

The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York Study Guide

The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York by Robert Caro

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Plot Summary

The Power Brokers Robert Moses and the Fall of New York, by Robert A. Caro is the story of Robert Moses and the construction of the parks, bridges, highway system, United Nations Building, and other structures in New York. Robert Moses is a young man with a dream to build an infrastructure for the New York City area. He is educated at Yale University and Oxford University and returns to New York filled with the idealism of youth. He wants to reform the government and he has the education and training to do so (but he doesn't have the opportunity). Moses knows what he wants to do but he learns that he can't accomplish it without power. He studies the situation and learns where the source of power is. He either needs the support of the people with power or he needs to develop his own power. Moses does a little of both.

Moses becomes one of the most powerful men in New York, if not the most powerful. He lives to see most of his dreams for New York fulfilled. His idealism and ideas to reform the system and rid it of corruption lead him to learn how to play the game to make the system work for him. He learns how to get his projects approved and to acquire the necessary funding, independent of the powers that be. Moses creates for himself an empire known as Triborough, of which he is the sole ruler. A bridge authority stays in existence until its bonds are repaid. Instead of allowing the bonds to be paid off, Moses learns how to reissue them on a continual basis so that they are never paid off. This ensures that the bridge authority, Moses' source of power, stays in existence and under his control.

Moses literally writes his own laws. He writes the bills that come before the legislature in a way that empowers him and prevents himself from being easily removed from his positions. In the bills he writes, he ties himself to the authority, funding and bonds. The amazing thing is the fact that nobody thoroughly reads the bills before they are presented to and adopted by the legislature. Moses doesn't just do this once, but does it over and over, maneuvering himself into a position where he singularly controls all federal funding for projects in New York. This is the situation in New York for many years. Moses gets things done, with several parks, bridges, highways, dams and buildings that act as ever-present evidence of that fact. It isn't until the press and public become aware of his methods that Moses loses his untouchable quality. Payoffs, ties to organized crime, people being displaced with nowhere to go, sponsors becoming rich off the projects and other such irregularities begin to be uncovered and the press begins to dig. However, Moses is too entrenched in the system to be fired. He is eventually outsmarted by Governor Rockefeller and separated from his source of power when he is in his mid-seventies.

This book shows how the New York infrastructure is built and all that goes into it. Moses becomes world-famous as a road builder whose assistance is requested by several foreign governments. He builds things quickly and continually to maintain his power source. Without him, New York wouldn't have the roads, parks and bridge system that it has.



Part 1, Chapter 1 Lines of Succession

Part 1, Chapter 1 Lines of Succession Summary

Moses is born on December 18, 1888 to Bella and Emanuel Moses. His grandparents, Bernhard Cohen and Rosalie Silverman, immigrated to America from Bavaria, Germany. Bernhard and his younger brother, Samuel, come to America with enough savings to open a dry-goods store and in 1948 they relocate from Mobile, Alabama to New York. By the time Bernhard meets Rosalie, he is already established and financially secure, having made millions of dollars in real estate with his brother. They become a part of the "One Hundred" and "Our Crowd," a self-contained Jewish social circle. When Bernhard reaches his fifties he becomes interested in civic affairs and is particularly worried about the slums of the city and he wants to see the development and construction of more parks in those areas. He is appointed to the City School Commission in 1877. Rosalie, known as Grannie Cohen, dies in 1919.

Bella, Moses' mother, is the youngest of Rosalie's three daughters. Bella, a well educated woman, marries Emanuel Moses in 1886 at the age of twenty-six. Emanuel, who is thirty-five, owns a department store in New Haven. Bella's family is not supportive and does not consider this a good marriage or situation for Bella. The newlyweds settle at 83 Dwight Street where their three children are born. Paul Emanuel is born in 1887, Robert is born the following year and Edna Marion is born in 1891. Bella does not like New Haven, so in 1897 they move to New York's East Side, where Bella becomes involved in working with settlement houses. Emanuel Moses basically retires after selling his stores and his holdings when they moved to New York.

The pogroms and persecution of the Jews in Eastern Europe and Russia cause massive immigration to the United States and New York, resulting in the establishment of many settlement houses in New York as the German-Jewish community tries to help out the immigrants. Madison House is the settlement house that Bella works with for more than thirty years. People of the house eventually find out that Bella has an interest in construction.

Part 1, Chapter 1 Lines of Succession Analysis

Like many European Jews, Bernhard and Samuel Cohen choose to immigrate to America. Unlike many other immigrants, the brothers arrive in America with some money, allowing them to start their own business immediately and the brothers go on to amass their fortunes.

Bella, like the other German Jews, looks down on the immigrants that she meets while working at Madison House. Bella works with the Jewish immigrants but doesn't raise her own children in the Jewish faith. Robert Moses gets his interest in public service from his mother.



Part 1, Chapter 2 Robert Moses at Yale

Part 1, Chapter 2 Robert Moses at Yale Summary

Robert Moses enrolls at Yale in 1905 just as he always said he would. He is two years younger than the others in his class. Eventually his classmates come to respect him for his scholarship and academic ability. His poems and short stories win him a spot on the editorial board of the *Courant*. He joins the swim team and is elected manager in his junior year. He campaigns for the establishment of a sports association that would share funds among the different campus sports and the Yale University Minor Sports Association is created in 1908. He becomes president of a literary club called the Kit Cat Club and makes Phi Beta Kappa.

Part 1, Chapter 2 Robert Moses at Yale Analysis

Moses is a loner, partly because of his age. Even when he living in the dorms he stays by himself reading and writing instead of taking Part in dorm activities. He is interested in learning, not in grades and one of his friends describes him as "... -*durstig Geist*. Moses did indeed, the friend said, have a 'thirsty mind'"(Chapter 2, pg. 41).



Part 1, Chapter 3 Home Away from Home

Part 1, Chapter 3 Home Away from Home Summary

After graduating from Yale, Moses goes on to Oxford where he forms the American Club. At this time Oxford is the training ground for people entering British public service. Moses is happy at Oxford; he is captain of the water-polo team and president of the debate team. One of his classmates from Yale, Mal Dougherty, is also attending school in England and becomes good friends with Moses. He spends the summers vacationing at Lake Lucerne with the Moses family.

Moses indicates that he wants to work in public service and that he isn't concerned with the fact that it doesn't pay much. This meets with Bella's approval. Moses does his Ph.D. thesis is on British public service. "The thesis reveals its author as a man convinced that public service is a noble calling and one that must be based on the highest ideals. Moses did not believe that the 'perfection' of the British civil service system was an end in itself. Rather, he saw it as an instrument, an indispensable one, for the implementation of great social reforms" (Chapter 3, pg. 52). Moses marvels at the class distinction that is built into the British system and is highly critical of the American system. Back in America, Moses obtains a Ph.D. from Columbia so he can qualify for public service work with the Bureau of Municipal Research.

Part 1, Chapter 3 Home Away from Home Analysis

Moses is much happier in England than he was at Yale, making many friends and traveling often. He is not concerned with clothing (when one pair of shoes wears out he gets another. His mother (and after he gets married, his wife) buy his clothing, a trait that sticks with him for the rest of his life. He is not concerned with money, as his father finds out when he tries to talk with him. His choice of public service work indicates that he doesn't care about money and after completing his Ph.D. he obtains a job at the Bureau of Municipal Research, a social reform think tank.



Part 2, Chapter 4 Burning

Part 2, Chapter 4 Burning Summary

As Moses begins his career, Progressivism is the fad in politics. Progressivism is a movement of reform, something easily embraced by the then-idealistic Moses. The Bureau of Municipal Research is where the interest in reform is centered. The Bureau, created by William H. Allen, Henry Bruere and Frederick A. Cleveland (known as ABC) in 1907, set its goal to clean up government by doing away with the procedures that make graft possible. Budget requests and expenditure records are not detailed enough to provide an accurate accounting. They begin to uncover corruption in government contracts that costs taxpayers hundreds of thousands of dollars. The Bureau of Municipal Research brings on investigations and institutes reforms, mostly by implementing accounting procedures and establishing a training school. This is the situation that Robert Moses steps into.

Initially, Moses enjoys the training school but eventually becomes very critical of it. He manages to secure a job with no pay at the Bureau. He criticizes their procedure claiming it wastes time. He soon realizes that the way to accomplish what he wants to do is to be in government, not to be with an agency investigating government. Sometimes after work Moses goes to the Riverside Park area just to walk around and study the area. He dreams about what it could be and how it could be developed. He is developing his public works projects.

A new administration is elected and asks the Bureau staff for recommendations to fill department vacancies. They recommend Moses for the Municipal Civil Service Commission staff and Moses receives the appointment.

Part 2, Chapter 4 Burning Analysis

Moses exhibits youthful impatience and brashness at the Bureau of Municipal Research. He wants things done and he wants them done now. He wants the Bureau to suggest public works projects and he grows frustrated with how things are done. His dreams for New York are gradually developing and he wants them put into practice. He gets his chance when he is appointed to the Municipal Civil Service Commission. Moses is happy with the appointment.



Part 2, Chapter 5 Age of Optimism

Part 2, Chapter 5 Age of Optimism Summary

At the time of Moses' appointment, the city functions on the basis of patronage, controlled by Tammany. City workers owed the ward boss for their livelihoods. James and Moskowitz, on the Municipal Civil Service Commission where Moses worked as a staffer, ask him for his ideas. He responds that they have to reform the efficiency rating system, a method used for reviewing employees. He explains to them what changes have to be made and why. He begins work on the project, spending so much time running back and forth to City Hall that he finally is given a desk in the Commissions office. He recommends standardization of salaries and open competition for promotions. He devises the system of assigning weights to each function of a job that allows an employee to be ranked according to a mathematical score. Moses tries to design a system based on science and math.

Moses marries Mary Sims, who worked for the Wisconsin governor before coming to New York to work for the Bureau of Municipal Research. Moses still has no income since he is still a volunteer, so the couple lives on Mary's salary until their daughter Barbara is born a year later.

His plan comes up for approval and faces strong opposition since it calls for some salaries to be cut in half. The aldermen have Moses continually revising the salary scales. The Tammany machine slows things down so much that after three years plan still isn't passed. 1917 is an election year and Tammany wants the mayor's job back. Mitchell fires Moskowitz and Moses' system is not adopted. Tammany retrieves the mayor's office, bringing an end to Progressivism.

In 1918 Moses goes to work in Washington and is assigned to Hog Island in the Delaware River. When he complains about the inefficiency in the shipyard and puts it in writing, the report is sent on to Washington. After the war, Moses returns to New York to work for the Bureau of Municipal Research again. Moses' wife gives birth to their second daughter, Jane.

Part 2, Chapter 5 Age of Optimism Analysis

Moses is happy with his new assignment and is genuinely interested in the reformation of the system and making it fair and impartial. Moses is, however, taking on the Tammany organization, without realizing it. By 1917, his system is rejected after it becomes a campaign issue. Moses' job at Hog Island falls through when he goes over the heads of his superiors with his complaints about inefficiency.



