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THE CITY FOR THE PEOPLE!

CAMPAIGN BOOK

OF THE

CITIZENS' UNION



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CAMPAIGN BOOK
OF
THE CITIZENS' UNION

INTRODUCTORY.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE CITIZENS'
UNION.

The Citizens' Union movement originated early in 1897. The new State Constitution, which went into effect in that year, provided for "municipal elections being held at times separate and distinct from State and national elections."

This provision of the State Constitution embodied a principle which has been the keynote of all subsequent action by the Citizens' Union, namely, that local elections should be decided on local and not on national issues, and along local and not national lines.

Tracing to partisan politics the existing conditions of municipal affairs, the Citizens' Union stated in its first official publication on Feb. 22, 1897: "The separation of municipal affairs from State and national politics and the most efficient and independent administration of city government are the principles of the Union." This was later translated into the campaign cry: "There is no such thing as a free silver way of running our schools." With

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the publication of this statement the Citizens' Union entered at once upon the business of enrollment and organization of district committees throughout the city.

The enactment of the Greater New York charter necessarily enlarged the Union's field of action, as it more than doubled the size and importance of the city. Under its provisions, the Mayor became the chief executive of a population of 3,000,000, exceeding that of the country at the time of the Declaration of Independence and of a revenue and expenditure equaling that of the national government prior to the civil war.

This increase of power and responsibility vested in the Mayor added proportionately to the primary contention of the Citizens' Union—that the executive of this new and mighty city should be perfectly free, and unhampered by any obligation of national political partisanship, to conduct the affairs strictly according to business methods. From the beginning the Union advocated his being the nominee, not of a party organization, but of a combination of citizens acting without respect to party and with sole regard to the attainment of a capable, honest and progressive city government.

It is to promote the success of such a combination that the Citizens' Union was formed, and that it presents the following pages for the information of speakers, writers and the public generally some of the chief considerations derived from the history of the past and the necessities of the future which sustain the principal of non-partisanship in city government. The Union is made up of citizens of all opinions, all creeds and all occupations, who believe that the city should be governed BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE, not by the bosses nor for the bosses. It is a union of men in all employments: in business, in the trades, in the professions, standing on the common ground of good citizenship. Honest, efficient and intelligent city government is the object of the Union. Every voter who believes in that object is asked

to join, without regard to his opinion as a Republican, a Gold Democrat, a Silver Democrat, an expansionist or anti-expansionist or as a member of any national party whatever. The Union has no concern with coinage, expansion, free trade or protection, or with national or State partisan politics in any form.

The sincerity of the Union's claims were shown by the first platform adopted, in which it demanded "an honest and efficient administration, good schools, clean streets, more breathing spaces, better housing in the overcrowded parts of the city, better rapid transit facilities, strict supervision of the city's franchises, a full return for public privileges granted to corporations, and a just and fair enforcement of local statutes and ordinances."

To awaken civic interest and civic pride to the necessity of improving municipal conditions was the primary object of the Union. Its founders perceived that Greater New York must assume a vastly important position in the eyes of the world. By lifting its government out of the slough of partisan politics and securing an efficient and progressive administration, they hoped to maintain in municipal government and public advantages the supremacy it held in population and wealth over the great cities of Continental Europe. Inspired by the example which Paris, London, Berlin, Glasgow, Birmingham and other cities had set of enlightened and progressive city government, they sought to bring about similar conditions in New York.

But though the Union sought complete separation between municipal and State and national politics, it had no intention of interfering with existing national parties. From the beginning the Citizens' Union has declared itself as not opposed to the national parties. It asks no citizen to abandon his party. In 1901, as in 1897, each enrollment blank states: "This declaration shall not prevent me (that is the signer) from joining and supporting

any political club, organization, or party that takes part in national politics."

The manifesto of Feb. 22, 1897, was followed by immediate action all over the city. Independents of every shade of political faith rallied to the support of the new movement. In April the Union sought to obtain an enrollment of 50,000 citizens to support it. By June over 120,000 were pledged to its candidate. On Sept. 1, in a convention at which all four boroughs were represented Seth Low received the Citizens' Union nomination.

The campaign that followed was one of the most fiercely contested in the history of the city. Four candidates, representing four considerable bodies, were in the field, and at the outset all circumstances seemed to favor the Union, which numbered in its ranks the most distinguished men of both great parties. But toward the end of the campaign Henry George, the candidate of the Social Labor Party, died. With his death many thousands of his supporters returned to Tammany, their political home in State and national politics. This accession contributed materially, if not decisively, to the subsequent victory of Tammany. At the polls Van Wyck, the Tammany nominee, was elected, the vote being: Van Wyck, 233,000; Low, 150,000, and Tracy (the regular Republican nominee), 100,000.

This result, although a bitter disappointment at the time, revealed several important and reassuring facts: First, the vote of the first two anti-Tammany candidates exceeded that of Van Wyck by nearly 20,000, showing that a union of all forces opposed to Tammany could win; secondly, by demonstrating the possibility of defeating Tammany, it still more strongly emphasized the need of concerted action on all sides; lastly, it showed that the Citizens' Union had at one bound become a powerful factor in municipal affairs. In nine months it had grown strong enough to secure second place at the polls.

The subsequent history of the Union has been shaped by the lessons of 1897. In 1899, after conferring with the Republican Party, a joint city ticket was agreed upon and presented. In 1900 the Republicans recognized in their platform the principle as earnestly advocated by the Citizens' Union of separating local from national elections. Four years of Tammany rule have served to strengthen and solidify the opponents of corrupt government. Firmly convinced of the truth and the necessity of its original contention—the removal of municipal affairs from the sphere of partisan politics—the Citizens' Union has sought by a liberal policy to unite all parties opposed to the present disgraceful Tammany rule. Its headquarters have become the meeting place of all anti-Tammany bodies. Representatives, not merely of the smaller organizations, but also of the Republican and Independent Democratic parties have met in conference there and planned concerted action. To be a genuine Citizens' Union, in fact, as in name, has been and is the first aim of the Union.

With the opening of the present year the Union once more began its preparations for a mayoralty campaign. With the experience of 1897 clearly in mind, its leaders sought first to perfect district organizations. Before April organizations were complete in every district; most of the old as well as scores of new workers came forward to assist in the work. In an enthusiastic and harmonious convention on the 19th and 26th of April, the Union appointed a committee of One Hundred, composed of citizens of every shade of independent political opinion, to assist in the campaign and in bringing about combined action against Tammany. As a foundation for the campaign, the following platform was unanimously adopted:

PLATFORM OF THE CITIZENS' UNION, 1901.

(1) *The government of the City of New York is a disgrace, and the men controlling it are using public office for private plunder.*

They collect tribute:

By bargains with corrupt contractors.

By assessments from office-holders.

By favoritism in taxation.

By blackmail from liquor traffic, gambling and prostitution.

They ignore civil service rules, the bulwark of efficient administration and of the independence of the employe, and fill salaried positions with incompetent favorites.

They care nothing for the people, and have forgotten the promises of civic progress made in their platform of 1897.

Beside their declaration in that platform that "all proper municipal functions should be exercised by the municipality itself and not delegated to others," we place their attempt to give away our water supply to the Ramapo Company.

They are "working for their pockets all the time."

They corrupt the police force, however ready in the rank and file to do its duty, and compel it to protect the crimes of men and women who will pay for the protection.

The youth of the city are being contaminated.

To the insolent retort, "What are you going to do about it?" the voters alone can give answer.

(2) Mismanagement, favoritism and dishonesty must go. But this is not enough. *We must have positive bene-*

fits for the people. In particular we demand:

Enough room in the schools and enough teachers; an extended library system.

A sure and ample supply of pure water for every part of the city.

Streets kept as Waring kept them.

More public baths, open winter and summer; more public lavatories.

More playgrounds for children; more small parks.

Enforcement of the tenement house laws.

The enforcement of the tax laws by an equal scale of valuation for unimproved and of improved real estate.

Judicious increase of direct employment of labor by the city in its public works.

Constitutional laws, by the amendment of the constitution, if necessary, which shall secure to all workmen upon municipal works, whether on the pay-roll of the city or of contractors, the payment of the prevailing rate of wages for an eight-hour day.

Adequate communications between the boroughs by ferries, bridges and tunnels.

Ownership of our own water supply, and acquisition for just compensation of gas and electric light supplies, to be operated by the city if adequate merit system safeguards are provided.

Retention by the city of ownership of all its franchises and no leasing of the same except for short periods, so that the increase in value shall be for the people's benefit.

Stringent supervision of all corporations using city franchises, so as to insure adequate service at reasonable rates.

All these demands can be met without adding a cent to the city taxes if we can have honesty and economy of administration. It is not the tax rate, but the waste and

misuse of the taxes when collected, that prevent progress.

(3) We further demand Home Rule for the city; greater control by the boroughs over their purely local affairs; and a reasonable and liberal administration which shall protect all citizens in the exercise of their rights without class distinction.

(4) We will nominate no candidate unless his career and record are such as to justify public confidence in his assurance that, if elected, he will not use his office, or permit it to be used, for the benefit of any political organization.

Without calling upon any citizen to surrender in any degree his allegiance to his party, we urge an entire separation of municipal government from national and State politics, and we appeal to all good citizens, of whatever party, to unite with us in an organized effort to accomplish the objects of the Union.

HISTORY OF NEW YORK CITY GOVERNMENT.

PRIOR TO 1872.

The history of New York City Government is an almost unbroken record of unpunished criminality. From the beginning of the Republic to the present time its city officials have come with alarming regularity from that class which bears and deserves the name criminal. Its rulers, from the highest to the lowest, have been men who have themselves been charged with crimes ranging from petty larceny to murder. Throughout all these years of misgovernment almost every leader of corruption, almost every principal in the attacks upon the public treasury, almost every man whose name has become infamous through public speculation received his training and could trace his source of power to Tammany Hall. Its very founder, William Mooney, was charged with having deserted from the Revolutionary and served with the British forces.

In 1820, when the population was but 120,000, New York City was misgoverned. In 1833 there was revealed a wholesale system of bribery and corruption among high officials in connection with the passage of a charter for the Seventh Ward National Bank. Nearly every Tammany leader of prominence was found to hold stock in the bank, for whose benefit city legislation was asked and obtained. Thus early was there a precedent for the more recent Ice Trust.

In 1839, again there was a series of disclosures regarding the corruption of certain Tammany officials, and the name of one Swartout became the proverbial expression for embezzlement on a large scale. Again, in 1840, another series of disclosures revealed a state of public corruption by which various Tammany officials have stolen thousands from the City Treasurer in dishonest administration and alleged "improvements."

Nor was Tammany's influence for evil restricted to the city. Tammany influence had opposed the construction of the Erie Canal with the same fury it has continued to fight every step of progress. It was the home of Aaron Burr, and the vantage ground from which he planned his various schemes. At the outbreak of the Civil War it was openly and violently disloyal. Repeated denunciations of Union leaders were issued by its leaders, and so great was the Anarchy and Treason it fostered that in 1864, at a time when every soldier was needed in the field, it was necessary to keep six thousand troops in New York.

**Fernando
Wood's
Notorious
Administra-
tion.**

But constant and disgusting as Tammany's record had been during the first half of the century, it reached its high water mark under the leadership of Fernando Wood in the fifties, several times the acknowledged leader of Tammany Hall and three times Mayor of New York City. The character of the municipal administration which flourished under Fernando Wood has been set forth with great frankness in the newspapers and pamphlet literature of his time. Among the charges brought against him was that of selling official positions to the highest bidder. It was charged in the public prints that in 1857, while Mayor, Wood sold the lucrative position of Street Commissioner to Charles Devlin for \$50,000 in cash, with certain reservations as to patronage and profits. It is similarly charged that after Wood's installation as Mayor, in 1860, that he sold the City Inspectorship to Samuel Downes for \$20,000, \$10,000 of which Downes paid to a certain confederate of Wood, and then was cheated out of the office.

The frauds and scandals of Wood's administration became so flagrant and so open that public sentiment at last united against him. In 1857, and again in 1861, large bodies of citizens combined against him and accomplished his defeat. The second of these combinations took the name of PEOPLE'S UNION to show the non-partisan character of its purposes.

These reform movements resulted in the employment of short-sighted and unfortunate remedies. The new legislation was framed to turn over the City Government, so far as was possible, into the hands of State officials, a change welcomed at the time on account of the continuous misgovernment inflicted by the city officials. This legislation also created a Board of Supervisors, an elective body composed of twelve members, drawn equally from the two political parties, with power to ascertain and levy the county taxes decreed by the State Legislature. This board instantly became the rallying point for the forces of corruption, and was later the point of departure of the infamous "Tweed Ring."

The development of the Board of Supervisors was gradual. It came to be a "bi-partisan board of spoliation." Under the guidance of Tweed, whose control over Tammany was complete, an arrangement was made by which one of the Republican members absented himself from the meetings of the Board and the Tammany control became perfect.

The "Tweed Ring" remained in actual control of the city finances from January, 1869, to September, 1871, a period of two years and eight months. To accurately estimate the amount stolen from the city by this combination headed by the great Tammany "Boss" is impossible. During the period of this control the net debt of the city increased \$80,000,000, from \$36,000,000 to \$116,000,000. To this sum of eighty millions of dollars must be added the sums stolen from the annual taxes and the money raised by assessment of property owners. It is thus within the mark to assert that during their period of undisputed power the "Tweed Ring" had for division among themselves and their followers a sum equal to \$100,000,000. How little the city had to show for this vast sum taken from the city treasury may be inferred from the following conclusions reached by a committee of citizens under the presidency of Mr. William Booth, after a hasty

**The Tweed
Ring.**

examination of the "Capital Ring" accounts in October, 1871: (1) The debt of our city is doubling every two years; (2) \$3,200,000 have been paid for repairs on armories and drill-rooms, the actual cost of which was less than \$250,000; (3) over \$11,000,000 have been charged for outlays on an unfinished courthouse, for which building, completed, an honest estimate of real cost would be less than \$3,000,000; (4) safes, carpets, furniture, etc., have cost \$7,289,466, which are valued by competent persons, after careful examination, at \$624,180; (5) \$460,000 have been paid for \$48,000 worth of lumber; (6) the printing, advertising, stationery, etc., of the city and county have cost in two years and eight months \$7,168,212; (7) a large number of persons are on the pay-rolls of the city whose services are neither rendered nor required; (8) figures upon warrants and vouchers have been fraudulently altered and payments have been frequently made upon forged indorsements. These were mere surface indications of the extent of the Ring Frauds, but they afford a standard by which to measure the scale on which the city was robbed.

The colossal frauds of Tweed and his Ring finally resulted in a great popular uprising. A series of fortunate accidents gave the Reformers the control of the Controller's Office, and a brief investigation revealed the nature and the extent of the frauds that had been practiced. It was when these discoveries had become common property and public indignation was thoroughly aroused that Tweed gave utterance to his famous question: "What are you going to do about it?"

First Committee of Seventy.

The answer was framed in a Union of Citizens, the first Committee of Seventy, who issued the following appeal: "Resolved, That the citizens of this city are earnestly entreated to make the reform of their government the one controlling issue of the next election; to support no man for office, and especially the Legislature of the State, no matter what may be his party name, who is not known

to be both honest and incorruptible and determined, and distinctly pledged so far as he is able, whatever may be the consequence, to reform this City of New York."

The first Committee of Seventy, like that one which performed such signal service to the city in the Fall of 1894, was made up of representatives of all shades of party opinion. Determined to break up the Ring, it did not pause in its activity, and when it had succeeded in scattering the Ring and had imprisoned its leader, but retained its organization through 1872, until its efforts were entirely crowned with success in the election of William F. Havemeyer as Mayor, on a platform of non-partisan reform. Thus for the third time the non-partisan standard had proved itself the one successful rallying point for the enemies of Tammany and Corruption.

RECORDS OF SOME OF TAMMANY'S NOTABLE LEADERS.

- AARON BURR—Killed Alexander Hamilton, and tried for treason against the United States.
- BENJAMIN ROMAINE—Many times grand sachem and sachem, and a leader for twenty-five years; dismissed in 1806 from office for malfeasance, etc.
- CORNELIUS WARNER—Removed from office in 1807 for defrauding the city.
- ABRAHAM STAGG—Grand sachem and leader; embezzled \$1,000 of city money in 1807, etc.
- SAMUEL L. PAGE and SIMON ACKERMAN—For many years prominent leaders; embezzled city money in 1807.
- JONAS HUMBERT—Another early powerful leader; proved guilty of extortion and forced to resign, 1807.
- MATTHEW L. DAVIS—Burr's close friend and a noted leader, 1800-1825; charged with smuggling, 1808; tried in the Criminal Court for a swindle involving several millions of dollars in 1826; con-

victed, and subsequently in a second trial, owing to political influence, acquitted. Jacob Barker, a great financial power and one of the most influential leaders, was tried with Davis in 1826 and twice convicted, but likewise escaped.

WILLIAM MOONEY—The founder of the Tammany Society; removed as Superintendent of the Almshouse in 1809 for defrauding for the sum of \$5,000.

RUGGLES HUBBARD—Absconded after depleting the city treasury while Sheriff in 1817.

JOHN L. BROOME—Removed from the office of City Clerk in 1817 for neglecting to take the necessary securities from Hubbard.

JOHN P. HAFF—Removed from the office of Surveyor of the Port by President Monroe in 1818 for corruption and general unfitness.

NAPHTALI JUDAH, TEUNIS WORTMAN, JOHN L. BROOME and others—Implicated in the remarkable lottery swindles of 1818.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS—Charged specifically in 1818 with being a public defaulter.

ROBERT SWARTWOUT—A defaulter in 1820 to the amount of \$68,000 to the United States Government.

WILLIAM J. WALDRON—Heavily bribed members of the Legislature in 1824 to secure charters.

GENERAL JOHN P. VAN NESS—Could not account in 1821 for \$60,000 of Government money.

SAMUEL SWARTWOUT—As Collector of the Port defaulted to the amount of \$1,222,705.69 of Government money in some years before 1838.

FERNANDO WOOD—Indicted for fraudulently obtaining \$8,000 from his partner, but escaped prison by pleading the statute of limitation.

ISAAC V. FOWLER—As United States Postmaster-General defaulted for upward of \$155,000 of Government money.

WILLIAM M. TWEED—Under his regime the city was robbed of about \$200,000,000.

(As shown by Mr. Gustavus Myers in his history of Tammany Hall.)

FROM 1872 TO MAYOR STRONG'S TERM.

Wm. H. Wickham, the Tammany candidate, was elected Mayor in the Fall of 1874. In commenting upon that election the press of the city had this to say: "If anybody had predicted in the Fall of 1871, when public indignation against the Tammany ring was at its height, that in three years the same political organization, with but a slight change of leaders, would be able to control the affairs of this city, that person would have been laughed to scorn. Yet, with but one important exception, every Tammany Hall nominee for local office was elected." It may be noted as an interesting item, in the results of this campaign, that the only Tammany candidate who came near being defeated was Richard Croker, who was at that time one of the nominees for Coroner, and who polled only 82,398 votes, against 111,880 votes by his party candidate for Mayor.

With the election of Mr. Edw. Cooper as Mayor in 1878, and of Mr. Wm. R. Grace in 1880, there was furnished a demonstration that it was possible to put into the Mayor's chair men of known independence of character, without much regard to their position as partisans. Their hands were, to a great extent, tied by the legislation which made the tenure of office of heads of departments longer than their own, and by rendering the process of removal of such officers tedious and difficult, made the character of the city administration virtually independent of the action of the Mayor.

Mayor Hewitt, who was elected to fill the place vacated by Mayor Grace, encountered the same kind of obstacles as his predecessor had done, and labored under the addi-

**Tammany
Chafed under
Mayors
Cooper,
Grace and
Hewitt.**

tional embarrassment of having the formal support of the Tammany Organization. The restoration of Tammany Hall to power, which was the direct result of the election of 1888, lasted long enough to admit of a complete subjugation of all the departments of the city government to an organization, the chief end of whose existence is plunder. The success with which this end was pursued, during the six years covering the two official terms of Mayor Grant and Mayor Gilroy, was skillfully concealed under the outward appearance of economical expenditure.

The Committee of Seventy was formed at a mass meeting of outraged citizens on Sept. 6, 1894. A platform was prepared and a well organized movement started to rid the city of Tammany government. The people gave hearty support to the reform movement, and Wm. L. Strong was triumphantly elected Mayor.

PROGRESS UNDER MAYOR STRONG.

It was claimed in 1894 by Mayor Gilroy that in the preceding six years of Tammany's administration the improvement of the paving of the streets of New York had been as systematic, energetic and rapid as it had been in any other time of the city's history. The following figures show the methods of Tammany in their so-called improvements. Before February, 1895, there were laid, with fifteen years' guarantee, 952,175 square yards of asphalt pavements at a cost of \$3,693,297.40, an average of \$3.87 per square yard. During Mayor Strong's administration there were laid, with fifteen years' guarantee, 916,602 square yards, at a cost of \$2,912,046.93, an average of \$3.17 per square yard. Had it been possible for the city of New York to expend an amount of money to cover the cost of paving at the rate fixed by the Public Works Department under Mayor Strong, the city would have been able to have laid 37,761 square yards more than was actually put down, at an average cost of \$2.52 4-10 cents per yard.

The number of clerks and employes in the Bureau of Water Register on March 1, 1897, was over 30 per cent. less than the number performing the same duties March 1, 1895. The expenses of this bureau at the close of this administration, as compared with the expenses when Mayor Strong took hold of the reins, show a decrease of over 28 per cent., while the increase of receipts as compared with those of the former administration show over 25 per cent. The increase of the revenue from water rents was \$175,000.

It is due to the Department of Docks, under Mayor Strong, that plans were begun and the execution completed, that gave New York a system of water front improvement which has provided suitable accommodations for the increased demands of shipping on the North

**Water and
Dock Re-
forms under
Mayor
Strong.**

River. The improvements yield an annual revenue to the city of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest on the total expenditure, besides the great advantages they offer to commerce. An act authorizing the erection of recreation piers was passed in 1892, but nothing was done to carry out its provisions while Tammany was in power. The administration of Mayor Strong built five of these piers, and their importance cannot be overestimated.

The adjournment of the Lexow Committee found the Police Department in a demoralized state, but the new board appointed by Mayor Strong, by adoption of new methods and by its enforcement of strict and impartial measures, speedily caused the retirement of many officers totally unfit for duty, and promotions were made for bravery and fitness, instead of political pull. The police force waged war upon all criminals, instead of protecting some for the purpose of catching others. When Mayor Strong's administration commenced all sorts of purveyors of vice were allowed to ply their trade unmolested. The business of blackmail and protection was broken up. Fewer crimes of violence, fewer murders and burglaries were committed, and convictions were necessarily decreased. The city magistrates appointed by Mayor Strong, in place of police justices, made radical changes, and strived consistently and intelligently to mete out substantial justice.

Colonel Waring

From 1881 until Col. Waring took charge the record of the Street Cleaning Department was one of shameless corruption, extravagance and wretched inefficiency. He transformed the workers of the department into willing and efficient workers. The army of 2,500 men became justly proud of their work, earned their wages by honest labor, were untaxed by political bosses, and were sure of their positions as long as they did their work properly. The work of the department was an honest and business-like administration, that has reflected credit upon the name and memory of the indefatigable worker who labored so zealously for the welfare of the people of our city.

The Health Department put into application the tenement house law, allowing the seizure and condemnation of tenements absolutely unfit to live in. Many of the obnoxious rear buildings were destroyed, and the death rate among the poorer classes was correspondingly greatly diminished. The department also was the pioneer among sanitary authorities in the introduction and administration of diphtheria anti-toxin. New disinfecting apparatus, in the treatment of infectious diseases, and the admirable medical inspection of schools, are some of the reforms which were instituted under Mayor Strong.

It may be said that under his administration the progress in all departments and branches of municipal work was the most marked that New York has ever known.

THE TAMMANY POLICE.

Of all the agencies which Tammany Hall employs to secure by blackmail the money it needs for its members and adherents, few are more effective and none so brazenly corrupt as the Police Department. Paid by the people to suppress crime and disorder, the Police Department is using its great power, under the direction and supervision of Tammany Hall leaders, to secure regular payments of money from gamblers and dive-keepers, in return for freedom from police interference. In other words, the Police Department, which is paid and maintained by the people to suppress vice, is instead licensing vice and crime and collecting huge fees for the benefit of Tammany Hall. That these statements are true of the Police Department as it existed before the administration of Mayor Strong, was proved hundreds of times by the Lexow Investigation of 1894. That the same statements are true now is a certainty only just short of being legally proved.

VICE IN 1897 CAMPAIGN.

In the Mayoralty campaign of 1897, Tammany gathered to its aid all the resources of the criminal classes—the gamblers, pool-sellers and dive-keepers, who saw in a Tammany victory renewed opportunities to pursue their business unmolested by the police. In that campaign two of the most notorious gambling-house and pool-room men in the city were associate leaders in Tammany district organizations; and both of these men publicly announced contributions of thousands of dollars to the Tammany campaign fund. When Tammany won the election, and Richard Croker's Mayor, Van Wyck, was in the highest administrative office, the first move was to make the Police Department into an effective blackmailing machine, just as it had been in the Lexow days.

GETTING RID OF M'CULLAGH.

The first difficulty was found in the fact that the then Chief of Police, John McCullagh, was an honest man. McCullagh had been made acting Chief of Police by the Roosevelt board, in August, 1897. The new board appointed by Mayor Van Wyck, and composed of York and Sexton, Democrats, and Hamilton and Philips, Republicans, made McCullagh Chief. From the very first there were rumors that McCullagh was to be thrown out, and that his appointment as chief was only temporary. In answer to this, President York, of the board, made this declaration: "As long as I am President of the board, he (McCullagh) will stay, unless he wishes to retire. He is a competent man, and well able to carry on the duties of the police; and is in the opinion of the board the best man in the department for chief."

