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THE BEQUEST OF  
DANIEL MURRAY  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
1925









Tammamy Hall Council Colored Democracy  
the County of New York

# TAMMANY HALL

618  
407

vs.

# FUSION

Advice to the Colored Voters  
OR

**Organized Democracy**  
**Against**  
**Disorganized Aristocracy**  
**and Bastard Reform**

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The Request of  
Daniel Murray,  
Washington, D. C.  
1925.



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“Ingratitude is monstrous, and, for the multitude to be ungrateful, were to make a monster of the multitude.”—*Shakespeare*.

The paramount issue in this campaign for the Colored voter is whether he will support a Woodrow Wilson-anti-Tammany Democrat, in the person of John Purroy Mitchel, or a straight organization, Tammany Hall Democrat, in the person of Judge Edward E. McCall.

After the traitorous, un-American, unjust, undemocratic and hypocritical conduct of President Woodrow Wilson toward the Colored American, the Wilson brand of democracy on any candidate ought to damn him eternally in the eyes of the Colored voter.

Never have the Colored voters of this city had less reason to support a political party than they have to support the so-called Fusion party this year.

With the Board of Estimate during the past four years in control of the Fusion forces, the budget has been increased by many millions, property has been assessed enormously, the tax rate has advanced, rents have, consequently, been raised, 75,000 school children are on part time, **no playgrounds have been established in those sections of the city occupied by Colored citizens**, and, with the exception of three men elected as organization Republicans four years ago,—Whitman, Prendergast and Grifenhagen,—no member of the Fusion party, elected four years ago, has appointed a single Colored citizen to office. Three of these men, Mitchel, McAneny and Schneider, are running again for office this year. In spite of the duplicity and dishonesty of the Fusion parties toward him in the past, the Fusion-Reform party this year is again asking the Colored voter to support loyally and enthusiastically a combination of politically incompatible elements, as diverse as the motley ingredients of the witches' cauldron in Shakespeare's "Macbeth," made up of Republicans, Progressives, Independence Leaguers, and all brands of independent Democratic organizations, including Wilson Democrats, that are trying to destroy the greatest and fairest political organization in the country for the Colored voter, the organization that has been his consistent and unfailing friend for many years,—**Tammany Hall**.

A history of the attitude of the Fusion parties in this city toward the Colored voter since 1894 ought to convince him, if he has a grain of intelligence, gratitude and honor, that he would be a traitor to the best interests of his race, and would be driving a nail into his own coffin, to vote the Fusion ticket on November 4.

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Three times in this city since 1894 has the Fusion party been successful through the material assistance given by the Colored voters. Let us see what has been his reward.

First: In 1894, William L. Strong was elected Mayor for three years, with the entire Fusion ticket. Under this administration, the Colored voters received (a) a clerk in the Magistrates' Court; (b) an inspector in the Water Department; (c) a messenger in the Mayor's office; (d) the appointment by Col. Waring, the Democratic Street Cleaning Commissioner, of a number of Colored men as sweepers, or drivers.

These positions paid altogether, exclusive of the men in the Street Cleaning Department, \$4,000 a year.

When a delegation of representative Colored men waited on Mayor Strong to ask for the appointment of a Colored man to a representative position, he told the delegation that he had given them a representative appointment in the person of Daniel Slater, his messenger.

Second: In 1901, after the creation of the greater city, Seth Low was elected Mayor, and, also, the entire Fusion city and New York County ticket. The county ticket was elected by pluralities ranging from 5,000 to 18,000.

Under this administration, the Colored voters received (a) a county detective (now called process server) in the District Attorney's office; (b) an executive clerk in the Mayor's office; (c) three stenographers appointed from the civil service list.

These positions paid, altogether, \$5,650 a year.

Third: In 1909, the entire Fusion city and New York County ticket, with the exception of Mayor, was elected.

During the four years that this administration has been in power, the Colored voters have received (a) an assistant district attorney in the District Attorney's office; (b) a bank messenger in the Comptroller's office; (c) a laborer from the civil service list in the Register's office (d) a cleaner for less than a year in the Sheriff's office. This man was removed before the expiration of a year, and no Colored man was appointed to succeed him.