Part 3, Chapter 6 Curriculum Changes

Part 3, Chapter 6 Curriculum Changes Summary

Moses receives a phone call from Moskowitz' wife, Belle. Belle is heading a commission and is appointed by the governor to reorganize the state's administration. Belle wants Moses to be chief of staff and Moses accepts the offer. When Moses begins working for Belle he finds out that she makes the decisions. Belle knows something that Moses doesn't know - politics. It takes Moses about six months to learn the politics of the situation and by that time Belle is leaving most of the decisions to him. Moses develops his plan for reorganization of the state government, which is supported by Smith. Republicans offer counter proposals and Moses goes to Albany for the legislative fight. The legislature votes against Moses' plan and Smith loses his re-election bid.

Moses goes to work for the New York State Association, a private reform group while still keeping in touch with Al Smith who is working for a trucking firm.

Part 3, Chapter 6 Curriculum Changes Analysis

The year is 1918, the first election in which women have the right to vote. Smith needs a woman in his campaign to deal with the women voters. This is how he comes to have Belle as an advisor and how Moses receives the job offer. Moses is happy to be working on the reformation of the system again and Belle is someone he can learn from. Belle teaches Moses something that he hadn't paid any attention in his prior jobs - she teaches him politics and how to deal with them. Moses' proposals are voted down by the legislature but he learns how the system works(something he couldn't learn in school).



Part 3, Chapter 7 Change in Major

Part 3, Chapter 7 Change in Major Summary

Smith and Moses come from different backgrounds. Moses comes from an upper class background and Smith comes from the slums, brought up in a working class family. Smith's father dies when he is young. He leaves grade school at thirteen to work and help support his family. In 1896 he obtains his first job in politics and in 1903 he wins his first election.

A sweatshop fire results in the death of 141 women. There is an investigation of the working conditions in the factory and Smith is on the committee. Smith fights to have the committee's recommendations for reforms passed. They are adopted in that session's legislature and 1914 sees the election of a Republican legislature. In 1918, Smith is elected governor, supporting Progressivism and working for reforms. "Smith had no patience for those who didn't understand those reasons. He had no patience for reformers who, unlike Belle Moskowitz, didn't understand the importance of practical politics in getting things done, who refused to compromise, who insisted on having the bill as it was written, who raged loudly at injustice, who fought single-mindedly for an unattainable ideal.

Their pigheadedness had the effect of dragging to political destruction politicians who listened to them, of ruining careers men had taken years to build. He had seen it happen. And, more important, what was the inevitable result of their efforts? Since they refused to compromise and operate within the political framework - the only framework within which their proposals could become reality - the laws they proposed were never enacted, and therefore at the end of their efforts the people they had wanted to help, the people who he knew so well needed help, hadn't been helped at all. If anything, they had been hurt; the stirring up of hard feelings and bitterness delayed less dramatic but still useful reforms that might have been enacted. When the reformers were finished with all their hollering and were back in their comfortable homes, the widows of the Fourth Ward would still be forced to give up their children before they could get charity. What good was courage if its only effect was to hurt those you were trying to help? " (Chapter 7, pg. 129).

Smith and Moses are opposites in many ways but have a common purpose. When in November of 1920 Richard Childs finances and forms a committee for a Good Government organization, he offers Moses the job of secretary and executive officer, which Moses accepts. The organization publishes a monthly newsletter and sponsors luncheons. Moses becomes well known to reformers and politicians. The organization is supposed to be non-partisan but Moses gets involved in politics when he attacks then-Governor Stinson, thus killing any chances the committee had to organize reformers.

Smith wins re-election in 1922 and Moses returns to Albany with him.

Part 3, Chapter 7 Change in Major Analysis

Smith doesn't have the formal education that Moses has (he learns from doing). While in the legislature in Albany, he reads all of the bills and learns who does what and why. He reads law books to become familiar with the terminology. He sits in at hearings to learn the procedures and nuances of the system. Smith is a doer who fights for what he believes in. He wants to help people but is highly critical of the reformers who talk a lot and then return home to their fancy houses without doing anything. In the years that Smith is out of politics and working with the trucking firm, he keeps in touch with Moses.



Part 3, Chapter 8 The Taste of Power

Part 3, Chapter 8 The Taste of Power Summary

Moses is still secretary of the New York State Association when he is in Albany. and has no official state position. Moses finds the atmosphere very exciting. He writes speeches for the governor, writes bills and performs other tasks. The reorganization proposals are revitalized and pass this time, with Moses drafting the bills. Moses is offered a state position but he refuses. He keeps rejecting the offer and they keep asking what he wants until one day he says he wants parks.

Part 3, Chapter 8 The Taste of Power Analysis

Moses has learned the meaning of power. No matter how good his ideas are, no matter how many people will benefit from them, he realizes that nothing happens in politics without power. Moses finds that power when he is back in Albany with Smith and his proposals finally pass. After being asked over and over what position he wants, he finally settles on a position in the parks department. He takes his time in deciding where best he can fulfill his visions for New York.



Part 3, Chapter 9 A Dream

Part 3, Chapter 9 A Dream Summary

The demographics scene in New York is rapidly changing. Mass production is taking place, the boroughs are being built-up and workers are beginning to have more leisure time. This is the period commonly referred to as the Roaring Twenties. The automobile has made countryside trips possible for families. The infrastructure, including roads, doesn't yet exist to facilitate these trips and travel around the area. If New Yorkers can find a place to go, they experience great difficulty in traveling there. There are bridges to Long Island, but the island is mainly inhabited by fishermen who despise the city and its inhabitants. They designate the waterfront as parks that are only open to inhabitants of the community. The interior of the island is a Ku Klux Klan stronghold, also closed to city dwellers. Long Island is also the location of the estates of the Robber Barons (Vanderbilts, Morgans, etc.). This area is called the North Shore and they, too, do not want the city dwellers on their beaches. There are few places on the island where the city population can go.

The Good Government organization had proposed public parks for Long Island in the past but nothing had come of the proposals. Moses and his family have a rented home on Long Island and he commutes by train. He starts to pay attention to the scenery outside as he rides and finds that the lands are the old Brooklyn water supply properties. Moses finds out the lands are not being used and never will be. Moses examines the properties, which are filled with lakes, ponds, streams and forests. There are over 3,500 acres of land in these Brooklyn properties. He studies maps of Long Island and determines that they could build a road through the properties connecting them all and giving the population access to parks and beaches.

New York has no funds for state parks. They need to finance with a \$15 million bond. He prepares a report with a plan for a state park system in New York. Gov. Smith agrees to Moses' proposal and tells him to submit it to the legislature with the bond referendum to be in 1924. There is tremendous support for the park system. Smith receives a tour of Long Island from Moses and offers him the job of president of the Long Island State Park Commission, which Moses accepts.

Part 3, Chapter 9 A Dream Analysis

The only place that the road infrastructure allows New Yorkers to reach somewhat easily is Long Island. Once they arrive, there are few places on the island that are open to them. The residents of the island do everything they can to keep the city dwellers out. Moses has never lost his dream of recreation areas for the masses. He finds unused public land on Long Island and develops plans for it to be used as state parks. He drafts a proposal to be put before the governor for the enactment of his dreams and plans for parks and recreation areas for the population. He wins the governor's support.



Part 3, Chapter 10 The Best Bill Drafter in Albany

Part 3, Chapter 10 The Best Bill Drafter in Albany Summary

Moses spends most of his adult life dreaming about public works projects. Moses finds a clause in the law that allows the government to condemn and appropriate property to be acquired for the development of parks and roads. He finds a state law that allows a government official to appropriate the land with the owner having to apply if he wants compensation.

Moses writes the draft bill for the parks legislation. He writes it in such a way that people have to skip from place to place to find all of the ramifications of a definition or statement. Moses craftily does not mention the land on Long Island that is owned by Brooklyn, thus giving New York City officials the jurisdiction, not Long Island officials. When Moses talks to people about the plan for creating a Long Island State Parks Commission, he doesn't mention a lot of the little details. The bills are passed and signed by the governor a few days later. Moses has his appointment and is elected chairman.

Part 3, Chapter 10 The Best Bill Drafter in Albany Analysis

Moses does a thorough job in researching and drafting the bill for the parks on Long Island. This chapter shows how well Moses has learned the art of politics from Belle. He never tells anyone the full breadth of what is in the bill and they don't read it closely enough. He has it introduced right at the end of the legislative session so it is rushed through without any debate or questions because he knows nobody will read it.



Part 4, Chapter 11 The Majesty of the Law

Part 4, Chapter 11 The Majesty of the Law Summary

Moses has an office across from City Hall. He has appropriations of \$225,000 in state revenues to begin but won't have the bond revenues until 1925, if the referendum passes. He hires his staff, having them exempted from civil service examinations. He secures the release of federal lands at Fire Island for inclusion in his parks package and also arranges the release of the water supply lands from the city, with some stipulations. He secures options to buy land and some deserted estates. When he runs into opposition, he reminds them that the state can condemn and appropriate the land. This is also the tactic Moses employs when he receives push-back from the Robber Barons. Their attorneys claim Moses didn't follow procedure or law because he didn't try to negotiate with them before condemning their land. This is the beginning of many legal battles that would endure for several years.

Moses' tactics rile W. Kingsland Macy, a Long Island resident. He opposes Moses on the basis of principle, disagreeing with the government's right to take people's property. The Attorney General rules that the commission does not have the money to pay people for the property they condemned and that Moses' actions are illegal. The Republicans put together a bill that passes, making every step in the procedure subject to the approval of one of their people. Smith vetoes the bill.

Moses now needs appropriation funds before the court case. Commission attorneys engage in a series of stalling tactics. Smith stalls by calling a special session of the legislature until a heat wave strikes New York City. During a two-and-a-half-hour speech, the governor details the need for public parks and says it is up to the people to decide on the issue. This results in daily press coverage supporting the initiatives and proposals of Smith and Moses. There is intense lobbying and politicking going on. The special session responds by voting along party line and passing the same bill that Smith had vetoed. Smith again vetoes the bill, which results in the loss of options on a lot of the property that Moses had options for. Belle calls August Heckscher who says he will donate the necessary money for the Taylor Estate if they name the park after him.

Each Long Island community organizes to oppose the parks proposal. In 1925, the legislature refuses to appropriate any funds for parks. The powers-that-be on the island make deals with private real estate developers for the construction of more homes. Moses is facing trial for his part in the Taylor Estate deal.

Part 4, Chapter 11 The Majesty of the Law Analysis

Moses' highhanded tactics bring on legal battles over the condemnation of Long Island estates. He loses the legal issue of not having the money in appropriations to pay for the condemned land, until August Heckscher donates the funds. Smith and Moses underestimate the legislature and Smith's tactics of waiting for a heat wave and then making an impassioned speech to the special session did not have the desired effect. Moses begins to think that all is lost, especially since he is facing trial for his part in the Taylor Estate deal.