M'CULLAGH'S RECORD.

But McCullagh was in the way of Tammany Hall. He took active and successful measures for the suppression of gambling, pool-selling and disorderly houses. The Police Board ordered him to enforce the laws; it has to do that to keep up appearances.

But McCullagh did not take these orders for the "bluff" they were. Gamblers tried in vain to make deals with him, so that by the payment of a regular money tribute they might be secured from interference by the police; Tammany politicians threatened him with trouble in store for him if he did not yield to them and allow the law to be violated. He did enforce the laws, however, and Tammany decided to get rid of him.

FARRELL AND SULLIVAN.

The first serious clash came when Officer McConnell, attached to Inspector Brooks' staff, interfered with a pool-room at Twenty-ninth street and Eighth avenue—opposite the corner where Chief Devery has taken his

stand every night for five years past—Devery told the Mazet Committee he had been there.

McConnell testified before the Mazet Committee that Frank Farrell, a long-time friend of Devery, was running the pool-room at that time, and that Farrell told him (McConnell) that the latter would get into trouble if he interfered, because Senator "Tim" Sullivan was behind the place.

At once Commissioner Sexton asked, and then ordered, McCullagh to transfer McConnell, so that he could not bother Farrell and Sullivan. For a time McCullagh refused—until McConnell's ill health made it necessary to put a physically sound man in his place. But McCullagh had signed his own death warrant by his independent action. He proved his honesty, and showed that Tammany must get rid of him, if it would get the desired results from the Police Department.

POLICE BOARD REORGANIZED.

A deadlock in the Police Board resulted from the refusal of the Republican members to vote for McCullagh's retirement. The Mayor, first picking a quarrel with McCullagh on a trumped up charge of "politics," removed Commissioners Hamilton and Philips at noon, May 21, 1898, and at the same time appointed Jacob Hess as a Republican member of the board. Hess arrived at Police Headquarters ahead of the notices of removal of the other two Commissioners, who had just gone away from a meeting of the board. As soon as these notices of removal were received the two Democratic Commissioners, York and Sexton, together with Hess, the make-believe Republican, held a meeting, retired McCullagh, and appointed as Acting Chief Wm. S. Devery, a personal friend of Richard Croker, and a man of notoriously bad record in the department. It was not until June 30, 1898, that the Mayor appointed the fourth member of the board, Henry E. Abell, a Republican.

A CONSPIRACY.

That the proceeding was a conspiracy entered into by the Mayor, at the dictation of Croker, for the purpose of putting into power, as Chief of Police, a corrupt and shameless official, who could be relied upon to keep his hands off Tammany interests, is beyond contradiction. No charge of inefficiency was ever brought against McCullagh. He was honest, capable and straightforward, and in a service of more than twenty-eight years, the only discipline he had ever received was a five days' fine. But Tammany did not want an honest Chief—and the Mayor used his official power to further Croker's plan for a "wide-open city" and a big revenue by securing to the chiefship a proved corrupt man—Devery.

HESS A MERE TOOL.

Hess was chosen because it was necessary for the Mayor to appoint two men ranking as Republicans, and because it was certain that Hess would, as a Commissioner, vote for Tammany's schemes, and make Devery Chief.

Hess himself testified before the Mazet Committee in 1899 that he knew before the Mayor appointed him that he was to vote against McCullagh and for Devery, and that he did so vote because he "knew what happened to" Hamilton and Philips for their refusal to do so. That Hess was not in fact a Republican, and that the Mayor violated the spirit, if not the letter, of the bi-partisan law in appointing him, is well enough shown by Hess' testimony that he, a Republican, was a member of the Democratic Club!

DEVERY: "I DID ALL I COULD TO HELP HIM," SAID CROKER.

Why was Devery made first Acting Chief and then Chief by the board of three members? Plainly, because he was faithful to Tammany, ready to wink at, and even to assist the Tammany blackmailing of crime, and be-

cause he was a personal friend of Croker, whose word is the law of Tammany. For Tammany to gain its ends it was necessary that a large and regular income should be obtained from all forms of vice, in return for which these offences against the law were to be overlooked by the police. A regular license tariff, such as that disclosed by the Lexow Investigation, was again put in force, covering gambling houses, pool-rooms and all sorts of "skin games" and disorderly houses.

DEVERY PROVED FAITHFUL.

Devery had proved through years of service his faithfulness to these Tammany methods. Dismissed by the Police Board in 1894 on charges of corruption, based upon Lexow evidence, he was reinstated by the courts in 1895, because he had been tried in his absence. Indicted five times for corruption and failure to suppress disorderly houses, he was saved once by Supt. Byrnes, once by Justice Smyth, who granted a temporary injunction on which he never handed down a decision, and once by the Tammany District Attorney Fellows, who secured the dismissal of three indictments. Devery took his medicine stoically, and thereby was marked for promotion when Tammany should have a free hand. Croker testified before the Mazet Committee: "I did all I could for him" (Devery).

"All I could," as New York City knows too well, means that Croker ordered the Mayor to have Devery made Chief, and that the Mayor, Croker's puppet, obeyed the Boss' order, at the great risk of breaking the law. Devery was vindicated. He did not "squeal" in the days of trouble—he was bold, corrupt, imperturbable—and Tammany knows the value and rewards of such qualities. Croker, in a public interview on May 4, 1898, declared that Devery was the best man for Chief.

THE TOWN WIDE OPEN UNDER DEVERY.

With Devery's appointment as Chief of Police, the good days that were before the Lexow Investigation

dawned again. Gamblers and dive-keepers opened their doors wide. Tribute poured into the hands of police agents, and was "handed up," in the phrase of Capt. Schmittenberger, to the leaders, for whom the police force was merely a blackmailing agency. In October, 1898, scarcely four months after Devery was made Chief, McCullagh's work was undone.

PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE.

Most of what Mr. Matthews' story told was well known to the public. Dives were running with no concealment whatever; disorderly women thronged the streets, free from police interference. And from Devery's elevation dated the rise of Frank Farrell as a poolroom magnate. Before that time Farrell had kept a poolroom, reputed to have been owned by Senator "Tim" Sullivan. But Farrell had long been a friend of Devery's—had gone bail for him in his days of trouble, and when Devery rose, Farrell rose with him.

DEVERY BLUFFS AND HEDGES.

So great was the stir made by Mr. Matthews' article that Devery felt the necessity of doing something for the credit of Tammany. Following the ancient dodge, he wrote to Mr. Matthews requesting details as to particular places, so that the police might take action against them. Mr. Matthews, in reply, offered to conduct Devery, with President York, Mr. Croker, the Mayor and any of their friends, upon a tour of the places where he had found the material for his article. Of course Devery did not accept, and his failure to accept was a practical confession of what the general public knew about the police protection of vice and gambling.

THE MAZET COMMITTEE.

"Wide open" New York continued wide open until the Mazet Committee, which came to the city in April, 1899.

MLC

forced a temporary and outward prudence on the part of the Police Department. That committee's investigation brought out along with many other things the details of the conspiracy to remove Chief McCullagh, the influence over the police administration wielded by Tammany district leaders, and the existence at that very time of more than a hundred poolrooms, which Devery professed himself ignorant of. Here *again* Devery proved his right to Tammany vindication, for he could remember little or nothing of past crimes committed in the city, knew nothing about the existence of dives and gambling places, and, most astonishing of all, could not recall whether he had ever been dismissed from the police force or tried in the courts. It was before this committee that Croker declared his part in making Devery Chief of Police. A few raids were made by the police, while the committee was in session, and at various times the poolrooms were "tipped" to "go slow"—but this was only for appearance sake, and was abandoned at the end of the Summer, when the committee ended its work.

THE MARCH GRAND JURY, 1900.

With the end of the Mazet investigation, police caution was relaxed, and the wide open town felt no restraint save the obligation to pay tribute for police protection. During the Winter of 1899-1900 Capt. Chapman was sent over to the "Red Light" district, east of the Bowery, and for some weeks he carried on a spectacular crusade against the "cafes," which were in reality only disorderly houses. Chapman's methods, however, were only for show, for he smashed up furniture and fittings, instead of arresting the proprietors of these places and securing evidence upon which they could be convicted. His activity was a "bluff," and when he had "worked" it for most of the Winter, he was transferred out of the district "for a rest," according to Devery.

Public attention was again aroused by the publication

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in the Times of March 7, 1900, of an account of the "Gambling Syndicate," which handles the revenues from gambling houses and poolrooms, and collects in this way a sum estimated at more than \$3,500,000 annually. The Grand Jury, then in session, took up the matter, and Commissioner York, Chief Devery, and Capt. Thomas, then in command of the "Tenderloin" district, together with others, were called before the Grand Jury as witnesses. More than forty indictments for gambling were handed up by this Grand Jury, together with three indictments against Capt. Thomas for neglect of duty in failing to suppress the Tivoli and other vile resorts in his district. These indictments were indignantly characterized by Devery as "nonsense," and he refused to suspend Thomas pending the latter's trial on the charges. These were dismissed during the following Summer.

It was at this time that Devery made a stupidly obvious play to disgust the public with the vice investigation by arresting the musicians in several well known restaurants, which did not have a concert license. This is an old Tammany game; but, though it was promptly exposed, and was condemned by Tammany men, the apathy of the public was such that even the bitter denunciation of the police, which was handed up by the Grand Jury at the end of the March term, failed to make any deep impression.

PRESENTMENT OF MARCH GRAND JURY.

After three weeks' study of the relations between vice and the police, the Grand Jury had this to say: "We do charge and present that in their relations to these places [disorderly houses], the officials of the police, from the roundsmen up to the commissioners, are guilty of criminal ignorance and criminal negligence. The root of the evil is not so much in the gambling or pool-selling or policy-playing, or in the disorderly resorts, as it is in the system of police administration, which either blindly or

corruptly permits open and flagrant violations of the law to go unpunished and unchecked. The inference is unavoidable that the neglect and the blindness (under the present police system) are due, not to a lack of intelligence or of knowledge, but to some direct interest in the maintenance of these places."

What the wide open town had come to mean in deaths, in disease, and in the debauching of children, especially in the tenement districts of the east side, was graphically set forth by Franklin Matthews, again making an investigation for Harper's Weekly in October, 1900. This article gives rather an understatement of the truth, if anything, but it shows faithfully some of the hideous results of Tammany's policy toward vice.

Devery's absolute compliance with the will of his creator, Richard Croker, was never more clearly demonstrated than by Devery's attempt in the election of 1900 to make the Police Department active agents in carrying out the forcible fraud which Richard Croker advised all Democrats to make their concern on election night.

In a public interview on Oct. 30, 1900, Croker again took up his old part of captain of the notorious "Tunnel Gang"—and this was his command to his henchmen, to renew the disgraceful election frauds, which in the past have returned from certain east side districts absolutely unanimous votes for the Tammany candidates. Here is what the rowdy boss said:

"I advise all Democrats to go to the polling places on election night, count noses, and see that they get counted. If the vote does not tally, let them go in and pull out the fellows in charge. I want to have you print this. (Croker to reporters, Oct. 30, 1900.)

DEVERY'S ELECTION ORDER.

Subservient Devery heard—was it simply through the newspapers?—and on Sunday night, Nov. 4, issued the following order to police captains:

"To All—Tactics and methods of intimidation perpetrated upon respectable citizens who have been one year in the State, four months in any of the four counties of New York City, namely, New York, Kings, Queens and Richmond, who have resided thirty days in an election district, and who are legal voters, by John McCullagh, Superintendent of Elections, *will not be tolerated or permitted by the Police Department*, and the commanding officers of the department will give all complaints touching on such matters their special attention, and will instruct the members of their commands to use all means within their power to protect the honest right and franchise of all citizens on election day.

(Signed)

WILLIAM S. DEVERY."

M'CULLAGH AGAIN IN THE WAY.

John McCullagh, once before the great obstacle in the way of good Tammany manipulation of the Police Department, had been appointed superintendent of the metropolitan election district under a law passed in the Summer of 1898, when Devery's promotion to be chief had clearly disclosed Croker's intention of renewing the old fraudulent conduct of elections in Tammany's interest, and making the police a party to that fraud and intimidation which Tammany had so successfully practiced in the past. McCullagh attacked colonization schemes and false registry lists, and prevented the casting of thousands of fraudulent votes. How great was the accomplishment appears from the report of 1900, when of over 13,000 alleged voters registered from a compact lodging and hotel district in the east side, but little more than 4,000 were actually cast, the rest being proved fraudulent by McCullagh.

ROOSEVELT INTERFERES.

Thanks to an honest Governor, the Croker-Devery scheme was blocked. Gov. Roosevelt notified the Mayor

that he should hold him responsible for any disorder, violence, or fraud, "resulting from either the action or the inaction" of Devery, and thus warned, the Mayor compelled Devery to withdraw his incendiary order and issue one requiring the police to co-operate with McCullagh in enforcing the elections law.

After he had issued this second order Devery, all unconscious of the proof he thereby gave of the unlawful quality of his first intention, said to the reporters: "Tomorrow's election will be the fairest ever held in New York City."

DEVERY INDICTED.

The issuance of Devery's order was an act so incendiary that when the November Grand Jury, sworn in the day after the order was issued, had the case presented to them, they at once indicted Devery for attempted interference with the election superintendent. The indictment was dismissed a few days afterward, the representative of the Attorney General making the request on the ground that the indictment had served its purpose by preventing the carrying out of Devery's order. No clearer evidence could be given of the supremacy of Croker than this attempt of Devery's, not only to disregard his official duty, but to command an actual violation of law by his subordinates.

THE CITIZENS' MOVEMENT.

So great had the corruption become in the Police Department, so flagrant and disgusting the vice which flourished openly by the license of that department, that the Summer of 1900 demonstrated the necessity of action by the citizens themselves to protect themselves against the misdoing of the corrupt officials they had allowed to be put in office by Richard Croker and his organized and voting plunderers.

HERLIHY AND DR. PADDOCK.

This new conflict—the citizens against the corruption of their public officers—grew immediately out of the in-

solence with which Capt. Herlihy, in command of the east side "Red Light" district, treated complaints made to him by the Rev. Walter Paddock, rector of the Pro-Cathedral, in Stanton street. The conditions in that district had become, as they now are, of the most hideous character, well shown by this description by one who is exceptionally familiar with the east side:

Imagine, if you can, a section of the city territory completely dominated by one man, without whose permission neither legitimate nor illegitimate business can be conducted; where illegitimate business is encouraged and legitimate business discouraged; where the respectable residents have to fasten their doors and windows summer nights and sit in their rooms with asphyxiating air and 100 degree temperature, rather than try to catch the faint whiff of breeze in their natural breathing places—the stoops of their homes—where naked women dance by night in the streets, and unsexed men prowl like vultures through the darkness on "business" not only permitted, but encouraged, by the police; where the education of infants begins with the knowledge of prostitution and the training of little girls is training in the arts of Phyrne; where American girls brought up with the refinements of American homes are imported from small towns up-State, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Jersey, and kept as virtually prisoners as if they were locked up behind jail bars until they have lost all semblance of womanhood; where small boys are taught to solicit for the women of disorderly houses; where there is an organized society of young men whose sole business in life is to corrupt young girls and turn them over to bawdy houses; where men walking with their wives along the street are openly insulted; where children that have adult diseases are the chief patrons of the hospitals and dispensaries; where it is the rule, rather than the exception, that murder, rape, robbery and theft go unpunished—in short, where the Premium of the most awful forms of Vice is the Profit of the politicians.

There is no "wine, woman and song" over there. The "wine" is stale beer, the "woman" is a degraded money-making machine, and the "song" is the wail of the outraged innocent. The political backers have got it down to what has been called a "cash-register, commutation-ticket basis," called so from the fact that in some of these places they issued tickets, on the plan of a commutation meal-ticket, and had cash registers at the entries.

These women (most of them are girls, by the way) live in three ways. Either they live by fifteen or twenty in an entire house, presided over by an elderly Jezebel, or they live in twos in a "flat" comprising two or three rooms. Occasionally a woman lives alone, that is, in a "flat," generally in a respectable house; but she has to get "protection" just the same as her sisters in the "big houses." For these "houses" the initiation fee ranges from \$300 to \$500 and the monthly payments from \$100 to \$150. These payments are usually made to an authorized agent. There are two or three "chief collectors," whose names appear in the newspapers every day. The women who live in flats by themselves in houses occupied entirely by their ilk, and owned often by a politician, pay in either of two ways. They may pay a monthly tribute to a woman recognized as the owner's agent, who lives and does business in the house herself and so is enabled to keep close watch of the tenants, or she may pay direct to the owner in the shape of a rental of \$75 a month for the wretched two or three rooms which ordinarily ought not to bring \$15. Of course, these payments imply police protection, and woe to the policeman who interferes with them. On the other hand, what happens to the policeman who tries to do his duty is illustrated by a case that occurred not so long ago in an east side precinct. A policeman observing or hearing a disturbance in a disorderly house, pushed in to see what it was all about. Finding the undeniable evidence that the place was a bawdy house, he arrested everybody on his own responsibility. He was sharply summoned to a certain quarter, made to understand that he should mind his own business in certain directions, got so frightened that he "weakened" in the police court, and next day was transferred to a very undesirable place.

To come back for a minute to these so-called women. In the majority of cases these girls have struggled to get away when they discovered too late what their surroundings were. Their clothing has been taken away. They cannot get any more. They are often beaten by their jealous sisterhood.

There have been cases where these girls have screamed from the windows. Screaming is the common mode of speech in the neighborhood and the girls' outcries attract no attention. A policeman near by may hear it, look to see where it comes from, finds it is from one of the "places on the inside," stifling his conscience with the thought that it is merely a drunken row. The girl has got into her present prison hurriedly, she knows not where to send for assistance, if indeed she could get a messenger. The small boys of the neighborhood are usually in the employ of the traffic. Still, occasionally an imprisoned girl has

managed to get word to some one of the many charitable institutions, and so been rescued. The majority of them, however, give up to Fate, and become the most degraded of them all.

The cause of this? Could a girl be imprisoned against her will for any length of time in a densely populated street in this city without an unspeakable system of police and political corruption?

At night, in the summer, this last summer for example, the streets were thronged with members of the different gangs of panders, most smooth-faced young fellows, who are divided into two classes—"lighthouses" and "watch-boys." Neither the "lighthouses" nor the "watch-boys" exert themselves to look out for the police, as is popularly supposed. Then there are the "card-carriers," little boys (God save the mark!) from 4 to 8 years old, who distribute cards bearing addresses of women to all male passersby, even getting out to the Bowery and up to Third avenue. I have had a dirty little boy, who could not have been a day over 5 years, shove a dirty card into my hand and lisp: "I take you nice woman, mister." The duty of the "card-carrier" is to spot the victim afar off. If he takes the card and proceeds in the direction indicated by the address, all well and good. If not, he is reported to the "watch-boy," who tries his hand at persuading. Failing that, the "lighthouse" is "put on" and he frequently tries force to get into a house.

It is the ambition of many an east side little boy just learning to lisp a prayer to become a "card-carrier," then a "watch-boy," and finally graduate to the dignity of a "lighthouse." There is a woman who acts as agent for a prominent Tammany politician who has trained her baby daughter—the child is less than 4 years old—to notify her of the approach of a customer. There is nothing of pathos throughout this story, but the pathos of hard, cold fact.

One night last week I went to call upon a worthy Jewish woman who is trying to second the efforts of her husband to bring up their children in as much comfort as their little means will allow, and in as much decency as the neighborhood will permit. After greetings, she was asked about conditions around her, as they had been and were. By suggestion, the children, ranging from 4 to 12 years, were sent out of the room. After they had gone she exclaimed: "It was well thought of, sir; but, O God, there isn't anything that they, from the youngest up, don't know about this whole awful business!"

She told of the children looking out the window and exclaiming: "Oh, mamma, the Nafkes have got another man!" She told of locking herself and her children in their room during

the stifling nights of summer, so that they could not hear or see the awful obscenities that were going on in full view of the street in front of the house of "the Great Tammany Man." She told of women wearing nothing but wrappers, and cavorting about on the sidewalk with their wrappers thrown over their shoulders. She told of men and their wives passing by on their way to the synagogue and half-naked women leaning out of the window and calling to the husband to come in, as they were prettier than the wife, and for the wife to come in so she could earn more money there than the husband could earn for her.

To what a frightful extent the little children are involved in the "business" of partnership with Tammany Hall and naked vice may be inferred from a few brief sentences. A very well known east side physician who does his works of mercy unheralded told me the other night that a very large proportion of the cases in the east side dispensaries and hospitals were cases of children suffering from venereal diseases. This is largely due to a more or less well known superstition that prevails in some parts of Europe. The physician referred to then had under his care a boy of nine and a girl of thirteen. Further inquiry among the dispensaries fully corroborated the doctor's statements.—New York Evening Sun, Jan. 4, 1901.

In reply to Dr. Paddock's complaint of these conditions, and his request that the police prevent such an open conduct of vicious resorts, Herlihy replied, "You're a liar," and when the Police Board put Herlihy on trial last December and finally declared him not guilty of the charges of neglect of duty, it was on the testimony of Herlihy's subordinates that Dr. Paddock and his witness were in fact liars in making the charges against Herlihy.

The Diocesan Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church took up the matter, and on Sept. 27 instructed Bishop Potter to make complaint to the authorities, both of the conditions which the police permitted on the East Side, and the treatment they gave to the serious and well founded representations of clerygmen who were seeking to change those conditions through personal work among the people of the "Red Light" district.

To the Mayor, Robert Van Wyck, to the man who, under Richard Croker's dictation had displaced an honest Chief of Police with the paid servant of vice and

crime, Bishop Potter had to turn for such relief as shame might compel the Mayor to grant. Here is his letter—one of the strongest, soberest and soundest indictments ever made against the rule of Tammany Hall:

BISHOP POTTER'S LETTER TO THE MAYOR.

"Diocesan House, Lafayette place, New York, Nov. 15, 1900.

"The Hon. Robert A. Van Wyck, Mayor of the City of New York.

"Sir—At No. 130 Stanton street, in this city, there is a work for the people resident in that neighborhood of a missionary, educational and social character for which for some years I have been directly and personally responsible. Its influence for good order and good morals, to describe it in no other way, has been considerable, and has been recognized, I think I may venture to say, by those who know it as of real and enduring value. It is not only a centre for the ministrations of religion, but also for training in various arts and handicrafts, for a free library, gymnasium, cooking, sewing and other schools, etc., etc., and as such, for those whose lives are often hard and narrow and whose pleasures and privileges are few, it has been recognized as an important factor in promoting the virtue and good order of the communities to which it ministers.

ITS CLAIM FOR CONSIDERATION.

"In view of these facts it would seem that it has a valid claim upon the sympathy, co-operation and at least courteous consideration of those who officially represent our city government and the guardianship of decency and good morals. I urge here no other claim for it, and I beg to say that I am not now addressing you because there has been in that which I now desire to bring to your notice a vulgar and brutal absence of these in connection with one who happens to have been my own representative. The personal element, so far as he is or I am concerned, is of the very smallest consequence.

"But the thing that is of consequence, sir, is that when a minister of religion and a resident in a particular neighborhood, whose calling and character, experience and truthfulness are alike widely and abundantly recognized, goes to the headquarters of the police in his district to appeal to them for the protection of the young, the innocent and the defenseless against the leprous harpies who are hired as runners and touters for

the lowest and most infamous dens of vice he is met, not only with contempt and derision, but with the coarsest insult and obloquy.

READY WITH PROOF.

"You will say that these are strong words. I hold myself ready at any time to submit the facts that substantiate them. The statement now in my possession of two clergymen of the highest character contains the testimony of two men, given without exaggeration, with the most painstaking reserve, and with absolute truthfulness. In substance it is briefly this: That when one of them complained to a police captain of a condition of things in his immediate neighborhood, whose disgusting infamy is a matter of common notoriety, a condition of things easily verified by any intelligent citizen who passes through the streets in which it exists, he was told that he lied; and that when, disheartened by such an experience, he carried his complaint to a higher authority in the police force he was met with insolent derision.

"I affirm that such a virtual safeguarding of vice in the city of New York is a burning shame to any decent and civilized community and an intolerable outrage upon those whom it especially and pre-eminently concerns. I am not, I beg to say, unmindful of the fact that the existence of vice in a great city is, practically, an inevitable condition of the life of such a community. I am not demanding that vice shall be 'stamped out' by the police or any other civil authority. That is a task which would demand for its achievement a race of angels and not of men.

WHERE VICE IS ENCOURAGED.

"But I approach you, sir, to protest with all my power against a condition of things in which vice is not only tolerated, but shielded and encouraged by those whose sworn duty it is to repress and discourage it, and, in the name of unsullied youth and innocence of young girls and their mothers, who, though living under conditions often of privation and the hard struggle for a livelihood, have in them every instinct of virtue and purity that are the ornaments of any so-called gentlewomen in the land.

"I know those of whom I speak; their homes and their lives, their toil and their aspirations. Their sensibility to insult or outrage is as keen as theirs who are in your household or mine, and before God and in the face of the citizens of New York I protest, as my people have charged me to do, against the habitual insult, the persistent menace, the unutterably defiling con-

tact to which, day by day, because of the base complicity of the police of New York with the lowest forms of vice and crime, they are subjected.

"And in the name of these little ones, these weak and defenseless ones, Christian and Hebrew alike, of many races and tongues, but of homes in which God is feared and His law revered, and virtue and decency honored and exemplified, I call upon you, sir, to save these people who are in a very real way committed to your charge from a living hell, defiling, deadly, damning, to which the criminal supineness of the constituted authorities, set for the defense of decency and good order, threatens to doom them.

