

TAMMANY'S SIDE OF SULZER-MURPHY WAR

Basic Cause Was Governor's Threats to Drive Out Opponents in Party.

VIEWED SULZER AS A SHAM

Tammany's Main Fear Is That if He Is Deposed It Will Gain Nothing.

The following is a frank statement of the Tammany side of the dispute between Mr. Sulzer and the organization. It is a composite estimate of the causes, course and outcome of the impeachment of the Governor, made from statements to THE SUN by a number of Tammany men engaged in the proceedings as advisers or prosecutors.

One evening early in July Charles F. Murphy was dining with one companion at Delmonico's—a man who has watched with regret the widening breach between Mr. Sulzer and Tammany Hall. They were talking golf, dogs, municipal politics, everything but affairs at Albany. Suddenly Mr. Murphy dropped his knife and fork, and apropos of nothing that had passed before he said:

"Do you suppose there is anybody in this town who believes the things that I tell you there is saying about me?" "What makes you say that?" said the other. "I read in the papers this morning," Mr. Murphy replied, "that he charges me with having set that Philadelphia woman on him once more. He says I am at the bottom of the whole low business. When I read it I didn't know whether I could look my wife in the face. What do you think of it? Can anybody believe I would do a thing like that?"

Sulzer's Sketch of Murphy.

The Mignon Hopkins suit was only one of many misfortunes that Mr. Sulzer has laid at the door of Charles F. Murphy. The picture the Governor drew was of a relentless and cowardly pursuer, a jackal running in the dark. In many public statements made recently, when the Frawley committee was doing its work on him, "I will tell you, Murphy, he is a trouble with the State of New York."

The effect upon Murphy was not immediate. Only twice did he say to the newspapers that specific charges of the Governor were untrue. But little by little the assaults of Sulzer, usually made in such general terms that a conclusive denial was impossible, wore upon Murphy. At last he got to the point where he could not regard the Governor except to loathe him. In the councils of the organization Murphy did not abuse Sulzer. He set to work to get rid of him.

Got Evidence Easily.

Evidence was not hard to get. It was ready to the hand of the Tammany leaders when they made up their minds to use it. They may be said to have secured accounts of the "ground" part of the feeling aroused against Mr. Sulzer. The average Tammany mind is able to forgive an honest malefactor, but when evidence seems to show that a man professing virtue has done the things he blames others for doing then comes the pillory.

If one cause more than another can be ascribed as the real reason for the fight between Sulzer and Murphy, or between the Governor and the organization of his party, it is Sulzer's attitude toward direct primaries—not the direct primary idea itself, but the Governor's repeated declaration that he would drive out of public life the men who did not agree with his interpretation of the platform of his party. That platform called for the establishment of statewide direct primaries. Senator Robert F. Wagner, who is now President of the Senate in place of Martin H. Glynn, said in the course of the fight over Gov. Sulzer's bill that no member of the committee which framed the platform had the least idea that statewide direct primaries meant the abolition of the State convention. On the other hand, he asserted that they believed that the State convention should stay, and he quoted passages in the platform to prove it.

The Blow at Murphy.

Yet the Governor assaulted the State convention on the score of "dishonorable leadership"—a statement directed at Charles F. Murphy. "Dishonorable leadership?" said Mr. Murphy soon afterward—Mr. Murphy was talking with some of his advisers at Delmonico's—"Dishonorable leadership? If it means what he says why doesn't he give the facts and say wherein my leadership has been dishonorable?"

The issue raised in the direct primary fight was one in which no quarter could be given. Sulzer was out to break Murphy, tried it and failed. Then Murphy got to work and the impeachment followed. Back in January all was peace. Murphy saw Sulzer three or four times in the days immediately after the inauguration. Throughout the campaign all was peace. When Sulzer made his speech in Tammany Hall last October accepting the Democratic nomination for Governor Murphy was not in evidence, and a man in one of the boxes shouted, "Hoory for the only Democratic Governor who ever got a nomination without the help of Tammany Hall!"

The fireworks were lighted as lamps of pure independence and Sulzer professed again and again that he was untrammelled and that his public career had been wholly free from Tammany's influence. But beneath it all Tammany men were saying that whatever Sulzer had done from Tammany, he had run in Tammany districts and he had gone to Congress as a friend of the organization.