Part 4, Chapter 12 Robert Moses and the Creature of the Machine

Part 4, Chapter 12 Robert Moses and the Creature of the Machine Summary

There are many factors at play in the parks issue. "The construction of parkways - like the construction of conventional highways - was a potential source of great wealth to politicians. Parkway meant construction contracts. Politicians who had a say in which firms received those contracts could expect financial remembrances from a successful firm, if indeed they - or a relative or a trusted associate known in political terminology as a 'bag man' - did not actually own a piece of it. Parkway meant real estate transactions, generally either purchase or condemnation, both methods under which landowners could expect to do well financially; state public works officials, anxious to begin construction and not too concerned about price because the money they were offering was not their own, were traditionally more generous than private buyers. If politicians were the landowners - if they bought the land at pre-parkway prices, from owners who didn't know the parkway was coming, and then sold it to the state at right-of-way prices - they could expect a large profit." (Chapter 12, pg. 207).

Building parkways means economic development for the area, including commerce, jobs and higher land values.

By the end of 1925 it looks as though Moses' dreams for Long Island parks are over. A series of meetings and events take place in which Moses becomes friends with Thomas A. McWhinney, a Hempstead Assemblyman. Land is bought by a group of businessmen that is to be developed when the Meadowbrook Causeway is built. McWhinney supports Moses in his park proposal and in a 1926 referendum the commission acquires the Jones Beach area. The tide of opposition begins to turn in the favor of the parks commission.

Smith reaches a compromise with the people of Long Island since it's an election year. Moses and the Barons have to reach some kind of agreement before he seeks the funds for the Northern State Parkway. Other parkways have to reach various stages of construction before construction begins on other parks. They hoped to slow Moses down this way. However, they didn't realize what happened until they realized that the city water properties would be used as right-of-way. They also find out that the work and funding are coming out of budgets from different departments.

Macy's court case comes to trial and Macy wins. The three commissioners, Moses, Scudder and Jackson, are fined \$22,000 in punitive damages and are enjoined from the Taylor Estate. The commission files for an appeal and the injunction is vacated until then. They win on appeal and a new trial is ordered. Smith testifies at this trial on behalf of Moses. The commission wins and has the Taylor Estate and \$.06 in damages to pay.



Meanwhile, Moses is building his parks on Long Island. Macy launches a political career and becomes a powerful figure in Suffolk County for thirty years. Macy and Moses eventually become allies.

Part 4, Chapter 12 Robert Moses and the Creature of the Machine Analysis

We see that Moses learns from his mistakes. Instead of trying to shove his plan down the throats of the islanders, he cultivates a friendship with McWhinney and obtains the Jones Beach area for the commission. Moses seems to be learning how to get things done in a political environment. With Smith's assistance they win the court case. Moses already has work taking place on the Taylor Estate and other places. Moses' high-handed tactics and jumping the gun by condemning property before having the funds for compensation are what caused all the problems. Moses learns how to use his power to make deals. As the book enlightens us, "And the dream was the important thing; the dream was what mattered" (Chapter 12, pg. 218). The compromises are the price of seeing his dream fulfilled. By the end of 1926, the beaches on Long Island are open to the public.



Part 4, Chapter 13 Driving

Part 4, Chapter 13 Driving Summary

The work on the parks continues, but Moses knows that after the election in 1928 he won't have the luxury of a man like Smith to work with. Moses tries to accomplish as much as he can before the election. They set up their offices in the August Belmont mansion. Moses sets up playground equipment at the office and his children take on the task of testing it. Moses and his team are busy designing bridges. They want every one of the one hundred bridges to be different and unique. At one point, the New Jersey firm building the causeway runs out of money and tells Moses their men won't work without money. There is no money available in Albany so Moses borrows \$20,000 from his mother until the appropriations funds arrive. Moses finds out that the state owns the bay bottom that the town has been selling fishing licenses for. They negotiate a deal, a referendum is held and Moses acquires the land that he wants.

Moses has a budget of \$4.5 million in 1928, with the slashed portion being made up from other departments. Within three years, several stretches of the highways, complete with bridges, are finished, as well as many of the beaches and parks. Over a half a million people use the new parks during the summer of 1928 and the press raves about the parks and the work of Moses.

Part 4, Chapter 13 Driving Analysis

Moses acts as if money is of no importance in the design and the construction of the parks. He doesn't scrimp on materials or even try to be economical. He, for the most part, does not care what the materials cost as long as he finds what he wants. His dream is quickly turning into a reality, not only on Long Island but in other places around New York as well. He builds the state park system in New York, complete with highways. By 1928 his dream is almost complete.



Part 4, Chapter 14 Changing

Part 4, Chapter 14 Changing Summary

Moses believes in power and for many years his plans are foiled because he doesn't have the power necessary to carry them out. When Moses wants something he wants it now. The men who were in charge of the existing parks thought they would remain in charge in spite of the Parks Council, whose role they thought was purely advisory. They find out that they are very wrong in that regard. When they finally read the bills that Moses drafted, they find that the chairman holds all the power. They also learn that they can't vote Moses out; they don't have enough votes.

As we read in the book in regards to that power, "The nature of these fights hints that power was now, for the first time in his life, becoming an end in itself, that he was beginning to crave it now not only for the sake of dreams but for its own sake, that although, through his bill drafting, he had given himself much of the power in the field of parks, he was not longer satisfied with much of the power, that he now wanted all the power in the field" (Chapter 14, pg. 246).

Niagara State Park is representative of another extravagant expenditure. Moses doesn't want the rim filled with factories, mills and things of that sort. The Niagara Commission also discovers that Moses' Park Council is more than just an advisory committee. Moses is concerned with the preservation of the waterfront. The Niagara Commission fights Moses for control of the park and loses. Moses consolidates his power. He is president of the Long Island State Park Commission and chairman of the State Park Council. These are two positions he holds until 1962.

Part 4, Chapter 14 Changing Analysis

Moses wants his dreams fulfilled and now he has the power to do it his way. He is still frustrated and angry with the inefficiency of the government. Power is becoming a goal of Moses in its own right.

Moses' plans would never have been realized without Governor Smith. Smith and Moses share the same dreams and they both acquire the necessary power to make their dreams come true. Their dreams coincide with improving the living conditions of the people which is why their extravagant expenditures are tolerated and celebrated.



Part 4, Chapter 15 Curator of Cauliflowers

Part 4, Chapter 15 Curator of Cauliflowers Summary

The reorganization of the state of New York is praised by the press. Moses has little interest in social reform now. Other states follow New York's lead, while Moses becomes more powerful and more hated. Moses is now receiving a salary and for the first time in his life he is not being supported by his family. Moses tries his hand at sponsoring boxing events but can't compete with Tammany, even though he tries to make more tickets available for the public. He scores more points with the public on this.

Smith has Moses in charge of the cabinet and makes sure Moses is put in charge as quickly as possible. Moses helps Smith push through his programs for state hospitals, prisons and grade crossings. Moses works as many hours as he can cram into a day. He doesn't even take a vacation in 1927 and 1928.

Smith runs for President in 1928 but doesn't win.

Part 4, Chapter 15 Curator of Cauliflowers Analysis

It is interesting to note that Moses insisted on what he violated so much in his early days - the chain of command. A staffer sending him a note with a suggestion or complaint received a note in response that directed him to go through the proper channels. However, it was failure to do this that put Moses himself in so much trouble himself. His dreams are still coming true as construction on parks continues and a new administration begins.



Part 4, Chapter 16 The Featherduster

Part 4, Chapter 16 The Featherduster Summary

Franklin Roosevelt is the next governor. Roosevelt was appointed chairman of the Taconic State Park Commission when Moses was appointed president of the Long Island State Park Commission. Roosevelt and Moses had a disagreement over Roosevelt's aide who Roosevelt tried to have appointed as secretary to the Taconic Commission. Roosevelt, eager to begin the Taconic Park project, finds there are very little funds available. Since the commission hasn't spent all of its past funding, the State Parks Council is hesitant to give it additional funds. Roosevelt's appeal to Smith is rejected and Roosevelt replies that his commission has no function or use so they don't see why they should continue. Smith needs Roosevelt's support in the coming election so he says he will approve some funds. When the time for appropriations comes, there is no allocation. Roosevelt accuses Moses of lying to Smith. Smith appeases Roosevelt and Roosevelt does not resign. Smith wants Roosevelt to run for governor and Roosevelt receives the nomination and wins the election. Roosevelt would like to discharge Moses but can't and Moses stays on.

Part 4, Chapter 16 The Featherduster Analysis

Moses is not happy with the election of Roosevelt, even though Smith wanted Roosevelt to run. Moses knows that he can't be let go before his term runs out and he knows that he is immensely popular with the general public. Roosevelt would have all kinds of problems with the people if he were to fire Moses.



Part 4, Chapter 17 The Mother of Accommodation

Part 4, Chapter 17 The Mother of Accommodation Summary

Moses holds onto his job but he doesn't have the support of the governor. He still has the Northern State Parkway to complete. The residents of Wheatley Hills want the parkway rerouted around their area. Roosevelt agrees with Moses, at first, that the parkway design should stay the way it is planned. Two legislative leaders find out that Moses had accepted money from Kahn to detour the highway around his estate and the detour resulted in a farmer's land being taken. They threaten to make this fact public and they eventually settle the dispute, re-routing the parkway around Wheatley Hills and promising not to build any state park in that area.

Roosevelt gives Moses some difficulties when it comes to signing bills, but he signs most of them. Jones Beach, among other beaches, opens during the Roosevelt administration. The number of jobs under Moses' control is increasing. Roosevelt and Moses disagree again, this time over the location of the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy. Roosevelt wants it at Throgs Neck in the Bronx while Moses wants the land for a park. Roosevelt drops the plan. The summer of 1929 marks the opening of the Southern State Parkway, Heckscher State Park, the Wantagh Causeway and Jones Beach. These events get nationwide publicity from press around the country and everyone races about the parks. "It is in the smaller things that Mr. Moses is at his very best," *Architectural Forum* was to say. "Usually a public institution of any kind in this country has been the occasion for especially dull architecture and walls of cheerless dimensions which invite only the scribbling of small obscenities. But Mr. Moses, being essentially a romanticist, has revived the handicraft spirit in his designers, with the result that the equipment at Jones Beach exhibits irrelevant and endearing good spirits. The architecture has the great virtue of being scaled down to the size of a good time" (Chapter 17, pg. 309).

The development of roads continues in 1930-31. Long Islanders now see the benefits of Moses' state park plans and begin to provide land (by condemnation) for his parks, beaches and parkways. Moses is extremely popular with the public and develops a working relationship with Roosevelt, who is cashing in on the publicity of the parks projects. Roosevelt doesn't interfere as Moses' policies limit the lower class and blacks from accessing the beaches and parks. There is no mass transit to the beaches and the underpasses are too low for buses to use. The parks begin to charge fees for parking, which is met with opposition and protests from the public.

By 1932, Smith decides to challenge Roosevelt for the Presidency. Smith is very bitter towards Roosevelt by this time and Moses supports Smith.