CONDITIONS HERE UNIQUE.

"I have no methods to suggest, no individuals to single out for especial rebuke and chastisement. These are for you to determine and deal with.

"The situation which confronts us in this metropolis of America is one of common and open notoriety, and of such a nature as may well make us a byword and hissing among the nations of the world.

"For nowhere else on earth, I verily believe, certainly not in any civilized or Christian community, does there exist such a situation as defiles and dishonors New York to-day.

"Vice exists in many cities, but there is at least some persistent repression of its external manifestations, and the agents of the law are not, as here, widely believed to be fattening upon the fruits of its most loathsome and unnamable forms.

INSTRUCTED BY CONVENTION.

"I come to you, sir, with this protest in accordance with the instructions lately laid upon me by the Convention of the Episcopal Church of the Diocese of New York. The events which provoked its action occurred some months ago. There has been no haste on my part or on theirs in behalf of whom I speak in reaching conclusions as to the situation to which I refer. Months have passed since the incidents occurred to which I have alluded in this communication. But in all these months the condition of things in whole neighborhoods has not improved, but rather grown worse.

"Vice not only flaunts in the most open and ribald forms, but hardworking fathers and mothers find it harder than ever to-day to defend their households from a rapacious licentiousness which stops at no outrage and spares no tenderest victim. Such a

state of things cries to God for vengeance and calls no less loudly to you and me for redress.

CONFIDENCE IN THE MAYOR.

"This, sir, is my case. I leave it confidently in your hands. Confidently, I say, because I cannot believe that you will fail to recognize it a great duty, a duty which you will set yourself to discharge, no matter how great the cost.

"I do not forget what has come to be too often expected in our day from those who hold office when those who are their partisan associates are involved in wrongdoing. But I cannot believe that in such a case as this you will hesitate to do your duty, no matter where the doing of it may compel you to strike.

"Great place such as yours demands great courage and great sacrifice.

"Great crises such as that which has now come in the history of our city, and I think I may be forgiven if I add in your own career, demand great acts.

"I cannot believe that you will disdain an opportunity so unique as that which now confronts you for action worthy of your office, your citizenship, your manhood.

"I am, sir, respectfully yours,

"HENRY C. POTTER,

"Bishop of New York."

CROKER AND REFORM.

This letter was sent to the Mayor on Nov. 14, and was made public on the following day.

Richard Croker was alarmed by this sign of a formidable opposition to his vicious rule, and in order to forestall the effect of Bishop Potter's letter he resolved to pose himself as a foe to vice. The result was the farcical Committee of Five. Croker hurriedly called a meeting of the executive committee of Tammany Hall for the next evening, Nov. 15. At the meeting he solemnly announced that there was vice in the city, and that Tammany must ferret out any of its members who were profiting by the alliance with vice. Lewis Nixon, as previously arranged for, moved for the appointment of a Committee of Five to investigate the charge that

Tammany was interested in the protection of vice, and to secure the punishment of all such delinquents. Croker was in a fine rage against vice and the vicious, and called on the district leaders to clean up their districts. Coroner Fitzpatrick, the leader of the Sixth Assembly District, protested that he was not protecting vice, and then followed a pretty interchange of courtesies. Croker was angry.

"I say to you," declared Croker, "there is soliciting in your district. Even the police are solicited there, and they don't do anything to stop it. I can produce policemen who were solicited in your district. If you don't know about it, you don't know as much about your district as I do, and I am not in that district a thousandth part of the time you are!"

"There are more policemen in my district who solicit than are solicited," shouted Fitzpatrick, and the meeting ended in an uproar.

Evidently Croker had made important discoveries since ————. The day before, on the ————, he had offered his aid as a private citizen to Bishop Potter in the latter's proposed attack upon vice. The offer was not accepted, and Croker, much relieved, announced: "This is a pretty clean city after all, and will compare favorably with other large ones." The Bishop's letter was made public on the 15th, following the appointment of the Committee of Five.

Here was a general Tammany alarm. All men knew how flagrantly vice displayed itself. It needed only a walk through a few East Side districts to convince any man that vice was not only rampant, but enjoying the toleration of the police.

President York, of the Police Board, made what was a virtual confession of the corruptness of the police on the East Side. On Nov. 17 he said:

YORK ADMITS CORRUPTION.

"There is no use mincing matters. If places are running openly on the East Side, or on any side of this city, it is the fault of the captain of the precinct. They cannot run openly without his assistance. * * * It is true, as you say; it stands to reason when a vile place is running so openly day after day that every passerby knows what it is, and can go in without any trouble, that the captain is getting some consideration for letting this thing go on." But the Commissioner added: "It was impossible to get evidence of such corruption among the captains, and there the matter rested, so far as the Board was concerned."

HERLIHY TRANSFERRED.

Captain Herlihy was transferred, however, and Captain Titus was sent into the "Red Light" district, with instructions to "clean it up." On the second day of his new command he raided a house of ill-fame at 24 Stanton street, and the woman who kept it was promptly convicted in the Court of Special Sessions and sentenced to nine months in the penitentiary.

That fact disposes once for all of Herlihy's defense that there were no bad houses in the district, and that if there were he couldn't get evidence.

Titus stationed his men at the doors of disorderly houses to warn intending visitors of their danger! Plainly, the police could find and suppress those places when they were ordered to. So far the Police Board had only proved its own guilt.

THE MAYOR RESPONSIBLE.

The Mayor said in his letter to the Police Board:

"I wish it distinctly understood that to this end I shall use to the utmost limit all the power vested in me, and that I shall hold to personal responsibility those who fail to exert themselves in like manner."

This sounds well. And under Section 95 of the Charter, the Mayor had power to make charges against the Commissioners, and after a hearing, and with the Governor's approval—certain in these cases to be given—could have removed them. Of course, he didn't intend to do any such thing; and later events proved it conclusively. He was just shouting for Tammany under Croker's directions.

THE COMMITTEE OF FIVE.

Lewis Nixon, Commissioners Clausen, Keller and Murphy and M. Warley Platzek finally made up the Tammany vice committee. Fire Commissioner Scannell discreetly refused the place offered to him. The committee began business with a flourish. It sent a list of pool-rooms and disorderly houses to the Police Department. It sent its evidence to the District Attorney in January, only to discover that it was not worth enough to warrant its presentation to the Grand Jury. Chairman Nixon haltingly admitted to reporters that men high in Tammany were getting money from gamblers on the promise of protecting the latter, but he argued that this was done without the knowledge or approval of the organization. The gambling combine, he said, had, as a matter of fact, been selling, and the gamblers had been paying for, a protection which couldn't be given!

VS. REPORT.

On March 26 the committee gave up its work, and this was the most significant part of its carefully edited report:

"The gambling situation is in control of the police, as, according to the statements of all captains or their representatives who came before us, no continued gambling could go on at any place in their districts without their knowledge. Hence, evidence that causes conviction of those engaged in unlawful practices of this nature would

consequently cause the conviction of the captain who knowingly permits such violation."

This is not very clear, but its meaning is sound, namely, that if a gambler can be convicted of running an open gambling house the captain of that precinct is guilty of neglect of duty, because the captain themselves say such matters cannot go on without their knowledge.

WESTERVELT.

This doctrine appealed with great force to Captain Josiah A. Westervelt, in whose precinct at 20 Dey street, the District Attorney on Feb. 18 raided the "Parole Club," finding there three detectives and five of Captain Westervelt's officers. Mr. Nixon went to this raid himself, and it has never been contradicted that the place was in the list sent by his committee to the police.

After this raid the District Attorney had Captain Westervelt before a police magistrate, preparatory to arrest and indictment. Captain Westervelt saw his danger, however, and at his request the Police Board, on April 30, retired him on half pay. Captain Herlihy, who was facing examination on similar charges at the same time, was not eligible for retirement, and was compelled to hang on.

THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN.

At a meeting of prominent citizens in the Chamber of Commerce, Nov. 23, 1900, a real anti-vice committee had been authorized, and on Nov. 30 its members were announced as follows:

Jas. A. Carter,	G. F. Peabody,
John S. Kennedy,	Wm. H. Baldwin, Jr.,
Felix Adler,	Alex. E. Orr,
Jacob H. Schiff,	Adrian Iselin, Jr.,
John Harson Rhoades,	Rev. W. L. Paddock,
Alfred T. White,	R. Dell Forest,
Joel B. Erhardt,	F. D. Tappan.
Chas. Sprague Smith,	

At the meeting of Nov. 23, one of the most striking speeches was made by ex-Mayor Abram S. Hewitt, who related his own experience with the police protection vice, and charged that the Mayor was wholly and directly responsible for the state of affairs to which Bishop Potter had called attention.

MURPHY AND DEVERY.

How the Mayor read his own responsibility, and how he still continued to act the will of his civilian and non-official owner, Croker, was clearly shown by his appointment of Michael C. Murphy as the single Commissioner of Police, under the new law signed by the Governor on Feb. 22, 1901. Murphy has long been a good Tammany man, and a friend of Croker. His record, besides that of much office-holding, is a matter of some doubt, rendered permanently unverifiable by the deficiencies of the records in the Court of General Sessions.

He was appointed to secure the supremacy of Devery, whose former place had been legislated out of existence. It was too dangerous to make Devery the single Police Commissioner, and the simple plan was adopted of putting in a Commissioner who would make Devery his first Deputy, and so continue the corrupt management of the police, for which Devery had proved himself the best director. About the first official act of Commissioner Murphy was to make this appointment. Then he delegated to Deputy Devery all the powers of Commissioner that the law allowed him to transfer, and finally announced that: "I am going to purify the city, so it will be clean and good."

RAID BY THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN.

The Committee of Fifteen organized soon after its appointment with Wm. H. Baldwin, Jr., as chairman. It took permanent headquarters, appointed as counsel Col. Robt. Grier Monroe, and settled down to make out a

plan of work. While the Committee of Five was active in its peculiar way, the new committee did not make its work public. After the Five had proved the insincerity of their professions, and had shown that they were to accomplish nothing through their alleged "evidence," the Committee of Fifteen had decided to attack the alliance between the police and the gamblers, with the purpose of demonstrating by legal evidence the fact of such an alliance, and fixing upon its responsible agents.

This purpose was pursued in a series of raids in different parts of the city, numbering more than fifty in all, and furnishing valuable evidence to the identity of the "Gambling Combine."

Feb. 26, 1901, the committee began by raiding the gambling houses in the Tenderloin district. Warrants issued by Justice Jerome, of the Court of Special Sessions, were taken to two West Side police stations about midnight, and the raids were made under the personal direction of members and agents of the committee.

MURPHY.

Commissioner Murphy, who was a member of the Committee of Five, and certainly knew better, declared next day that the Committee of Fifteen was working for mere political effect, and had, anyway, raided closed pool-rooms. "There is no gambling openly carried on," said the Commissioner. The situation was more striking because the evidence on which Justice Jerome had issued warrants was obtained by the detectives who located over one hundred pool-rooms for the Mazet Committee in 1899, and who must therefore have been well known to the keepers of the places.

MURPHY INVESTIGATES.

April 30 the Commissioner sent out one hundred men to investigate gambling, and on March— he received the reports of the captains in whose precincts raids had been

made. So far as the public since learned, the matter ended there.

RAID IN MURPHY'S DISTRICT.

Unhappily, the pool-room at 20 Dey street, raided in February by the District Attorney, was in Mr. Murphy's Assembly District, of which he is the leader. Another raid in his district, at 43 Mercer street, was made by the Society for the Prevention of Crime on March 9.

BROTHERTON.

On March 14 the Committee of Fifteen raided the place of George Brotherton, a California jail-bird, who kept a gambling place in West Forty-second street. On the 15th, 16th and 17th of April other raids followed, Justice Jerome holding court in the police stations, and in some instances personally supervising the execution of his warrants. On the 17th Detective Hughes, of Capt. Moynihan's force, was charged with "tipping off" one of the places raided.

MURPHY AGAIN.

By this time Mr. Murphy admitted that the committee meant well, but he insisted that his captains were doing as much as they knew how to do in the way of suppressing gambling. Ten more raids followed on April 18, and Mr. Murphy announced that gambling was not department business for him.

When a new pool-room at 52 Broad street was raided, Mr. Murphy said he had no "official knowledge" of the fact, and did not intend to take any action against the captain of the precinct. It was in this raid that an account book was found with the entry, "First payment, \$500." Here at last was a cash transaction directly implicating JOHN DOE.

RESULTS.

The raids, which were made solely for the purpose of getting evidence on the personality of the "Gambling

Combine," disclosed much evidence of great value. They established the fact that warnings of raids were sent out from police stations to places which are to be raided. They resulted in many indictments against gamblers, several of whom jumped their bail rather than face a trial, and they demonstrated the willful neglect and unwillingness of the Commissioner of Police to use his power against gambling places favored by the "Combine."

The Committee of Fifteen late in May decided to discontinue these raids on gambling and disorderly houses. The prominence of Justice Jerome in accompanying the raiding parties had aroused some adverse criticism, and after a lull in these proceedings the Committee of Fifteen announced that its efforts would be devoted to securing the enforcement of those sections of the new tenement house law which concerned the presence of disorderly women in tenement houses, and which went into effect on the first day of July. For some time after the cessation of the committee's work against gambling, the interests behind pool-rooms and gambling houses acted with the greatest caution in opening their games to patrons. But they soon regained much of their old confidence in the sufficiency of the protection they had paid the police officials for, and a series of raids conducted at intervals through the summer by the Society for the Prevention of Crime, under the supervision of Frank Moss, produced a good deal of effective evidence, which has led to the indictment of a number of prominent Tammany police officials.

THE BISSERT CASE.

The first important disclosure, however, was the accusation made by Mrs. Lena Schmidt, who charged Wardman Geo. Bissert, of the Fifth Street Police Station, with extorting money from her under the promise of police protection in the conduct of a disorderly house

which she opened in Stuyvesant street late in September, 1900. Bissert was arrested on June 13 on a charge of blackmail, and was held in \$2,500 bail by Justice Jerome, who conducted the examination. Among the many minor examples of corruption in the Police Department this case against Bissert, in its issue of a conviction upon this charge of felony and the imposition of a sentence of five and a half years in the State prison, was the first decisive step in the campaign against the corrupt higher officials of the department, which is still being pressed with great vigor.

Its complete success made it a severe blow to the Tammany organization. The story of the Bissert matter is one which the public believe could be duplicated scores of times over in different parts of the city. The facts, as established at the trial of Bissert, were these: When Mrs. Schmidt opened her house she made an arrangement with Bissert to pay \$500 as an "initiation" fee, and a monthly fee of \$50. The testimony showed that from the time the house was opened Bissert conducted a petty persecution of the Schmidt woman, apparently for the purpose of making her a larger revenue. Finally, in June, the house was closed by the police.

The testimony of Captain Diamond, Bissert's commanding officer, showed conclusively that the case of the Schmidt woman was a piece of blackmail recognized and approved by himself. Diamond said of Mrs. Schmidt: "She was the most persistent violator of the law in the precinct." He admitted that when he sent in his October report to Police Headquarters, giving a list signed by himself of all the houses which he had reason to consider disorderly, he did not include Lena Schmidt's. "He couldn't get evidence to close the house"; he didn't know that any of his men had friendly relations with this house; he even declared that he did not know what a 'wardman' was." It was shown that Captain Diamond did not include this house in his Headquarters report

until June, 1901, when the place was finally closed because the Schmidt woman did not properly increase the amount of her payments to Bissert. The verdict of guilty was reached by the jury in two hours.

**Tammany
Behind
Bissert.**

From the time of Bissert's arrest to his conviction, on August 1, the whole proceedings gave evidence that all the influence of Tammany Hall and its Police Department was exerted to get Bissert out of his difficulty. They showed that the Police Department, instead of being devoted to the enforcement of the law and the interests of the people, would strain its official powers to the utmost to interfere with the processes of the law. Soon after Bissert's arrest Lena Schmidt and Mrs. Minna Kurtz, who was the chief corroborative witness for the people, were induced by Captain Diamond to go to his office in the police station, where he kept them for several hours in an attempt to "persuade" them not to press the charge against Bissert. The District Attorney, seeing the danger that his witnesses would be bought off, or taken out of the county by the friends of Bissert, was forced to appeal to Police Commissioner Murphy to issue an order directing Diamond and his subordinates not to interfere with the two women. The District Attorney was next forced to oppose Bissert's attempt to have his trial transferred to the Supreme Court, a move which would have delayed the trial and given time for more effective police interference with the witnesses for the people. Even with two detectives watching the House of Detention, where the witnesses were detained, the Kurtz woman was spirited away on the night before the trial began. When the trial came on the court-room was crowded with police officers of all ranks, and Tammany politicians and heelers of every stripe. The danger of bribery and coercion appeared so great that Recorder Goff ordered Bissert remanded to the Tombs during the recesses of the court and took the very unusual course of putting the jury under lock and key during the night.

The verdict of the jury was given under circumstances which demanded a good deal of courage in its members. Their verdict was substantially a declaration that they were unwilling to accept the sworn statements of such officers as Bissert and Diamond against the testimony of even the disreputable women who were opposed to them on the witness stand. A final desperate move on the part of Bissert was his obtaining, on the day he was sentenced, a stay from Justice Hooker, of the Supreme Court, then at Fredonia, in the extreme western part of the State. Bissert contended that public opinion in New York County was so inflamed and so prejudiced against the Police Department that his trial had not been a fair one. After an argument by the District Attorney, Justice Hooker finally, on Sept. 30, refused to issue a writ of reasonable doubt, leaving nothing for Bissert but immediate commitment in the State prison.

DIAMOND INDICTED.

The conviction of Bissert had its first results in the offering of a good deal of testimony upon the condition of the affairs in Capt. Diamond's district by several patrolmen detailed there. A raid on a disorderly house in Stuyvesant street, upon Justice Jerome's warrants, by the Society for the Prevention of Crime furnished the strongest kind of evidence that Capt. Diamond was not doing his duty. On this evidence, together with the testimony in the Bissert case and the evidence furnished by several of his patrolmen, Capt. Diamond was indicted for wilful neglect of duty on Aug. 13.

Capt. Diamond took the course which is usual with an "innocent" official. He finally appeared before Recorder Goff on Monday, Aug. 19, armed with a stay of all proceedings, obtained late on the preceding Saturday from Justice Dykeman, of the Supreme Court at White Plains. After hearing the District Attorney's argument some days later Justice Dykeman, on the 27th, transferred the case

to the Supreme Court, where two days later the stay was vacated by Justice Giegerich. On the last day of August Diamond pleaded not guilty to the charge, along with Wardmen Glennon and Dwyer, and Acting Capt. Shiels, of the Tenderloin precinct, who had meanwhile fallen into trouble as the result of the exertions of Frank Moss and his society.

POLICE "TIP OFF" POOLROOMS.

Public belief in the charge that poolrooms and gambling houses were warned of intended raids through an elaborate system operated by the police officials received striking proof on Aug. 9, when Edgar A. Whitney, with his assistant, Ernest Burgdorff, were arrested on the charge of conspiracy in aiding and abetting gambling. The story behind this affair, as disclosed a few days later in an elaborate confession made by Whitney to Justice Jerome, showed that Whitney was employed in the interest of a large poolroom and police official syndicate to discover when raids were about to be made on places which had paid for police protection, and to send out warnings over the telephone wires of the Police Department to the police station nearest the scene of the intended raid. From this police station the warning was then passed on by the wardman of the precinct, who happened to be charged by his superior bribe-takers with the duty of protecting the resort under suspicion. To carry out his work, Whitney offered a bribe to Agent Dillon, of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, for advance information of intended raids by that society. He paid some money to Dillon, furnished him with the name, location and private telephone call of some fifty poolrooms and gambling houses, and instructed him that a "tip" or warning of a raid would be received by the telephone operators at Police Headquarters and sent out to any precinct station, or that it would be received and passed on by a direct message to any precinct commander. Act-

ing on this valuable information, the superintendent of the society made arrangements to test this system. Tips were sent out in the manner described by Dillon to thirty poolrooms, and by means of agents stationed outside of these poolrooms the society was able to show that all these poolrooms were emptied of their patrons and closed up simultaneously, and within a very few minutes after the warning messages were sent over the telephone wire.

The following specific instance is given on the authority of Mr. Moss and Superintendent McClintock, of the society. The agent of the society rang up the Oak street station house from a telephone booth downtown.

"Who are you?" asked the operator at the station house.

"Burgdorff, Whitney's partner," he answered.

The agent says that Capt. Vredenberg then came to the telephone and asked the same question.

"This is Burgdorff, Whitney's partner," said the agent.

"What Whitney?"

"Edgar A. Whitney. The Parkhurst society is raising hell. They have a number of warrants for places in your precinct. There is one for 33 Park Row."

"32 Park Row?"

"No, 33."

"All right."

At a time which corresponds to the time at which this conversation took place another agent of the society, stationed opposite 33 Park Row, reported that some forty or fifty men left the place in a hurry, and that all the contents of the room were carried away.

This very clever trap and its results were morally conclusive proof that the charges of organized blackmail and protection of the gambling interests were true. Acting on Whitney's confession, Justice Jerome issued subpoenas for a large number of witnesses, including Deputy Commissioner Devery, who appears to have left the city in some haste just before the exposure was made, and with him Glennon, Shiels, Dwyer and Capt. Flood, of the Tenderloin precinct.

After ten days of searching investigation Wardman

**Police
Officers
Indicted.**

Glennon, Devery's go-between and confidential man, together with Shiels and Dwyer, all three of the Tenderloin district, were arrested on warrants charging them with wilful neglect of duty. On the 22d of August they were indicted by the Grand Jury. This occurrence gave Devery an opportunity to show that he was still able to help his subordinates in corruption and overrule Commissioner Murphy's actions. When Capt. Diamond was indicted, Commissioner Murphy at once suspended him from duty. Diamond was nominally a Republican, and his plight did not enlist the sympathies of Mr. Devery. When Glennon, Shiels and Dwyer were indicted, Mr. Murphy, with a heedlessness quite unworthy of his record, suspended these men. Then Devery came to the front, and showed his power as the real head of the Police Department. Mr. Murphy at once restored the indicted officers to pay and duty—and that action has as yet received no other explanation than the obvious supremacy of Devery within the department. Mr. Murphy drew a fine distinction between the receiving of money, as in the Bissert case, and "mere neglect of duty," which he said was the trifling charge against the other men.

Glennon, Mr. Murphy declared, would get his pay from the city until he was actually convicted of the charges brought against him.

**Captain
Gannon and
the Webster
Hotel.**

Among many other raids which had all through the Summer proved a source of great annoyance to the Police Department, that against the "Webster Hotel," in East Fifteenth street, on Aug. 29, caught another Tammany captain, Gannon, in an embarrassing position, from which he withdrew somewhat ungracefully. This place was a notorious disorderly house, against which the residents of the neighborhood had made frequent complaints to Capt. Gannon. When the place was finally raided by Assistant District Attorney Sanford, Capt. Gannon was found in the back room of the first floor talking in the most friendly manner with the proprietress of the place. When the

raiders entered the captain appeared much surprised. He showed his familiarity with the place by calling some of the women inmates by their first names, and telling them to put on their clothes. The good captain was much grieved to find next day how the public took his action; and, worse still, his labored explanation to the effect that he had followed some of his men, who were taken in hand by Mr. Sanford to execute the warrants, and had entered the house by the side door to see that the work was properly done, was not accepted by either the public or those who were most concerned in the raid.

During this period of trial for the faithful police collectors of Croker's revenues, Murphy took occasion to declare that the whole basis of the attack on the police was "Politics!" And Devery delivered his philippic against the agitators who were besmirching the fair name of New York City.

In Devery the worst features of the Tammany control of the police have been emphasized with increasing offensiveness since Devery was put in charge of the weekly police trials. That Tammany, acting through Croker's instrument, Devery, was using all the nominal powers of the Commissioner to terrorize the rank and file of the Department, and keep it in subjection to the deputy ruffian who was "vindicated" by his elevation to this office, was pretty well known to the public many months ago. But Devery's conduct at the police trials, his brutal and indecent language, and his utter disregard of the legal rights of the members of the force who were brought before him for trial, showed at their worst when Patrolman O'Neill was brought up before him on Aug. 29.

The complaint against O'Neill was made by Elias Hollander, a dealer in tinware and crockery at 3806 Third avenue. O'Neill had arrested Hollander on Sunday morning, Aug. 11, for selling goods on Sunday. There was some resistance to the arrest and O'Neill drew his

revolver. At the trial when the story had been told by the complainant to this point, Devery interrupted. Here is a newspaper report of what followed:

"What time of day was this?" asked Devery. The policeman said it was ten o'clock in the morning.

"They ought to have taken you and thrown you out of the window," shouted Devery. "What right have you to go in there and interfere with a man trying to make his living?"

"Why, I arrested him because he was guilty of a violation of the law in my presence," said the policeman.

"What!" shouted Devery again. "I think he has as good right to sell as one of them grocers up there. He was selling dishes so that this lady could eat, or make her little cup of tea. You went in there and interfered and pulled these people out, using a revolver."

"I was obeying orders from the station house," said the policeman. Then Devery started off on one of his usual Thursday tirades:

"We're having enough of that kind of thing already—people going in and interfering with other people in making a little living in their own way. Perhaps in a day or two we'll have Mrs. Nation and a lot of other tin soldiers traveling around here. She and those other tin soldiers will be coming down on us to enforce those blue laws and making it so that a man can't make a living. You ought to be in the fifth or sixth ring of that party. You ought to have a little hatchet, too. It's the rottenest kind of thing—this having a lot of tin soldiers going around interfering with business. It is a bloody outrage."

