URBAN POLITICS: MACHINES AND REFORMERS

NEW YORK STATE SOCIAL STUDIES CORE CURRICULUM, GRADES 11:
UNIT THREE Industrialization of the United States

UNIT FOUR The Progressive Movement: Responses to the Challenges Brought About by Industrialization and Urbanization

UNIT FIVE At Home and Abroad: Prosperity and Depression, 1917–1940

These questions and documents can be used in conjunction with the New York State Education Department standard curriculum for grade 11 Social Studies: United States History and Government, in particular, Unit Three, Chapter 3: Adjusting Society to Industrialism: American People and Places. Students will be able to discuss immigration patterns to the United States with emphasis on New York City’s ethnic neighborhoods, and how that has influenced politics over the years.

PART I

“What were political machines and whom did they serve?”

Document pages 40 - 45

This lesson is appropriate for units on: Progressivism, reform movements and Tammany Hall.

STUDENTS WILL BE ABLE TO
• define “graft,” “political machine” and “Tammany Hall”
• describe examples of how a political machine operated
• explain how Tammany Hall and other political machines were able to gain support from voters
• evaluate the impact of political machines
• analyze primary documents, identifying main ideas and providing supporting evidence

VOCABULARY
• political machine, Tammany Hall, graft, corruption

ACTIVITIES

I. Opening Activity: Have students describe what is meant by a political machine. Give an example of a machine. What is its purpose? Who uses it? What makes a machine a machine? Why is a machine needed?
URBAN POLITICS: MACHINES AND REFORMERS

II. Discuss the opening activity.

III. As a class, hypothesize what a political machine could be and then read the definition.

**political machine**: Unofficial city organization designed to keep a particular party or group in power – “America: Pathways To The Present,” p. 1,033 (Prentice Hall, 1995)

IV. Read together a short background on Tammany Hall from a textbook, encyclopedia or other source.

V. Reading (This could be done individually or in groups.)
   A. Students read the excerpt taken from either Chapter One of William Riordon’s work in which George Washington Plunkitt explains graft or Chapter Six on gaining voter loyalty.
   B. Students answer the questions for their assigned reading.

VI. As a class, review student findings from the group activity. Ask students how they compare what Plunkitt considers honest graft and the activities that led Martha Stewart to imprisonment.

VII. Assessment Activity (This could be done in class, individually, with partners or small groups or as homework.)
   A. Students make posters that illustrate the following:
      1. graft, perhaps focusing on Plunkitt's sense of the difference between honest and dishonest graft
      2. the “mechanics” of a political machine
   B. Write a letter or diary entry from the perspective of a working class person explaining why you have chosen to support Tammany Hall and vote the Democratic ticket in the next election.

VIII. Extensions:
   A. “The Alienist,” by Caleb Carr, has numerous examples of what Plunkitt refers to as dishonest graft (collaboration between police and brothel owners or blackmail).
   B. “The Jungle,” by Upton Sinclair, details the way in which immigrant support was gained in Chicago.
   C. Students research William M. Tweed, the Tammany Hall boss, and write essays or create posters illustrating him as a machine politician.

Plunkitt had been one of the most effective machine politicians in New York City and he explains how he managed to retain power and the votes of his constituents.

In Chapter One, he shows how the leadership of the political machine could enrich itself through what Plunkitt called honest graft. Read the following section from Chapter One:
Chapter 1

PLUNKITT OF TAMMANY HALL

Honest and Dishonest Graft

Everybody is talkin' these days about Tammany men growin' rich on graft, but nobody thinks of drawin' the distinction between honest graft and dishonest graft. There's all the difference in the world between the two. Yes, many of our men have grown rich in politics. I have myself. I've made a big fortune out of the game, and I'm gettin' richer every day, but I've not gone in for dishonest graft — blackmailin' gamblers, saloon-keepers, disorderly people, etc. — and neither has any of the men who have made big fortunes in politics.

There's an honest graft, and I'm an example of how it works. I might sum up the

[3]

PLUNKITT OF TAMMANY HALL

whole thing by sayin': 'I seen my opportunities and I took 'em.'

'Just let me explain by examples. My party's in power in the city, and it's goin' to undertake a lot of public improvements. Well, I'm tipped off, say, that they're goin' to lay out a new park at a certain place.