No one was surprised early in January to have it noised abroad that Murphy had been and talked with the Governor at the outset of his administration. There was laughter in many Tammany sleeves when the Governor's inaugural address carried these sentences in the second paragraph:

"I am free, without entanglements, and shall remain free. No influence can come to me but the dictates of my own conscience and my determination to do my duty, day in and day out as I see the right, regardless of consequences. In the future as in the past I will walk the straight and narrow path, and without favor and without favor I shall execute the laws justly and impartially, with malice toward none."

At Albany the Governor's advisers included several Democrats who had implacable hatred for Tammany Hall. As early as the middle of January these

men began to give out anonymous statements that a break was coming with Tammany Hall. They were credited by the organization here with trying their best to embroil the Governor with the leaders of the party. Most of them are still in council with him. They carried stories to the Governor of improper attempts at influence on the part of the legislative leaders. The Governor believed them.

Early in February a story was set going that Murphy had sent word to the Governor that The McManus, Tammany leader on the North River front south of Forty-second street, must be named Commissioner of Labor. At the same time it was reported that James J. Gaffney, a contractor, who has done well at the hands of the organization, had been forced on Sulzer as Commissioner of Highways and would have the spending of many millions of State money. The Governor accepted the stories and passed them on.

Murphy broke his usual silence, being attracted by a chance to make a specific denial. He said he had not suggested the name of Gaffney and would not do so. The Governor has never named the men who were supposed to have conveyed the message from Murphy. There was no real reason at that time for anybody to convey Mr. Murphy's message to Mr. Sulzer, for the Governor was having his own talks with the leader of Tammany Hall. And all the time statements more or less directly inspired were coming from Albany declaring that Tammany was pronouncing the perfect independence of the Governor.

On the afternoon of February 2 Mr. Sulzer slipped away from Albany and came to New York for a conference in which Mr. Murphy was a participant. He told a party of men on the train that he "was going shopping." He got off at 125th street and went to the conference with Mr. Murphy, which lasted six hours.

Again, on March 2, the Governor saw Murphy, spending the day with him. On the night of March 17 Mr. Sulzer spoke at a dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick at the Waldorf, making a target of "invisible government." At the dinner, in the early hours of his fiftieth birthday, Mr. Sulzer talked again with the Tammany leader. When the fact was published in the papers the Governor denied it absolutely, but against his word are the definite assertions of many Democratic leaders.

Sulzer's Attacks Increase.

All this time the reports were growing that Tammany and Sulzer were very far apart. Tammany men stayed away from the dinner which his friends on the East Side gave at the Cafe Boulevard on March 18 in honor of his birthday. The Governor's talk about "invisible government" and hints at "dishonorable leadership" in the organization increased. And yet on the night of April 13 Mr. Sulzer saw Murphy again. Patrick E. McCabe, who as clerk of the Senate served Mr. Sulzer with the articles of impeachment, said last June, "About 1 o'clock in the morning Gov. Sulzer awoke the Murphy household begging for an audience with Mr. Murphy, which was granted and continued until 4 in the morning."

"He informed Mr. Murphy that he had come direct from Mr. Hearst's house, where he was terribly abused. The Governor mentioned the direct primary bill, said he had no interest in it and wanted Mr. Murphy to enter into a scheme to deceive Mr. Hearst, which Mr. Murphy refused to do. As an inducement he said Mr. Murphy might name the two Public Service Commissioners, the Commissioner of Labor, Superintendent of Prisons and any other positions Mr. Murphy might select. When this was refused he begged with tears in his eyes, but Mr. Murphy was obtuse. He said if a date can be put to so gradual a matter as a break between two men, the break between Sulzer and Murphy came on that night of April 13. It was welcome. Members of the Senate and Assembly at Albany had been bringing down

Leaders Against Sulzer and Judge Who Will Preside at Trial



Senator Wagner

Judge Edgar M. Cullen

Senator Frawley

stories of queer tactics on the part of the Governor—stories, as they said, of deceit and trickery. They were glad that they had no longer any shadow of obligation to the man who had declared himself to be the leader of the party and had thereby arrogated to himself an allegiance which they owned elsewhere. They had framed bills which the Governor approved when he first heard of them, and later when they had been put through both houses he vetoed them.