"I suppose if I'd stand for a shakedown, you'd stand for it," shouted the policeman, shaking his fist back at Devery.

"I fine you thirty days," shouted Devery, in his turn.

"I won't stand for it. I'll take it up higher. You won't do anything of the sort—fine me thirty days. I've been transferred six times in four months because I won't stand for shaking down. I paid \$45—"

The policeman was leaving the courtroom with his half dozen witnesses, whom Devery had refused to hear, and was shouting back at the Deputy Commissioner. When Devery heard the last remark, he yelled:

"Come back here. What is that you say?"

The policeman walked straight back to Devery and stood directly in front of him.

"I said that I have been transferred six times in the last four months, and I wouldn't stand for a shakedown," was the police-

man's reply. He then turned and walked toward the door. Devery was in such a rage as he has never shown in the trial-room before, and he yelled at the top of his voice:

"I'll make a complaint of insubordination against you and I'll break you."

"Go ahead and do it," shouted the policeman in the same tone of voice.

"You're a loafer! You're a dirty bum! Get out of here," screamed Devery, shaking his fist at him as the policeman left the room.

This was the first instance of a patrolman daring to protest openly against the blackmailing carried on under Devery in the shape of transfer of patrolmen away from their home precincts, by which transfers, or to avoid which, patrolmen were forced to pay fees varying from fifteen to fifty dollars. A considerable revenue was produced. This system also placed in Devery's hands an effective means of keeping the body of patrolmen in line and forcing them to do the dirty work necessary to Tammany Hall's purposes.

This instance of oppression was promptly taken up by Murphy, who recognized the danger to Tammany which it involved, and O'Neill was promptly transferred back to his home precinct in Tremont. The District Attorney then took up the matter and began an investigation of the transfer and blackmail business, which finally resulted in the indictment of Devery for a misdemeanor in using his official position as a means of oppression. Devery at once preferred charges of insubordination against O'Neill, and the case was tried before Second Deputy Commissioner York on Sept. 9. York recommended the dismissal of O'Neill. Murphy adopted this recommendation and dismissed O'Neill.

In the face of this outrageous example of official terrorism, which Devery continued by fining and abusing on the slightest pretext the two patrolmen who had testified at O'Neill's trial to the existence of a system of payments for the avoiding of transfers, the question of

Tammany Hall's responsibility for Devery and its endorsement of his course as the actual head of the Police Department was put plainly before the public.

It was met by Murphy's allowing Devery to continue in charge of the police trials after an indictment was found against him, and by Croker's proposing and John F. Carroll seconding Devery's name for membership in the Democratic Club.

Tammany Hall embodied in Richard Croker, "stood for" Devery, and all that Devery was known to be and to represent. What Tammany Hall means in the Police Department of New York City was thus declared in unmistakable terms by Tammany Hall itself: that it stood for the worst and most brutal system of blackmail and vice-protection known to history.

TAXATION UNDER TAMMANY.

ACTUAL APPROPRIATIONS AS SHOWN BY THE BUDGET AND
MODIFIED BY SUBSEQUENT TRANSFERS BETWEEN
DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS.

(The appropriations for 1898 were made by the Strong
Administration.)

Department.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
Mayoralty	\$62,155.00	\$63,755.00	\$63,755.00	\$63,755.00
Municipal Assembly.	192,552.00	200,052.00	200,052.00	200,052.00
Finance	770,411.75	738,391.00	877,305.00	842,305.00
Borough Officers.....	47,312.00	51,300.00	51,300.00	51,300.00
Law	339,758.00	399,758.00	399,758.00	399,758.00
Public Improvements	173,560.00	249,500.00	246,500.00	289,500.00
Highways	2,059,629.35	2,525,099.67	2,253,844.67	2,178,144.67
Sewers	629,705.44	827,479.92	813,173.17	801,350.67
Bridges	350,136.88	406,522.00	413,957.00	431,728.25
Public Bldgs., Light- ing & Supplies.....	3,623,110.49	3,735,724.26	3,850,937.75	3,904,809.00
Water Supply	1,316,084.50	1,470,817.17	1,442,914.17	1,525,219.17
Parks	1,483,070.89	1,731,735.00	1,825,113.45	1,863,238.45
Public Charities.....	1,778,417.97	1,942,715.00	1,806,812.97	1,805,491.01
Correction	681,243.49	733,065.00	787,775.00	758,775.00
Health	991,058.41	1,111,938.49	1,066,661.00	1,053,990.00
Police	11,405,644.62	11,834,596.90	11,992,503.42	11,938,343.42
Street Cleaning.....	4,041,162.40	4,575,800.01	5,031,282.27	5,001,922.27
Fire	4,353,122.25	4,443,664.15	4,868,176.52	4,864,486.00
Buildings	473,829.76	525,665.00	546,525.00	546,525.00
Taxes & Assessm'ts.	322,600.00	329,200.00	334,450.00	334,450.00
Assessors	37,000.00	35,700.00	42,700.00	42,700.00
Education	12,003,681.84	13,040,052.95	14,619,111.09	18,512,817.69
Coroners	161,300.00	165,150.00	165,150.00	165,150.00
Commissioners of Ac- countants	162,864.60	160,000.00	156,000.00	156,000.00
Civil Service Com'n..	86,000.00	86,000.00	76,000.00	86,000.00
Board of City Record	415,000.00	515,345.00	535,200.00	563,200.00
Rents	267,961.99	326,761.45	315,379.91	333,699.56
City & Normal Col- leges	325,000.00	375,000.00	375,000.00	415,000.00
Bureau of Municipal Statistics	10,000.00	11,200.00	11,200.00	11,200.00
Examining Board of Plumbers	3,633.90	3,605.80	3,594.00	5,154.00
For library purposes.	181,500.00	215,244.00	214,779.30	299,663.30
City Court of New York	115,783.33	117,100.00	117,100.00	134,800.00

Municipal Court, City of New York.....	369,600.00	392,200.00	393,750.00	393,750.00
Court of Special Sessions, First Divis'n.	70,200.00	70,800.00	70,800.00	70,800.00
Court of Special Sessions, Second Div'n	51,208.36	54,900.00	54,900.00	54,900.00
City Magistrate's Courts, First Div'n.	162,700.00	162,700.00	159,700.00	161,200.00
City Magistrate's Court, Sec'nd Div'n	162,345.84	169,800.00	169,800.00	169,800.00
For charitable institutions	1,710,977.76	1,784,846.78	2,857,084.27	2,786,011.06
Miscellaneous	1,437,915.97	5,090,513.56	649,000.00	1,736,478.08
Totals	\$52,803,577.89	\$60,673,698.11	\$59,967,044.96	\$65,043,465.88
Disbursements on account of interest, redemption, etc.....	13,981,827.66	23,037,095.08	19,234,718.30	22,432,379.23
Totals	\$66,875,405.55	\$83,710,793.19	\$79,201,763.26	\$87,475,844.81
Carey claim				4,000.00
		\$77,559,332.37	\$93,520,082.03	\$90,778,972.48
				\$98,100,413.48

Total increase in Tammany appropriations in three years, 20 per cent.

On Sept. 3, of the present year, the heads of the City Departments submitted their estimates for the budget of 1902. The sum total of these estimates aggregated \$110,000,000, an increase of over \$12,000,000 over the appropriation for last year, and an increase of \$32,500 over the budget for 1898, which was passed by the Strong administration.

On May 31, of the present year, the Comptroller of the City of New York transmitted to the Municipal Assembly the budget for the year 1901. The matter was referred to the Committee on Finance of the Council and Board of Alderman, together with the assessment rolls of the estates, real and personal, of the City of New York for the year 1901.

A joint special meeting of the Municipal Assembly was held Aug. 14, 1901, to consider the report of the Finance Committees on budget and tax rate for the year 1901. As at present constituted, the Municipal Assembly is a Tammany body, the Tammany Aldermen and Councilmen numbering three-fourths of the total membership.

The character of the report on the budget and tax rate was generally known in the city before it was formally presented to the Assembly, and its features had been widely discussed. The great increase in the budget and the proposed great increase in the assessment and tax rate had been vehemently denounced by all the leading taxpayers and all competent authorities on political economy. It was hoped that the Tammany Committee on Finance would carefully consider the proposed increase in expenses and tax rate, and earnestly strive to lessen the great burden of taxation proposed in the budget. As the event has proved, public opinion in no wise affected the body of Aldermen, acting under peremptory orders from the Wigwam on Fourteenth street. The Tammany Finance Committee report provided \$98,100,413.43 for the budget of 1901, and a tax rate as follows:

Manhattan and Bronx	2.317
Brooklyn	2.388
Queens	2.357
Richmond	2.351

Immediately after the reading of the report was finished, Tammany Alderman Robert Muh moved that it be adopted. Hereupon Alderman Goodman offered the following resolution:

"Resolved That the report of the Finance Committee be, and it is hereby, recommitted, with instructions to said Finance Committees to investigate and report fully on the cause or causes of the proposed high tax rates.

"Resolved, That we adjourn until August 21, at noon, at which time the said Finance Committees shall report as set forth above."

Alderman Bridges, who is one of the leading exponents of alleged English phraseology and a sound supporter of Mr. Croker, took the floor and delivered some remarks, which were reported by a stenographer:

BRIDGES DEFENDS CITY ADMINISTRATION.

As soon as Alderman Goodman's resolution was introduced, Alderman Bridges took the floor.

"I understood," said Bridges, "last week that we were going to have a monthly report read at this meeting. I understood that they were going to state the reason of the high rate of taxes, as they call it. Every one here knows the reason of the tax levy. He knows and everybody else knows and the public knows and I know that the tax levy is caused by mandatory legislation.

"I object to this thing going over for another week. The legislator is the people who is responsible for the tax levy. I hope for one that this delay will not be allowed. Mandatory legislation—that's why we gets this here tax levy, and I object. There ain't no other reason, and I ain't goin' to stand for a delay. I came here to hear the report of the minority, and I want to hear and I want to hear why the tax rate is so high if these gentlemen knows, as they say they does."

Alderman McInnes: "I desire to ask the gentleman who has just spoken if he can point to one specific act of the so-called mandatory legislation that he claims is responsible for the tax rate?"

"Oh, that's all right," replied Bridges; "if the Alderman wants to find out about them things he can go across the way there and they will tell him all about it."

Alderman Goodman's resolution was lost—47 to 17.

On behalf of the minority in the Municipal Assembly, Alderman Goodman then offered the following report and moved that it be adopted:

THE MINORITY REPORT.

"We are of the opinion that the consideration of the matter of taxes and assessments has become entirely too perfunctory; that the Finance Committee, to whom the matter has been referred, should give it due, calm and deliberate consideration. The public is entitled to information as to the cause or causes of the proposed high tax rates suggested. The Tax Commissioners, realizing the necessity of such explanation, have given to the public their views as to the reasons why the proposed tax rate is as high as it is. We have examined this public statement and find it misleading.

"It is claimed that the increased tax rate in the City of New York is due to mandatory legislation by the State Legislature in taxing from the assessment rolls of the City of New York certain assessed property, as follows:

"It is claimed that \$500,000 will be lost to the city because certain personal property of State and National banks has been

removed from the assessment roll. While it is true that the assessment on State and National banks under Chapter 550 of the Laws of 1901 was so changed as to provide that the tax assessments heretofore imposed upon the personal property of banks on the 1st of January become null and void, it is also true that this law provides that this assessment shall be made on the 15th day of December following. So, if there be any loss in the present tax roll, it will be corrected by the assessment to be made in December, and all of the amount thus imposed, which is one per cent. of the gross valuation, without any deduction being allowed as heretofore for the personal indebtedness of the owners of shares of bank stock, goes to the City of New York, and is to be collected by its own officials and paid into the general fund of the city. As has been pointed out before, in addition to this tax the real estate of such banks is assessed in the same manner and at the same rates as other real estate. While it is impossible to state accurately the probable amount of tax that will actually be levied and collected from the banks in New York, the City Controller has estimated the amount at \$1,820,076.77. We believe that that does not compare unfavorably with what the city has heretofore received.

"MANDATORY LEGISLATION."

"In reference to the \$20,840,115 of unearned premium of life and fire insurance and surety companies, it is a well-known fact that the attempt to tax such unearned premiums was contested and finally carried to the Court of Appeals, where it was held that such unearned premiums were liable to taxation. That decision was upon a technicality, and it is generally conceded that unearned premiums, while apparently an asset, are in danger of at any time becoming a liability through losses and otherwise. The Legislature corrected this injustice upon insurance companies for the reasons just given, and because almost every State in the Union has upon its statute books retaliatory legislation covering insurance companies, so that extra taxation in New York State would provoke extra taxation in other States. In the tax legislation at Albany this year great care was taken to avoid retaliatory legislation by other States. While at first glance it might seem like favoritism to the insurance companies, it will be seen and conceded that this extra tax would be a burden upon the insurance companies which would be eventually shifted to those who carry insurance upon their lives and upon their homes. In addition, it may be said that until the recent codification the law has been such that the City of New

York has never assessed such companies on their unearned premiums; so that, as compared with past years, the City of New York has lost nothing in this direction from its previous year's assessment. Mandatory legislation at Albany has added over \$70,000,000 to the assessed valuations of the city under what is known as the Ford Franchise Tax Law. So, if we accept as correct President Feitner's statement to the committee, we find the following figures:

LOSS TO THE CITY.

"The loss to the city from the exemption of trust company property is \$8,648,400; value of unearned premiums of insurance companies which have never been taxed really, except in the test case referred to, \$20,840,111. This gives a total of \$29,488,515. Against this we have an actual increase under the operation of the Ford Franchise Tax Law of \$75,000,000, a difference between the two amounts of \$43,511,485, which the State Legislature has actually placed upon the tax rolls of the City of New York.

"Assuming, therefore, these figures to be correct, we find upon a tax basis of 2.30 per \$100 mandatory legislation at Albany has actually added to the revenues of the City of New York \$1,000,764.15. In addition to this we find that the State tax rate in 1900 was 1.96 mills, while the rate for 1901 is 1.20 mills, giving a reduction of .76 mills. The assessed value of all property in the City of New York pays 64.67 per centum of the entire State tax, a reduction of .76 of a mill in the greater city to bear its proportion of the tax burdens. A tax, however, should not be in any way fictitious. It should be assessed upon real values, and should as nearly as possible be entirely capable of collection. Nothing is more unjustifiable than to produce an apparently large assessment for the purpose of an apparently small tax rate. It is not to the people's interests to be deceived as to what they are really paying for the governmental services performed for them. More than this, however, it is our duty to raise the amount of money which the Controller's estimate shows is needed. Section 249 of the charter so requires. As the figures at our command show that at least three per cent. should be added for deficiencies, we cannot conscientiously abide by a report that provides for only two per cent. The discovery that the tax rate should be higher than the tax rolls unscrutinized suggest is an unpleasant awakening. The responsibility for the shock should be placed where it belongs—upon the Tax Commissioners.

FIGURES FICTITIOUS.

"A careful consideration of the figures in previous years and reports of and statements given by the present Board of Tax Commissioners has convinced us that this year's assessments of personal property is in a greater degree than ever fictitious. The assessments on personal property in the greater city for the year amount to \$550,192,612. This is the largest assessment of personal property ever made in the territory included in the greater city. Compared with 1899, it is a great increase. Compared with the previous years, it is a dangerous increase. For the year 1898 in the following comparisons we will take for the assessments of Brooklyn, Queens and Richmond their assessments in 1897, they not having been taxable in 1898. The personal property assessments in the greater city rose from \$538,377,704 in 1898 to \$545,906,565 in 1899, an increase of 11.4-10 per cent. In 1900 they fell to \$485,574,439, a decrease of 11½ per cent. In 1901 they have risen to \$550,192,612, an increase of 13 per cent.

"We thus see that, while in 1899 there was an increase of only 14-10 per cent., which for three boroughs covered two years' growth, there was in 1900 a decrease of 11½ per cent. Why was there that decrease? For good reasons. The assessments in the previous years had been fictitious. But what do we see in 1901? A normal increase? No; an increase greater than ever, one of 13 per cent., and bringing us to figures beyond the fictitious values of 1899 and 1898.

"But this is not half the story. Thirteen per cent. is not the real rate of increase this year. In the statement hereinbefore referred to the Tax Commissioners set forth that had it not been for these acts of the Legislature the actual increase in personal property assessments this year would have amounted to \$197,687,324, instead of \$64,617,014. The real rate of increase, therefore, which we must consider in getting at the actual value of the personal assessments on the tax books is one of 197,687,328. This would make the personal assessments for 1901, as compared with 1900, an increase from \$495,574,493 to \$683,262,924, an increase of 40 7-10 per cent.

"Was this increase at a 40 per cent. rate justified? Does it represent actual values? If it does, it is a commentary on the work of these Tax Commissioners in 1892 and 1900. But we believe it does not represent actual values."

REASON FOR THE MINORITY REPORT.

Alderman McInnes made the following statement as

to the position of the minority members of the Municipal Assembly:

"The statement of the Tax Commissioners attempting to lay the blame on others for the coming high tax rate aroused our curiosity. Upon investigation we found that personal property assessments had been increased at the rate of 40 per cent. The present Commissioners themselves some years ago complained of an increase that had been made at the rate of 35 per cent. Increasing them 40 per cent. reduced what might have been an advance of 20 points in the general city tax rate to 10 points. We approve the taxation of personal property, but assessments should not be fictitious.

"We also discovered that the objections made by the Commissioners to recent tax legislation were seemingly incorrect and ill-founded, and that, on the contrary, the legislation was certain to benefit the city greatly.

"The minority in its report has only done its duty in recommending an allowance of 3 per cent. for deficiencies. The charter makes it the duty of the Municipal Assembly to raise the money necessary, and to that end enables it to allow for deficiencies as much as 3 per cent. Last year, when there was a decrease in personal property assessments at the rate of 11 per cent., we added 2 per cent. for deficiencies. Should we, at least, not add 3 per cent. in this year, when there is a 40 per cent. rate of increase? It may be that figures on the receipt for personal taxes could prove that 2 per centum would be sufficient. We know of no figures that have been reported for the greater city. The figures for Manhattan and the Bronx for the year 1897 and previous years confirm our position."

When Tammany took charge of this municipality something over three years ago, under the new charter, it immediately increased the cost of government by \$23,000,000. The next year it managed by an increase of over \$400,000,000 in the assessed valuations to lower the tax rate a trifle, but the actual cost of the municipal government was still further increased. It has grown every year since, chiefly by increase of salaries of Tammany tax-eaters, until this year it amounts to over \$98,000,000, and with some hundreds of millions of increase in assessed valuations we have a tax rate of over \$2.31 per \$100, the highest yet under the new charter. And this is the municipal election year, when Tammany will be brought to bar for popular judgment, and because of which extraordinary efforts toward retrenchment and economy (for Tammany) were put forth. What might it not have been had this not been election year? What may it not be next year if Tammany, on such a record, is given another chance at the tax mill? By contrast, and to show how Tammany abuses the power of taxation, the budget of Chicago,

next city in size to New York, is for this year only \$29,000,000, full \$16,000,000 less than Tammany takes for salaries alone, and \$69,000,000 less than our total annual charge for the privilege of being governed by Tammany. And now comes Boston, one of the richest cities in the country, with a peculiarly expensive system of government to maintain, and reports a tax rate for the year of only \$1.49 per \$100 of assessed valuation! That this great city should be governed in such a manner, by such a crew, seems almost the limit of degradation; but that it should have to pay such a price for it will, we confidently believe, be judged past the limit of endurance.—New York Commercial-Advertiser, August 15, 1901.

HOW ASSESSMENTS HAVE GROWN UNDER TAMMANY.

Assessments in districts comprising Greater New York, 1897:

County.	Property.	Personal Property.
New York	\$1,785,186,791	\$381,449,065
Kings	570,107,742	33,688,721
Queens	82,683,593	2,007,800
Richmond	24,371,551	1,628,700
	\$2,464,349,677	\$420,775,295

For the year 1901:

Boroughs.	Real Property.	Personal Property.
Manhattan	\$2,285,188,713	\$428,279,951
Bronx	143,808,303	12,188,607
Brooklyn	658,962,119	89,241,624
Queens	107,179,620	10,826,810
Richmond	42,639,506	9,655,620
	\$3,237,778,261	\$550,192,612

Total assessments of real in 1897..	\$2,464,349,677	
Total assessments of personal in 1897.....	420,775,295—	\$2,885,124,972
Total assessments of real in 1901..	\$3,237,778,261	
Total assessments of personal in 1901.....	550,192,612—	3,787,970,873
Net increase in real and personal.....		\$902,845,901

Net bonded debt of Greater New York:

December 31, 1897, was.....	\$227,453,529.11
November 30, 1899, was.....	250,315,062.65
November 30, 1900, was.....	256,728,927.21
June 30, 1901, was.....	292,454,786.29
Increase in net bonded debt:	
In 3½ years.....	\$65,001,257.18 or 28 5-10 %

THE TAMMANY MAJORITY REPORT WAS ADOPTED.

“The Cost of Tammany Rule.”

“Despite an unusual amount of jugglery with the figures and a vast addition to the assessed valuation of personality, the tax on which will never be collected, the tax rate for the present year as reported to the Municipal

Assembly is raised about seven cents on each \$100 of property.

"The heavy taxation needed to meet a budget of more than \$98,000,000 could not be wholly concealed even to meet the exigencies of the coming campaign. As this is the fourth and last year of the present administration, a summing up of results is in order.

"Compared with 1897, the year before Tammany came into power, the total assessed valuation of property in the territory embraced in Greater New York has been raised more than a billion of dollars, the increase in four years being 40 per cent.

"This enormous increase in the dividend was made necessary by a corresponding increase in the divisor—the yearly expenditure having increased from \$70,000,000 to \$98,000,000—and the quotient, which is the tax rate, is even at that \$2.31 this year, as against \$2.01 in the first year of Tammany rule.

"Meanwhile the net bonded debt, which was \$213,000,000 in 1897, was \$280,000,000 on Jan. 1 last, and Heaven only knows what it will be at the close of the year, counting issues already made and the obligations incurred right and left, many of which will be left for a succeeding administration to sign for. The framers of the present charter imagined the budget of the consolidated city would be about \$60,000,000. The various corporations included in the consolidation appropriated for the first year \$70,000,000, but the Board of Estimate spent that year \$77,500,000, and this year \$98,000,000, a burden of \$28 on every man woman and child in Greater New York.

"If the people got their money's worth, they would not complain of the burden, but what do they get for this enormous expenditure? Dirty streets, insufficient hospitals, with underpaid attendants who kill the patients; a Building Department prolific of scandals, such lack of school accommodations that children must rotate in half-

day classes, libraries closed on Sunday for lack of a beggarly appropriation, a women's jail across the river that twelve successive grand juries have denounced as a disgrace in a vain effort to obtain its improvement, a police force that fattens on vice and promotes crime, and a horde of salaried 'heelers' helping each other to do nothing but build up a political machine at the taxpayers' expense.

"Failure to collect the tax on the great addition made to the valuation of personal property will mean a deficit, and the tax rate announced is therefore under the true figure. It is a terrible showing, and the responsibility for it cannot be shifted by prattle about 'mandatory legislation' from the shoulders on which it rests."—New York Herald, Aug. 8, 1901.

COST OF GOVERNMENT OF THE LEADING CITIES OF THE WORLD.

The following figures, taken from the "Encyclopedia of Social Reform," published in 1897, show the expenses in that year of the government of the leading cities in Europe and the United States, compared with the expenditures of New York City in 1901:

City.	Expenditure.	Population.
London	\$58,446,000	*5,100,000
Paris	66,000,000	2,240,000
Berlin	21,150,000	1,767,000
Vienna	11,868,000	1,423,000
Chicago	32,426,210	1,098,576
Philadelphia	23,061,526	1,044,894
Boston	10,647,928	446,507
NEW YORK.....	98,096,413	3,536,517

* In 1890.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS UNDER TAMMANY.

The net results to the public schools of New York City of nearly four years of Mayor Van Wyck and his Tammany administration is best summed up in the following figures for 1901, which show: (1) The number of children formally refused admission to schools; (2) the children receiving three hours of schooling each day, instead of the full five hours of instruction to which they are entitled:

I. CHILDREN OUT OF SCHOOL.

Manhattan-Bronx, Sept. 27.....	3,720
Brooklyn, Sept. 16.....	1,049
Queens, Sept. 27.....	500
Total	5,269

2. CHILDREN IN PART-TIME CLASSES.

Manhattan-Bronx, Sept. 27.....	19,309
Brooklyn, Sept. 16.....	35,000
Queens, Sept. 27.....	3,814
Total	58,123

In connection with these figures one fact must be kept in mind constantly to understand their true import. The children counted as refused are those only who have applied to a principal and have been turned away for lack of room. The thousands of children of school age now on the streets who have never made application because it was a useless formality are not included in these figures. A conservative estimate places the number of such children at 20,000. The official figures printed above, however, are black enough—they are the statistical record of a Tammany Board of Estimate's crime against the children and their parents.

SCHOOLS AT A STANDSTILL.

These official figures of school crowding for September, 1901, when compared with the records for 1898 and 1899, the initial years of the Tammany regime, show this fact, which is a text for the discussion of Tammany's attitude toward more schools. The schools of New York City are as far behind the demand for seats as they were in 1898, and in some boroughs show more refusals and part-time pupils than were recorded three years ago. The following comparative tables demonstrate this:

PART-TIME PUPILS.

Boroughs.	Sept., 1898.	Sept., 1901.
Manhattan and The Bronx.....	18,146	19,309
Brooklyn	24,810	35,000
Queens	6,417	3,814
Richmond	304
Total	<u>49,957</u>	<u>58,123</u>

CHILDREN REFUSED.