These positions pay, altogether, \$4,820 a year.

To sum up, the Fusion party in this city, during its three administrations, has given to the Colored voter, in return for his support, exclusive of men in the Street Cleaning Department, an average of \$4,823 a year.

To compare the record of Tammany Hall toward the Colored voter since 1897, with the record of the Fusion parties is like comparing Hyperion to a satyr.

In 1897, Tammany Hall, under its matchless leader, Richard Croker, received into its ranks a considerable number of Colored voters. It was the first political organization in the history of the country to lay down the principle that it would reward the Colored voter in proportion to his numerical strength, and to live up to that principle after election. The mantle of Croker soon fell upon the shoulders of that clean, fearless, fair, astute and magnificent leader of men, Charles F. Murphy, the present leader of Tammany Hall. Vili-

fied, as no man before was ever vilified, by dastards in the pulpit, in the editorial room, and in the seats of governmental power, he has confounded and dismayed his enemies, and has silenced their malignant and malicious tongues by hurling into their teeth a challenge to them to show anything dishonorable in his public, or his private life. And, after having had turned on him for years a continuous searchlight from a villainous and venomous press and pulpit, he stands to-day untarnished, with a reputation for honor, and honesty, and morality, and fairmindedness, and charity, and human sympathy, equal to that of any in the community, and far superior to that of those assassins of reputation who clothe themselves with the mantle of hypocrisy, and rally around the banner of Fusion and Reform.

Frederick A. Cleveland, Ph. D., LL. D., in his recent work "Organized Democracy," has this to say of the political leader:

"A boss is commonly one of the most intelligent and efficient citizens that we have. His guiding motive may not be the public welfare, but he has had a clearer concept of the essential features of democracy than has the reformer, who dreams of high statesmanship in terms of abstract morality, but who lacks the touch and balance of facts about the everyday life of the people. The boss is the only one who makes it his business to know what is necessary to supply the community needs which are brought home to him. He has been the only one who had a comprehensive citizen program. \* \* \*

"The boss has made citizenship his business. With the reformer citizenship has been only an emotion."

This country has never produced political leaders that have preserved so well not only the form but also the spirit of democracy, and have been so imbued with the American spirit of fair play and the American principle of equal opportunity, as Richard Croker and Charles F. Murphy. These political leaders have done for the Colored voter in a matter-of-fact, every-day-sort-of-a-way things, the doing of half of which by Republican leaders would have raised them to the ranks of demi-gods in the eyes of grateful Colored citizens.

To-day, through the kindness of Tammany Hall, Colored citizens are receiving nearly \$600,000 a year from the treasury of the city.

The following are nearly all of the positions held by Colored citizens in this city under the Democratic party since 1897:

District Attorney's office:

Assistant District Attorney.

Diary Clerk.

Two messengers.

Corporation Counsel's office:

Assistant Corporation Counsel.

Confidential attendant.

Tax Department:

Deputy Commissioner of Taxes.

Two clerks.

Messenger.

Finance Department:

Law clerk.  
Two clerks.  
Messenger.

Mayor's office:

Two Sealers of Weights and Measures.  
Executive clerk.

City Chamberlain's office:

Bank messenger.  
Messenger.

Department of Water Supply, etc.:

Assistant Engineer.  
Two Inspectors of Water Meters.  
Inspector of Hydrants.  
Three clerks.  
Messenger.

Borough President's office, Manhattan:

Inspector of Highways.  
Inspector of Vaults.  
Foreman.  
Five Corporation Inspectors.  
Clerk.  
Cleaner.  
Elevator attendant.

Sheriff's office:

**Assistant Deputy Sheriff.**  
Three cleaners.

Fire Department:

Deputy Inspector of Combustibles.  
Inspector of Oils.  
Clerk.  
First Grade Fireman.  
Driver.

Department of Health:

Four Sanitary Inspectors.  
Clerk.  
Seven Inspectors of Disinfectant.  
Several nurses.  
Typewriting copyist.