Aaron J. Levy, leader of the majority in the Assembly, went again and again to Mr. Sulzer and told him of legislation which he intended to introduce. "Fine," the Governor would say. "I believe in that bill. Get it through and I will sign it."

And when the bill finally passed the two houses and it came before the Governor the chances were even that he would disapprove it, and with his veto send a statement that the bill was conceived in iniquity and violated every public duty. "What can you do with a man like that?" the legislators ask. The dispute over appointments began soon after Mr. Sulzer became Governor, and continued to the day of his impeachment. The result was that the administration of the affairs of this State was in chaos for eight months. But it was not the scramble for jobs that set the Tammany leaders at the throat of the Governor.

"We are not so sordid as all that," said one man. "Some of us like a good job—that's natural. But the fact is, we couldn't stand a sham." And shamming is the beginning and the end of the charge which Tammany brings against Sulzer. The direct primary fight was sham pure and simple. Tammany holds, backed up with all the artillery of his position, carried out with every pretense of popular demand—all for the purpose of building up the political fortunes of William Sulzer. His hopes of advancement had begun to wane with his first attempt to break the control of Tammany Hall and to make himself the Democratic leader of this State. That was the ambitious programme which Sulzer laid out for himself, but he tried to fly with waxed wings.

For three months the Blauvelt bill, which presumes to effect direct primaries in all cases short of the officers nominated at State conventions, was debated back



Aaron J. Levy

and forth in the two houses without a word from the Governor against it. Simultaneously with the break with Murphy arose the Governor's interest in direct primaries. In his first message to the Legislature, it is true, he called for a direct primary bill, but he did not suggest the abolition of the State convention. When the break seemed inevitable he framed a direct primary bill of his own, which made its abolition a cardinal feature.

On April 13 occurred the final break with Murphy. On April 24 Gov. Sulzer vetoed the Blauvelt bill. "In the light of all we know concerning this measure," wrote the Governor in his comments for the benefit of the Legislature, "it must be branded as enacted in fraud and faith, wholly fraudulent, and a glaring breach of the pledged faith of every member of the Legislature. There is no escape from this conclusion. This measure is a fraud on the electors of the State."

The paragraph which caught the eye of every Tammany man in New York was this: "Every intelligent citizen is aware that those who subvert the Government to their personal advantage have found their

greatest opportunities to do so through the adroit and skillful manipulation of our system of party caucuses and political conventions. We have been given leadership dishonorable to the various political parties of the State, and we have been given party tickets which reflect this dishonorable leadership in disgraceful secret alliances between big business interests and crooked and corrupt politics."

Threatened Senator Murtaugh. To Senator Murtaugh of Elmira he said that if Murtaugh did not assent to his bill he would drive him out of public life, a threat aimed at other leaders also. One of the articles of impeachment charges that for votes for his bill he bartered the approval of measures desired by individual legislators—\$500,000 of good roads money, for instance, in the Essex county district. Against threats and dickers of that sort the organization stood up in revolt. With innumerable personal grievances many men from Charles F. Murphy down clenched their fists and declared that Sulzer must go. They adopted the old expedient of finding the flaws in his record. The question that every Tammany man has in his mind just now is what all the fighting will lead to. When at last Sulzer is deposed—if he is deposed—will there be a revelation of feeling in his favor, the worst drought and highest temperature will Tammany ever be forgiven? They fear not. But one thing they are resolved, and that is that there shall be no restitution. Cruelty of the harshest kind it may seem, but the hope of the organization is to carry the thing through to the end.

LONG DROUGHT ENDED BY RAIN IN 3 STATES

Kansas, Missouri and Oklahoma Downpours Followed by Steady Falls.

SOME KAFFIR CORN SAVED

Heat Kills Four in Chicago—Losses \$10,000,000 by Storm in Canada.