	Sept., 1898.	Sept., 1901.
Manhattan and The Bronx.....	1,180	3,720

Summed up, these figures mean that while small gains have been made in Queens and Richmond, the part-time system in Manhattan, The Bronx and Brooklyn has increased nearly 25 per cent. over 1898. The figures quoted, however, are by no means the maximum of their kind. In September, 1900, the total part-time pupils for the city crept up to 64,000, and stayed above 60,000 until January, 1901. Brooklyn, in October, 1900, reported 43,468 such pupils, and the reports continued to hover about the 40,000 mark until April, 1901. There has been a "refused list" in Manhattan and Bronx every month since Jan. 1, 1898. The essence of these statistics is that the Van Wyck administration has not built enough schools and has left them in about the same relation to population that it found when Tammany assumed control.

MANHATTAN SCHOOLS LOSING GROUND.

When the figures of Manhattan and The Bronx are compared separately with those of prior years it will be seen that Tammany has lost ground rather than gained a school population that increases at the rate of 12,000 per annum.

The Tammany administration, it will be remembered, did not add a single class room to the school system in 1898, and, in fact, did not let a contract for a new school until Dec. 20 of that year, when buildings for 4,921 children were begun. During 1898 and 1899, however, the schools began to reap the benefit of contracts awarded late in Mayor Strong's administration. In these years 30,590 new sittings, started and paid for by Mayor Strong's administration, were opened. This help from the foresight of a previous administration enabled Mayor Van Wyck's school board to reduce the number of part-time and refused pupils very materially. By March, 1899, there were only 5,652 pupils in part-time classes and 485 refusals. From this time on, however, the Tammany administration had to look to itself for relief—there were no more Strong schoolhouses to help them out of a hole. The effect of building no schools in 1898 became apparent at once. Part-time pupils and refusals grew apace until in September, 1900, there were 20,157 children in part-time and 2,298 refusals, an increase over March, 1899, of 14,475 part-time scholars and 1,813 refusals. In September, 1901, the schools show 13,757 part-time pupils and 3,243 refusals more than were recorded early in 1899. This means that the Tammany Board of Estimate has allowed the schools to go back from the time Mayor Strong's aid was at an end.

**School
Houses
Built by
Strong—
None by
Tammany.**

BOARD OF EDUCATION REPUDIATED.

The responsibility for these conditions rests directly on the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, which has pursued a persistent policy of repudiating its own Board

of Education by cutting its requests for buildings to one-quarter the sums asked and needed. This policy of denying the judgment of its own school experts is shown by the following records of formal appropriations. It is but fair to state that in these appropriations is not included the sum of nearly \$2,500,000 appropriated under Chapter 412, Laws of 1897, for high schools in Manhattan-Bronx. This sum, however, was allowed in varying amounts from time to time as a special item, and has nothing to do with the grammar and primary buildings, the allowances for which are shown. The following tables give the amounts asked by the Board of Education and the allowances by the Board of Estimate:

1898.	
Asked, Board of Education.....	\$5,789,406
Appropriated, Board of Estimate.....	920,602

Cut	\$4,868,804
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This year, it will be remembered, Comptroller Bird S. Coler raised the issue about the city's debt limit, and no money was allowed except where it was imperatively needed to meet liabilities, etc. The result at the close of the year was:

Half-time pupils, December, 1898.....	55,892
Half-time pupils, September, 1898.....	49,957
Increase	5,935

1899.	
Asked, Board of Education.....	\$9,473,640
Allowed, Board of Estimate.....	7,673,640

Cut	\$1,800,000
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The cut was in high school items, which were not allowed. In this year, 1899, the Board of Education had despaired of getting any bonds, and, after culling their requisitions to the lowest figure, asked that the amount for property be included in the tax levy. The Board of Estimate finally agreed to issue bonds. That the gain so

allowed was inadequate is shown by a resolution offered by Miles M. O'Brien and adopted by the Board of Education April 26, 1899, asking as follows:

SUPPLEMENTARY REQUEST.

Board of Education asks additionally.....	\$8,000,000
Board of Estimate allows.....	0

Cut	\$8,000,000
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The result at the end of the year was:

Part-time classes, December, 1899.....	59,480
Part-time classes, December, 1898.....	55,892

Increase	3,598
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1900.

Asked, Board of Education.....	\$16,784,514
Allowed, Board of Estimate.....	3,500,000

Cut	\$13,284,514
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This money for 1900, although allowed by the Estimate Board on Feb. 19, did not become available owing to the failure of the Tammany Board of Aldermen to pass the appropriation until June 16—that is, building of schools was held up for four months until the Aldermen got ready to vote.

The result at the end of the year was:

Part-time classes, December, 1900.....	63,577
Part-time classes, December, 1899.....	59,480

Increase	4,097
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1901.

Asked, Board of Education.....	\$14,031,325
Allowed, Board of Estimate.....	3,500,000

Cut	\$10,531,325
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This appropriation was delayed for two months by the Tammany Aldermen. The inadequacy of the appropriation soon became apparent. In April and June the Board of Education asked for additional sums as follows:

SUPPLEMENTARY REQUEST.

Asked, Board of Education.....	\$5,198,000
Allowed, Board of Estimate.....	0

Cut	\$5,198,000
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**Tammany
has no
Money for
Schools.**

Manhattan's purpose in asking for \$3,500,000 of this total was to build schools for 28,000 children on property owned by the city. One of these schools was to be that at Lewis and East Houston streets, to relieve No. 88 in Rivington street, which reported 644 refusals in the middle of September. This last repudiation of the Board of Education was followed by a request for nearly \$100,000 more for renting makeshift buildings in 1902, or the interest on \$3,333,333 at 3 per cent. At any rate, the result of three and one-half years of Tammany Board of Estimate was:

Part-time classes.....	53,883
Children refused	5,269

TAMMANY'S SCHOOL POLICY.

In spite of the facts that everything showed the allowances were insufficient for the purposes in 1901, the Tammany Board of Estimate practically declared a policy of giving only \$3,500,000 each year for new schools, or barely enough to care for the increased attendance. This platform was embodied in a letter from Comptroller Coler to the Board of Estimate on Feb. 7, 1901, and is in part as follows:

COMPTROLLER COLER'S VIEWS.

"I am not prepared to deny that it might be desirable for the city to authorize even so large a bond issue as that requested by the Board of Education (\$14,030,325) if that could be done without paralyzing the necessary development of the city in other directions. * * * One disadvantage which the city authorities and the Board of Education in particular have hitherto labored under has been the lack of any definite policy which should be appropriated annually for new buildings. At present, however, I believe that the exigencies of the school building situation demand such an annual appropriation of \$3,500,000, and that a proper regard for the

physical development of the city, including, among many other things, the problem of better transit facilities, will not permit of any larger sum."

COMPARISON WITH REFORM.

Comparison of the figures of money appropriated for building primary and grammar schools and purchasing sites under Mayor Strong's administration and under Mayor Van Wyck's regime show the following results:

Strong, 1897—For Manhattan and Bronx alone.....	\$7,573,660
Van Wyck, 1899—For entire city.....	7,673,000
<hr/>	
Strong, 1896—For Manhattan and Bronx alone.....	\$3,307,558
Van Wyck, 1900—For entire city.....	3,500,000
In Manhattan and Bronx Only.	
Strong, 3 years, elementary schools.....	\$11,020,507
Van Wyck, 3½ years, elementary schools.....	8,904,242
<hr/>	
Difference in favor of Reform.....	\$2,116,365

DEPARTMENT OF STREET CLEANING.

Table showing the cost of the Department of Street Cleaning during three years of Tammany rule:

		Increase.
1898.....	\$4,041,162.40
1899.....	4,575,800.01	\$534,637.61
1900.....	5,031,282.27	455,482.26

Total increase in two years.....\$990,119.87

On Sept. 3, 1901, Commissioner Percival E. Nagle submitted to the City Clerk his estimate of the expenses of the Department of Street Cleaning for the year 1902. He placed the cost of the department for the coming year at \$5,764,901.25, an increase of \$749,248.38 over the appropriation for 1901.

**700 Sweep-
ers Laid Off.**

Early in June of the present year, Commissioner Nagle ordered a heavy reduction in the force of street sweepers and drivers. Seven hundred men, or one-fifth of the total force of 3,500, were laid off. Although the public generally, and nearly every newspaper commented at the time upon this extraordinary procedure, Mr. Nagle offered no explanation. Owing to the construction of the Rapid Transit Tunnel and the large amount of excavation for buildings that was going on all over the city, the streets were filled with dirt and dust, which every breeze blew into the faces of perspiring pedestrians. Throughout all the past summer the dust lay as deep upon all the main thoroughfares as on country roads, and the occasional street sprinkling wagons accomplished little for the comfort of the citizens.

On the lower east side, where Col. Waring devoted special efforts to keeping the streets of that densely-peopled section in a wholesome state, the conditions throughout the long, hot days of the summer, when filth and garbage and tenement excretions were allowed to lie in the boiling sun unnoticed by any inspector and

unvisited by any of Nagle's white wings, were damnably criminal. Do Tammany officials feel no qualm of conscience, no shiver of dread, when they think of the human lives that flickered out in the hot days and nights, killed by the myriads of disease germs that arose from the rottenness in the east side streets due to Tammany neglect?

The reduction of the street cleaning force at a time when extraordinary conditions demanded a full force of street sweepers, and even an extra force, would, under an administration careful of public opinion and public interests, be followed by a public explanation. Mr. Nagle explained nothing. The public concluded, in lieu of any statement from the Street Cleaning Department, that Nagle had exceeded the appropriation made for his department by the Board of Estimate. Captain Gibson, Nagle's deputy, denied that the appropriation had been exceeded, but admitted that the department was trying to save money to meet future contingencies. What contingencies? Nagle and Gibson would not admit that the appropriation had been exceeded, for the charter makes it a misdemeanor for any head of a department to spend more than the sum allotted to him at the beginning of the year.

In November and December of 1900, many sweepers were "laid off" several days each week, for the reason, "which," as Corporation Counsel Whalen says, "was left to be inferred rather than clearly stated," that the appropriation was insufficient to pay the salaries of all the sweepers. While the alleged reason for the laying off of the sweepers was a deficiency of the appropriation, the Commissioner of Street Cleaning obtained from the Board of Estimate and Apportionment transfers from the sweeping fund to other funds on the following dates and in the following amounts: June 27, \$3,000; Dec. 27, \$22,500; Feb. 19, 1901, \$5,600, making in all a transfer of \$31,100. It is very difficult to say how it could be successfully

**Where did
Nagle's
Money Go?**

maintained that there was an insufficient appropriation for sweeping.

If the Sweeping Fund again ran out last June, compelling the department to lay off over 700 men, where did the money in the Sweeping Fund go to? If the money was taken from the Sweeping Fund—the most vital fund in the department—and diverted to other uses, why do not the Tammany officials so explain? WILL COMMISSIONER PERCY NAGLE EXPLAIN TO THE CITIZENS OF NEW YORK JUST WHY HE LAID OFF OVER 700 SWEEPERS LAST SUMMER, WHEN THE STREETS WERE IN THE MOST SHAMEFUL CONDITION THAT HAD EXISTED SINCE TAMMANY RETURNED TO POWER?

The Garbage Job.

The New York Sanitary Utilization Company is a business concern incorporated for the purpose of final disposition of garbage. The influences behind this company are not definitely known to the general public. This company has strong backing. About the middle of July, 1901, in a "competing" bid, it demanded \$232,000 a year for disposing of the Manhattan garbage alone, and \$77,000 a year for handling garbage collected in the Bronx—a total of \$309,000 per year. This same company for the last five years has been disposing of the garbage collected in the boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx, receiving at the rate of \$89,990 a year.

The Board of Estimate and Apportionment rejected the company's bid as exorbitant, but on July 31 turned squarely around and accepted it.

IT IS KNOWN THAT SOME OF THE MOST POWERFUL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS IN BROOKLYN AND MANHATTAN ARE INTERESTED IN THE NEW YORK SANITARY UTILIZATION COMPANY. THIS COMPANY HAS ENTERED INTO A FIVE YEARS' CONTRACT TO RECEIVE AN ADVANCE OF \$319,000 ANNUALLY OVER THE OLD CONTRACT PRICE FOR

THE TWO BOROUGH, OR AN INCREASE OF \$1,595,050 FOR THE FULL TERM OF THE CONTRACT.

The Tammany officials who fostered and completed the new garbage contract, are: ROBERT A. VAN WYCK, MAYOR; PERCIVAL E. NAGLE, COMMISSIONER OF STREET CLEANING; JOHN WHALEN, CORPORATION COUNSEL, AND THOMAS L. FEITNER, PRESIDENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF TAXES AND ASSESSMENTS.

An injunction suit was brought to prevent the city from carrying out the provisions of this contract. It was cited by the complainants that although two other parties bid for the work at sums which were less than the amount bid by the New York Sanitary Utilization Company, the contract was awarded to that company; that the Commissioner of Street Cleaning knew the price allowed was "extravagant" and calculated to injure the rights of other bidders. Justice Gildersleeve denied the application for the injunction, saying: "There is no evidence available for the purpose of this motion before me that the Commissioner knew anything of the sort."

THE CITIZENS OF NEW YORK WILL CONTINUE TO ASK, "DID PERCIVAL E. NAGLE KNOW HE WAS EXTRAVAGANT WHEN HE MADE A GIFT OF MORE THAN \$1,000,000 TO THE NEW YORK SANITARY UTILIZATION COMPANY, THIS GIFT TO BE PAID FROM THE PUBLIC TREASURY?"

In August of this year Captain James Keyes, Secretary of the United States Licensed Masters and Pilots' Association, appeared before the District Attorney and testified that three self-propelling scows built by the city in Colonel Waring's administration, at a cost of \$110,000, are left idle at Erie Basin, while scows are hired from private owners. He also stated that from \$155 to \$175 per scow is paid to contractors who remove rubbish and

**Jobs in
Scows.**

street cleanings and sell the same in Jersey City and Elizabethport for filling-in purposes, notwithstanding the fact that the same rubbish and street sweepings are taken to sea by the Barney Company at a cost of \$70 a scow.

Charges have recently been filed with the District Attorney against the Commissioner of Street Cleaning, in which complaint is made that a system of "shake downs," nearly as perfect as that in the Police Department, is used for purposes of plunder by those "high in authority." It is claimed that street sweepers have to pay sums, amounting to \$2 a month, to keep their places, and foremen have to pay to keep their jobs.

Before the present administration came into power the citizens of New York were proud of their streets. To the outsiders who visited the city, the streets were a model of cleanliness, and they went back to their homes in other cities and told of the wonderful system that made New York the cleanest city in the world. Among all the splendid things accomplished by the Strong administration, and among all the men whose names are identified with that administration, the name and the doings of Colonel Waring stand out in the history of those three years. Even Tammany has never dared to belittle Colonel Waring, but Tammany hated him because his splendid business honesty gave to the taxpayers every dollar's worth of public service for which they had paid. There was no politics in his system, so Tammany wanted none of him after they returned to power in 1897. They wanted the Street Cleaning Department for the use of their political machine, and they have got it. They did not want business honesty in the conduct of the Street Cleaning Department. They wanted a Tammany politician of the calibre of Percival E. Nagle, and they have got him.

DEPARTMENT OF BRIDGES.

Table showing cost of the Department of Bridges for three years, compared with the last appropriation for bridges of the Strong administration :

1898.....	\$350,136.88	Strong Adminis- tration Budget.
1899.....	406,522.00	Inc. \$50,385.12
1900.....	431,957.00	Inc. 25,435.00
1901.....	431,728.25	Dec. 128.75

Net increase for three years.....\$81,691.37

John L. Shea is the Commissioner of the Department of Bridges. He is a Brooklyn man and a prominent member of the Kings County Democracy. His job was given to him by Richard Croker, among the few other sops presented by Tammany to the Brooklynites who worked for the election of Mayor Van Wyck in 1897. Shea is a protégé of Hugh McLaughlin.

On September 3 of this year, Commissioner Shea submitted his estimate of the cost of his department for the year 1902. He asked for a total of \$538,920.43, an increase of \$96,263.18, or 23 per cent. over the appropriation for 1901. If his estimate is allowed, the cost of this department for the year 1902 will show an increase of \$177,954.55, or 50 per cent. over the appropriation for the same purpose in the last year of the Strong administration.

While Commissioner Shea had supervision of the Brooklyn Bridge, not one cent of the appropriation for his department during the past three years has been used to keep that structure in running order; on the contrary, THE NET REVENUE FROM THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE TURNED INTO THE CITY TREASURY FOR THE YEARS 1899 AND 1900 WAS \$215,998.27.

The Brooklyn Bridge, the largest suspension bridge structure in the world, was completed and opened to

**Brooklyn
Bridge
Neglected.**

the public on May 24, 1883. The original cost of construction was \$15,000,000, and thirteen years were spent in the building. Tammany Hall has had absolute supervision of this bridge during thirteen years since it was opened to the public.

**Breaks in
the Bridge.**

On the evening of July 25, 1901, a policeman reported that certain "suspension rods" leading from the cables to the body of the bridge were broken. A quick investigation showed that twelve of these rods, vitally essential to the safety of the structure, had parted. The metal at the breaks was completely rusted over, indicating that the breakages had occurred long before the discovery was made. The news that the Brooklyn Bridge was not in a perfectly safe condition spread like wildfire. The Tammany officials who were not then at the seashore, taking their summer vacations, were stricken with panic. All street car traffic over the bridge was stopped, and a large force of police placed on duty at the entrances, thereby increasing the panic and placing a horrible dread in thousands of homes in Brooklyn.

Samuel R. Probasco, who is the Tammany Chief Engineer of the Department of Bridges, and Assistant Supervising Engineer of the Brooklyn Bridge, was asked if the breaks in the rods had occurred recently. He said: "Undoubtedly, but goodness knows when they began." Mr. Probasco was asked: "When was the iron work of the bridge last painted?"

He replied: "I don't know."

Q. "Have you any idea?"

A. "No, I have not."

Q. "It is not possible to ascertain from the records of your department when the bridge was last painted all over?"

A. "Yes, but I have not the time to look it up."

Q. "Have you any recollection of the iron work having been painted all over in the past three years?"

A. "I think it has, but I cannot tell definitely."

Deputy Commissioner York was asked if the Brooklyn Bridge had been painted in the last three years? "No; as a structure it has not," he said. "I think, though, I have seen men painting here and there on parts of the structure from time to time. That is all the painting I know of."

Q. "Have the trusses and suspension rods on the bridge been painted in the last three years that you know of?"

A. "No, not that I know of. All of that has been in the personal charge of Mr. Probasco, and he can tell just when and where the paint has been applied, if any, and just how much."

The apparent negligence and astonishing neglect of the Tammany officials in the matter of painting the iron work on the Brooklyn Bridge caused great amazement among the body of structural engineers in the city. These engineers unanimously state that the Brooklyn Bridge should have a new coat of paint over every inch of it at least every two years. Since the breakage, it has been definitely proved that the bridge has not been painted since the present Tammany administration assumed control in January, 1898. Mr. Shea did not, in any of his reports, ask for an increase of the appropriation for paint, but did in all of his reports ask for large increases in the appropriations for salaries; neither did Mr. Shea ask for extra competent engineers and mechanics to inspect the bridge more carefully and promptly report daily upon the actual condition of all its material parts; in fact, Commissioner Shea had no time and no disposition to look after the Brooklyn Bridge, being engaged during most of his time in the office in looking after other structures and supplies, in which he was more directly concerned as a distributor of patronage and a reliable agent of Tammany Hall.

The Brooklyn Bridge more than pays for itself. Peculiar conditions make it a poor field for the distribution of patronage and the spending of money from the city

treasury under the direction of the Commissioner of Bridges.

Chief Engineer Samuel R. Probasco is paid \$10,000 a year by the city, but he did not know whether the Brooklyn Bridge had been painted in three years. Deputy Commissioner Thomas H. York receives \$5,000 a year, yet he did not know whether the Brooklyn Bridge had been painted in three years. Commissioner John L. Shea receives \$7,500 per year; he was basking in the sunshine and sea breezes of Cape Cod when the suspension rods on the bridge broke. After his return to the city he showed an awakening interest in the Brooklyn Bridge, but has not yet informed the public whether the bridge has been painted within three years.

When the Brooklyn Bridge was completed, competent men all over the world agreed that the structure would stand for hundreds of years if properly cared for. The bridge must, in all conditions of weather and traffic, have what engineers call the "factor of safety;" in other words, it must have a reserve strength sufficient to carry it safely through every contingency that its loads may create. This "factor of safety" must be carefully watched at all times and the parts of the bridge promptly renewed when weakened. **TAMMANY HALL STANDS MORALLY GUILTY OF CRIMINAL MISMANAGEMENT OF THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE.** The broken suspension rods were discovered by a policeman and not by the engineering staff, whose duty it is to watch the structure in every part. The broken rods did not all fail in one day, and probably not in one month. One by one they might have been discovered and repaired without interrupting traffic, without alarming passengers, without arousing that sense of distrust which a large portion of the public feels to-day; but vigilance in the accomplishment of plain duty is an unknown quality in the Tammany politician, who is placed by a Tammany government in a position of great responsibility because of the votes he supplies in his district to the Richard Croker ticket on election day.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS,
LIGHTING AND SUPPLIES.

The following table shows appropriations for this department during the four years, beginning with 1898:

Appropriations.	Increase.
1898	\$3,623,110.49
1899	3,735,724.26
1900	3,850,937.75
1901	3,904,809.00
Total increase.....	\$271,698.25

Henry S. Kearney, a Tammany politician, is at the head of this department. On Sept. 3d of the present year, he submitted his estimate for the coming year. He figured it would cost \$4,275,223.89 to run the department in 1902. This estimate is an increase of \$370,514.89 over the appropriation for 1901, and if his estimate is allowed, the cost of this department for the fourth year of the Tammany administration will show an increase of \$642,213.04 over the appropriation for the year 1898, the estimates for which were furnished by the Strong administration. This is an increase of nearly 20 per cent.

It is the duty of this department to supervise and provide the funds for repairing public buildings, lighting public buildings, for supplying the furniture of public buildings and looking after other matters conveniently classed under the heading "Contingencies" by the wonderful Tammany bookkeepers.

As every citizen can easily see, the purchasing of immense quantities of small supplies in many separate transactions which are governed by free and easy rules, offers splendid opportunities to the head of the Department of Public Buildings, Lighting and Supplies, and to his friends. To illustrate the character of these opportunities, the following table, including a few transac-

Jobs. in Safes.

tions picked up at random, is offered. Under the classification of "Supplies," iron or steel safes constitute an important item. The records shown in this table indicate that one Jacob A. Mittnacht and others have been doing a steady business with this department. It has been clearly shown in the Controller's office that Mittnacht has furnished defective safes and second-hand safes to many buildings, charging more for the old junk than first-class dealers charge for A No. 1 safes brand new:

Date of Filing and Name of Claimant.	Amount claimed.	Actual value as found.	Over-charge.
June 15, 1900, Fox Bros. & Co....	\$590.00	\$230.00	\$360.00
April 19, 1900, Mittnacht Eagle Safe Co.	650.00	200.00	450.00
April 19, 1900, Mittnacht Eagle Safe Co.	290.00	250.00	40.00
April 19, 1900, Mittnacht Eagle Safe Co.	503.00	350.00	153.00
October 2, 1900, Thiel Detective Service Co.	3,481.25	2,836.25	645.00
April 26, 1900, James R. Keane & Co.	900.00	690.00	210.00
April 9, 1900, B. F. Goodrich Co..	360.00	240.00	120.00
April 20, 1900, James Moran.....	112.00	76.80	35.20
July 21, 1899, Mittnacht Eagle Safe Co.	512.00	350.00	162.00
December 17, 1898, Mittnacht Eagle Safe Co.	500.00	425.00	75.00
May 23, 1900, Smith, Worthington & Co.	910.00	860.00	50.00
March 9, 1899, Mittnacht Eagle Safe Co.	450.00	375.00	75.00
October 13, 1899, Liberman, Levy & Co.	444.62	284.62	160.00
Various '97 International Oil Works	1,472.00	1,104.00	368.00

The above claims were all examined in the Controller's office, and, as shown in the table, the amounts claimed were outrageous, indicating the unconcealed purpose to rob the city. The full claim was paid in each of the above cases.

THE NEW HALL OF RECORDS, THE TOMBS
PRISON AND THE FIRM OF HORGAN
& SLATTERY.

HORGAN & SLATTERY'S CAREER UNDER TAMMANY.

Horgan & Slattery, architects; incorporated 1897.

Joined the Democratic Club, 1897.

Examined by judicial order in regard to non-payment of official rent, December 30, 1889.

"I own no real estate and no personal property except my clothing. No one owes me any money. I carry no insurance."—Affidavit of Arthur J. Horgan, December 30, 1898.

"Our firm indebtedness at the present time is from \$150,000 to \$175,000. My partner, Arthur J. Horgan, and myself have been examined in proceedings supplementary to execution at least fifteen times. I have no property nor money wherewith to satisfy judgment."—Affidavit of Vincent J. Slattery, December 30, 1898.

Forced into bankruptcy August 3, 1899.

Prepared plans by order of Tammany officials for scows, dump cars, boilers, sewers, driveways, stables, morgues, engine houses, interior decoration of the Democratic Club and new Tombs prison; fees ranged from \$17.50 to \$10,850.

Appointed official architects for the Fire Department August 4, 1899.

Announcement of Horgan & Slattery's appointment as architects for the Sailors' Snug Harbor sanitarium (fee \$30,000) August 8, 1899. Mayor Van Wyck assisted in the award of this contract.