Police Department:

**Two patrolmen.**

Dock Department:

Two stenographers.  
Two clerks.  
Six marine stokers.  
Thirty laborers.

Commissioner of Licenses :  
Inspector of Licenses.

Register's office :  
Two copyists.

Tenement House Department :  
Clerk.

Bridge Department :  
Engineman.  
Marine stoker.  
Marine sounder.  
Stenographer.  
Watchman.  
Six laborers.

Surrogate's office :  
Messenger.

Department of Charities :  
Messenger.

Park Department :  
Twelve laborers.

Department of Sewers :  
Two laborers.

Street Cleaning Department :  
Two detail foremen.  
Inspector of Mud Scows.  
Inspector of Garbage.  
Over six hundred (600) drivers and sweepers.

Borough President's office, Bronx :  
Messenger.

Borough President's office, Queens and Richmond :  
Several laborers.

Register's office, Brooklyn :  
Clerk.

Coroner's office, Brooklyn :  
Clerk.

District Attorney's office, Brooklyn :  
Clerk.

Board of Education :  
Seventy female teachers.  
Six male teachers.  
Assistant musical director.

The following offices have been held in this State by Colored citizens through the gift of the Democratic party since its return to power in 1911, under the leadership of Charles F. Murphy:

Two Special Deputy Attorney-Generals.

Deputy State Excise Inspector.

Two Special Deputy State Excise Inspectors.

Messenger, Department of Education.

Three typewriting copyists.

Four Deputy State Superintendents of Election.

Three Special Deputy State Superintendents of Election.

Janitors and assistant janitors of the Senate and Assembly, and messenger of the Assembly.

In the face of this overwhelming record of deeds on the part of the Democratic party of this city for a period of sixteen years, the so-called Negro leaders and the so-called Negro race journals are asking you to vote for John Purroy Mitchel and the Fusion party, because, forsooth, before a body of Colored ministers, he made some pre-election statement that he believed in treating the Colored man fairly.

Can they so soon forget Woodrow Wilson and his fair words and promises?

The biblical maxim "By their fruits ye shall know them" ought to be for the Colored voter the touchstone by which to test the sincerity of those that profess to be his friends.

There are to-day over 600 Colored men in the Street Cleaning Department getting from \$780 to \$800 a year. This amounts to nearly \$470,000 a year; about 20 Colored men in the Dock Department, 4 in the Park Department, 5 in the Bridge Department, 2 in the Sewer Department and about 30 in the offices of the Borough Presidents of Queens and Richmond. The salaries of these men range from \$780 to \$1,200 a year, making a total amount of about \$44,000 yearly.

These men have to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. Dependent upon them for support are nearly 3,500 souls. There is hardly a Colored religious, or fraternal organization in the city that is not affected by their material prosperity.

This alone ought to be sufficient to silence the malicious, venomous, dishonest and hypocritical tongues of those so-called Negro leaders in the pulpit, in the editorial chair, and in politics, that from time to time break out in senseless, bitter denunciations of Tammany Hall, the best friend that the Negro in this city has to-day.

Add to the above totals the salaries of those Colored men in the higher positions in the Corporation Counsel's office, Borough President's office, Sheriff's office, Surrogate's office, Department of Finance, City Chamberlain's office, Dock Department, Department of Water Supply, etc., Bridge Department and Department of Health, and you have \$27,000 more a year.

This makes a grand total of over \$540,000 a year, exclusive of the salaries of the school teachers, and, also, of the salaries of those in State positions under the Democratic party.

In addition to these positions, about 500 Colored men, principally through the influence of Democratic district leaders, are employed by Democratic contractors, receiving wages averaging \$720 a year. This would amount to \$360,000 yearly.

This, added to the sum \$540,000 received from political positions, brings the total to the enormous sum of over \$900,000 a year, received directly, or indirectly, through the Democratic party, and supporting about 5,000 souls, or one-twentieth of the entire Colored population of New York City.