Part 4, Chapter 17 The Mother of Accommodation Analysis

Moses has learned to compromise and accommodate others in order to have his parkways and parks built. The result of his compromise is an additional twenty-two miles of parkway in a place for which there wouldn't have been a need, had they been able to follow their original plan.

Moses' dreams for a park system continue to be fulfilled as Jones Beach and others open in the summer before the stock market crash. All of the parks and parkways are kept clean. Moses' "dream" provides jobs during the Great Depression, even though Roosevelt has to cut budget requests as he tries to curb expenditures.

Moses' attempt to limit park access by poor people and blacks is not admirable and not popular. The public sees the part about the parking fees that the poor can't pay. The lack of rapid transit makes it impossible for many to reach the beaches.



Part 4, Chapter 18 New York City Before Robert Moses

Part 4, Chapter 18 New York City Before Robert Moses Summary

New York City is hit hard by the depression. In 1930 an investigation into corruption in the city ranks is held, resulting in the resignation of Mayor Jimmy Walker. The city has financial difficulties and in 1932 has to cut salaries. It will not be able to meet the bond note payments that come due in 1933. Work on public and private construction projects has been halted due to lack of funding. The building of roads and other things has not kept pace with the use and number of automobiles in the city or with the growth of the population. The New York City infrastructure is in a state of disrepair. New York City officials hadn't followed through on their promises to Moses to build roads that connect to his parkways.

Moses is named chairman of the Metropolitan Park Conference in 1930. His plans for a system of parkways and parks in New York City are revealed and they need a \$30,000,000 bond issue to finance the plan. Moses tries to convince Roosevelt to fund the plan under the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration as a public works project. Moses receives a little funding. Roosevelt's successor, Herbert H. Lehman, names Moses chairman of the State Emergency Public Works Program. Moses begins work in the Niagara and other areas under this project. He also obtains funds for the Lincoln Tunnel. Some New York City projects are killed by the WPA because of the Tammany corruption.

Part 4, Chapter 18 New York City Before Robert Moses Analysis

New York City is under the control of the corrupt Tammany machine. Moses' aspirations for New York City begin to be fulfilled when he is named chairman of the Metropolitan Park Conference. He tries to begin work on some projects with funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, but the Tammany machine can't cover its payments and the funds are halted. Moses, however, doesn't give up on his plans.



Part 4, Chapter 19 To Power in the City

Part 4, Chapter 19 To Power in the City Summary

The Seaburg investigation continues in 1933. The proponents and reformers involved in the investigation are known as "Goo Goos," from the term *good government*. Moses is described as a genius by many. Some people in the Fusion Party want Moses to run for mayor in 1933. Seaburg opposes the move and Moses announces he is not a Fusion Party candidate for mayor. They instead nominate Fiorello H. La Guardia. Moses stays out of the campaign but eventually endorses La Guardia when he is asked to help out during the last two weeks of the campaign. La Guardia wins the election.

La Guardia, like Moses, also has visions for beautifying New York City. "Moses needed La Guardia if he was to realize his great park and parkway plans for New York City - but La Guardia also needed Moses" (Chapter 19, pg. 360).

La Guardia offers Moses the position of Parks Commissioner. Moses delineates his conditions of consolidation of the different parks districts under one head. La Guardia agrees and Moses begins to draft the bill for presentation to the legislature. He slips in the commissionership as an unsalaried office. Lehman signs the 'Moses Bill' in 1934 and Moses is sworn in as Park Commissioner of New York City. By April, 1934 Robert Moses is in charge of the seven government agencies that have to do with roads and parks. Moses immediately gets to work.

Part 4, Chapter 19 To Power in the City Analysis

Moses' hopes of running for mayor are dashed when Judge Seaburg refuses to support him. He says no one can win without Seaburg's support. Moses stays out of the race until he is asked to help La Guardia, who wins the election. La Guardia also has plans to beautify New York City. Moses' resolve to realize his plans for New York City is so strong that he is willing to work without pay to see them come about. Power is now a main objective of Moses as he now has control of all seven agencies having to do with roads and parks. Moses begins work on making the projects consistent with his vision.

Part 4, Chapter 20 One Year

Part 4, Chapter 20 One Year Summary

Moses' first move as Park Commissioner is to fire the top-level boroughs' park staff. He installs his own staff to evaluate the remaining employees. Moses, as usual, circumvents rules to get the staff he requires and the Parks Commission immediately hires 600 men. They have construction crews that work no matter how bad the weather is. They know that if they don't work, they will probably be fired. When the CWA is closed in March 1934 as the economy begins to recover, Moses has to fire half of his men since he has no funds to pay them. By May 1934, 1,700 of the 1,800 renovation projects are complete. New parks and playgrounds are being created and they find unappropriated land and unclaimed funds to use. The number of playgrounds is doubled in less than one year.

In December 1934, the Central Park Zoo opens. This project is important to Moses because he knows Smith, who lives across the street, loves animals and misses the ones he had behind the Executive Mansion. At the opening ceremonies, Smith is presented with a master key so he can visit any animal house night or day. The Triborough Bridge is also being built with 5,000 men working on the project. New roads have to be built or extended in order to connect to the bridge, along with Randall's Island, Ward's Island and Sunken Meadow.

There is a night club in Central Park called the Casino that Moses tries to oust. The matter eventually finds its way to court. Since the Casino gives out a lot of comps to various people, including the press, there is opposition to its demise. They challenge Moses' right to destroy the night club. The Commission holds that it has the authority to do so from the bill that was passed that allowed Moses to become chairman. The case goes to the Supreme Court where Moses is enjoined. The case is appealed to the Appellate Division in Albany that over rules the lower court. Within twenty four hours, Moses begins demolition work on the Casino club.

Part 4, Chapter 20 One Year Analysis

Moses' staff moves in the day after he is sworn in, operating with his usual efficiency and high-handed - and somewhat dirty - tactics. By circumventing the rules he is able to hire many unemployed workers. Moses does his part to end the Depression with all of his construction and public works projects. On the first warm day of the year, New Yorkers are out enjoying their newly renovated city parks. The zoo project is completed along with work on the Triborough Bridge.

Moses continues to use his power to make the changes he wants. When the destruction of the Casino is challenged, they find out how much power Moses has when they finally read the bill the legislature enacted that Moses wrote.



Part 4, Chapter 21 The Candidate

Part 4, Chapter 21 The Candidate Summary

In 1934 Moses accepts the Republican nomination for governor. W. Kingsland Macy rises to control the Republican state chairmanship. The background for the convention fight began when Smith established a State Power Authority to keep the utilities under the control of the government. When Roosevelt was governor, he established the Power Trust and separated it from the State Power Authority. Lehman enacted legislation that gave the State Public Service Commission the authority to regulate utility rates. Macy bills Moses as a candidate of the Power Trust. Moses wins the convention fight and nomination and runs against Lehman.

The campaign does not go well for Moses. He announces he has La Guardia's support without checking with La Guardia. La Guardia ducks the issue and stays out of the campaign at Roosevelt's urging. Moses alienates voters during the campaign by attacking Macy and urging a state sales tax. He eschews the normal campaign route of emphasizing solidarity with ethnic groups and pares down his appearances to just speeches and communicates with voters only by way of press releases. His nomination, he maintains, is not an attempt by the Power Trust to win back the position they had lost.

Moses loses the election and the Republicans lose both houses. Moses attributes his 1934 defeat to The New Deal. "Robert Moses' only campaign for elective office tore away from him the protective coloration in which he had always appeared before the public, and stripped him naked to its gaze. As a candidate for elective office he was no longer only Robert Moses the man - and it didn't like what it saw" (Chapter 21, pg. 424).

Part 4, Chapter 21 The Candidate Analysis

Moses accepts the Republican nomination for governor, billing himself as a Republican - even though he has always worked for Democrats. This chapter reveals how Moses carries grudges. He asks Lehman's partner, Rabinowitz, to support his run for governor and is told that he cannot because he is a Democrat. Moses never talks to him again and even refuses to go to his funeral when he passes away.

During the campaign, Moses comes across as arrogant, thus irritating and alienating voters wherever he goes. He comes across as condescending and seems to feel that taking questions from and talking to the public is a waste of his time. He attacks Lehman directly and personally on some things that are unsubstantiated. Apparently, Moses didn't learn as much from Belle about politics as everyone thought.

Part 4, Chapter 22 Order Number 129

Part 4, Chapter 22 Order Number 129 Summary

In 1934, Roosevelt is President and begins his move against Moses when he tells La Guardia to oust him from the Triborough Bridge Authority. He could be forced out of the Park Commission job since he is a political appointee. La Guardia keeps stalling on the Moses resignation. The President informs La Guardia that he will never approve any new federally funded projects as long as Moses is around. Since Moses wrote the bill himself, he can't be ousted unless he is charged with a crime.

The federal Public Works Administration responds by issuing order # 129. This order basically says that the administration won't issue funds to any entity created solely for a specific project when the member has another position within that municipality. The PWA tells La Guardia they will settle for him not re-appointing Moses when his term expires. Moses allows the order to be leaked to the press and the public rallies around Moses. Letters to the editor flood the newspapers displaying an overwhelming support of Moses. Officials are playing politics with federal relief funds. This becomes a national issue and in the end, the PWA backs down on order #129.

The Triborough Bridge opens on July 11, 1936 and President Roosevelt attends the opening ceremony.

Part 4, Chapter 22 Order Number 129 Analysis

This chapter illustrates how Moses survives a political fight involving political pressure from Washington. Moses shows that he can fight dirty. His political savvy comes through here, even though it did not during his run for governor when he alienated the voters. Perhaps he didn't really want the position.



Part 4, Chapter 23 In the Saddle

Part 4, Chapter 23 In the Saddle Summary

Moses has very heated discussions with Mayor La Guardia and many times send an aide in his place when his presence is requested. An issue in 1936 that comes up is the Rockaway Ferry. The ferry provides a twenty minute ride across the East River from Astoria to 92nd St, in Manhattan. A ferry ride costs \$.05 and \$.50 for the Triborough Bridge. A low income project is planned for the waterfront at Astoria. La Guardia sends the police to stop the demolition of the ferry when Moses will not wait the sixty days as he is supposed to. When the Rockaway leaves the dock Moses has it destroyed so the ferry has to dock downtown. La Guardia has it rebuilt over night and in just over a week later, La Guardia has the Sinking Fund Commission transfer it to Moses.

In 1937 2,000 workers from WPA assigned to park projects are reassigned to non-parks projects, with 3,000 per month being reassigned after that. While LaGuardia is out of town, Moses reacts by pulling the workers and padlocking the playgrounds and facilities. This causes a public uproar and in the end the Mayor asks for and receives more funds in order to reopen the closed facilities.

There are many opening ceremonies for playgrounds and other structures that La Guardia attends with Moses. Moses wines and dines public officials as well as the press at park facilities and yachts.