'I see my opportunity and I take it. I go to that place and I buy up all the land I can in the neighborhood. Then the board of this or that makes its plan public, and there is a rush to get my land, which nobody cared particular for before.

'Ain't it perfectly honest to charge a good price and make a profit on my investment and foresight? Of course, it is. Well, that's honest graft.

'Or, supposin' it's a new bridge they're goin' to build. I get tipped off and I buy as much property as I can that has to be taken for approaches. I sell at my own price later

[4]

Honest and Dishonest Graft

on and drop some more money in the bank.

'Would a' you? It's just like lookin' ahead in Wall Street or in the coffee or cotton market. It's honest graft, and I'm lookin' at it every day in the year. I will tell you frankly that I've got a good lot of it, too.

'I'll tell you of one case. They were goin' to fix up a big park, no matter where. I got on to it, and went lookin' about for land in that neighborhood.

'I could get nothin' at a bargain but a big piece of swamp, but I took it fast enough and held on to it. What turned out was just what I counted on. They could n't make the park complete without Plunkitt's swamp, and they had to pay a good price for it. Anythin' dishonest in that?

'Up in the watershed I made some money, too. I bought up several bits of land there some years ago and made a pretty good
URBAN POLITICS: MACHINES AND REFORMERS

PLUNKITT OF TAMMANY HALL

guess that they would be bought up for
water purposes later by the city.

"Somehow, I always guessed about right,
and should n’t I enjoy the profit of my fore-
sight? It was rather amusing ’when the con-
demnation commissioners came along and
found piece after piece of the land in
the name of George Plunkitt of the Fifteenth
Assembly District, New York City. They
wondered how I knew just what to buy. The
answer is — I seen my opportunity and I took
it. I have n’t confined myself to land; any-
thing that pays is in my line.

"For instance, the city is repavin’ a street
and has several hundred thousand old gran-
ite blocks to sell. I am on hand to buy, and I
know just what they are worth.

"How? Never mind that. I had a sort of
monopoly of this business for a while, but
once a newspaper tried to do me. It got
some outside men to come over from

[6]

HONEST AND DISHONEST GRRAFT

Brooklyn and New Jersey to bid against
me.

"Was I done? Not much. I went to each
of the men and said: ‘How many of these
250,000 stones do you want?’ One said 200,-
000, and another wanted 15,000, and
another wanted 10,000. I said: ‘All right, let
me bid for the lot, and I ’ll give each of you
all you want for nothin’.

"They agreed, of course. Then the auc-
tioneer yelled: ‘How much am I bid for these
250,000 fine pavin’ stones?’

"’Two dollars and fifty cents,’ says I.

"’Two dollars and fifty cents!’ screamed the
auctioneer. ‘Oh, that’s a joke! Give me a
real bid.’

"He found the bid was real enough. My
rivals stood silent. I got the lot for 82.50 and
gave them their share. That’s how the at-
tempt to do Plunkitt ended, and that’s how
all such attempts end.

[7]

PLUNKITT OF TAMMANY HALL

‘I’ve told you how I got rich by honest
graft. Now, let me tell you that most
politicians who are accused of robbin’ the
city get rich the same way.

“They did n’t steal a dollar from the city
treasury. They just seen their opportunities
and took them. That is why, when a reform
administration comes in and spends a half
million dollars in tryin’ to find the public
robberies they talked about in the cam-
paign, they don’t find them.

“The books are always all right. The
money in the city treasury is all right. Every-
thing is all right. All they can show is that the
Tammany heads of departments looked after
their friends, within the law, and gave them
what opportunities they could to make hon-
est graft. Now, let me tell you that ‘s never
goin’ to hurt Tammany with the people.
Every good man looks after his friends, and
any man who does n’t is n’t likely to be pop-

[8]

HONEST AND DISHONEST GRRAFT

ular. If I have a good thing to hand out in
private life, I give it to a friend. Why
should n’t I do the same in public life?

“Another kind of honest graft. Tammany
has raised a good many salaries. There was
an awful howl by the reformers, but don’t
you know that Tammany gains ten votes for
every one it lost by salary raisin’?

“The Wall Street banker thinks it shame-
ful to raise a department clerk’s salary from
$1500 to $1800 a year, but every man who
draws a salary himself says: ‘That’s all
right. I wish it was me.’ And he feels very
much like votin’ the Tammany ticket on
election day, just out of sympathy.