While both Republican and Democratic Presidents and legislators have been violating the ideals and fundamental principles of the American republic, while Young Men and Young Women's Christian Associations, Sunday School unions, Christian Endeavor Societies, and many of the church denominations with which many of the Negro preachers of the city are connected, are insulting and degrading the manhood of their Colored members by adopting a "Jim Crow" policy, Tammany Hall, whom the brazen-throated hypocritical Negro purists in the pulpit, and the poison-penned Negro sycophants in the editorial chair exult in denouncing as corrupt, has been for years, in the face of bitter criticism, carrying aloft the banner of pure democracy—a democracy that believes in a fair chance and an equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, or creed. Tammany Hall asks to be judged upon its record in its treatment of the Colored citizens of this city, and not upon pre-election promises, so glibly indulged in by John Purroy Mitchel, the Fusion candidate for Mayor, who, during his four years in office, has not appointed one Colored man to office.

The reason why Fusion parties in this city have given the Colored voter such little recognition is not far to seek. Made up of many incompatible political elements, distrustful of one another's honesty, in their mad struggle for office they try to parcel out the spoils before election. Inasmuch as the Colored voters do not belong to independent Democratic organizations, or to the Independence League, the candidates from these parties, or pseudo-parties, since they have been placed on the ticket so that in case of election they may reward their own political branch, feel under no obligation to reward the Colored brother. He must rely, if at all, upon regular party organization men. This explains why the Colored voter received recognition during the last four years from Whitman, Prendergast and Grifenhagen, regular organization men, but received no recognition from the independent Democrats, Mitchel, McAneny and Schneider.

The Colored voter, therefore, if he votes for the Fusion ticket, will have to rely upon the three Republicans, Whitman, Grifenhagen and Marks, and the Progressive, Prendergast, for recognition in case of election. But Whitman and Prendergast have rewarded him. His

recognition must come, then, only from Marks and Grifenhagen. Although a Republican district leader, Shea, was Sheriff for two years preceding the term of the Democratic Sheriff, Julius Harburger, he appointed no Colored man as assistant Deputy Sheriff as Harburger did, and it is fair to assume that he represented the attitude of the Republican organization. The Colored voter, therefore, if he votes the Fusion ticket, will restrict his opportunities for appointment to the sole position of Borough President for which Marks is a candidate.

On the other hand, if he votes the Tammany ticket, on which are only organization men, there is an opportunity for appointment from every man on the ticket.

Is it any wonder that the race is losing confidence in its Negro leaders, when all the so-called Negro newspapers, and all of the Negro ministers of the larger churches are advocating the election of the Fusion ticket instead of the Tammany Hall ticket?

The greatest menace to the race to-day is the so-called Negro leader. Because of the intellectual dishonesty, moral cowardice and race treachery of these so-called race leaders, the Colored citizen to-day is in a state of political slavery. His emancipation will come only through the overthrow of these false, treacherous, cowardly and venal race leaders.

Those hypocrites in the pulpit, or in the editorial chair, that have for years been driven to the last ditch to find some excuse for their dishonorable conduct in advising the Colored voter against Tammany Hall, his best friend, have at last been robbed of their only pretext and cannot now say to an unsuspecting public:

“Tammany Hall is too corrupt, I cannot support it.”

Mayor William J. Gaynor is Tammany Hall's gift to New York City. He was nominated by a Tammany Hall convention, and elected on a Tammany Hall ticket.

Never in the history of this city have the life and property of the Colored citizen been more secure than under Mayor Gaynor, and never did any one wage such a relentless warfare against all forms of vice, immorality and official oppression as he.

He protected the Colored citizen from police brutality. He investigated discriminations in hospitals and theatres. His Commissioner put a stop to discriminations in jails. And, by reason of the rule that he enforced—to appoint applicants as they stood on the civil service list—a **Democratic Police Commissioner appointed two Colored men to the police force, the first since the consolidation of the city.**

Never in the history of the city did the Colored citizens have greater reason for civic pride and civic loyalty than under Mayor Gaynor's administration.

Surely, for these acts of justice, the Colored voter ought to show his appreciation to Tammany Hall.