During this period, Moses and La Guardia manage to keep most of their disagreements from becoming public. Most of the New Deal funds that New York City received were spent on the parks and roads and other projects of Moses.

Part 4, Chapter 23 In the Saddle Analysis

La Guardia and Moses do not always have a smooth relationship. La Guardia calls the police on Moses on more than one occasion. They fight like children and a few hours later they are out drinking together. Sometimes their animosities surface in the press, but they are usually kept private. Together they make New York City into something they have both dreamed about for years and they continue to build and beautify New York City.



Part 4, Chapter 24 Driving

Part 4, Chapter 24 Driving Summary

Moses requires a continuous supply of federal funds to finance his projects and there is no guarantee that such funds will be available. As the economy recovers from the Depression, the WPA funds are quickly disappearing. Moses has to build projects as fast as possible to take advantage of the funding. He has to get through the city's red tape. "His usual technique with an insufficiently compliant departmental official was to demand that he be fired. Moses would attempt to convince the department's commissioner to do so by 'confidentially' revealing to him damaging personal information dug up by his 'bloodhounds.' And if they hadn't been able to dig up any, Moses invented some" (Chapter 24, pg. 469).

His smear tactics are either public or private. The year is 1935 and it is the beginning of the House Un-American Activities Committee hearing into communist affiliations. This was also fuel for Moses with his smear tactics.

La Guardia's law secretary, Paul J. Kern, tries to force Moses to comply with city procedures, even though Moses wrote the bill that gives him his powers to get around those procedures. Moses begins his smear campaign and ruins Kern's relationship with the mayor. Kern is eventually fired.

Moses' various construction projects continue. He is working on Jacob Riis, Fort Tyron Pelham Bay and two marine projects. What funding he doesn't get from the federal government he finds a way to obtain from the city. The planning of large parks, Central, Prospect, Van Cortlandt, Kissena, and Alley Pond, takes place. He tries to include active playing areas like baseball diamonds and quiet peaceful areas in the parks he designs. Decisions have to be made with small parks since there isn't enough room for both kinds of areas.

Moses' park and parkway system continues to grow. In 1934 he finishes the Bethpage State Park and Parkway; in 1935 the Meadowbrook Causeway is built; in 1936 improvements are added at Sunken Meadow and Heckscher state parks. The road system is also extended while many smaller parks are being built. Four bridges are also built during this time period. But things have changed in terms of materials and design. Moses is now in a hurry and doesn't have the luxury of using the quality materials that he used on Long Island. Parks design has evolved into a standardized form. They have basically become benches and playground equipments surrounded by fences. As such, they don't provide the necessary ramps for mothers with baby carriages. He still does not show much interest in the needs of the lower classes and builds very few parks in the slum areas. Riverside Park is a two-mile walk from the middle of Harlem and there is no public transportation available.



Part 4, Chapter 24 Driving Analysis

The idealism Moses had as a young student and graduate is obviously gone. He fought corruption and wanted reform of the system when he was young with the Bureau of Municipal Research and now he is using his tactics and corruption to the fullest extent.

Moses' staff knows better than to make suggestions or criticism. They are all "yes men," knowing that anything else will get them fired. Moses always has to do things his way and doesn't take well to suggestions or criticism.

Moses' dreams didn't include the lower class areas. There are no parks in Harlem and no public transportation to the parks he has built. The only way to reach Riverside Park is to walk, since most of the poor do not own cars. After receiving public pressure by the reformers, Moses agrees to build one park in Harlem. Moses' dreams for beauty and the development of a road transportation system have turned into a quest for power.



Part 5, Chapter 25 Changing

Part 5, Chapter 25 Changing Summary

By this time, Moses is becoming addicted to power and authority. At first he needed power to fulfill his vision of parks and highways. Now he seems to want power for the sake of power, not necessarily to achieve his objectives or serve the public. "Power is being able to ruin people, to ruin their careers and their reputations and their personal relationships. Moses had this power, and he seemed to use it even when there was no need to, going out of his way to use it, so that it is difficult to escape the conclusion that he enjoyed using it. He may also have felt it was necessary to turn the power of his vituperation on men whom he felt posed a threat to his dreams, but he turned it also on individuals who posed no such threat" (Chapter 25, pg. 500).

Moses needs the Columbia Yacht Club removed because it is hindering his West Side Improvement projects. The club is on park property so they know they can't fight it. They think they have a delay until September 1 but then receive a letter saying they have twelve days and anything remaining will be treated as abandoned. Moses destroys the clubhouse and goes forward with his project.

During the 1930s Moses builds 255 playgrounds in New York City but only one in Harlem. The community in Harlem is now asking for parks and playgrounds. The children in these areas have no place to go to play so instead they roam the streets. Ten community swimming pools are built during the decade, but only one in Harlem.

Bridges, parks and parkways continue to be constructed. The roads can't keep up with the population usage. A month after the opening of the Triborough Bridge on August 17, 1936, New York experiences the biggest traffic jam ever. They respond by opening bridges early with construction in progress and building more bridges. When the Wantagh Parkway extension opens it is jammed with no relief for the rest of the parkway system. When Moses proposes the construction of the Bronx-Whitestone Bridge he is met with opposition if it doesn't include a provision for a rapid transit train. Moses refuses and builds it anyway. It opens in April 1939, but fails to alleviate the traffic problem.

When Moses builds the Gowanus Parkway he tears down part of the Sunset Park neighborhood. They tear down an elevated train and build the parkway in its place, destroying the nature of the neighborhood. Soon, residents of the neighborhood move out. The Gowanus does not have shoulders and soon needs to be widened. The Sunset Park area is destroyed for its residents.

Moses' original dream is to build a highway along the waterfront. He has yet to accomplish this because he has been unable to obtain the proper funding for the project. Work on the New York Central train had to be halted during the Depression when the funding ran out. Moses begins to work on the plan. The railroad does not have



the money that it owes the city. They find money in the Grade-Crossing Elimination Fund and Moses arranges a loan to the railroad. Little by little, Moses starts to acquire the required \$109,000,000. The material from the excavations on Seventy-Second Street is used to provide the fill need for the Riverside Park expansion. He wheels and deals with different groups until he comes up with the money he needs.

The Henry Hudson Bridge is being built to relieve congestion as part of the West Side Improvement. His plans include the destruction of the wilderness of Inwood Hill Park, which is discovered by Exton and Weinberg who look closely at his plans. Building the highway through Riverside Park along the waterfront means that the waterfront will never be available for recreation. They want the highway to be on the outskirts of the park, not through the middle. They oppose Moses' plan, but Moses begins work anyway and The Henry Hudson Bridge opens in December 1936. The press raves about the West Side Improvements and what it does for the city, but there is still nothing for Harlem. The park ends where Harlem begins. Moses did, however, build one playground and football field in Harlem.

Moses is extremely popular and receives many accolades, medals, honorary degrees and other recognition. Park staff comes from around the country to see firsthand what he has done in New York City. They learn from watching Moses' men. Moses agrees to help out in Pittsburgh and sends a team, but for the most part he is too busy with his projects in New York to help other cities with their planning.

Part 5, Chapter 25 Changing Analysis

No matter what tactics Moses employs, he always finds support from the general population because they always benefit from his projects. No matter how dirty he is in his tactics, he always knows they will support him. Moses cannot solve New York City's traffic congestion problem on the parkways and bridges. When new ones open, they are jammed and there is no lasting relief on the existing ones. When the Henry Hudson Parkway opens, it is beyond the limits required for its expansion on the first day. A new bond issue is bought out immediately for its expansion.

Moses' original dream is fulfilled as he builds the Riverside Park with its parkway. The waterfront is unavailable to the population for recreation because of the highway and the river can barely be seen from the park benches, but Moses has his dream and that's all that seems to matter to him. "When the Improvement was finished, all these things were gone forever. Adding them to the cost of the West Side Improvement, one might wonder if the Improvement had not cost New York City more than it was worth. Adding them into the cost, one might wonder if the West Side Improvement was really, on its total balance sheet, an "improvement" at all. One might wonder if it was not, on balance, a tragic and irremediable loss" (Chapter 25, pg. 566).



Part 5, Chapter 26 Two Brothers

Part 5, Chapter 26 Two Brothers Summary

Where Robert Moses is arrogant, Paul Moses is charming. Paul refuses to follow the route that Bella lays out for him with a job at a brokerage firm and instead, he works as an electrical engineer. When Bella dies of cancer, Robert and his sister Edna inherit the bulk of the estate with only \$100,000 in a trust fund for their brother Paul. He only receives the interest, not the principal. Paul gets himself deeply into debt before and during his divorce. Sometimes he couldn't even keep a roof over his head. His sister Edna won't even give him a picture of their parents. She does whatever Robert tells her to do. Paul eventually dies in poverty. Moses turns against his sister also when she moves to Florida.

At Home, his wife, Mary, runs the household and Robert Moses demurs to her. Mary helps him out in his career also. She cues him as to various politicians' names, she helps out his staff when they have problems and other things of that nature. She remains private and quiet.

Part 5, Chapter 26 Two Brothers Analysis

This chapter compares the two Moses brothers, Robert and Paul, demonstrating how they differ in personality. Paul refuses to follow the career path Bella lays out for him and remains in the private sector. The true story of Bella's deathbed will with Robert present will probably never be known, but why Robert would tie up the purse strings of his own brother is unknown. Paul believes that Robert had to keep up his image and could not do so on his income. Another facet of Robert Moses' personality is revealed in this chapter, when Robert refuses to help out his brother, even when he doesn't have a roof over his head.



Part 5, Chapter 27 Changing

Part 5, Chapter 27 Changing Summary

It becomes apparent that Moses wants power for power's sake in 1936 with the creation of the New York City Tunnel Authority. When Moses finds that he can't control it, he tries to destroy it. Moses' plan is foiled by La Guardia. Moses has never been interested in building housing for the poor but there is a lot of money available under the Wagner-Steagall Act for that purpose. He begins to build public housing into the parks. Even La Guardia doesn't know what he was doing until Moses presents the plans. Again, Moses is thwarted by La Guardia.

Part 5, Chapter 27 Changing Analysis

Moses has done a lot for New York but La Guardia is finding ways of blocking some of Moses' moves as Moses grabs for more and more power. This doesn't sit well with Moses, but there isn't much he can do about it and the city goes on to build some housing projects without him.



Part 5, Chapter 28, The Warp on the Loom,

Part 5, Chapter 28, The Warp on the Loom, Summary

Most port authorities in the United States come into being to do one project and then go out of existence when the project is completed. New York, however, has a multi-projected entity. This allows one project to bail out another financially. Most of the toll bridges make money in excess of the amounts required to pay off the bonds. Moses sees his dreams come true but he still aspires to do more. He wants to build in Brooklyn and Staten Island. There are other parks that he has proposed for which he has yet to receive the permission or authority to go ahead with. If Moses could control the excess revenues, he wouldn't have to worry as much about funding for his projects from the city. They would not be able to alter his plans.