“Tammany was beat in 1901 because the
people were deceived into believin’ that it
worked dishonest graft. They did n’t draw a
distinction between dishonest and honest
graft, but they saw that some Tammany men
grew rich, and supposed they had been rob-
URBAN POLITICS: MACHINES AND REFORMERS

PLUNKITT OF TAMMANY HALL

bin' the city treasury or levyin' blackmail on disorderly houses, or workin' in with the gamblers and lawbreakers.

"As a matter of policy, if nothing else, why should the Tammany leaders go into such dirty business, when there is so much honest graft lyin' around when they are in power? Did you ever consider that?

"Now, in conclusion, I want to say that I don't own a dishonest dollar. If my worst enemy was given the job of writin' my epitaph when I'm gone, he could n't do more than write:

"'George W. Plunkitt. He Seen His Opportunities, and He Took 'Em.'"

TO HOLD YOUR DISTRICT — STUDY HUMAN NATURE AND ACT ACCORDIN'

"'THERE'S only one way to hold a district; you must study human nature and act accordin'. You can't study human nature in books. Books is a hindrance more than anything else. If you have been to college, so much the worse for you. You'll have to unlearn all you learned before you can get right down to human nature, and unlearnin' takes a lot of time. Some men can never forget what they learned at college. Such men may get to be district leaders by a fluke, but they never last.

"To learn real human nature you have to go among the people, see them and be seen. I know every man, woman, and child in the
URBAN POLITICS: MACHINES AND REFORMERS

TO HOLD YOUR DISTRICT

would n’t deny it under oath. What do I mean by that? Never mind. You can guess from the sequel, if you ’re sharp.

"Well, election day came. The Citizens’ Union’s candidate for Senator, who ran against me, just polled five votes in the district, while I polled something more than 14,000 votes. What became of the 400 or 500 Citizens’ Union enrolled voters in my district? Some people guessed that many of them were good Plunkitt men all along and worked with the Cits just to bring them into the Plunkitt camp by election day. You can guess that way, too, if you want to. I never contradict stories about me, especially in hot weather. I just call your attention to the fact that on last election day 395 Citizens’ Union enrolled voters in my district were missin’ and unaccounted for.

"I tell you frankly, though, how I have captured some of the Citizens’ Union’s [ 49 ]

PLUNKITT OF TAMMANY HALL

young men. I have a plan that never fails. I watch the City Record to see when there’s civil service examinations for good things. Then I take my young Cits in hand, tell him all about the good thing and get him worked up till he goes and takes an examination. I don’t bother about him any more. It’s a cinch that he comes back to me in a few days and asks to join Tammany Hall. Come over to Washington Hall some night and I’ll show you a list of names on our rolls marked ‘C. S.’ which means, ‘bucked up against civil service.’

"As to the older voters, I reach them, too. No, I don’t send them campaign literature. That’s rot. People can get all the political stuff they want to read — and a good deal more, too — in the papers. Who reads speeches, nowadays, anyhow? It’s bad enough to listen to them. You ain’t goin’ to gain any votes by stuffin’ the letter boxes [ 50 ]

TO HOLD YOUR DISTRICT

with campaign documents. Like as not you’ll lose votes, for there’s nothin’ a man hates more than to hear the letter-carrier ring his bell and go to the letter-box expectin’ to find a letter he was lookin’ for, and find only a lot of printed politics. I met a man this very mornin’ who told me he voted the Democratic State ticket last year just because the Republicans kept crammin’ his letter-box with campaign documents.

"What tells in holdin’ your grip on your district is to go right down among the poor families and help them in the different ways they need help. I’ve got a regular system for this. If there’s a fire in Ninth, Tenth, or Eleventh Avenue, for example, any hour of the day or night, I’m usually there with some of my election district captains as soon as the fire-engines. If a family is burned out I don’t ask whether they are Republicans or Democrats, and I don’t refer them to the [ 51 ]

PLUNKITT OF TAMMANY HALL

Charity Organization Society, which would investigate their case in a month or two and decide they were worthy of help about the time they are dead from starvation. I just get quarters for them, buy clothes for them if their clothes were burned up, and fix them up till they get things runnin’ again. It’s philanthropy, but it’s politics, too — mighty good politics. Who can tell how many votes one of these fires brings me? The poor are the most grateful people in the world, and, let me tell you, they have more friends in their neighborhoods than the rich have in theirs.