Filed plans for the Willard Parker Hospital additions August 12, 1899, and September 27, 1900.

Chosen to build and decorate the stand for the Dewey celebration August 19, 1899.

Comptroller Coler cut bills for planning stands for Dewey celebration from \$30,000 to \$15,000 September 7, 1899.

Directed to prepare plans for new building on Randall's Island December 16, 1899.

Secured contract for planning the new First Battery Armory, to cost \$200,000, February 16, 1900.

Chosen to plan alterations for County Court House May 18, 1900.

Announcement of award to Horgan & Slattery to draw plans for the new Sixty-ninth Regiment Armory, to cost \$600,000.—New York Herald, September 12, 1901.

The enormous increase in the sales of real estate, execution of mortgages, etc., which were required by law to be recorded, and the filing of such records by the duly elected officers of the city government of New York during the last decade, resulted in a project to build and properly equip a new Hall of Records. All citizens interested in the project and all public-spirited citizens of the city agreed that the new building should be so constructed architecturally and so fitted with proper appliances that the public records of the city of New York during the next century should be safely and conveniently filed, and that the building itself should be so designed and constructed under such architectural supervision that it would be for all time a fit ornament to the city of New York.

The Hall of Records.

The project originated with a body numbering among its members nearly every prominent public-spirited man in the city. Mr. John D. Crimmins was elected president of the association. This association succeeded in convincing the Board of Estimate and Apportionment that the Hall of Records project, as they had designed it, was necessary and proper for the public interests, and the work was begun several months ago.

From among all the architects in the city and in the nation whose work stands in this and other cities in testimony of their competence, Mr. John R. Thomas was selected by the late Mayor William L. Strong, after a competitive examination, to supervise the construction of this public building.

The death of Mr. Thomas recently came as a shock to all of his profession and to thousands of public-spirited

men throughout the nation. It became necessary to employ another architect, or firm of architects.

On September 11, of this year, the Board of Estimate and Apportionment awarded the contract for completing the new Hall of Records building to the firm of Horgan & Slattery, otherwise known as the "official" architects of the Tammany administration.

Secretary Stanwood Menken, of the Hall of Records Association, said, when he learned of the appointment of Horgan & Slattery: "It is an outrage. For myself, I purpose agitating for the appointment by the Hall of Records Association of a competent architect, whose duty it shall be to observe the operations of Horgan & Slattery and report any irregularities which may occur in finishing the structure. It is an affront to our architects to intrust this work to a political combination. Mr. Thomas stood at the head of his profession. His plans were satisfactory to everybody until Tammany got into power, when Horgan & Slattery assumed to criticise his work. They were powerless while Mr. Thomas lived, but, now that he is dead, their Tammany friends have given them what they want."

Messrs. Horgan and Slattery are personal and political friends of Richard Croker. They hold no membership in any architectural association. Their intimate relations with heads of departments of the municipal government engaged the attention of the Mazet Investigation Committee in 1899.

As planned by Mr. Thomas, the Hall of Records was to cost \$5,000,000. Mr. Thomas drew plans for and let contracts worth \$4,000,000. His fees were three and a half per cent. down, and one and a half per cent. for work done under his supervision up to the time of his death. Horgan & Slattery will get superintendent's fees of one and one-half per cent. on \$2,500,000 of unfinished work, or \$37,500 and will get five per cent. flat on new contracts. If the \$5,000,000 limit is adhered to the firm will receive

five per cent. on the \$1,000,000 to be spent on interior decorations, or \$50,000. This \$87,500 does not, however, include commissions from contractors or profits in case Horgan & Slattery take the contract themselves. A prominent member of the Hall of Records Association said: "In my opinion, the Hall of Records will cost \$7,000,000 because of the appointment of Horgan & Slattery, Tammany politicians and proteges of Richard Croker."

THE TOMBS PRISON.

The leaders of Tammany Hall agreed that the Tombs Prison, which in times gone by has furnished a cell for many a Tammany official, should be reconstructed.

Francis J. Lantry, Tammany politician, President of the Department of Correction and Tammany leader of the Twenty-second Assembly District, has developed a brilliant Tammany scheme designed to improve upon the original plans for reconstructing the Tombs. He will provide for handsome central offices for the Department of Correction, add to the cell capacity of the new Tombs, and at the same time provide a lot of new patronage. COMMISSIONER LANTRY HAS ADDED \$800,000 TO THE ORIGINAL ESTIMATE OF THE COST FOR RECONSTRUCTING THE TOMBS PRISON.

The firm of Withers & Dickson, architects, drew the original plans for improving the Tombs. Lantry has devised additional improvements to cost \$800,000. Horgan & Slattery, Tammany architects, have been engaged to supervise Lantry's building schemes.

A well-known architect and builder said: "The transfer of the architectural work on the Tombs to Horgan & Slattery has cost the city anywhere from \$250,000 to \$300,000 more than would have been expended had the original plans been followed. Tammany politicians can also expect a big 'rake-off' from the additional \$800,000 that is to be expended under the architectural supervision of Horgan & Slattery."

FIRE DEPARTMENT.

Table showing expenses of Fire Department during three years of the Strong administration, as compared with three years of Tammany administration :

	Manhattan Average per and Bronx. capita tax.	
1896-1897 inclusive (Strong Admin.)...	\$6,816,728.43	\$1.235
1898-1900 inclusive (Tammany Admin.)	7,722,527.00	1.288
	All boroughs.	
1895-1897 inclusive (Strong Admin.)...	\$11,081,859.16	\$1.206
1898-1900 inclusive (Tammany Admin.)	13,480,810.42	1.343

Increase for Manhattan and Bronx during three years of Tammany rule, \$905,798.57; increase for all boroughs in New York, \$2,398,951.26; increase for every man, woman and child in New York on January 1, 1901, 13 cents and 7 mills.

At the beginning of this year Commissioner Scannell, of the Fire Department, compiled a book of 40 pages, containing estimates of the cost of the department for the year 1901. There are few expert bookkeepers in the city who could understand and explain to the average taxpayer the meaning and intent of the bulk of the items in this remarkable estimate. Mr. Scannell figured that the cost of running the department for the year 1901 would be \$638,337 greater than in 1900. In Manhattan and Bronx he estimated the cost for the present year at \$340,804 more than the sum used in 1900.

Early in September, 1901, the Fire Commissioner submitted his estimate of the cost of the department for the year 1902. The estimate shows an increase of \$336,103; one-third of this increase is catalogued "expenses." ABOUT \$200,000 ARE NEEDED FOR INCREASES IN SALARIES. On June 28 of this year Fire Commissioner John J. Scannell and one William L. Marks were indicted by the Grand Jury, Scannell being charged with neglect of his official duty and with conspiracy together with Marks to defraud the city.

**Scannell-
Marks In-
dictment.**

On January 28 of this year the New York Times printed an article, in which it was stated that the income of William L. Marks was between \$40,000 and \$50,000 a year, though his sole business duties included only the selling of fire engines and fire hose to the city. He had given a costly dinner to twenty Tammany politicians at the Democratic Club, at which Fire Commissioner Scannell and Corporation Counsel Whalen were present. The Times also stated that Marks had accompanied Scannell on a visit to the Village Stock Farm, at East Aurora, N. Y., where they both inspected the race horse known as "The Abbot." The Fire Commissioner immediately afterward bought this race horse for his private use on the Speedway, paying \$26,500.

How Marks Made Money.

It was shown before the Grand Jury that among the concerns for which Marks has done business are the La France Fire Engine Company, the American Steam Fire Engine Company, the Akron Rubber Company, the Fabric Hose Company, the Vorhees Rubber Company and the B. F. Goodrich Company. These concerns during the year 1900 sold to the city about \$215,000 worth of supplies. The officers of these concerns have made statements over their own signatures to the effect that, **THEY WERE OBLIGED TO PAY MARKS A COMMISSION ON EVERYTHING SOLD, THIS COMMISSION AMOUNTING TO 25 PER CENT. ON SOME GOODS.** They had all sold directly to the city before Marks appeared, but **NONE OF THEM CAN DO BUSINESS WITH THE CITY NOW EXCEPT THROUGH MARKS,** so they say.

The Grand Jury investigation developed the fact that the Eureka Hose Company was the only concern that could sell hose to the city without the assistance of Marks. Isaac B. Markey, secretary of the Eureka Fire Hose Company, testified before the Grand Jury concerning his dealings with the Fire Department. The following is a part of the testimony:

Q. Tell us what you did in your search for influence?

A. I saw a gentleman in the Astor House one day. He was pointed out to me as a man that could do me some good, perhaps. I learned it was Mr. George Scannell.

Q. What relation is he to Fire Commissioner Scannell?

A. I suppose he is a brother—I don't know, and I waited on him and told him I would like to do business and like to contribute something to the organization. I called on him at the Seneca Club. He is the leader of the district. In the club I made the tender. He called his secretary to me. He told me to give it to him. I gave him \$1,200 in bills in anticipation of doing some business.

Q. Was this payment of \$1,200 made in Mr. George Scannell's presence?

A. Yes; that was in November, 1898, and July 5, 1899.

Q. What was the result of your contribution of \$1,200 to the Seneca Club?

A. I received an order for 3,500 feet of hose.

Mr. Charles R. Silsby, president and treasurer of the American Fire Engine Company, told of the efforts he had made to get Senator Grady's influence. This company did business directly with the Fire Department prior to January, 1898, but after Commissioner Scannell's appointment, he (Silsby) called upon the Commissioner at Fire Headquarters and had an interview with him with reference to supplies. He (Silsby) stated that the Commissioner told him he understood commissions were usually paid, and if they were he wanted his friends to get them.

Q. You asked him who would be a good agent for you to employ?

A. Very likely I did.

Q. Did he say he would do business with you directly or not?

A. I think he said he would not.

Silsby, according to the evidence, stated that "he afterward saw Commissioner Scannell and told him he had waited several days to see Senator Grady and understood he was away." The Commissioner replied that if Senator Grady was going to act in that way he could not expect favors from him.

Mr. Ordway, who represented the District Attorney before the Grand Jury, in his argument made a summary

of the testimony. He said that after Marks had to be paid his commissions, everything cost the city more money. He said that Marks collected twenty-five cents a foot on all hose for the Fire Department, and during the first six months of this year the purchases amounted to 89,000 feet, of which Marks furnished 83,000 feet. He said that since the manufacturers stopped paying Marks his 25 cents commission the price for hose paid by the city dropped 23 to 31 cents a foot. He declared that as long as Marks was paid his commission the city could not get fire hose for less than \$1 a foot. He said that as soon as the manufacturers had trouble with Marks the hose that they furnished during the trouble was reported to be defective.

Mr. Ordway declared the evidence showed that a Standard Fire Engine was sold to the city for \$4,500 before Marks made a deal with the manufacturing concern. After they employed him it cost the city \$5,000 for each machine, and Marks received \$900. Mr. Ordway declared that in many instances, as the books of the Fire Department would show, Marks had made from 50 per cent. to 300 per cent. profit on goods he had been permitted to supply to the department. He had sold 90,000 feet of fire hose in one year, collecting at least 25 cents a foot commission. With his commission on fire engines and other supplies, he said that it was evident that Marks' friendship with the Fire Commissioner had netted him (Marks) at least \$50,000 a year at the city's expense.

From the day the indictments for felonies against Scannell and Marks were handed down by the Grand Jury, the attorneys for both have strenuously hunted up and used every technicality of law to delay trial in the courts of New York. They made application to have the case removed from the Court of General Sessions to the Criminal Branch of the Supreme Court, claiming that the "paramount importance" of the case necessitated a higher tribunal than the Court of General Sessions. District Attorney Philbin ridiculed their contention and called atten-

**Scannell
Evades
Trial.**

tion to the fact that the Court of General Sessions is fully competent to try this case, having tried more than 400 cases, the decisions in only three of which have been reversed by higher tribunal. On July 30 Justice McAdam of the Supreme Court granted the application of Scannell and Marks to have the indictments found against them removed for trial to the Supreme Court.

It is plain to every citizen that Tammany Hall does not desire to have the administration of the Fire Department open'd and quickly investigated in the courts of New York City.

On Sept. 30 Justice Gildersleeve of the Supreme Court quashed the indictments SOLELY BECAUSE LAWYER SAMUEL H. ORDWAY, THE SPECIAL COUNSEL RETAINED BY DISTRICT ATTORNEY PHILBIN, WAS IN THE GRAND JURY ROOM WHILE THE CASES WERE BEING CONSIDERED. Justice Gildersleeve decided that Mr. Ordway's presence in the Grand Jury room was technically illegal, as a strict construction of the law allows only the actual presence of the District Attorney in person. The court gave the District Attorney permission to re-submit the cases to a Grand Jury. There was no question and no discussion of the evidence submitted before the Grand Jury, and, after the dismissal of the indictments, this evidence still remained a convincing proof of such bold and unscrupulous ravaging of the taxpayers of New York by Tammany in these days as was never attempted in the palmiest days of the Tweed Ring.

**Crocker
made Chief.
Insurance
Rates Trebled.**

When Tammany came back to power in 1897 the Fire Department was under the command of Chief Bonner, who was recognized all over the nation as the most competent chief in the country. He was fully trusted by the great business interests, and especially by the men who own and insure the \$900,000,000 worth of property in the dry goods district, but Tammany quickly got rid of Bonner and appointed Edward F. Croker, a nephew of Richard Croker, to the place. **INSURANCE RATES HAVE INCREASED 200 PER CENT. SINCE TAMMANY RETURNED TO POWER.**

HEALTH DEPARTMENT.

Tables showing expenses of Health Department during three years of the Strong administration, as compared with three years of Tammany rule:

	Manhattan and Bronx.	Average cost per capita.
1895-1897 inclusive (Strong Admin.)...	\$1,613,240.77	\$0.292
1898-1900 inclusive (Tammany Admin.)	2,044,111.30	0.41
	All Boroughs.	
1895-1897 inclusive (Strong Admin.)...	\$2,307,810.90	\$0.250%
1898-1900 inclusive (Tammany Admin.)	3,104,783.17	0.309½

Increase for Manhattan and Bronx during three years of Tammany rule, \$430,791.53. Increase for all boroughs, \$796,972.27. Increase for every man, woman and child in New York on January 1, 1901, fifty-nine cents.

The President of the Health Department of New York city is named John B. Sexton. The law creating his office gives him direct and absolute control of all officers and all measures having to do with the health of the public. The statute providing for the Department of Health in New York presumes that the President of this Department shall be a man of broad experience, education and technical attainments. John B. Sexton is a Tammany politician, and one of the leaders in that organization.

The terrible scourge of consumption is and has been for years and years a subject of supreme interest to the medical profession, and in a lesser degree to all intelligent citizens of every civilized nation. For twenty years the name of Dr. Robert Koch, a German bacteriologist, has stood for all vital progress in the cure of consumption. The whole modern system of treating consumption has grown up from Dr. Koch's discoveries. Several months ago Dr. Koch published in Germany a pamphlet that was read by scientific men in every part of the world. In it he made the statement that consumption in animals is entirely different and non-relative to consumption in human beings.

“Who is this man Koch?”

This pamphlet being recognized by all newspaper editors as of tremendous interest to the public, the New York Herald, in August of this year, sent a reporter to Mr. Sexton for the purpose of getting an interview on the subject from the President of the New York Health Department. The reporter handed a copy of the pamphlet to Mr. Sexton. The President of the Health Department turned a few pages, and then said to the reporter, with some show of interest: “WHO IS THIS MAN KOCH?” The reporter told him. Thus Mr. Sexton, in a single pointed inquiry, established his character as a Tammany official, truly desirous of obtaining any information which may bear upon his duties.

The enormous increase of nearly 35 per cent., as shown in the table above, was not caused by new hospital buildings, nor other buildings designed to care for the health of the community. For several years the community has urged that a hospital be erected for tuberculosis patients, and a bill authorizing it passed the Assembly in 1898. Tammany appointed a “committee to secure a site.” For two years that “committee” has been “working,” but no site has been secured. It is plain that Tammany did not want to use the money for a hospital building, because the organization had other uses for the health fund. THE GREAT INCREASE IN THE TOTAL COST OF THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT IS THE RESULT OF GREAT INCREASES IN THE SALARIES OF THE EMPLOYEES.

While Mr. Sexton is not an authority on consumption, nor other widespread maladies, he did on one occasion show an apparent desire to do something for the preservation of the public health. On the evening of July 25th of the present year it was discovered that certain structural safeguards on the Brooklyn Bridge, through neglect, had broken and become useless, thereby endangering the lives of hundreds of thousands who daily cross the bridge. Mr. Sexton felt himself called upon

to take action. He did not want to do anything precipitate. He waited during Wednesday night, all day Thursday and Thursday night, while hundreds of thousands were crossing the bridge, and on Friday morning, when the broken rods had been given a coat of paint and the breaks in the steel somewhat concealed thereby, he ordered an investigation! Mr. Sexton's "investigation" was a record breaker. It lasted four hours. On Friday afternoon Mr. Sexton declared the Brooklyn Bridge was perfectly safe!

It is an admitted fact that the Sanitary Squad is one of the most important adjuncts to the Health Department. It is the duty of the sanitary officers to investigate carefully every complaint of unsanitary conditions in tenements and other buildings. Under the Strong administration the officers selected for the Sanitary Squad were energetic men, who were compelled to undergo an examination. All were selected for fitness, and were required to have a knowledge of plumbing and the general sanitary arrangements of a house. As a result, the complaints were all attended to in an intelligent and effectual manner. When Tammany returned to power in 1897 there was a shake-up in the sanitary staff. Expert sanitary policemen were sent away, and in their stead were detailed the favorites of Tammany district leaders, the great majority of whom were utterly ignorant in the matter of sanitation. THE SANITARY SQUAD OF THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT IS NOW USED FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES ONLY. Among the thousands of illustrations that may be cited to prove this, witness the struggles of last year between the Sheehan and Goodwin factions for supremacy in the old Ninth District. By the orders of Richard Croker, Sheehan was to be turned down, and the Police and Health Departments were forced into line to that end. All the available Sanitary Inspectors and members of the Sanitary Squad were put into the district. The Sheehanites were harassed night and day for the most trivial causes. Their premises were raided, and in this manner they were "turned down."

The Sanitary Squad.

TAMMANY HALL AND PUBLIC BATHS.

HOW COMMISSIONER KEARNY DISCOVERED "A GOOD THING"
IN WHAT WAS INTENDED TO BE A BENEFIT TO
THE WORKING PEOPLE.

In 1852 the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor spent \$42,000 in building a public bath for the benefit of the working people of the city. The reports of the association say that it was well patronized for some eight years, after which there is only a brief notice to the effect that it was discontinued for lack of patronage.

From 1852 until 1891 no attempt was made either by the public authorities or private bodies to provide bathing facilities for people of small means forced to live in tenement houses.

In 1891 the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor again took up the matter and erected the People's Baths at No. 9 Centre Market Place at a cost of \$28,000.

The People's Baths immediately became a great popular success. Every year showed a large increase in the number of baths taken, until in the year ending September 30, 1900, 131,000 baths were taken by men, women and children.

The great and increasing patronage of the People's Baths attracted the attention of Mayor Strong, who was deeply interested in the welfare of the working people of the city. He appointed a commission to investigate the question of public baths. That commission, after an exhaustive investigation, advocated the establishment of a SYSTEM OF PUBLIC BATHS to be maintained by the city.

In 1896 legislation was obtained by the Strong administration authorizing the city to spend \$200,000 on public baths and comfort stations.

The Rivington Street Bath was planned as the first of

a SYSTEM OF PUBLIC BATHS by Mayor Strong's administration.

Before ground was broken Seth Low was defeated and Tammany Hall came into power.

Under the operations of the Charter of Greater New York the construction of the Rivington Street Bath came under the jurisdiction of Henry S. Kearny, Commissioner of Public Buildings, Lighting and Supplies.

Ground was broken in December, 1897. The bath was not opened to the public until March 27, 1901.

It took three years and four months for a Tammany commissioner to erect a three-story and basement building intended to benefit the working people of New York. Twenty-story office buildings are erected in a year by private individuals for commercial purposes.

While he was erecting the Rivington Street Bath, Commissioner Kearny appeared before the Mayor and said that public baths were "a good thing," and the city ought to have more of them.

In September, 1900, the Commissioner appeared before the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to ask for an appropriation for the maintenance of the Rivington Street Bath, and the "GOOD THING" developed. He wanted \$52,000 for the year 1901, and this is what he wanted it for:

Salaries.		
1 Janitor	\$1,200.00	
2 Engineers at \$1,200 each.....	2,400.00	
4 Firemen, 365 days, at \$2.50 day each..	3,650.00	
1 Oiler, 365 days at \$2.50 day.....	912.50	
2 Clerks at \$1,000 each.....	2,000.00	
10 Male bath attendants, 365 days at \$2.50 day each.....	9,125.00	
16 Female bath and laundry attendants at \$50 per month each.....	9,600.00	
1 Electrician, 365 days at \$4 per day....	1,460.00	
5 Male cleaners, 365 days at \$2 per day.	3,650.00	\$33,997.50
And for repairs and supplies, including \$10,100 for gas and lighting		\$17,950.00
Being a total of.....		\$51,947.50
The Board of Estimate and Apportionment thought		

\$52,000 was a little too much for "a good thing," and cut the estimate to \$35,000.

Under date of Dec. 19, 1900, the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor addressed a communication to Mayor Van Wyck on the subject. It said:

"It is the belief of the Board of Managers of this Association, founded upon eight years' practical knowledge of the matter, that the expenditure of any such sum as \$35,000 for one year's maintenance of the Free Public Bath in Rivington street is unnecessary, unwarranted and prejudicial to progress in extending the public bath system."

The Association offered, under bond, to undertake the administration of the bath and guarantee that the cost to the city should not exceed \$17,500."

The Mayor referred the communication to Commissioner Kearny, who replied in a letter of pointless generalities.

The Association refused to accept the Commissioner's letter as an answer to its communication and demanded that the Mayor should make a definite answer to its proposal.

The Mayor then requested the Commissioner to explain to him how he proposed to spend the \$35,000 appropriated. The Commissioner answered the Mayor by cutting down his estimate for the year, or 365 days, to \$24,272.50.

Commissioner Kearny asked for \$52,000 to maintain the Rivington Street Bath. This was the "good thing," and disclosed his motive for asking for more of them.

He got \$35,000. This let out a few items such as "gas and electric lighting, \$10,100," and cut off a few of the forty-two jobs provided for in his estimate, but wasn't bad for the gang on the whole, whatever it was for the taxpayers.

Private enterprise offered to do the work for \$17,500.

The Commissioner squirmed, but got down to \$24,000. In doing so he cut the number of jobs down to twenty.

And there the matter stood for 1901.

During four years in office, Tammany Hall cannot be credited with having built a single public bath.

PROSTITUTION IN THE TENEMENT HOUSES.

In its report, the Tenement House Commission said :

In the course of its investigation the Commission has become painfully aware of one evil, from which it believes tenement-house dwellers should be protected, and protected as they are not under existing conditions and existing laws. That evil is the introduction of the practice of prostitution into reputable tenement houses.

The steady growth of vice in the tenement houses has come under the personal observation of members of the Commission. Its special investigations, reinforced by the unanimous testimony of many witnesses, including the tenement-house dwellers, labor representatives and philanthropic workers, lead it to most earnestly protest against such conditions.

It appears that prostitution has spread greatly among tenement houses. This condition has recently grown worse, *nor does it appear that there has been sufficient effort on the part of the public authorities to suppress it.* Evidence has been submitted that the protests of the dwellers in the tenement houses immediately affected, as well as those of their neighbors, have been alike unheeded, and in spite of the best effort of careful parents the very house in which a family has dwelt, selected because it was thought to be free from this curse, has furnished the temptation against which parental care and anxiety have been in vain. The dangers of this situation to those of tender age in the tenement houses is alarming. We have ascertained that when dissolute women enter a tenement house their first effort is to make friends with the chil-

dren. Children have been lured into their rooms, where they have beheld sights from which they should be protected. Frequently these women engage one family in the tenement to do their laundry work, another to do their cooking, and still further financial arrangements are made with the housekeeper. The patronage which they can distribute is thus utilized to make friends and to purchase the silence of those who might otherwise object to their presence. The children of respectable families are often sent to the prostitute on various errands, and, because of the gifts made to the children these women become important personages in the house, and their affairs the subject of frequent conversations. The familiarity with vice, often in its most flagrant forms, possessed by very young children because of the condition just described has profoundly impressed the Commission. Several physicians have informed us that though they as children had lived in quarters of the city where prostitution existed, they had not possessed a tenth of the knowledge of it which they find almost universal among tenement-house children of the present day. The anxiety of reputable parents living in houses upon which these harlots have descended is most pitiful. One of our charity workers stated that she had heard women living in tenement houses thus infected bemoan the birth of a daughter because of their fears of the dangers to which she would be exposed. And the same worker declared that scarcely a day passed that some woman did not confide to her a mother's anxiety and despair regarding this situation.

But it is not the children alone who are contaminated! Boys and young men living in the tenement houses are tempted, and become addicted to habits of immorality, because of the constant temptation placed before them almost at the door of their home. Still more distressing is the condition of young girls. From the statement of many in a position to know facts, we have been led to

believe that more girls have been started, in recent years, upon a life of immorality, because of their associations in the tenement houses, than by all other means combined that supply this traffic.

Voicing the protests of tenement-house dwellers, clergymen, teachers and many others interested in the welfare of tenement-house people, the Commission recommends legislation of a stringent character for the suppression of prostitution in tenement houses. While there may be serious difference of opinion regarding the subject as a whole, there can be no difference of opinion regarding the enforced mingling in the same house of old and young with prostitutes and their procurers. Wherever this evil may exist, and however it may be dealt with, it should be absolutely eradicated from the dwellings of the poor.