Moses finds out that through the Triborough Act he can pay off bonds and issue new ones. The bonds in effect would never be paid off because he would issue new bonds to replace the old bonds. This is what Moses writes into the Triborough Act. His powers cannot be revoked without the consent of the bondholders. The city and state cannot revoke his powers. Continually building new projects keeps the Port Authority viable and prevents it from going out of business.

After reading over the documents, the mayor's office concludes that the only way to stop Moses is to fire him. However, firing Moses is not a politically realistic move.

Part 5, Chapter 28, The Warp on the Loom, Analysis

Moses has more dreams for the New York City area, even though his original dream has come true. However, he still has to obtain the authority to continue working on his initiatives. Finding that authority becomes a problem for him during the Battery Crossing controversy. Early in his career his plans were thwarted because he did not have the power needed to authorize them. He initially gets around this obstacle by working with the men who have the power to get what he wants. Now he finds a way to obtain that power in the way he writes the Triborough Act. Moses is shrewd because he knows that the legislators do not read the bills that he writes closely, so he knows that he can get by them that way. This is how he obtains most of his power. He is also shrewd enough to know that they can't fire him without causing a public uproar because Moses is largely supported by the general population. Moses wrote his own way into power.



Part 6 Chapter 29 "And When the Last Law Was Down..."

Part 6 Chapter 29 "And When the Last Law Was Down..." Summary

They are now looking into building a bypass around the city for people from Brooklyn and Lower Manhattan. This would consist of a tunnel and an elevated highway. La Guardia tries to have Moses use his Triborough money for the project. Eventually the Triborough Authority takes over the Tunnel Authority. Moses reveals his plans for two tandem bridges that would connect to the elevated highway that is planned running through Battery Park. Battery Park is the location of Fort Clinton. There is some opposition because of the history of the park and because it is one of the few park areas on that part of the island.

Reformers and opponents to the plan attack Moses' values in destroying parks to build highways. Moses' bills are passed despite the controversy. "...but to give Moses power in the city, they had cut down the 'laws' in which they believed. Now those laws no longer existed to protect the city from him. For the reformers and the city they loved, there was no place to hide. There was nothing the city, opposed to the bridge, could do to keep Moses from building it" (Chapter 29, pg. 671). The city that wanted the tunnel instead of the bridge can't stop Moses if he wants to build a bridge.

The bridge from Manhattan to Brooklyn is stopped when Roosevelt and the War Department refuses to allow a permit due to vital naval yards in the area. A bridge can be knocked out and hit the naval facilities; a tunnel can't. The tunnel project is allowed much to Moses' dismay. The city only has money for the tunnel and the Manhattan approaches to the tunnel, not for the Brooklyn approaches. Moses has to use his Triborough funds for the Brooklyn approaches and the Tunnel Authority has the authorization for the Battery Crossing, not the Triborough Authority. Moses is now using his Triborough funds to pay for a project that he is not in control of.

Part 6 Chapter 29 "And When the Last Law Was Down..." Analysis

The purpose of parks is to give people a recreational area, especially in a city where there isn't much room for such areas. As Moses builds more and more roads it becomes obvious that he is using much of the park space that they do have, like with Battery Park. Moses is attacked on the basis of his values for taking away the recreational areas for the purpose of building highways and bridges.

Moses is outsmarted and out-powered by La Guardia and Roosevelt when the bridge to Brooklyn is not allowed due to security reasons. The tunnel project goes ahead without his Triborough Authority in control and he has to contribute the funds to pay for the Brooklyn approaches if he wants the tunnel to connect to his highway system. The city, with the help of the federal government, has found a way to restrain Moses.



Part 6, Chapter 30 Revenge

Part 6, Chapter 30 Revenge Summary

Moses, beaten in the Battery Crossing issue, announces plans to destroy the Aquarium in 1941, saying it is obsolete and that its demolition is required in order to construct the tunnel. He plans to relocate the aquarium to the Bronx Zoo. There is a controversy over his plans and critics begin to check out the facts regarding the unsoundness of the structures. Exton claims that Moses is motivated by nothing but revenge with his destruction plans.

Moses again tangles with city authorities over funds for moving and housing the fish in the Bronx. He threatens to dump the fish into the sea. Since it is an election year the funding is approved since nobody wants the fish to become a campaign issue. The onset of World War II stops Moses from demolishing Fort Clinton, for there is no manpower available to perform the demolition duties. The war also brings work on the tunnel to a halt. By 1943 there is so little manpower available that even Moses stops his demolition and work does not resume work on the tunnel project until 1948. Battery Park is closed during this entire period.

The election brings in the administration of Mayor William O'Dwyer. In 1946, when Moses is trying to demolish the fort, he is enjoined. The purpose of the injunction is to delay long enough for the fort to be declared a national monument. This is done in 1950 with funds appropriated for its restoration, including the damages Moses had done when burning the doors. Moses loses yet another battle and the new aquarium on Coney Island doesn't open until 1955.

Part 6, Chapter 30 Revenge Analysis

Bitter over his defeat regarding the tunnel project, Moses seeks revenge in the form of tearing down the Aquarium and the Fort at Battery Park. He says both structures are unsound and need to be razed in order to build the tunnel. Engineers do not support his contentions. Moses can't reach the people who defeated him so he takes out his revenge on what they cherish - the aquarium and the fort. The aquarium is eventually demolished but Fort Clinton is saved by declaring it a national monument in 1951. It costs the city eleven million dollars to build a new aquarium., which becomes the price of Moses' revenge. There should have been some mechanism to restrain Moses and his power.



Part 6, Chapter 31 Monopoly

Part 6, Chapter 31 Monopoly Summary

World War II gives Moses another chance to destroy the Tunnel Authority. The tunnel has no revenues during the war and the bonds will not be able to be refinanced to cover the original issue. Moses tries to get control of the Tunnel Authority and in doing so he attacks its chief-engineer, Singstad, whose brother-in-law had purchased land in the affected area. This brings on an investigation in which the engineer is eventually absolved of any wrong-doing.

Since it is an election year and nobody wants the kind of scandal that Moses can create, La Guardia stays out of the way when Moses takes over the Tunnel Authority. One member dies without a successor being appointed and another member's term expires. This means that two out of three seats are open. La Guardia merges the Tunnel Authority with the Triborough Authority. The remaining member is forced to resign and is replaced with a Triborough Board member. It takes Moses nine years to gain control of the Tunnel Authority, but he now has control of any new bridge or water crossing that New York City decides to build.

Moses' Triborough Authority goes on to build the tunnel using Singstad's designs. Moses downplays Singstad's role but, after the completion of the tunnel, Singstad goes on to distinguish himself as an engineer in the area of tunnel design. His firm never receives a contract from the state of New York in his remaining thirty-three-year career.

Part 6, Chapter 31 Monopoly Analysis

Moses tries everything he can to obtain control of the Tunnel Authority or to destroy it. He finds the chief-engineer's brother engaged in some wrong-doing and uses that to smear the engineer, but the engineer is absolved of any wrong-doing by the Port Authority board. After nine years, Moses finally gains control of the Tunnel Authority. He keeps Singstad on as engineer and uses his plans to build the tunnel. After completion of the tunnel, Singstad becomes a world-renowned tunnel designer, but his firm never receives a contract for the state of New York for as long as Singstad is alive.



Part 6, Chapter 32 Quid Pro Quo

Part 6, Chapter 32 Quid Pro Quo Summary

By 1945 Roosevelt has passed away and La Guardia is dying of cancer. La Guardia announces he will not run again and that he will support an independent candidate, Newbold Morris. The Tammany candidate is William O'Dwyer. La Guardia dies in 1947.

Part 6, Chapter 32 Quid Pro Quo Analysis

Moses is confronted with changes in administration at both the city and federal level in the mid-1940s. Roosevelt dies and La Guardia is dying of cancer. La Guardia sends for Moses before he dies. Even though the two men fought so much, they still maintained a relationship.



Part 6, Chapter 33 Leading Out the Regiment

Part 6, Chapter 33 Leading Out the Regiment Summary

Moses gains more control over federal funds as the city loses control. He is named to a new post by Mayor O'Dwyer. Moses writes the bill creating the position of City Construction Coordinator and gives himself the power to control all contacts with state and federal governments. Moses now takes over housing and urban renewal and the mayor selects men for the City Housing Authority board who are favorable to Moses. At this time work on the St. Lawrence is being considered. Construction on new parkways and a dam are proposed. The name that is suggested for the dam is the Robert Moses Power Dam.

Moses arranges the same sort of deal with the state that he has with the city. Three succeeding governors, Dewey, Harriman and Rockefeller, give Moses his authority to control the building of the Interstate Highway System. Moses now has control of \$750 million dollars that he can spend however he wants. He does not have to answer to the city government for any of it under the terms of the bills he wrote except for the housing money.

Moses wields more power than just in the construction of these structures. The projects have to be insured and these insurance accounts are worth a lot of money to the agent and are a gem to be distributed. These are plums for the politically favored. The Tammany machine is back in power with the election of O'Dwyer. Insurance premiums are handed out as favors. Moses derives more power from this practice and he takes care of the people who work with him. Selling the bonds also is a source of power for Moses since he can place them with public or private sources. Moses uses his power to help Fordham University build its campus. Moses acquires more power than the borough presidents and they cannot build without his permission. The only way the city can obtain federal or state money is through Moses.

Part 6, Chapter 33 Leading Out the Regiment Analysis

The government officials of New York at that time don't learn to read the legislation they pass. Moses writes the bill giving him his City Construction Coordinator position and after all of the dealings they have had with him, they still don't closely read the bill that he wrote creating the position. It is assumed that they wanted it this way. Moses is the sole city representative that deals with the state and federal governments, a post he holds for the next twenty years. Moses also manages to obtain from three succeeding governors sole authority over road construction in New York state with the Interstate Highway system. Moses always produces results, even if they have problems with him.



Moses uses his power to acquire more power. He controls the insurance premiums and their placement, he controls the placement of the bond issues and he controls the construction of his various projects. The city has no way of obtaining state or federal money without Moses. He has worked himself into a position of power unlike anyone else.



Part 6, Chapter 34 Moses and the Mayors

Part 6, Chapter 34 Moses and the Mayors Summary

Moses also has connections with the underworld figures of New York. Before O'Dwyer's inauguration Moses has a list of projects he wants to complete. He has them divided into a list of those they can and can't do. Moses can use state money for the funding of housing projects but the city has no money for funding the projects. Moses says the roads projects can't be deferred. Moses also wants to increase subway fares to make the subways self-sufficient and use the extra funds for roads. This will place a tax burden on the people least able to bear it. His plan relieves the burden from the middle and upper class through the real estate taxes. There is opposition to Moses' plan as well as to his airport financing plan. City Controller Lazarus Joseph points out that the state has a surplus because of all the taxes it obtains from New York City every year. He wonders why the city doesn't use those funds instead of taxing the subway users. O'Dwyer appoints Harry F. Guggenheim, Laurence S. Rockefeller and Lt. General James H. Doolittle to the Airport Authority.