"If there’s a family in my district in want I know it before the charitable societies do, and me and my men are first on the ground. I have a special corps to look up such cases. The consequence is that the poor look up to George W. Plunkitt as a father, come to him in trouble — and don’t forget him on election day. [ 52 ]
URBAN POLITICS: MACHINES AND REFORMERS

QUESTIONS FOR EXCERPT FROM CHAPTER ONE ON PLUNKITT

1. How does Plunkitt use his position as an elected official and leader of Tammany Hall to enrich himself?

2. According to Plunkitt, what is the difference between honest and dishonest graft?

3. Plunkitt contrasts what he does to make money with Wall Street (the stock market). In what ways do both of them make money through information? Explain why you think this is or isn’t a fair comparison.

4. How does Plunkitt buy 250,000 paving stones for only $2.50? How do the other bidders benefit from this arrangement? What is the cost to the city?

5. What does Plunkitt mean by “He Seen His Opportunities, and He Took ’Em”?

6. Plunkitt describes the raising of a government clerk’s salary as a form of honest graft. What is the benefit to the political machine in raising their salaries? Why does he think that a Wall Street banker would have a different attitude from “every man who earns a salary” toward raising the salary of a clerk? How will this policy affect the city government’s budget or its tax rates?
LESSON 4, PART 1

URBAN POLITICS: MACHINES AND REFORMERS

EXCERPT FROM CHAPTER SIX ON PLUNKITT

Tammany Hall was much more than a means for politicians to enrich themselves. In order to gain votes, the machine needed to provide concrete benefits to its supporters. Plunkitt describes the means of winning the loyalty of immigrant and working class voters in Chapter 6.

QUESTIONS FOR EXCERPT FROM CHAPTER SIX ON PLUNKITT

1. List three ways that Plunkitt says that a machine politician can hold on to his district and explain why you think they would be effective or ineffective.

2. Contrast Plunkitt’s and the Charity Organization Society’s attitudes toward the poor. How do they differ and which one is more humane?

3. Why do you think the COS felt the need to investigate before it helped people?

4. Why does Plunkitt believe voters will support him?

5. In his explanation as to why people in his district support him, Plunkitt fails to mention his political philosophy or anything at all about how the government is run. Why?
URBAN POLITICS: MACHINES AND REFORMERS

PART 2

“The costs of Tammany Hall’s corruption”

Document pages 47-50

INFORMATION TO PRESENT TO CLASS

New York City’s government in the 1920’s embodied Plunkitt’s ideas. Tammany Hall ran the City, people got jobs through their connections to the machine, and honest (and often dishonest) graft was common. Municipal construction continued, but it was driven by the need to create jobs and not the needs of the City and its people.

The high cost of corrupt government became clear in 1932, when Mayor Jimmy Walker’s administration no longer had the money to pay for the city’s debt. A combination of a poorly run government and the effects of the Great Depression had left the city on the brink of bankruptcy. This led to an investigation of corruption in the government by Judge Samuel Seabury. During the investigation, he questioned Tammany Hall leader Sheriff Thomas M. Farley on the cash that he had saved in his tin box.

Reformers had very different ideas than those of Tammany Hall politicians on how government should be run. They opposed a system based on political favoritism, patronage and dishonest or honest graft. They saw a government based on a civil service (hiring people based on their qualification through passing an exam) and decisions based on the needs of the greater city and not on parochial concerns of localities.

The greatest reform mayor in New York City was Fiorello H. La Guardia. A liberal Republican in a Democratic city, he won the election in 1933 by using the scandals of the Walker era, including the Farley testimony. He emphasized the corruption of Tammany Hall and the favoritism that permeated the patronage system. After election he carried through a program of reform that greatly reduced patronage and graft, established a more efficient government and, using federal dollars from the New Deal, initiated a program of building infrastructure that remade the face of the city.
LESSON 4, PART 2
URBAN POLITICS: MACHINES AND REFORMERS

THE NEW YORK TIMES, OCTOBER 7, 1931

FARLEY DEPOSITED $360,660 IN 7 YEARS; MOST FROM TIN BOX

Sheriff on Stand Tells Seabury of a "Wonderful" Receptacle Which Once Held $100,000.

HAD DEPOSIT-VAULT, TOO

'Kept Putting Money in Banks and Taking It Out Again'--Says Earnings Were Small.