There are three more overwhelming reasons why the Colored voters, on November 4, ought to show their gratitude to Tammany Hall, by voting for Judge Edward E. McCall.



First, the passage of the Levy Bill, amending and extending the provisions of the Civil Rights Bill, a reaffirmation on the part of the Democratic party of this State that it believes in the equality of all men before the law.

Second, the passage of the Carswell Bill, creating the Emancipation Proclamation Commission, and appropriating \$25,000 for the celebration of the Proclamation of Emancipation. This is the first time in the history of the State that an appropriation was made peculiarly benefiting the Colored citizen. The Democratic organization had introduced a bill appropriating \$50,000, but upon the threat of Governor Sulzer that he would veto it, unless it was reduced to \$25,000, that bill was withdrawn and the Carswell Bill substituted. This bill was passed through the Legislature at the special request of the Tammany Hall leader, Mr. Charles F. Murphy, who desired to show his appreciation of the progress of the Colored people of this country.

Third, the passage of the Kane Bill, creating a Negro Regiment in the National Guard of this State, introduced by Assemblyman Kane, the Democratic Assemblyman from the 21st Assembly District, for whom every Colored voter in that district should vote, and passed at the special request of Mr. Murphy, after Governor Sulzer tried to strangle it in the Military Committee of the Senate. This is the first time in the history of the State that there has been any unit of organization in the National Guard composed of Colored men. For sixteen years, the efforts of the Colored citizens of New York had been blocked by Republican governors, legislators, and politicians. Not once did the Colored Republican leaders dare to request their party to father such a bill, knowing what would be its fate.

In 1911, the first Democratic Legislature in sixteen years, at its first session, passed a bill for a Negro Regiment in the National Guard, introduced by Assemblyman Louis A. Cuvillier, the Democratic Assemblyman of the 30th Assembly District, for whom every Colored voter in that district ought to vote.

This bill, because of its many imperfections in construction, was withdrawn from the Governor.

In 1912, the Assembly was Republican, there being 98 Republicans out of 150. A bill for a battalion was drawn, but was killed in the Military Committee, controlled by Republicans, without having been given a decent hearing. This shows the attitude of the Republican party toward a Negro Regiment in this State.

In 1913, the Legislature was again Democratic, and, again, a bill for a Negro Regiment in this State was passed at the special request and efforts of Mr. Charles F. Murphy, supplemented by the efforts of the Tammany Hall United Colored Democracy of this city. This bill was signed by the Democratic Governor, William Sulzer, after members of the Tammany Hall United Colored Democracy had argued away before him every objection that had been urged against it.

The credit for the passage of the Negro Regiment Bill is due solely to the fairness of the Democratic party in this State.

Will the Colored voters of this city have intelligence enough to show their gratitude to Tammany Hall and its leader, Charles F. Murphy, for the Emancipation Proclamation Commission, composed of all Colored commissioners, and for the bill for a Negro Regiment in the National Guard?

If they do not, then, for their base ingratitude and ignorance, Tammany Hall ought to withdraw its support from them.

### A WORD AS TO THE CANDIDATES.

John Purroy Mitchel's grandfather, John Mitchel, was exiled to Australia for his part in the Irish rebellion of 1848. Although Mitchel's grandfather fought for the freedom of Ireland, his father, Capt. James Mitchel, and two of his uncles, fought in the Confederate Army against the freedom of the slave.

After the treasonable conduct displayed by President Wilson, who was born in the South, toward the Colored American, the Colored American is justifiably suspicious of men of Southern birth, or sympathies, and no fair pre-election promises can wipe it out. There is a deep motive in Wilson's selection for office of so many men of Southern birth, or sympathies.

Judge Edward E. McCall is thoroughly imbued with the American spirit. On the bench, he was the fair and impartial judge.