There is a master plan for the middle of Queens, the upper Bronx and the remainder of Brooklyn. Idlewild is another issue that angers the mayor since Moses' plan is approved. His plan calls for high interest rates on the bonds which represent a basic giveaway by the taxpayers. Moses loses on the issue but resorts to his usual ploy and sends a letter of resignation to Mayor O'Dwyer who sends it back with instructions to submit it again if he wants the resignation accepted. The issue is resolved when the state agrees to pay.

The city needs garages but has no money to pay for them. O'Dwyer appoints Moses for another term and requests money for the garages. When O'Dwyer and Moses were feuding, there was a slow down in the construction of highways during the period. Moses had plans for the Upper Manhattan Expressway, Mid-Manhattan Expressway and a Lower Manhattan Expressway before the war. He is now drawing up plans and raising money for them. He is also involved in helping the UNO select a sight for its headquarters. They want a site in Manhattan, but when Moses doesn't have a site or money, he stalls. Other cities meet with the UNO delegation and offer them sites. The delegation obtains an option to buy a parcel of land and the city looks around for the money to pay for it. With the help of John Rockefeller, they put together a package complete with housing, thanks to Moses.

Moses and the mayor are close after the UNO project is won. The mayor supports Moses because he gets things done. He becomes chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Slum Clearance which has to do with federally funded housing. He also has the power of eminent domain. "Once, a quarter of a century before, Moses had, by deceiving the Legislature into giving him the power of condemnation by appropriation, obtained immense power - W. Kingsland Macy had testified, 'Mr. Moses told me



personally that his power was such that he could seize my house, put me out of it and arrest me for trespassing if I tried to get into it again' - and had obtained an extension of that power, hitherto exercised only in remote mountain forest fastnesses, to Long Island. Now, he had that power not only over farms and private estates but over the massed edifices, crammed with human beings, of a huge city" (Chapter 34, pg. 778).

O'Dwyer appoints his friend Jerry Finkelstein chairman of the City Planning Commission. Finkelstein manages to stop Moses in some respects by having the mayor switch his position on various studies and then Finkelstein announces it to the press before Moses can do anything. Moses, angered that Finkelstein conducted some independent studies of his projects, announces that the Triborough Authority won't build the mid-Manhattan projects and there is no longer a request for federal funding. The mayor has to announce that the project has been cancelled.

Again, there are hearings and investigations taking place into corruption. There is a grand jury investigation going on in Brooklyn investigating alleged racketeering. The Kefauver Senate Committee is preparing to hold hearings in New York to investigate the relationship between politicians and organized crime leaders.

"The time for denials was past; now was the time for flight. On the eve of a mass Police Department trial for bribery, more than one hundred policemen resigned, so did the Police Commissioner and his two top aides - and so, as the spotlight swung at last full force on his handsome, charming face, did William O'Dwyer. Ed Flynn dropped in on Harry Truman to pass the time of day, Bill-O was appointed Ambassador to Mexico and on August 31, 1950, almost eighteen years to the day after Tammany's most popular mayor had fled the country, Tammany's second most popular mayor crossed the border into Mexico" (Chapter 34, pg. 787). While all of this is taking place, Moses is in Brazil helping Sao Paulo plan city improvements with Rockefeller funding.

The vacancy left by the departing O'Dwyer is filled by Vincent R. Impellitteri. A special election has to be held in ten weeks for the office. Moses makes him promise not to re-appoint Finkelstein and his group in exchange for Moses' endorsement. "Impy," the nickname given to Impellitteri, is portrayed as clean and not uninvolved in rampant corruption and runs as an independent. Moses is the power behind Impellitteri, who does whatever Moses wants. During his administration, the city sales tax is increased, subway and bus fares are raised and a transit authority is created.

Finkelstein spends the last four months of his term fighting for the master plan that emphasized local neighborhoods as the planning mechanism. His plan is killed by Moses and General John J. Bennett is appointed to Finkelstein's position. Moses has control of the City Planning Commission and has no problems pushing through his project during the forty months of the Impellitteri administration.

New York City has a problem with its physical plant and infrastructure not being properly maintained. Appropriations for maintenance increase during the Impellitteri administration as some highways and schools are crumbling. Most funds had been used for construction, not for maintenance.



In 1953, Robert Ferdinand Wagner, Sr. becomes mayor. He makes it clear that he will not take orders from Moses but it does not work out that way. Wagner and Moses have many confrontations and Moses does not always get his way.

Part 6, Chapter 34 Moses and the Mayors Analysis

Moses is still wheeling and dealing trying to push through his plans for various projects, like Idlewild. He takes a defeat over the plan for Idlewild and the master plan but he still gets his projects through. Moses has problems with the mayor's appointee to the City Planning Commission, Jerry Finkelstein. Finkelstein has the mayor's ear and manages to commission his own independent studies of various projects. He is able to persuade the mayor to change positions and announce his decision before Moses can react. Moses exacts his revenge by canceling the mid-Manhattan project and the request for federal funding.

Moses achieves the power he desires when Impellitteri becomes mayor. The mayor follows Moses' advice on everything. The plans that Moses had opposed and thwarted are now passed by the Impellitteri administration. With Finkelstein's departure, Moses makes sure that appointments are made so he has control of the City Planning Commission. With the departure of Finkelstein, Moses' power is no longer challenged or threatened. Moses has his way in the Impellitteri administration until 1943 when Wagner becomes mayor. Moses is then met with much opposition and there are many challenges to his power created by the mayor.



Part 6, Chapter 35 "RM"

Part 6, Chapter 35 "RM" Summary

Moses still spends almost every waking moment working, although once in a while he vacations in the Caribbean at the estates of Bernard Gimbel or Robert Blum or other powerful men.

He has all of the perks of the wealthy available to him from friends, even though he is not wealthy himself. At seventy years old, Moses has just as much energy as he did when he was thirty. Moses even finds time to write a novel which isn't published when it is sent to publishers under a pseudonym.

His office is still located on Randall's Island. He can entertain guests at any of the park facilities on Long Island or elsewhere. He has a private box at the Jones Beach Marine Stadium where he entertains, among others, dignitaries from the United Nations. There are private beach areas roped off for his guests, like for his Yale Club and visiting officials.

There are private tents and elaborate buffets. The opening of the Niagara dam, called the Robert Moses Power Dam in 1961, is a three day affair. There are yacht rides around the Long Island area. There are lists - A, B and C lists -that Moses' people keep. Being on these lists entitles people to certain privileges, like free tolls, parties, passes to Jones Beach and other perks. People who oppose Moses do not find their names on these lists. Much of Moses' entertainment is for business purposes. Many agreements are signed at these affairs.

" 'The city was supposed to be run from City Hall,' Orton says, 'but let me tell you I watched it year after year and I know: for years the bit decisions that shaped New York were made in that dining room on Randall's Island.' Hospitality - hospitality on an imperial scale - was one of Moses' most effective tools" (Chapter 35, pg. 828). Moses reigns in this style for forty-four years, until 1968.

Moses builds many famous structures, including Shea Stadium, Lincoln Center, the United Nations Building and the Coliseum among others. At this time, Moses' associates notice that his hearing is failing. They try to install amplifiers and microphones in his office, but it doesn't help. Moses' hearing degenerates into deafness.

Part 6, Chapter 35 "RM" Analysis

Moses has created his own empire through the Triborough Authority. Although he is not rich he lives like he is and entertains like he is, thanks to his connections and relations with wealthy people. He vacations at the Caribbean island estates of friends. He uses facilities at different friends' estates or at any of the parks. He entertains lavishly and uses it for business purposes. People find it hard to oppose Moses at his social affairs

so a lot of contracts and deals come out of these social affairs. Moses entertains like royalty for his forty-four year reign.



Part 6, Chapter 36 The Meat Ax

Part 6, Chapter 36 The Meat Ax Summary

Until now most of the highways Moses built connect cities or run on the edge of cities. Now, in 1945, he is planning to build through the city in densely populated areas. When Farrell, Moses' engineer, first looks at the site, he sees nothing but apartment building after apartment building. The highway would have to go underneath and that would require a lot of blasting in the hard rock of that part of New York. While all this blasting and building is taking place, the trains have to keep running and the main thoroughfares have to be kept in use. The Cross-Bronx Expressway has to go over or under roads and trains and elevated trains and a river have to be re-routed. To pull off this engineering feat they would have to break new ground in column design and in other areas. The cost of the Cross-Bronx Expressway and other highways through the city and populated areas would be \$10 million per mile or more. They are the most expensive roads ever built. These highways would connect to water crossings that would move traffic between the boroughs.

To achieve his purpose of building the highway systems, Moses moves and turns buildings to make room for his highway. He tries to get the legislature to reimburse apartment dwellers for their moving expenses but they won't.

Part 6, Chapter 36 The Meat Ax Analysis

The late 1940s and the 1950s is a time of building interstates in the United States and Moses is building them in New York City with his federal funding. The highways have to be built through the densely populated areas of the city and boroughs. Many people have to be displaced in order to accommodate the highway system's construction. Even though this creates a hardship on the population, Moses says it has to be done for the benefit of future generations.



Part 6, Chapter 37 One Mile

Part 6, Chapter 37 One Mile Summary

There is one mile in the Cross-Bronx Expressway that distinguishes itself. The East Tremont area is considered lower-class but has its own mini-garment district and upholstery manufacturing district. Its public transportation links directly to the main garment district where many of the residents are employed. The area has shopping for its residents. It is not an area where there are playgrounds for children. For the most part it is a self-contained community. Moses considers the apartment buildings old with faulty plumbing and no elevators, even though the rent is affordable for residents. People receive a 90-day notice in the mail informing them that they have to move due to the construction of the Cross-Bronx Expressway. The residents then begin to frantically search for housing and find that there is not much available due to the housing shortage in the city.

The community organizes a committee and presents an alternative route for the expressway that will not require as much displacement and relocation, but Moses refuses to meet with the committee. The committee meets with its councilman and think there is a chance of the plan not being accepted in the city council. They manage to keep the plan from being approved in the council but they can't stop it from being accepted at the Board meeting. The housewives from East Tremont keep on fighting by going to the newspapers. If the highway is relocated, the city loses the federal and state funding and the highways won't get built. Mayor Wagner orders a study of the alternative route proposed by the Tremont Street organizers. Eventually, Moses' original plan is approved.

Part 6, Chapter 37 One Mile Analysis

Moses' way of dealing with people is to strong-arm them. People receive a notice that they have to move, that comparable apartments will be found for them and that they will receive a moving allowance of \$200 per room. If they can't find housing and don't move, the allowance is lowered to \$100 dollars. If they protest, the amount is lowered even more. The city can't find them comparable apartments because there aren't any.