DISPUTES POLICE RAIDERS

Benles Knowing of Any Gambling in His Club--Says Keller 'Planted' Pistol on Floor.

THE WITNESS testifed that his salary as Sheriff was $15,000 a year, that he had received a salary of $15,000 as Deputy County Clerk, that his salary as Deputy County Clerk had been $8,500 and $8,500 a year and that he had been paid at that rate of $8,500 a year, which was good for a man of his age and in that office.

Q.--Where did you open it? A.--Chatham Phoenix Bank in East Fifty-seventh Street.

Q.--Did you put much money in there? A.--Yes, and it was my money.

Q.--Well, even when you kept it in the house for a good many years, did you put much money in it? A.--Yes, I put it in.

Q.--Did you open the box when you came home from work? A.--No, I did not.

Q.--How much money do you think you put in it? A.--I--I can't recall now.

Examining Ex-Continued.

The examination continued as follows:

Q.--Now, in 1930, it appears that you deposited in cash in the Chatham Phoenix and in the Harriman and in the Emigrant over $13,000 in cash. What was your source of that cash from Sheriff? A.--Well, that is--my salary check is in there.

Q.--No, Sheriff: your salary checks aggregated $10,476.60, which is exclusive of the cash deposits which during that year you deposited in those three banks. A.--I mean, that came from the good box.

Q.--Kind of a magic box? A.--It was a wonderful box.

Q.--A wonderful box (laughter).

URBAN POLITICS: MACHINES AND REFORMERS

QUESTIONS FOR ARTICLE ON INVESTIGATION OF FARLEY

1. Why is Seabury questioning Sheriff Farley?

2. Farley testifies that he saved money in a “tin box” and in a safe deposit box; what is his reason for putting the money in the boxes?

3. Why does Seabury ask Farley about the amounts of money he deposited into the tin box versus his salary and any other income?

4. Where do you think Farley got the money for his tin box and safe deposit box?

5. How would reformers use this testimony to make a case against machine politics?

DISCOVERING HISTORY IN TODAY’S NEW YORK TIMES

Historical events described in textbooks often began with reports in a newspaper. These questions help you compare the past with the present.

1. Graft still occurs today. Find an article in The New York Times about a person in government who misused their position for their own profit. Make a list of all the ways this specific example of corruption hurts others. Compare your list with the results of Tammany Hall graft years ago. Create an advertisement denouncing graft.

2. One of the jobs of reporters is to find out wrongdoing in government. Reporters find the facts by asking other people (sources) to tell them the truth. Circle the words in a current New York Times article about graft that tell you sources of facts. Discuss what motivated these sources (named or un-named) to reveal information to reporters.

3. Politicians capture the loyalty of voters by doing favors for them. Read articles about politicians in current issues of The New York Times. Identify favors given by politicians and who received them. What happened as a result? Express your opinion about this by writing an editorial. Study editorials in The Times as models for your writing. Use facts from the news reports in The Times to support your opinion.
LA GUARDIA CAMPAIGN SPEECH

The following is a campaign speech La Guardia used in 1933.

FROM FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA’S 1933 MAYORAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Speech on Tammany and the Spoils System

Speech Material (Family Tree)

Let’s get down to brass tacks on this question of Tammany and the spoils system. Tammany is giving high salaries to its own favorites because it has the power to take the money out of your pocket. Maybe you think that a Tammany leader’s high salary does not concern you. If you do, let me put a test to you.

How many people in this audience get $11,000 a year, Won’t you raise your hands, please.

All right; you can put them down now—I don’t see anybody. McCooey himself, you know, is the Boss of Brooklyn, and he is so well-to-do that he does not need any city salary at present. For many years he got $10,000 a year as Chief Clerk of the Surrogate’s Court. Then he acquired a family tree and other people made money for him. His sister, Margaret McCooey, is Associate Superintendent of schools and she gets $11,265. His son, John H. McCooey, Jr., is a judge of the Supreme Court and gets $22,500. One of his other sons, Herbert McCooey, sells bonds to Public Works contractors—and how! He has a new firm and it broke into the big money just recently by underwriting 20 per cent of the sixty-seven million dollar fire insurance for the B.M.T.

