), one of the city's leading preachers and a zealot for reform. Women of the streets, who had been bled of their unlawful earnings by the grafting police, had they lived to that day in the winter of 1922 when Croker was buried, might have read in the newspapers that the one-time chief of Tammany had left an estate of more than \$5,000,000 to his widow, a descendant of a famous Cherokee chief.



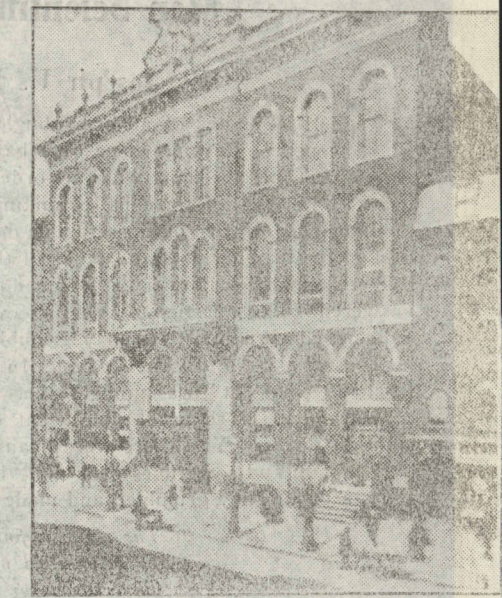
"Dignified and dull"

12 WHILE SETH LOW WAS MUDDLING with affairs of the mayor's office, Croker retired, bequeathing the eardrum of Tammany hall to one Lewis Nixon. Four months and Nixon was out, his place as leader of Tammany taken by close-mouthed Charles Francis Murphy (right) of the gas house district. Murphy, who once was driver of a horse car, by 1890 was the agent owner of four gaudy saloons, and at a later date had retired from the office of dock commissioner with a fortune of a million dollars. Croker's last years of rule had weakened enormously the grip of Tammany. Murphy set about to restore it to power, his first major success being the election in 1903 of his personally picked candidate for mayor, George B. McClellan, ex-congressman and son of a famous Civil War general. William S. Devery, a grafting police captain of earlier days, had rebelled against Tammany, and, supported by a misguided following, ran as an independent against McClellan. Devery's campaign was clownish in the extreme; McClellan was elected, and Tammany had the city hall again.

Murphy was a political trader, who made deals with the traction interests, who permitted graft to creep back into the police department, who maneuvered one political enemy against another, and who to gain his own ends let down the bars to William Randolph Hearst, a publisher, who was eager to satisfy his vanity by playing an important role in New York politics.

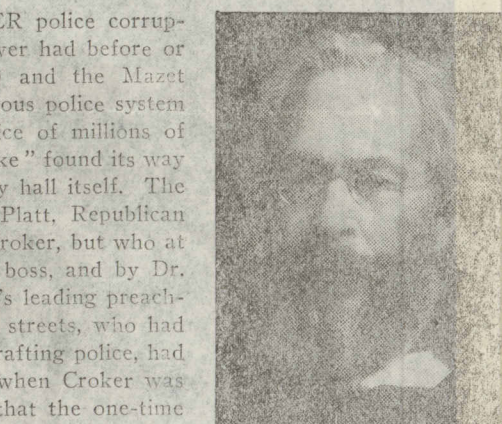
Hearst, after having been beaten for mayor in 1905 by Mayor McClellan, was given the Tammany hall endorsement for governor a year later, only to be beaten by Charles Evans Hughes. Tammany's candidate for mayor in 1908, William J. Gaynor, won.

7 TWELVE YEARS IN PRISON AND a \$12,500 FINE was the sentence imposed upon Richard Croker at the conclusion of the second trial. He paid one-fiftieth of the fine and served twelve months in Tombs prison (left) and a Blackwell's island, was placed in the Ludlow Street jail pending an appeal, fled from the jail to Florida, thence to Cuba, and later to Spain, and was brought back from Vigo on the United States cruiser Franklin, to die in the Ludlow jail on April 12, 1878. Helping also to make Tombs prison important in Tammany history about the time was the county coroner, who was detained there while being tried on a charge of murder growing out of the killing of one John McKenna. The jury in that case disagreed and the defendant, Richard Croker, never was retried.



"came to stand for ... evil" good deeds and ... evil"

9 TACITURN "HONEST JOHN" KELLY, ex-sheriff of New York county, returned from abroad and consented to lead New York's Democracy against "hordes of deposed Tweed men and the degenerate Grant Republicans." He reigned over Tammany from 1872 to 1886, during which time he assessed candidates, large sums and levied on contractors and concessionaires, but managed in the main to keep the administration free from scandal. He died June 1, 1886, leaving an estate of a bare half million, after he had seen his protegee, Richard Croker (left), defendant in the McKenna murder case, installed as chief of Tammany hall. Croker was a glum County Cork Irishman. He was the first to contact politics with big business, and his reign over Tammany was marked by wholesale graft in the police department. Annual collections in his day from saloons, vice, and gambling were said to amount to \$7,000,000. In less than five years Croker rose to the most powerful leader New York politics had ever known. He became wealthy overnight, his race horses alone being valued at more than \$100,000.



"zealot for reform"

11 THOROUGH INVESTIGATION OF TAMMANY'S CRIMES brought defeat to Croker's forces in the election of 1901. Besides the rebellion within the forces of Tammany, led by "Big Tim" Sullivan, there was a fusion ticket in the field, backed by indignant citizens of all parties. Dignified and dull Seth Low (left), as figurehead of the reform movement, the big mouthpiece of which was William Travers Jerome, was swept into the mayor's office. In that campaign Croker had tried to retain control of the city hall by putting up as his candidate for mayor Edward M. Shepard, a Brooklyn lawyer with an unassailable reputation. But the people of the city were aroused, as they have been on more recent occasions, and would not be deceived by sly tricks such as that.



"... a political trader ..."