For these reasons the Commission recommends the enactment of more severe penalties against prostitution in tenement houses.

TAMMANY'S OPPOSITION TO LABOR.

Tammany's unfriendly attitude to labor has been clearly demonstrated by the opposition on the part of Mr. Croker's city officials to the State laws passed in the interest of workingmen. Tammany's city officials have persistently permitted violations of these laws by contractors on public works. They have disregarded the interests of the wage workers while favoring Mr. Croker's friends who are favorite contractors.

LABOR LAW VIOLATED ON THE EAST RIVER BRIDGE.

Some time ago complaint was made by the New York Branch of the Granite Cutters' National Union to the Tammany East River Bridge Commissioners that the padrone system was in force on that structure contrary to law, and that the prevailing rate of wages was not being paid in conformity with the provisions of the Labor Law. Charges, backed up by ample proof, were made that granite cutters were compelled to pay a padrone \$18 and furnish letters from him to the contractor in order to get employment, while competent granite cutters, who did not show letters from the padrone, were refused work on the job. Of the sum named \$12 had to be paid before the situation was obtained, and the balance was handed over to the padrone by each man in weekly installments. It was charged that in many cases, after the remaining \$6 had been paid, the men were discharged, and the pa-

drone was permitted to furnish under the same system a new supply of workmen, thus continuing to reap large sums of money from his transactions. The Bridge Commissioners ignored the matter on the direct advice of the Corporation Counsel's office, and the Granite Cutters' Union secured a peremptory writ of mandamus from a Supreme Court Justice, requiring the Commission to hear the evidence in the case and to formulate and announce a decision. Five months elapsed before a hearing was granted, and then it was only brought about by the insistence of the Union that unless the Commissioners obeyed the order of the Court contempt proceedings would be instituted against them. There were three counts in the charges preferred by the Union. They were in brief: (1) That on a certain grade of stone work the piece system was adopted at about half the prevailing wage rate. (2) That help was employed through the agency of a padrone. (3) That the prevailing rate of wages was not paid, and that the provisions of the Labor Law were evaded through subterfuge. Affidavits substantiating the charges were made by men who had been engaged on the work. The Commission rendered a decision sustaining the contention of the Union on the first count, but on the particular granite to which that referred the cutting had previously been finished, and consequently the decision lost its force. In regard to the second count it was held that, as the Union had not shown that the contractor had not received any money from the padrone, the charge was not sustained. The decision on the third count was also adverse to the Union, which rightly maintains that its very strongest points, fortified by sufficient proof, were not given the favorable consideration they deserved.

VIOLATION OF THE LABOR LAW ON THE CITY PRISON.

About a year ago the protest of the Granite Cutters' Union that the prevailing rate of wages was not being

paid on the new city prison was also entirely ignored by the Tammany officials, although declarations were made in thirty-six affidavits of violations of the law. The same union likewise submitted proof that defective stone was used in the construction of the prison, and asked that a payment of \$30,000 on the contract be withheld until the specifications were complied with. After a long controversy this request was refused by the City Comptroller, who was *advised by the Corporation Counsel that, inasmuch as the contractor had certified that the work was completed under the specifications, payment could not be withheld.*

ARMORY BOARD SANCTIONS VIOLATIONS OF THE EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

A few weeks since complaint was made to the New York Central Federated Union that a number of workmen employed in constructing a new armory in the city were working more than eight hours a day—a direct violation of the Eight-Hour Law, which provides *“that no laborer, workman or mechanic in the employ of the contractor, sub-contractor or other person doing or contracting to do the whole or a part of the work contemplated by the contractor shall be permitted or required to work more than eight hours in any one calendar day except in cases of extraordinary emergency caused by fire, flood or damage to life or property.”* That statute also prohibits *“an agreement for overwork at an increased compensation * * * upon work by or for the State or a municipal corporation, or by contractors or sub-contractors therewith.”* The Central Federated Union notified the Armory Board, which is composed of several Tammany city officials, of the violations, and in reply the Armory Board informed the central body of organized workmen that when the men worked more than eight hours a day on the armory in question they received extra compensation therefor. By thus permitting workmen to

be employed over eight hours a day on a public contract, even for extra compensation, the Armory Board confesses that it has sanctioned a flagrant violation of the Labor Law, which was enacted to protect the citizen workingman in this city and State.

STREET CLEANING DEPARTMENT.

The conduct of Mr. Croker's Tammany Street Cleaning Commissioner toward the men employed as sweepers, drivers and hostlers is another illustration of Tammany's love for and interest in workingmen.

The contest in the courts by the employes for the enforcement of the Eight Hour Law and the methods adopted for its evasion by Mr. Nagle and his deputies is proof positive that they are doing all in their power to make that law ineffective, and are hereby aiding the enemies of labor who seek to set it aside.

The other abuses affecting the interests of the wage-workers in the department are numerous. Some of them were made public by the representatives of the Drivers and Hostlers' Union within a short time, and are of such a character that they appeal directly to every lover of justice and fair play.

Mr. P. J. McNulty, speaking authoritatively for the employes, states "that the system of fines in the department is cruel in the extreme. For the purpose of blackmail, foremen and assistant foremen formulate charges against men, and they are given the alternative of submitting to a 'shakedown,' paying a fine of \$5, or dismissal. The character of the shakedown is this: They will be told that by paying half the money that the fine would amount to that the charges would not be preferred against them. This condition of affairs is well known to Mr. Croker's commissioner. A year or so ago he was forced to dismiss two of the foremen for blackmail of this character, one of whom has been recently re-appointed and placed as foreman in the section where the

men who made the charges against him were employed. It is hardly necessary to say that they are not employed by the department now. Being men who spoke out in court they were not desirable and under trumped up charges they were dismissed.

"Various forms of extortion are practiced in the matter of the supplying of uniforms. Rubber coats that could be bought in the market for \$2 are supplied at \$4 to the employes; hats costing the men \$1.35 could be supplied for much less than a dollar; aprons that were absolutely useless could be purchased anywhere at 16 to 18 cents each, but were supplied at a cost of 75 cents each when first given out, but when the men were ungrateful enough to make a protest, the price was cut to 40 cents. This treatment of men receiving less than \$2 a day for their wage in the only department of our city government where unskilled labor is employed to any great extent, speaks volumes for the interest Tammany takes in the "poor" workingmen in particular and labor in general."

The same system is in vogue in every department of the city where labor is employed. Years of toil and agitation to get labor laws on the statute books of the State for the protection of labor count for nothing when Mr. Croker, from his home at Wantage, England, instructs his commissioners and city officials in general to disregard such laws when they interfere with his private business or the welfare of his old associates who have blossomed out into "contractors."

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A FEW FACTS ABOUT RICHARD CROKER.

Richard Croker was born near the city of Cork, Ireland, on Nov. 24, 1843. His father emigrated to America in 1846.

From his thirteenth to his nineteenth year he worked at the trade of machinist. He has spent the rest of his life in politics.

When a young man he was the leader of the "Fourth Avenue Tunnel Gang," and well known as a prize fighter. Those were the days when prize fighters were persons of great influence on election days.

He was elected Alderman in 1868 and 1869. Boss Tweed appointed him Superintendent of Market Fees and Rents in 1870. He was elected Coroner in 1873.

On Nov. 3, 1874, during a street quarrel on Election Day, James McKenna was shot dead. Croker was indicted by the Grand Jury, charged with the murder. He was placed in a cell in the Tombs. While awaiting trial he had as neighbors in other cells John J. Scannell, charged with the murder of "Tom" Donohue, and Edward Stokes, who killed Jim Fisk.

The jury disagreed and Croker was released.

In 1876 he was re-elected Coroner.

In 1883 he was a candidate for Alderman with the understanding that, if elected, he was to receive the appointment as Fire Commissioner. John Kelly was then the Boss of Tammany, and Mayor Edson was in the City Hall. Croker was elected by a plurality of 200, and was appointed Fire Commissioner.

In 1884 he was John Kelly's recognized lieutenant. Kelly died in 1884, and Croker was declared his successor as boss.

In 1884 (see testimony of Patrick McCann, brother-in-law of Richard Croker, before the Fassett Senate Investigating Committee in 1890) Croker went to McCann's store with a bag containing \$180,000, to be used, he said, to buy votes in the Board of Aldermen necessary to confirm the appointment of Hugh J. Grant to the office of Commissioner of Public Works.

In 1885 he nominated Hugh J. Grant for Sheriff. Grant, while in office, gave \$25,000 in five presents of \$5,000 each to Croker's two-year-old daughter Flossie (see McCann's testimony). Croker and Grant both claimed the amount was only \$10,000.

From April, 1889, to February, 1900, he was City Chamberlain at a salary of \$25,000 a year. He had no business aside from the offices he held—he afterward testified. He held no office after February, 1900.

In February, 1892, he purchased an interest in the Belle Meade stock farm in Tennessee, paying \$250,000.

From 1893 to 1896 he purchased the following horses: Dobbins, \$22,000; Prince George, \$12,000; Armitage, \$8,100; Longstreet, \$30,000; Fairy, \$20,000; Red Banner \$15,000; Yorkville Belle, \$24,000; My Favorite, \$25,000. The total of these purchases was \$156,100.

He was cited to appear before the Mazet Investigating Committee on April 1, 1898. The following is a literal report of the proceedings during a part of the time he was on the stand:

Attorney Moss: "Then we have this, that you participate in the selection of judges before they are elected, and then participate in the emoluments that come from their judicial proceedings?"

Croker: "Yes, sir."

Moss: "And it goes into your own pocket?"

Croker: "Yes. That is my own money."

Moss: "And the nomination of judges by Tammany in this city is almost equivalent to an election, is it not?"

Croker: "Yes."

Moss: "So that if you have a controlling voice in the affairs of your party and secure the nomination of true men, you may be sure that in the Real Estate Exchange and in the firm of Meyer & Croker you will, as a true Democrat, get some patronage?"

Croker: "We expect them at least to be friendly to us."

Moss: "So you are working for your own pocket?"

Croker: "All the time!"

Moss: "Then it is not a matter of wide statesmanship or patriotism with you, but it is wide statesmanship, patriotism and personal gain mixed up?"

Croker: "It is to the victor belongs the spoils."

TABLE SHOWING THE ACTUAL TIME SPENT
BY RICHARD CROKER IN ENGLAND
IN THE PAST SEVEN YEARS.

Year, 1894—Left New York, June 10; returned, July 5.

Year, 1895—Left New York, March 28; returned, September 21.

Year, 1896—Left New York, February 20; returned, November 22 (after election).

Year, 1897—Left New York, February 24; returned, September 8.

Year, 1898—Left New York, April 24; returned, July 30.

Year, 1899—Left New York, April 27; returned, August 13.

Year, 1900—Left New York, December 11 (spent Christmas in England).

Year, 1901—Returned to New York, September 14.

TOTAL TIME SPENT IN EUROPE AND ON
STEAMER IN LAST SEVEN YEARS—3 YEARS, 1
MONTH AND 28 DAYS.

Mr. Croker's trip to England in 1894 was cut short because of trouble in Tammany. In May of that year his resignation as Grand Sachem was demanded, and he resigned, leaving for England shortly after. He started a movement by cable for reinstatement, and it got along so well that he returned in a short time and took his old place at the head of the Wigwam.

Though English sportsmen estimated that Mr. Croker lost about \$700,000 on the English turf between 1894 and 1897, he was amply recompensed by the reputation he acquired as a "friend" of the Prince of Wales.

The year 1897 was notable in Mr. Croker's life because of sensational stories concerning his horseracing methods, which were common talk in England. The greatest misfortune that befell him in all the chapters of

accidents and chances in his public life came to pass in this year, when he lost the "friendship" of the Prince of Wales. The Prince turned him down, even as he had turned down many another ambitious citizen of Tammany Hall. When the Prince passed along the word to "turn down" Mr. Croker, the English aristocracy followed suit, and thereafter to the present year he has not been accepted as "a gentleman in good standing" by the House of Lords.

As soon as Mr. Croker could arrange his affairs after the Presidential campaign of 1900 he sailed for England. From his home at Wantage, England, which is situated in Berkshire, and is popularly believed to have been the home of the Saxon King Alfred, he cabled a "Merry Christmas" to the Fourteenth street Wigwam, with instructions that it be given to the Tammany district leaders scattered over the island of Manhattan.

Some people have been surprised that Mr. Croker, who was born in the County Cork, Ireland, on November 24, 1843, should develop an apparent fondness for English society and environments. It is a fact of common notoriety that Tammany traditions are anti-English. Not later than the present year Mayor Van Wyck refused to half-mast the city flag when the news of Queen Victoria's death reached the City Hall.

SETH LOW—HIS LIFE AND PUBLIC RECORD.

Seth Low was born in Brooklyn on Jan. 18, 1850. His father, Abiel Abbott Low, was a tea merchant and founder of a large importing house, doing business in the China trade. Young Seth received his education at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, from which he passed, at the age of seventeen, to Columbia College, whence he was graduated in 1870 as the valedictorian of his class. On leaving college he entered his father's business house as clerk, and was admitted to the firm five years later. On the retirement of the senior member in 1897, he became head of the firm. Meanwhile Mr. Low became greatly interested in certain phases of public life. He took an active part in various charitable movements, and in 1878 he organized and became the first president of the Bureau of Charities, one of the earliest societies organized for the promotion of co-operation, for the development of power and resources and the prevention of waste and imposition in the field of charitable endeavor. A Republican campaign club was organized in Brooklyn in 1880 to promote the election of President Garfield, and Mr. Low was selected as the president of the club. Conspicuous success of this organization in helping swell the party vote of that year brought its president prominently into public view. Part of the work to which this organization addressed itself was the improvement of the city government, and the principle was definitely adopted that this object should be pursued without reference to State or national politics.

In practice, this meant that partisan nominations should not necessarily be binding on the club in municipal elections. The next year brought an occasion for the advocacy of the principle, and it was applied with decision, courage, vigor and complete success.

Brooklyn had felt the wave of extravagance and cor-

**His Early
Career.**

ruption which was the inevitable effect of the Tweed ring, and had seized upon New York and Brooklyn. The revolt against Tweed in New York and the overthrow of the Democratic power in the State, and the overthrow of the corrupt combination within the Democratic party, was accompanied by a like movement in Brooklyn. The direct result of victory was the passage of a charter for Brooklyn by which the Mayor was given the sole power of appointment of the heads of departments, and the power of removal at discretion within thirty days of the beginning of his term of office.

**Elected
Mayor of
Brooklyn.**

The charter went into effect on Jan. 1, 1882, and the reformers in Brooklyn saw the immense importance of securing a man who would worthily use those unprecedented powers. Mr. Low was nominated by the regular Republican and independent forces, and elected by a decided majority. His first term, as Mayor of Brooklyn, was for two years, and in 1883 he was re-elected for a second term. A fair summary of Mr. Low's achievements as Mayor of Brooklyn, may be given as follows: He reduced the city debt by seven million dollars and reformed the system of tax collection, so that the poor and those of small means were relieved of a vast and unjust burden. He reformed the system of granting municipal franchises so that during his administration all public franchises were honestly got and adequately paid for. He filled all the principal offices with men of character and fitness. He disregarded friendships and sternly dismissed all shirkers and incompetents. He exposed and defeated many huge corrupt schemes against the interests of Brooklyn in the Legislature.

In the year following, Mr. Low's retirement from active business there came to him a call which directed his energies into a field of effort very different from any of those in which he had previously worked. On Oct. 7, 1889, he was, by unanimous vote of his fellow trustees, tendered the presidency of Columbia College. Mr. Low

was not quite forty years of age when he accepted the office. Barely twenty years had passed between the time when he received his graduate's degree and the notable installation when the venerable Hamilton Fish placed in his hands the keys of the college. His distinct purpose at Columbia was to make the utmost use of every tie between it and the city that had been formed in the past, and so to organize its resources and extend its activity that would enable it to lead in the unfolding of a splendid future. During the seven years of Mr. Low's presidency, Columbia has become a university both in fact and in name. The corps of instruction has been doubled, and now numbers nearly three hundred members. A link between the university and the city is maintained by free lectures at the Cooper Institute by university lecturers, and the services of the university faculty are available for work connected with the city government. Mr. Low gave to the university, as his private gift, a million dollars, and the people of New York have generously contributed over six million dollars to the university, making it possible to acquire a noble site covering four city squares, and costing two million (\$2,000,000), which has been provided on Morningside Heights, and buildings worthy of the university and of the city are a lasting memorial to the indefatigable labors of Mr. Low.

He has been one of the most diligent members of the Rapid Transit Commission; he has supplied free kindergartens for the children of the poor of New York. He was a member of the Greater New York Charter Committee and an earnest believer in consolidation.

He has frequently been called upon to act in the role of arbiter of labor disputes. He has been chosen, not only by the employer, but also by the labor organizations, and his counsel and advice has always been followed by those who sought it. He has taken a prominent part in the charitable organizations and relief work

**President
of Columbia
University.**

**A Friend of
Labor.**

of this city. In the Winter of 1894 he gave from his own pocket that the poor and unemployed might not go without bread and without clothes. His humanitarian and philanthropic work has served as an example which men of wealth and means have never forgotten. The ends for which he employed his fortune are an honor to him and a beneficence to the community.

In 1897 Mr. Low was the nominee of the Citizens' Union for Mayor, but as there was no fusion in the campaign, Tammany defeated both General Tracy, the Republican nominee, and Mr. Low. The combined vote of Republicans and Independents was 292,559, while that of the Democratic forces was 233,997, or a minority of 58,562. Had there been an alliance there is but little doubt that Mr. Low would have been elected to the office.

On Sept. 18 the joint conference committee of the anti-Tammany bodies agreed to present Seth Low as the fusion candidate for Mayor of New York. The following organizations were represented:

Republican County Committees of New York, Kings,
Queens and Richmond Counties,
Greater New York Democracy,
Independent Democracy,
City Democracy,
German-American Municipal League of Brooklyn,
German-American League of Manhattan,
German-American Republican County Committee of
New York,
German-American Municipal League of Manhattan,
German-American Citizens' League of Brooklyn,
Citizens' Union.

The complete unanimity among the conferees is a good omen, and the earnest support of all independent citizens is assured to work together for the election of the one man whose fitness to lead the anti-Tammany forces is undisputed.

WHAT THE TAMMANY NOMINEE, SHEPARD,
SAYS ABOUT LOW AND TAMMANY.

"His (Seth Low's) intelligence and honesty are household words. His life and character need no enthusiastic rehearsal. The highest duty a citizen of this great city can perform is to cast his ballot for Seth Low."—Speech, Nov. 1, 1897. His tribute to the Citizen's Union candidate.

"The thing to do is to defeat the organization (Tammany Hall) which is in power to-day. We have in this city the heads of departments and bureaus who do not take their orders from the Mayor, but from the source from which they secure their political preferment. They know that the Mayor himself takes his orders from the same place."—Speech of Dec. 16, 1900, at the Reform Club.

"The most burning and disgraceful blot upon the municipal history of this country is the career of Tammany Hall. The bossism, prostitution of power—a more tyrannical proceeding and mean treatment of citizens, who were too poor and ignorant to protect themselves,—a worse treatment of a great city,—we have never known to disgrace us with ourselves, to disgrace us throughout the United States, to disgrace us in the eyes of the civilized world."—Speech of Oct. 26, 1897. Seth Low mass meeting, Clermont Avenue Rink, Brooklyn.

"Any assumption of decent consideration on Tammany's part is preposterous. The Tammany ticket represents the most insolent and audacious, as well as the most reckless assault we have yet known on the masses. It represents a like assault on the future life and usefulness of the Democratic party. The great men who once guided its destinies intend to supplant the office-holders with mere tools of the New York English syn-

dicate, whose only allegiance is a bribe. Seth Low stands for local self-government, he stands for governmental power in the interests of the masses of men."—Speech of Oct. 22, explaining why he would support Seth Low for Mayor.

"Brooklyn did well under Seth Low's mayoralty, and New York would not do ill under it again. The working people are all for Seth Low—they ought to be. He entered public life by the door of a sincere devotion to the interests of the happiness of the unfortunate and the poor."—Speech of Oct. 27, 1897. Ninth Ward, Flatbush, Seth Low Campaign Club.

"The Tammany ticket represents a programme of vulgar spoliation. It represents something worse—a grinding tyranny of blackmail over the freedom of tens of thousands of decent men in New York, in narrow and humble life, who can be oppressed or coerced by the police and other departments. This oligarchy is the trade of the highwayman."—Speech of Oct. 28, 1897, commenting on Van Wyck ticket.

EDWARD M. GROUT'S RAMAPO RECORD.

Edward M. Grout, the candidate for Controller, has always been identified with the independent political movements that have been devoted to municipal interests. Though his affiliations have been with the Democrats, his high character and general fair-mindedness induced the Committee of Eighteen to present his name for the nomination by the anti-Tammany forces for the office of Controller.

As member of the Board of Public Improvements, Mr. Grout was the first to call attention to the danger of the Ramapo Water Company's proposed contract with the city. In April, 1899, before the public had become aware of the plot to force a \$200,000,000 contract on the city,

Mr. Grout warned the members of the Board of Public Improvements that he was opposed to letting a private water company get a contract with the city. At the meeting of the board on that day he introduced the following resolution: "Resolved, That the Commissioner of Water Supply is hereby directed fully to investigate the report upon the following, to wit: First, What alleged defects, as said by the said Ramapo Company, exists in the present water supply system, and what measure can best be adopted to remove such defects in the city system without contracting with any private concern. Second, A proper plan for superseding as early as possible all the small private companies now in the city of New York, either by purchase or by condemnation, on the expiration of their present contract with the city, and by extending the city main into the territory now supplied by such private water companies."

Mr. Grout made an investigation on his own account, and presented the facts which he had gathered to the board. He pointed out that the city was not financially embarrassed, and was therefore in a condition to acquire all the water companies doing business in the city. He attacked the report of Commissioner Dalton, which said that he could not undertake the work of investigation with the engineering force at his disposal. Mr. Grout laid the matter before Governor Roosevelt, urging that executive to prevent the steal.

Among his other public services, Mr. Grout was instrumental in settling the Long Island water supply scandal, and was opposed to paying as much for that plant as was done by Controller Coler, on the advice of the Corporation Counsel. Mr. Grout was formerly a law partner of Justice Gaynor, of the Supreme Court, whose fight against the Long Island Water Supply Company resulted in his elevation to the Supreme Court Bench.

RECORD OF CHARLES V. FORNES.

Charles V. Fornes, the fusion candidate for President for the Board of Aldermen, was born in the western part of New York State fifty-five years ago. Coming to the metropolis, he engaged as a clerk in the wool business, gradually working himself up until he eventually became the head of the large wholesale firm of C. V. Fornes & Co., at 425 Broome street. Although he has been actively identified with the business interests of New York for twenty-five years, he has only once before been a candidate for office.

In 1896 he ran for Congress in the Fourteenth District as a sound money Democrat, being supported by Frederick R. Coudert, John D. Crimmins, John A. McCall, Oscar S. Strauss, Oswald Ottendorfer, Walter Stanton, Avery D. Andrews, Calvin Tompkins and other Democrats. Lemuel E. Quigg was the Republican nominee and John Quincy Adams was running on the Tammany ticket. Although he made an energetic campaign, Mr. Fornes was defeated.

In politics he has always been a Democrat of independent tendencies, supporting McKinley on the sound money issues. Mr. Fornes was for five successive terms president of the Catholic Club, and has long been one of the influential members of that organization. He is a director of the City Trust Company, and a trustee of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank. He has served as treasurer of the Catholic Protectory and has long been identified in charitable work. His home is at 539 West End avenue. Mr. Fornes is a good campaigner, and speaks readily both in English and in German.

MR. LOW'S SPEECH TO CITIZENS' UNION.

The members of the Citizens' Union Notification Committee waited upon Mr. Low on Sept. 27, 1901, and, after an exchange of greetings, in which George Haven Putnam informed the candidate of his nomination, Mr. Low addressed the committee and said:

"I count it a great honor that the Citizens' Union should ask me a second time to accept its nomination for the office of Mayor of New York. Much as I should have preferred to follow the lead of another in this campaign, the circumstances attending the call constrain me to accept your summons, joined in, as it is, by other organizations whose common aim it is to rescue the city from its present evil plight.

"I accept your nomination with the more pleasure because the Citizens' Union asks me to assume no new attitude in relation to the government of the city, but to contend once more for the principles which I have tried to illustrate for twenty years.

"Happily, this year, the nomination you tender me is one of several, every one of which is based on the same fundamental conceptions of what is necessary to secure good city administration, and all of which reflect a general and common purpose to wrest the control of the city from those who permit one man to govern it from his English home, like a second George III., and to make millions for himself and his friends out of his control of it, as though this imperial city of New York were his private gold mine.

"A system of government which permits this will permit anything; and it is not strange that in the train of such things as these every imaginable evil that bad government can produce has befallen the city. In contradistinction to the government we have, that is conducted primarily to make political leaders rich, the government we should strive to set up is one whose single and only purpose shall be to promote the public interest and to

make the conditions of life more tolerable for the multitudes to whom the name of New York, and not Wantage, conveys the idea of home.

"Fortunately, the conference that suggested me for the nomination has been able to agree, also, upon a series of resolutions that defines the basis of the common movement, to which I heartily subscribe. I do not feel called upon, under the circumstances, to discuss the separate platforms further than to say, in regard to your own, that I am in hearty sympathy with the spirit of it, while reserving entire freedom of action as to details.