It pays to be the son or a relative of a Tammany district leader.
URBAN POLITICS: MACHINES AND REFORMERS

QUESTIONS FOR LA GUARDIA CAMPAIGN SPEECH

1. La Guardia speaks about a “family tree”; what is it and how does it work?

2. According to La Guardia, what is the problem with the spoils system?

3. Plunkitt has a different view of the spoils system; he says he can get a job for every “deservin’ man.” How does his view of the spoils system differ from that of La Guardia?

4. La Guardia believes in a government based on people getting jobs solely through their qualifications, while Plunkitt favors a system based on people getting jobs based on their connections to the political machine. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the two systems? Explain why you prefer one system over another.
INTRODUCTION TO THE MAYORALTY BATTLE PAGE

In 1937, after four years in office, La Guardia had a record to run on, having saved the city from bankruptcy, reformed government and rebuilt the city. Although a Republican, he had run the city in a non-partisan fashion and had endorsed the re-election of the Democratic President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. La Guardia hinged his re-election on his independence from political bosses, the success of his policies and President Roosevelt’s New Deal to create jobs and rejuvenate the city’s economy. The Democratic nomination went to State Supreme Court Judge Jeremiah T. Mahoney, a Tammany Hall politician, who sought to align himself with Roosevelt and the New Deal. Refer to the Mayoralty Battle Page (reprinted here on pages 51-54), originally published in the Daily News, as part of a series in which the candidates presented their views.

QUESTIONS FOR THE MAYORALTY BATTLE PAGE

1. What does the La Guardia campaign see as the major themes of the campaign? Why do you think that he chose these?

2. Who is Jimmy Hines? Why does La Guardia center his attacks on him?

3. a. How does La Guardia compare Tammany’s method of distributing government services to his administration’s?

   b. Why does he consider his administration better?

4. Why does Mahoney argue that La Guardia claims undue credit for himself?

5. How does La Guardia’s sarcasm claiming responsibility for the Great Pyramid, Leaning Tower of Pisa and the Eiffel Tower support that argument? Do you think it is an effective attack?
URBAN POLITICS: MACHINES AND REFORMERS

MAHONEY has finally come out firmly on two BIG issues:

1. He is in favor of good weather.
2. He thinks well of Abraham Lincoln.

We're for Abraham Lincoln, too. Abraham Lincoln was for good government OF the people, BY the people, FOR the people. Just what does Mahoney know about a government OF the people, BY the people, FOR the people?

What we know about Mahoney is that he talks a lot about reform. He talks a lot about honesty in politics. He talks a lot about the need for honesty in government.

But when we look at what Mahoney has done, we find that he has a long way to go before he can be considered a true friend of the people.

Mahoney is not the only one who claims to be for the people. There are many others who claim to be for the people, but their actions do not match their words.

Some people claim to be for the people because they want to get ahead. They want to get power, and they want to get money. They want to get anything they can get their hands on.

Others claim to be for the people because they want to do the right thing. They want to make the world a better place. They want to make things fair and just.

But whether a person is for the people or not, it is important that they act on their words. It is important that they do what they say they will do.

There are many people who need help. There are many people who are in need. It is important that we help them. It is important that we do what we can to make things better.

Mahoney has had a chance to do something for the people. He has had a chance to help them. But he has not done what he said he would do.

There is still time to make things better. There is still time to help the people. But we must act now. We must do what we can to make things better for everyone.

Let us hope that Mahoney will finally do what he said he would do. Let us hope that he will finally help the people. Let us hope that he will finally act on his words.
URBAN POLITICS: MACHINES AND REFORMERS

Then there's a more recent item:

LAGUARDIA DEDICATES PISA'S LEANING TOWER

Pisa, Italy, Oct. 14, 1154 (Reprinted from Borgia Bugle).—The Duc de LaGuardia, always one for a Pisan joke, declared as he broke a bottle of Milanese Chianti over the new Tower of Pisa:

"I told you I would do it! And here it is!"

He had scarcely ceased speaking when the Tower started to lean—to the left!

Romano Pisano and William of Innsbruck who did all the work on the tower were somehow lost in the shuffle at the dedicatory exercises. The Duc de La Guardia was the principal figure, as always.

The Duc was overjoyed at the listing of the Tower to port. He shouted jubilantly:

"If I cannot make towers, I can at least make them bend to my will."

(The Tower, which history came to know as the Leaning Tower of Pisa, is 188 feet high and wound up 15 feet out of the perpendicular. Fusionists often visit it, even in modern times for a classic example of how an unbalanced budget would look in stone.)