KANSAS CITY, Aug. 16.—The long drought in Kansas, Missouri and Oklahoma was broken to-night by heavy rains, which although not copious in all places covered a large territory. Shortly after 7 o'clock the rain settled down to a steady pour. A good rainfall was reported in St. Joseph, Mo. At Wellington, Kan., three-fourths of an inch of rain fell. Farmers say the Kaffir corn crop in that section will be saved. Light rain fell at Junction City and many other points in Kansas, with a heavy wind. At Springfield, Mo., rain fell in torrents. Heavy rain fell in the Joplin, Mo., district. Southeastern Kansas, southwestern Missouri and northwestern Arkansas were drenched. CHICAGO, Aug. 16.—Four deaths and numerous prostrations from heat were recorded in Chicago to-day. A sudden shift in the wind about noon brought in the lake breeze, lowering the temperature five degrees within an hour and undoubtedly cutting down the mortality list. In the Chicago suburbs the thermometers showed 101 and 102. The intense heat, which has been most marked in Oklahoma, Kansas and Nebraska, appears to be spreading to the Northwest, judging by the higher temperatures in Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota. A severe thunderstorm and heavy rain lasting all this afternoon brought to an end the drought at southern Illinois points. This downpour came too late to save the crops of many farmers.

As They Prayed, Rain Started. Rain began falling this afternoon while a special prayer meeting was in progress at the St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church in South Springfield, Mo., called in order that prayers might be offered for the breaking of the drought. Before the precipitation ceased the temperature fell nineteen degrees. This rain broke the worst drought and highest temperature record ever known in Springfield. WINNEPEG, Man., Aug. 16.—Members of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange estimated to-day that the loss to farmers of Western Canada by the storm on Thursday will reach \$10,000,000.

The crops on many farms of from 200 to 400 acres have been wiped out in the Rapid City, Man., district south of Brandon and near Souris, Man. Several farmers will not have enough for seed. Seventy-five towns and villages were damaged. ST. LOUIS, Aug. 16.—Rains fell generally to-day, the precipitation being heavy in a number of places in southern and central Illinois, Missouri, southern Kansas and northern Oklahoma. A shower followed by a temperature of 93 degrees at St. Louis this afternoon. Lebanon, Morisoville and other Missouri towns in the central and southwestern part of the State report that the rainfall was too late to save much of the corn crop except in the lowlands, and that Illinois garden stuff is practically burned up. The downpour may avert water famine in Illinois, where a number of towns' water supply is about exhausted. In Oklahoma corn will yield less than 50 per cent. of a crop, regardless of rains. Cotton, the State's staple crop, needs moisture immediately.

WILL PRAY FOR RAIN TO-DAY.

Connecticut Crops Destroyed, Streams Dry and Mills Closed. PLAINFIELD, Conn., Aug. 16.—Members of churches of different denominations scattered over eastern Connecticut will join generally to-morrow in prayers for rain. The drought which is destructive to growing crops, especially to fruit, is growing worse daily. Many of the wells are now giving out, mill streams are nearly dry and pasture brooks and springs are furnishing no water for farmers' stock. Mills at Taftville, Putnam, Naugatuck and many smaller places where they depend on water power are compelled to stop part of the time, throwing many hands out of employment. The mercury reached 100 here to-day.

ARAB FIREMEN STRIKE AT CONEY

"It Is a Free Country and We Don't Have to Work," Say Militants. Six of the forty Arabs employed in the "Fire and Sword" show at Luna Park, Coney Island, struck yesterday morning. They said this is a free country, and they don't have to work unless they want to, and that they didn't want to. Other Arabs tried to hold them, and there was a pitched battle, in which 10 park policemen joined. Then the bally six were hurled forth into the street. They wandered around the island all day, but in a day or so, when they get real hungry, they will probably go back to work. Hassan Ben Ali, manager of the troupe, is under bond to the Federal Government for the safe return to Arabia of all the men.

WIFE SLAYER KILLS HIMSELF.

Lombardo Takes Bichloride of Mercury on Brooklyn Street. Gaetano Lombardo, aged 31, who stabbed and killed his wife, Marianna, at Fifty-eighth street and Twelfth avenue on Wednesday night, died on Friday night at the Holy Family Hospital in Brooklyn, a few hours after swallowing a bichloride of mercury tablet. He took the poison in front of 213 Butler street and was hurried to the hospital, where he was identified as the slayer of his wife by her brother. Detectives had been looking for him ever since the murder.

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