Repudiating the un-American doctrine of Judge Dugro, Judge McCall in his instructions to the jury in the case of Griffin, a Colored man, against Brady, a white man, for false arrest, enunciated the true spirit of American jurisprudence, as follows:

“Gentlemen, we will close our eyes to the fact \* \* \* of the difference in color. It makes no difference to us as to the color of one's skin in the case of litigants. It does not make the slightest difference to us whether one of the litigants is white and the other is dark—one a Caucasian and the other a Negro. What difference does that make in a court of justice? They both have equal rights here and they are each entitled to even and exact justice—nothing more and nothing less.”

This exposition of the law was made on March 30, 1910, and is no pre-election, campaign statement.

Judge Warren W. Foster, a candidate for re-election as Judge of the Court of General Sessions, has been on the bench for fourteen years. During that time he has proved himself to be a learned, fearless and impartial judge, and so fair to Colored defendants, and so courteous to Colored lawyers, that he is receiving the hearty support of every Colored lawyer in New York County.

No truer test of the hypocrisy and sham of the so-called Fusion-Reform movement could have been given than the failure of the Fusion party to indorse this clean, conscientious, able, fearless and impartial judge for re-election.

**Herman A. Metz**, the candidate for Comptroller on the Democratic ticket, has been for years a loyal friend of the Colored citizens of this city, and has interested himself in all movements for their uplift.

When he was Comptroller, in addition to the two Colored men in his office, he selected and was about to appoint the late Samuel R. Scroton, formerly a member of the Board of Education, to a very representative position in his office, when Mr. Scroton was taken sick and died.

**Julius Harburger**, the present Democratic Sheriff of New York County, is a candidate for Coroner on the Democratic ticket. Sheriff Harburger has not only appointed two Colored men in his office, one an Assistant Deputy Sheriff, **Edward E. Lee**, the first in the history of this county, to whom he has often referred as one of the most competent men in his office, but he has on several occasions denounced the State Boxing Commission for its illegal, un-American, dishonest, and unfair discrimination against Colored boxers.

What decent Colored man could vote against **Julius Harburger**, candidate for Coroner?

These men are on the straight Democratic ticket and are all true friends to the race.

### A FEW FACTS TO REMEMBER

1. That the Democratic party in this State was the first to give the Colored citizens the right to vote.

2. That it is the only party in this State that ever elected a Colored man as a judge.

Judge **James C. Matthews**, in 1896, was elected judge of the Recorder's Court in Albany in a constituency almost wholly white.

3. That it is the only party in this State that ever gave the Colored citizens of this State some unit of organization in the National Guard—a **Negro Regiment**.

4. That it was the first to abolish separate schools in New York City.

5. That it was the first to appropriate money of the State for an enterprise of peculiar interest to the Colored citizens, to be expended by a commission composed entirely of Colored men.

6. That it was the first to appoint Colored men to representative positions in New York City.

7. That it was the first to appoint in the greater city of New York Colored policemen, who, in obedience to the request of Colored citizens, have been assigned to preserve order in the sections occupied by Colored people.

8. That the Democratic party will be the first to respond to the demand that the Colored citizens of New York have been making for years, that a competent lawyer from their race group be appointed a City Magistrate, in order to check the growing infringement upon their rights, as well as to stamp out the various forms of vice and immorality with which sections of the city, occupied by the young and the respectable element of the race, are honeycombed.

“Who would be free, himself must strike the blow.”

An ungrateful, unthinking mass, of whatever race, cannot long command the respect of men. Every request made to the Democratic leader of this State and city, Mr. Charles F. Murphy, by the Colored Democratic organization has been complied with.

The Democratic party in this State has reached the acme of political fairness toward the Colored voter.

It remains to be seen whether the Colored voters of this city and State are worthy to be treated as men.

There is not one valid reason why you should support the Fusion ticket.

But there are a thousand reasons why you should support the Democratic ticket.

Vote on Election Day, November 4, by putting your cross (X) in the circle under the star (★).



TAMMANY HALL UNITED COLORED DEMOCRACY OF THE  
COUNTY OF NEW YORK

122 West 136th Street

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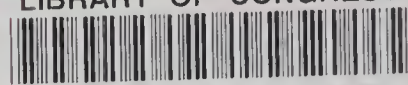








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