A still more recent item:

LAGUARDIA DEDICATES THE EIFFEL TOWER

Paris, France, Oct. 14, 1889 (By La Fusion Puff Service).—"I told you I would do it," said F. H. LaGuardia, Mayor of Paris, dedicating the new Eiffel Tower today. "And," he added with his usual savoir-faire, "here it is!"

The parties of the Left cheered and a Republican or two flung his hat in air. The Rights held on to theirs.

The tower, a most daring bit of construction, is 985 feet high. French engineers are inclined to pass a bit of credit for its construction to Alexander Eiffel, engineer and bridge-builder, and to the Republic which footed the bill. Not so Monsieur LaGuardia, however.

The parties of the Left hailed the day as a triumph for the Mayor who was elected just in time to cut the ribbon, officially opening the World’s Fair and the Tower. Bands played shrilly. The Left Wing claque gave its leader resounding applause. When the Mayor referred to the Tower as "My tower" a provocateur shouted: "It is Eiffel’s work with government money."

"Throw that man out!" screamed Mons. LaGuardia. "He does not understand good government."

Gendarmes rushed in with swords and gave the provocateur what was later to become known as the "bum’s rush."

History repeats itself down the years.
It's YOURS--Not THEIRS

MAHONEY has finally come out firmly on two BIG issues:

1. He is in favor of good weather.
2. He thinks well of Abraham Lincoln.

We're for Abraham Lincoln, too. Abraham Lincoln was for government OF the people, BY the people, FOR the people. Just what does Mahoney know about a PEOPLE'S government? We know, and every one in town knows, that the Tammany kind of government is government OF the District Leaders, BY the District Leaders, FOR the District Leaders. That's Tammany's record and

THERE'S NO ARGUMENT ABOUT THAT

Mayor LaGuardia has given government OF the people, BY the people, FOR the people. There are NO DISTRICT LEADERS BETWEEN MAYOR LaGUARDIA AND THE PEOPLE. There ALWAYS were District Leaders between the Tammany Mayors and the people.

When District Leader Mahoney talks about government FOR the people, he's talking through Jimmy Hines' hat.

Mayor LaGuardia comes from the people. He is OF them—he is one of US. He was—and WILL BE again—elected BY the people. He has PROVED that his brand of government is FOR the people. He has shown it by the humanized services of his city administration.

The people of New York have seen Mayor LaGuardia's brand of humanized government. In the hospitals. In the clinics. In the health centers. In the parks. In the playgrounds. In the relief stations. At the beaches. At the swimming pools. ALL OVER THE CITY OF NEW YORK.
These Things Are YOurs

Mayor LaGuardia has encouraged the people to use THEIR OWN health, welfare, relief and recreational facilities. No one—NO ONE—has to “see” a Leader to get city services that any New Yorker is entitled to as a matter of right. NO ONE has to ask for a FAVOR.

Under Tammany it was different. Tammany’s whole stock in trade was “See your leader first.” Tammany tried to educate the people to “See your leader first.” Tammany MEANS the District Leader.

Under Tammany you found poor, worried mothers, going around to District Leaders to get “visiting cards” to get into hospitals and baby health stations! All these mothers wanted was to bring THEIR sick babies to THEIR baby health stations. The District Leader didn’t tell her it was NONE OF HIS BUSINESS. He wanted her to believe she needed—must have—his help—his card of introduction.

The thousands of men and women in this town who have been hum-bugged by Tammany District Leaders in this way KNOW WHAT WE‘RE TALKING ABOUT.

Under LaGuardia, any New Yorker who has LEGITIMATE business with any municipal department—no matter how trivial—can walk in “cold” and get service. The doors are open, and NO LETTERS OF INTRODUCTION ARE REQUIRED.

The government of New York City, as LaGuardia has proved to all of us, is not the personal property of ANY MAYOR, and certainly NOT the property of any gang of tin-horn politicians selling city services for votes or money. It is YOUR Government. It belongs to you. It is there to serve YOU—not any District Leader.

When a mother wants to bring her baby to a health station TODAY she doesn’t have to “know” any one or “see” any one. And that goes straight down the line, in every department under the Mayor.

Think back a bit. Think back to Tammany days, and ask yourself whether you like Tammany service or HUMANIZED SERVICE.