"At an early day, and after I have been notified of the action of co-operating bodies, I shall hope to express my views on the issues of the campaign in an identical letter addressed to all the organizations that join in nominating me. In the meanwhile let me remind you, and all who are ready to strive to redeem our city from its present disgrace, that this battle is to be won only by the utmost attention to details, for our enemy commands great resources and is the most thoroughly organized political body in the country. The first and most pressing duty is to bring out a large registration. Take no chances. Register on the first day every possible man, for a good beginning means a good ending. Register. Register. Register."

SETH LOW'S REPLY TO THE REPUBLICANS.

The notification of the nomination by the Republican Convention was made to Seth Low on Sept. 28, 1901. Lieutenant-Governor Woodruff acted as spokesman for the delegation appointed to apprise the candidate of the action of the party. To Mr. Low he said:

"On behalf of the convention of the Republican Party, it is my pleasant duty to notify you of your nomination by that convention for the Mayoralty. The nomination given you was made with absolute unanimity, and with genuine enthusiasm. The fusion forces in this campaign are earnest and well linked, and everything augurs well for your election."

Mr. Low's reply was as follows:

"It gives me genuine pleasure to accept the nomina-

tion of the Republican Party as the non-partisan candidate for Mayor in the campaign that is just beginning to free this city from the corrupt and corrupting rule that has disgraced it.

"I accept your nomination with the more pleasure, because, as I said four years ago, I am a Republican, and expect to remain one; but I do my party the justice to believe that it is absolutely sincere in its declaration in favor of securing an administration of the city for the benefit of the whole people and not to advance the interests of either of itself or of any other party or organization. The circumstances that have culminated in my nomination by several organizations seeking the same end, organizations some of which are distinctly Democratic, and one at least non-partisan, will make it not only my privilege but my duty, in case of election, to stand as the representative of the city itself and to administer the City Government in the public interest only.

"It is indeed highly important that all who vote for me shall understand that, if elected, the actual as well as the nominal head of the City Government will be in the City Hall. As I shall accept the responsibility incident to such conduct of the city as we propose, so I shall reserve the right to act on every question to come before me according to my best judgment. But just because I expect to do this I shall value suggestions from every quarter. The Mayor of a city like this must keep always an open ear and an open mind. For it is the purpose of this united movement, as I understand it, to offer to the people home rule carried on by the Mayor himself, who is responsible to them and to them alone, as an alternative to an administration of the city under the directions or by permission of an absentee who is not responsible to them.

"As I am proposing to write an identical letter on the issues of the campaign when the several bodies joining in my nomination have notified me of their action, it seems unnecessary to say more at this moment except to reinforce what I said yesterday as to the importance of getting out a full registration.

"Gentlemen, I thank you."

SETH LOW'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

To The Citizens' Union; The Republican City Committee; The Greater New York Democracy; The Brooklyn Democracy; The German-American Union; The German-American Municipal League of Manhattan; The Austro-Hungarian Anti-Tammany Association; The German-American League; The Independent Democracy; and The German-American Reform Union.

30 EAST 64TH STREET,
NEW YORK.

October 4th, 1901.

Gentlemen:—

You have summoned me to be the leader in the campaign about to be waged for the overthrow of Tammany Hall, and for the government of the city, in the essential spirit of home rule, from the City Hall itself. In accepting, formally, the nominations you have tendered to me it has been made clear, I trust, that I understand the obligations laid upon me by nominations so diverse in origin, and that I shall discharge these obligations to the best of my ability. I appreciate that this summons, under all the circumstances, is itself a great honor, albeit it imposes so heavy a burden; and for this honor I beg to thank you, and those whom you represent, most sincerely. If I accept, it is not because I feel myself equal to the burden that your call has imposed upon me; but because I believe that the patriotic spirit of the people will sustain me in the contest; and, in the event of my election, in the still harder struggle to secure for the city, when in office, the benefits sought to be obtained. No man, single handed, is equal to such a task; but I shall throw myself fearlessly, in every aspect of the struggle, upon the patriotic willingness of the people to make sacrifices for the common good.

The main issue of the campaign is the wresting of the city from those who permit one man to dominate the organization of his party in the interest "of his own pocket all the time;" and, as if to add insult to injury, to do this from abroad, as though the proud city of New York had been reduced once more to the condition of a crown-colony.

In the event of my election, the city will secure home rule in the person of its own Mayor, exercising the authority conferred upon him by the Charter, in responsibility to the people alone and to no organization, person, or clique.

It is becoming, under these circumstances, that I state my views on some of the subjects involved in the actual administration of the Mayor's office, on the platform of the United Anti-Tammany organizations.

Shakespeare makes Coriolanus say: "What is the city but the people?" That defines, in a word, the object of good city government; the welfare of the people. Translated into the language of the hour, it means here and now, in the City of New York, that the children of the people shall have good schools, and enough of them to give every child of school age a seat for the whole of every day of the school year; it means that the teachers of these children shall be held in honor, as those who are training the future citizens.

It means that there shall be small parks and play grounds, everywhere, for young and old alike: that all the children of New York may have something like an even chance to grow up into strong, hearty, God-loving and God-fearing men and women. Most of all, it means that the City Government shall wage relentless war on every one who shall make one of these little ones to stumble.

It means, for all the people, poor and rich alike, clean streets at all seasons of the year: and that all the resources of modern science shall be brought to bear in-

**Home Rule
the Issue.**

**More
Parks.**

**Clean
Streets.**

telligently to protect the people in their homes and in the streets from preventable disease. Above all, it means that the conditions of life in the homes of the poor shall be made as tolerable as circumstances will permit. Light and air are the gifts of God, and the folly or greed of man should not be permitted to rob one child of enough of these. And yet I know how hard the conditions are that bear upon this problem; and how impossible it will be to remedy, even in a decade, the mistakes of half a century. In this connection, as in every other, we must all remember that ancient maxim of the law: "The extreme of the law is the extreme of injustice."

**The City
and Labor.**

In its relation to labor, it means that the city ought to be a model employer. The city ought to co-operate with its laboring people in raising the standard of living; and, to do so, it should frankly encourage the eight-hour day and the payment of the prevailing rate of wages. Every citizen should be free to enter the city's employ. It is hard to make the city a good employer, by law; just as it is hard to make a private employer a good employer, by law, but if the officers of the city wish to deal justly with labor they can do so.

The city has amply vindicated its capacity to administer its own water works. It should continue to extend them as a public work. There should be no step backward anywhere in this policy of municipal ownership. The trend, indeed, both here and elsewhere, is and should be distinctly the other way.

Franchises. The franchises of the city are a part of its common wealth. They should never be given away; neither should the city part with the control of them except for a term of years.

Rapid transit, as now planned, should be pushed to completion as rapidly as possible, and every effort should be made, both to extend it and to unite the various boroughs of the city still more closely by tunnels and bridges.

What progress can be made in these directions in two years following such wasteful administration as we now have, with proper regard to the economical considerations that must not be lost sight of, I cannot undertake to say, but this, at least, I may say, that the city's resources will be used to the fullest extent for the public benefit, and they shall not be squandered in a constant increase of the salary list under the city's control by the maintenance or creation of sinecures.

There should be such honest and careful supervision of the city's contracts and purchases of supplies as to make it possible for any merchant to deal with the city without being obliged to go through favored channels in order to secure favorable consideration of his bids.

Supplies.

In particular, the Fire Department should have at its head a man who can conduct the business side of the department without subjecting himself to indictment; for a finer, braver body of men is not to be found in the city. It is a stinging shame that the official head of such a force as this should himself subject this entire department to criticism.

Fire Department

I have always been a believer in the Civil Service Law, because of its democratic side. No other law but this makes it possible for a man to enter the public service on his own merits. This law, properly administered, enables a citizen to take his place in the public service without bending the knee to any man. But the examinations under this law should be practical, and well adapted to test a man's capacity for the work he will be called upon to do. Experience should count as well as theoretic knowledge, and for many purposes is the more valuable equipment of the two. There should be absolute fairness, also, in the matter of appointment.

Civil Service.

No Mayor of the city should limit his outlook to details. He must take large views of the city's opportunities and its needs; and he should seek the co-operation of all those who are striving to maintain New York's com-

mercial supremacy. No single thing is likely to do more for this than the overthrow of Tammany Hall. But this the citizens themselves must do. Not only must the city's docks and piers be constantly improved, but that co-operation of the State and National Government must be had, for the improvement of the Harbor, which largely depends upon the influence and standing of the City Government.

Corrupt Police.

There are two matters to which I refer with reluctance, for neither of them ought to enter into a city campaign. It is a matter of general belief that the administration of the police force is thoroughly unprincipled and corrupt. A cabal within the department is believed to use the power given for the enforcement of the laws, as a mint through which to coin money by selling the privilege to break the laws. No more thoroughly demoralizing thing could be believed. The partnership between city officials and protected vice and crime must be made impossible; and when policemen are to be tried for offenses against discipline they ought to be sure of coming before a capable, upright and impartial judge. I assure every honest man upon the force, who blushes with shame at the discredit in which the department has become involved, and I doubt not these are in a large majority, that I share his righteous indignation, and that I shall spare no effort to restore to the force as a body the respect and confidence of the citizen.

The Excise Question.

A word upon the excise question is also desirable, for the difficulty here is only partially understood by the people. The Excise Law contains two provisions, both of which are well intended, but both of which in their application to the City of New York, with its cosmopolitan population, are sources of very serious evils not contemplated by the law. I refer to the provision under which have sprung up the so-called Raines Law Hotels, and to the clauses prohibiting the sale of liquor at all hours on Sunday.

The hotel clause is an attempt to define a hotel in such terms as to permit the sale of liquor on Sunday, under reasonable conditions; but the effect of the requirement that there shall be a certain number of rooms to constitute a hotel has been to add to many saloons an attachment that lends itself to unspeakable infamy. There was a similar, though I presume not an identical provision, in the Excise Law as it stood twenty-five or thirty years ago; but it was repealed, because then, as now, it became in practice very offensive.

The clauses prohibiting the sale or giving away of liquor on Sunday, despite the good intent of those who advocate them, lead to another class of evils, because they conflict with the habits of so large a proportion of the population, and because they interfere, as these conceive, with personal liberty in matters that do not properly come under the regulation of the law. At the present time, it is a matter of belief, so general as to amount to common knowledge, that liquor dealers escape interference from the police on Sunday by paying for it, while those who do not pay are persecuted. And thus these provisions of law that are intended to be in the public interest are made a source of public demoralization; for there is born of them a crop of lying, perjury, bribery and political corruption that is like a festering sore in the body politic. All this would be bad enough if these clauses accomplished their object of actually preventing the sale of liquor on Sunday; but they do not do even this. It may be considered certain, after much experience, that in this community these clauses of the Excise Law that forbid the sale of liquor on Sunday in saloons are not competent to accomplish more than to prevent the public sale of liquor on that day; they never have stopped, and they never can stop, drinking on Sunday. Inasmuch as no attempt is made to do this in clubs or in hotels, many of the poor complain that the law is harsh in failing to take into consideration the conditions under which they

**A Liberal
Sunday.**

are obliged to live. And thus a feeling of soreness, born of a sense of inequality of treatment, is added to the general evils traceable to these clauses of the law. These matters may well attract the attention of the legislators, for some of these evils cannot be wholly abolished without a change of the law. In the meanwhile, the law as it stands, while it remains unaltered, must be administered in the best practicable manner. I should spare no effort to put a stop, during my term, to the bribery and corruption at present traceable to it, not forgetting, in the presence of the facts as I have outlined them, that "the extreme of the law is the extreme of injustice."

The culminating charge against Tammany Hall is that it gives us government that is tyranny; for the government of Tammany Hall is a government by favoritism, and favoritism in government is tyranny.

I appeal to every citizen who loves his city, who values equal rights for all men, and who realizes that a corrupt government corrupts its citizens, to strive unceasingly from now until election day to wrest the control of the city from those who have brought it into its present evil case. It is not enough to elect the Mayor. In order to control the Board of Estimate, the Comptroller and the President of the Board of Aldermen must be elected with him. It is a pleasure to find myself upon a city ticket with candidates for these offices who so thoroughly deserve the public support.

Very respectfully,

SETH LOW.

THE MUNICIPAL CIVIL SERVICE.

There are in the employ of the city in various offices and positions about 45,000 persons. The amount paid out each year for the salaries and wages of these is something over \$40,000,000, or about half the total expense of running the city government. Under Tammany Hall, not only at the present time, but during every previous period when that organization has had control, this great fund has been used—to the furthest degree that the laws would permit—for political and personal purposes. The city pay roll has offered both the readiest and the cheapest means for influencing primaries and conventions, for rewarding district “workers,” furnishing incomes for the needy relatives and friends of those having “influence,” and for building up generally the power of Tammany. Under such a system the first object has usually been to get the “places,” with little or no regard for the fitness of the men put into them or for the needs of the city itself. When the number of places has been insufficient to meet the demand, new ones have been created—often by scores and hundreds. Salaries have been increased beyond the limits fixed in private business to permit the payment of rebates to political treasuries in the form of assessments, or to satisfy “leaders” who have demanded such increases for particular favorites. To permit all this the expense of government, and, as a natural consequence, the annual charge on those who directly or indirectly pay the taxes, has grown out of all proportion to the return in public service.

**\$40,000,000
in City
Salaries.**

The Street Cleaning Department is a prominent example. Col. Waring's familiar principle was to “put a man and not a voter” on every broom. Not only were the sweepers selected for their physical ability to do the work and their reputation for good habits, but the superior officers were also chosen carefully, promoted for good service, and expected to get good service in turn from the men beneath them. This has been changed. The higher places go now to those who have political backing. Both appointments and removals are made in every grade by a commissioner who secured his training not as an engineer, but as a “book-

**Salaries
and
Appoint-
ments in
the City De-
partments.**

maker" at the races. The results are self-evident—discipline lowered, and the streets in their old condition of filth.

In the Park Department the changes in important positions made at the incoming of Tammany offer these striking examples: As superintendent of the great new system of parks in the Bronx, not a landscape gardener or specialist was appointed, but the keeper of a saloon on the Northern Boulevard, whose business is still given in the city directory as "wines and liquors" only. The superintendent of the aquarium, Prof. Bean, who came from the Smithsonian Institution to build up this important feature of the city's museum system, was promptly dismissed and his post given to a man whose claim to preferment consisted apparently in the fact that he had "fished" in various streams with Richard Croker.

In the Department of Docks, the chief engineer, who, for twenty years had directed the construction forces, was displaced, and sweeping changes made among the foremen and mechanics, marked by violations of the civil service rules, followed in every class.

In the Health Department, which for years had been the least affected by "politics," some hundreds of changes were made. Food inspectors were given "temporary" places who, on examination, failed to show familiarity with the commonest varieties of the food supplies they were to inspect, while the rolls were packed with spurious "laboratory attendants" and others who were subsequently assigned by the commissioners to "places" of every description.

In the office of the Commissioners of Accounts, experienced men were dismissed and the total number of positions almost doubled, to be given, not to skilled accountants, but to men—admitted by one of the commissioners in the course of a public trial—to have been appointed solely on the recommendation of Tammany district leaders.

In the Department of Taxes and Assessments, men were appointed as deputy commissioners, charged with the duty of preparing data on which assessments are based, who had in some cases failed to pass examinations with regard to the most elementary parts of their work.

In the Department of Public Buildings, Lighting and Supplies, janitors were appointed in violation of the rules, who, when the commissioner was compelled to make other appointments from the eligible lists, were immediately given other titles and continued, notwithstanding, with the result that the city paid two sets of salaries instead of one.

In the Register's office, to which the rules were not applied until June 16, 1900, an official investigation showed that the number of subordinates was at least double the number actually required, that many men were employed to do nothing more than correct the faulty work of other men, that scores of blunders were made in the most important records, and that in some cases, in order to correct the more serious inaccuracies, whole pages had been cut from ledgers and files to be replaced by other pages roughly pasted in.

The average proportion of those selected in the manner the law intended, and those selected otherwise, may be shown by reference to the following table, showing some of the principal departments:

	Ex- cepted.	Tem- porary.	Com- petitive.
Executive	20	25	0
Finance	127	29	7
Law	54	8	2
Health	15	556	13
Parks	13	140	8
Sewers	32	29	3
Water Supply	29	35	3
Highways	21	55	3
Public Buildings, L. & S.	17	117	26
Charities	35	136	45
Correction	9	46	6
Municipal Courts	22	56	0
Commissioners of Accounts.....	68	0	1

* Exclusive of temporary physicians.

Such appointments as were made in the Police and Fire departments were from lists formed during the previous administration, which remained in force and could not be ignored. The records of the appointment of laborers were not subdivided according to departments, so that these cannot be included in a comparative statement. It is a notorious fact, however, that large numbers of persons employed without examination through the Labor Bureau were really employed as clerks in other competitive places, while many of these so-called "laborers"

received annual salaries ranging from \$1,500 to \$2,500. The proportion of competitive appointments since 1898 has increased, until last year a total of 1,189 was reached. It will, however, be seen at a glance that at the beginning Tammany had little or no trouble in getting around the law. A running fight has since been carried on between the organization and the advocates of civil service reform, in the course of which many amendments to the law and rules have been secured and various decisions strengthening the system have been secured from the courts. The most important victory was the passage by the Legislature of the amended State civil service law of April 19, 1899. Under this a complete revision of the New York City rules was promulgated on July 11 of the same year. Many means of evasion have, however, still been discovered, and with virtually the entire city government bent on finding such means, their success is not to be wondered at. The examinations themselves have for the most part been well conducted, and some isolated appointments made as the result of them have undoubtedly been good, but the calls made upon the Commission for its eligible lists have been relatively few, and the general belief that Tammany would discriminate in favor of its own people, even when the lists were formed, has discouraged most other classes of applicants from competing at all.

The results of laxity in administering the law during the first half of the administration were quickly shown in the multiplication of useless offices, with corresponding increases in expenditure. It was promised, when the Consolidation Act was passed, that the union of the offices of the two cities would be in the interest of economy, and that great reductions in the cost of running the departments would be made practicable. But the Mazet Committee, in analyzing the testimony it took with reference to the budget for salaries, said:

"Responses to subpoenas addressed to the most prominent departments in the city government showed that between July 1, 1898, and September 1, 1899, their payrolls had increased over \$1,500,000, while their employees had increased over a thousand, excluding from the computation firemen, policemen and teachers, and excluding about four hundred 'temporaries,' who had just been discharged under the provisions of the civil service law. * * * It is a conservative estimate that since July 1, 1899, the payrolls of these departments, outside of policemen, firemen and teachers, have increased about two million dollars."

Private Secretaries in the Departments.

As a single instance of the way in which these expenses have mounted up, it may be noted that the City Club has

shown that while in 1898 there were thirteen "private secretaries" in various departments, receiving salaries amounting to \$17,500 a year, there are now ninety-one, receiving \$158,000 a year. In 1898 these employees were paid at the rate of \$1,420 each. They are now paid at the rate of \$1,730 each. The position of private secretary is one of those on the excepted list.

But reckless extravagance in expense to the taxpayers has not been the only cost of the "beating" of the civil service rules. In the Police Department it has been shown that the continuance of the system of political control that has led to such shameful results has also been made possible through this means. Although the original appointments of patrolmen have been made in an apparently regular manner, the rules governing promotions have been systematically violated. The civil service law required that these shall be based on "merit and competition and upon the superior qualifications of the person to be promoted as shown by his previous service, due weight being given to seniority." Before the terms of the law were fixed in this salutary way, promotions were made openly for political or personal reasons. Many witnesses before the Lexow Committee testified that these were bought and sold, the prices quoted for captaincies and the other higher grades showing that the value of these offices to those securing them was significantly great. There was everything in such a system to foster corruption. An officer who paid high for his place would naturally seek to reimburse himself through the use he could make of it. If he paid nothing, but owed his advancement to unusually strong political influence, the result could not be far different, the interests of his "backer" and not those of the service being naturally first. Under such a system, moreover, there was little or no chance for honest or worthy men, depending on their merits alone. There are hundreds of such now on the force who have earned promotion, and deserve it, but whose chance of recognition under any *except* a merit system amounts virtually to nothing. For more than a year after January 1, 1898, no attempts were made to hold examinations for promotions, the Police Board claiming the right under the charter to assign men as they chose. Six captains were thus selected, two inspectors, and finally the Deputy Chief and Chief. Devery was advanced from grade to grade, without examination at any point. under this rul-

**Illegal
Promotions
in the
Police De-
partment.**

**Devery's
Promotion.**

ing. When the act of April, 1899, was passed, in fact, on the first day after the act was signed, the Civil Service Commission was asked to examine sergeants for promotion to captain, but a year and a half passed before this examination was completed, the police effectually blocking it by holding back the marks to be given the candidates for record. Meanwhile the many vacant captaincies were filled by the "temporary" assignment of favored sergeants, an arrangement that seemed eminently satisfactory to Tammany. When the Civil Service Board threatened to make a list without the official marks for record, the Police Board submitted its ratings. It proved, however, that these ratings, which counted for three-fourths the examination, had not been based on the actual records or reports of superior officers, but were, for the most part, given arbitrarily by the Commissioners, and in such a way that only those they wished to promote had been marked sufficiently high to stand a chance. It was shown also that the four Commissioners divided the sixteen appointments first made, the majority proving to be continuations of the "temporary" assignments previously made, each of the two Democrats securing five, each of the Republicans one, and the others being war veterans whom they had to appoint. On the complaint of the Civil Service Reform Association an investigation was held by the State Civil Service Commission, in the course of which these facts were clearly shown, and the ruling out of all of the 166 candidates not personally favored, practically admitted by the Police Commissioners themselves. The Civil Service Commission has since cancelled this discredited list, the rules have been amended to compel the consideration of candidates on their merits, with only a minimum of possibility of interference by the Police Commissioner, and a suit has been commenced by the association to set aside the promotions already made.

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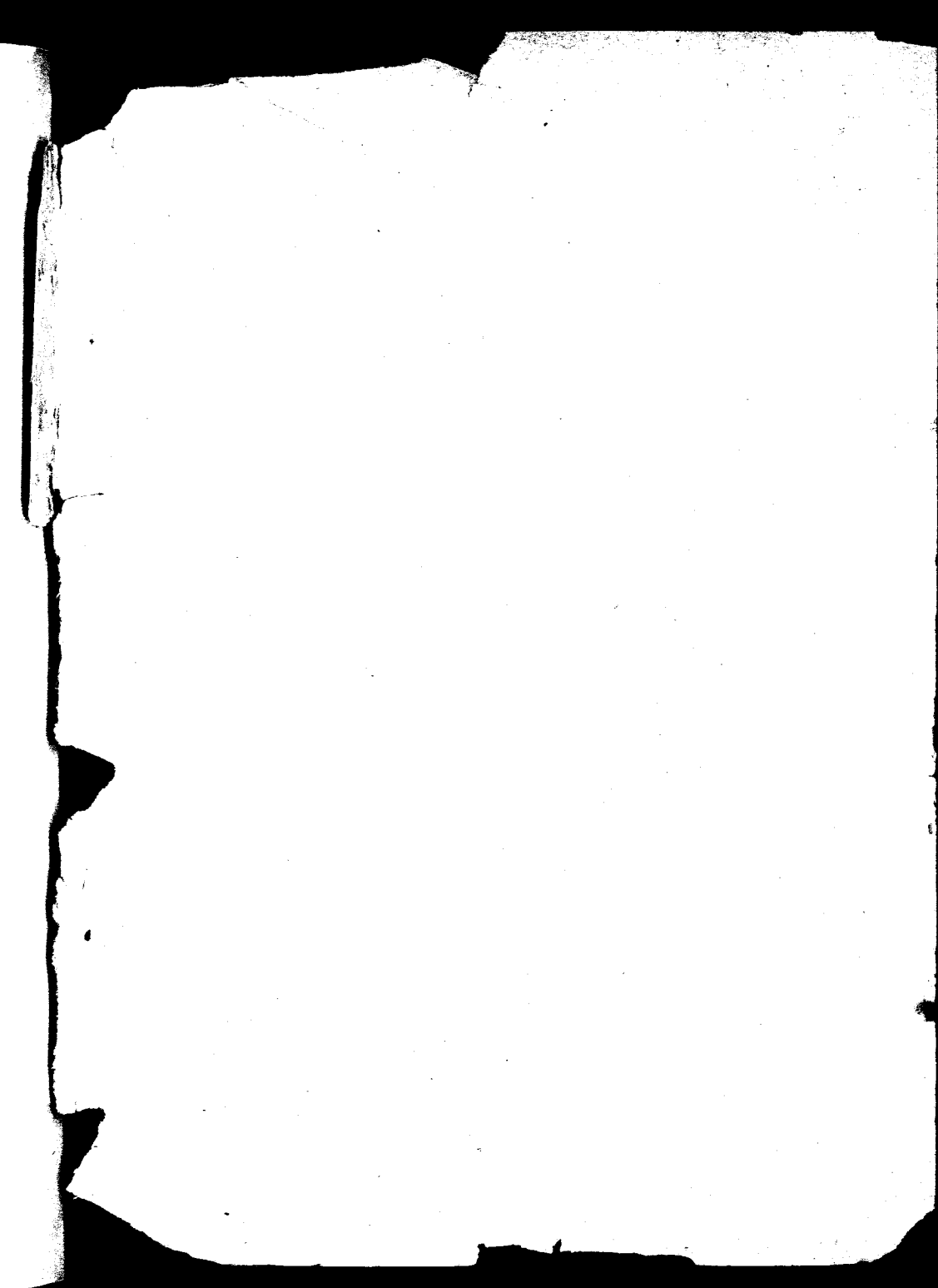
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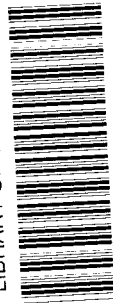
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