It comes back to

THE SAME OLD ISSUE

Good Government or Bad

LaGUARDIA OR TAMMANY
"I TOLD YOU I WOULD DO IT! HERE IT IS!"

Mayor LaGuardia’s rash claim to credit for all the PWA and WPA improvements carried out in New York City under supervision of the Democratic Administration in Washington is an audacious example of Fusion ballyhoo.

Informed persons stand amazed at LaGuardia’s claim to credit for such typical PWA and WPA projects as the Triboro Bridge, slum clearance, public playgrounds, new piers and scores of similar Federal financed and Federal directed improvements.

We heard him say at the opening of the West Side Highway the other day:

“I told you I would do it! And here it is!”

It’s old stuff. Down through the ages it reads the same.

For example, there’s this yellowed parchment which antiquarians may be familiar with:

La Guardia Dedicates the Great Pyramid

Gizeh, Egypt, Oct. 14, 3000 B.C. (By Fusion Puff Service).
—Fiorello H. LaGuardia, known as Cheops, King of the 4th Dynasty, today dedicated Fusion Project I UP—the Great Pyramid.

With becoming modesty, he said:

“I told you I would do it!
And here it is!”

Some grumbling was heard in the ranks of the 100,000 slaves who had toiled 20 years on the project. The farmers and serfs who had supplied the tithes and taxes to finance it, whispered:

“Doesn’t any of the credit go to us?”

The Little King’s servitude quickly silenced these ungrateful murmurings.

King Fiorello declared the monument dedicated today is but one of seven wonders of the world that now or before election, he will take credit for. The list includes the nearby Sphinx, the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, the Temple of Diana, the Statue of Jupiter Olympus, the Tomb of Mausolus, the Pharos of Alexandria and the Colossus of Rhodes.

He said:

“Some of these things don’t exist yet. But I’m a great believer in reincarnation. I’ll get around to them some day as long as there are WPA funds to finance them and WPA engineers to build them. I am the PWA. I am the WPA. I am Fiorello the First—all things to all men.”
MAYORALTY BATTLE PAGE NOTE CHART

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>It's YOURS – Not THEIRS</th>
<th>“I Told You I Would Do It! Here It Is!”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reasons to vote for La Guardia</td>
<td>Reasons not to vote for Tammany Hall (Mahoney)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reasons to vote for Mahoney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reasons not to vote for La Guardia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LA GUARDIA / TAMMANY HALL CAMPAIGN CREATION

You will work in groups to develop campaign materials for the election of 1937. Your mission will be to create a campaign for either La Guardia or Mahoney. Each student in your group should be responsible for at least one of the following types of materials:

A. a poster
B. a pamphlet or flyer
C. a button
D. a speech
E. a bumper sticker

You will need to review all of your notes and materials on Tammany Hall and La Guardia to effectively plan and create your group’s materials.

No matter which material you yourself develop, you must consider the following:

- Who is your targeted audience?
- What information or message do you want to convey about your candidate and/or about the opponent?
- What imagery, visual or literary, best fits your image and most effectively conveys it?
- What slogan appears in the materials you’ve read so far?
- What additional slogan or saying will you use?
URBAN POLITICS: MACHINES AND REFORMERS

GLOSSARY

civil relating to citizens of the state; relating to the general public; to be polite (adjective).

favoritism preferential treatment (noun).

graft illegal or unfair gain (noun).

municipal public; having local self-government (adjective).

nonpartisan unbiased; impartial; unprejudiced (adjective).

parochial confined or restricted; limited in range or scope (adjective).

patronage the power to make appointments to government jobs (noun).

permeate to pass through; to diffuse; to saturate (verb).

PEOPLE/PLACES TO KNOW

Tammany Hall The political machine in New York City that dominated the Democratic Party. It used its power to provide jobs and favors to its supporters, but its leaders often used corrupt means to get elected and to enrich themselves.

George W. Plunkitt Tammany Hall leader from the West Side of Manhattan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Known as the “sage of Tammany Hall” because of the ideas he laid out in “Plunkitt of Tammany Hall.”

Fiorello H. La Guardia As mayor of New York City from 1933-1945, he ran an administration that opposed Tammany Hall patronage and political corruption. He used his power as mayor to reform New York City’s government and rebuilt New York City’s infrastructure, creating millions of jobs for the unemployed during the Great Depression.