"About the Cross-Bronx Expressway as a whole, Moses was more expansive. Asked if he had not felt a sense of awe - of difficulties of a new immensity - when, beginning active planning of the great road during the war, he had first seen the miles of apartment houses in his way, he said he had not. 'There are more houses in the way [than on Long Island],' he said, 'there are more people in the way - that's all. There's very little real hardship in the thing. There's a little discomfort and even that is greatly exaggerated. The scale was new, that was all that was new about it. And by this time there was the prospect of enough money to do things on this scale.' Asked if he had ever feared that the tenants might defeat him, he said, 'Nah, nobody could have stopped it.' As a matter



of fact, the East Tremont opposition hadn't really been much trouble at all" (Chapter 37, pg. 877).

Moses isn't the one being evicted from his home without a place to go in this situation. He views the people as objects that have to be taken care of, just as the building in his path have to be taken care of.



Part 6, Chapter 38 One Mile (Afterword)

Part 6, Chapter 38 One Mile (Afterword) Summary

The time is now 1955-1956, the tenants are gone and funds are still being raised for the construction of the highway. The traffic congestion on the Bronx-Whitestone Bridge is causing Moses to build the Throgs Neck Bridge. Studies are showing that congestion on the Cross-Bronx highway will be too heavy to be accommodated by the bridges. Moses has to build the Hamilton Bridge next to the Washington Bridge to try to accommodate the expected heavy traffic. It will be years before the Cross-Bronx Expressway is in use at a cost of \$250 million. It is not completed until 1963. During this period, crime increases in the neighborhood.

For people whose apartments are next to the expressway there is noise, fumes and crime. The neighborhood people move out as soon as they can to escape the situation the highway has created. A middle-income housing project is proposed and built in the mid 1960s.

Part 6, Chapter 38 One Mile (Afterword) Analysis

The character of the Tremont Street neighborhood is changed drastically by the construction of the highway. The neighborhood changes as the original inhabitants move out and new lower-class inhabitants move in. Crime increases. Moses maintains his point of view is that the highways are for future generations and will eventually improve the quality of life for the city. However, those future generations will have noise, pollution and congestion to deal with as a result of a highway running right through a heavily populated area. New York City needed a highway system but Moses can be questioned for being so stubborn and not diverting around the populated area just because of a bus terminal.



Part 6, Chapter 39 The Highwayman

Part 6, Chapter 39 The Highwayman Summary

After the war there are complaints that New York has done nothing to plan for relief of traffic congestion. These complaints are in the newspapers and Moses responds by telling them that such allegations are incorrect unfounded, showing plans and blueprints as evidence. Thoroughfares are congested as soon as they are open. A mass transit system is out of question since Moses controls all of the funding and he is opposed to a mass transit system. He has destroyed much of what there was in mass transit building his highways. This means people have to use cars, further increasing traffic congestion. Any plan to alleviate traffic congestion is doomed without provisions for mass transit. Moses will not authorize funds for subway construction. There are no plans to provide transportation for the poor.

Proponents of mass transit try to persuade Moses to accept the concept of building mass transit lines down the middle of the highways, as they are doing in Chicago. Air travel is becoming more and more relevant by this time and the only way to reach the New York airports is by car. The congestion that will be caused will be unbelievable. The Van Wyck expressway will not be able to accommodate the traffic. Moses responds that he will widen the roads in an effort to solve the problem. Rapid transit on the highways will solve the Idlewild problem and will also provide transportation to and from Brooklyn and Queens.

Part 6, Chapter 39 The Highwayman Analysis

Moses' refusal to give attention to the demand for mass transit probably contributed to the congestion of the New York City area. His refusal to construct mass transit forces people to use cars and contributes to the congestion on the highways. His refusal to provide mass transit also deprives the poor of a form of transportation and keeps the revenues flowing into the authority allowing Moses to keep rolling over bonds and to keep himself in power.



Part 6, Chapter 40 Point of No Return

Part 6, Chapter 40 Point of No Return Summary

The Triborough Authority continues to earn money. He has \$21million in 1953. When the subway is faced with another fare increase and the legislature wants Moses to bail them out, Moses returns from a Caribbean vacation and tells them there is no surplus, that he doesn't have the funds. Moses knows that he has to keep the Authority busy building projects and issuing and re-issuing bonds to keep himself in power. If the bonds are ever paid off, there will be no need for tolls or the Authority. To qualify for interstate funds, the highways have to connect to other states and be part of an interstate system. New York's system needs to connect to New Jersey. What Moses needs is now under the control of the Port Authority. They are too big and powerful for him to take over so he has to try to work with them. They have a larger surplus than Moses does. In 1954 the two authorities agree to conduct a joint study on how they can work together to develop an interstate system. They can build three bridges, Throgs Neck, Verrazano and the George Washington Bridge, double-deck with a highway system connecting to them. Major plans are revealed for an area highway system in the future that all connect. Under the plan, the Port Authority will pay for the Narrows Bridge.

Any manufacturing concern that has to do with vehicles supports Moses. From producers of autos, steel, aluminum, rubber and oil to the dealers selling these products to the public, all of these groups back Moses and his initiatives. Also supporting Moses are trucking companies, highway contractors and consulting engineers, along with highway departments, public roads people, congressmen and senators, not to mention the labor union leaders who are happy to have workers employed through Moses' projects. This group is known as the Highwaymen. The city must reject the plan once it is announced and now they have a commitment to years of bridges and roads instead of mass transit which could have been built with the highways. They mirror the federal approach to the transportation problem. The existing mass transit system is pushed to its limit to accommodate its riders who are jammed in like cattle. Maintenance is minimal and the trains are not in good physical condition. Eventually, they begin to have accidents - four in seven months. Instead of repairing the problems, they just slow down the trains.

The Highwaymen make sure that the trains in New York City are a losing venture. The Long Island train files for bankruptcy in 1949 and is kept afloat by tax concessions from the state. There are more and more breakdowns as maintenance is neglected. Moses is asked to make one lane wider for bus use but he refuse to consider it. Moses makes sure that the buses can't use his parkways by not allowing clearance at the curb for them. As soon as Moses' reign ends in 1968, they approve a transit line. Studies show that there is no end in sight for the traffic congestion on the highways.



Part 6, Chapter 40 Point of No Return Analysis

The development of the interstate system leads to the decay of the mass transit system. All funds go into building roads and bridges but no funds go into building mass transit. They don't even keep the mass transit system in good physical repair. This, of course, leads to frequent accidents. Moses, however, refuses to allocate funds for mass transit. His bridges and parkways are designed in a way that excludes buses. He won't give any funds to help the trains because he doesn't want to siphon off any traffic from cars. To provide a viable alternative to cars brings his Triborough reign to an end. The Highwaymen behind him are too powerful to allow that to happen until they absolutely have to. They are all making money off of Moses' building projects.



Part 7, Chapter 41 Rumors and the Report of Rumors

Part 7, Chapter 41 Rumors and the Report of Rumors Summary

Moses also built housing as part of his role as director of the Mayor's Slum Clearance Committee. Moses is actually creating slums by forcing people out of their homes and into tenements because there is no other housing available for them. The same public housing units are promised over and over to different groups displaced for highway construction. His Title I sites are tenements and slums. Very few of the people who are displaced find homes in public housing. People who are told they will receive help to find comparable housing find that there is no such help nor is there any comparable housing available to them

Henry Cohen and Hortense Gabel are two reformers who look into the housing situation of the displaced people and are astounded at what they find. They try to make the situation public. Moses isn't worried because he knows the studies will take months, but he is surprised to find out that it is completed rather quickly. Moses has his own study which proposes a two-dollar tax on telephones to be used to finance public housing. Moses has his report substituted for the Woman's City Club report and produces a report full of half-truths and lies. The Title I tenements are turned over to promoters who made money on them. In spite of the Woman's City Club's repeated attempts to have the press look into the situation, they cannot get a major paper interested.

Part 7, Chapter 41 Rumors and the Report of Rumors Analysis

Moses is totally oblivious to the housing situation created by his highways and other projects. When he is challenged by an independent study he rewrites it in his own way, full of half-truths and conflicts. He shows no concern for the people that have been displaced from their homes. The fact that promoters are profiting from the living conditions of the people does not affect Moses in any way. He is convinced that he is doing something beneficial for future generations. The fact that his projects are destroying the lives of the present generation does not interest him.



Part 7, Chapter 42 Tavern in the Town

Part 7, Chapter 42 Tavern in the Town Summary

Tavern-on-the-Green is a restaurant in Central Park that builds a parking lot in a playground frequented by many children and their mothers. The site is at West 67th Street, which is home to many of the city's artists. Local residents find out about the plan when a mother notices surveyors in the playground one day. Local residents protest the parking lot and Moses stalls in responding to the complaints, assuming that the razing will be completed by the time they receive their mail. When the bulldozing begins the neighborhood mothers and children assemble and stand in front of the bulldozer. An attorney friend of theirs sends the press to the site and the protest finds its way into the news. This protest is different than the others. "But within a few minutes a new element had been added to it, an element that had been conspicuously missing from the earlier tableaux - and that was to make April 17, 1956, the watershed of Moses' career" (Chapter 42, pg. 990).

Moses uses his usual tactics in response and finds himself being reported on. Moses tries again to bulldoze in the middle of the night and succeeds before the plan is discussed by the City Council. Moses receives some bad press over the incident and his reputation takes a devastating blow and never recovers from the incident.

The attorney for the neighborhood looks into the Casino issue from years ago and finds Moses' argument was to provide an affordable restaurant for the people. They start to look at what the restaurant has actually been used for with Moses' style of entertaining. They also look into the financial arrangements between the restaurant and the Park Commission. The restaurant owner, Arnold Schleiffer, is only supposed to pay the city five percent of his revenues, but never has. He has become rich because of his restaurant. He also provided catering for many of Moses' affairs which were not charged to the city. Moses doesn't make money from the arrangement.

When Moses is on vacation he learns that there is an investigation into the restaurant situation. The press wants the financial arrangement investigated. The hearing begins with a discussion of the high prices at the restaurant which are too expensive for the average citizen. Moses is still vacationing in Spain when all of this takes place. When he returns to New York, he backs down on the issue saying that he wants the investigation dropped. He announces he will build a playground instead of a parking lot. However, this doesn't end the problems for Moses. He now finds himself vulnerable and open to examination.

Part 7, Chapter 42 Tavern in the Town Analysis

Moses continues his usual tactics when he decides to build a parking lot for the Tavern-on-the-Green in Central Park. The neighborhood protests and receives press coverage.



Moses, being his usual self, bulldozes the trees in the middle of the night before a city council hearing. Moses doesn't know it yet but he has met his match. The press keeps digging into the financial arrangements between the restaurant and the park and keeps the situation in the limelight. Moses is out of the country on vacation with his wife and by the time he returns to New York he can no longer gain control of the situation. The Corporation Counsel advises him to build a playground on the spot instead of a parking lot. He announces his intentions to do so, but Moses is now open to public scrutiny, something he has mostly been able to avoid for decades. He can never recover from the episode.



Part 7, Chapter 43, Late Arrival

Part 7, Chapter 43, Late Arrival Summary

Newspaper City Editor Norton Mockridge gives his reporter Gene Gleason permission to start delving into Robert Moses. Gleason wants to investigate the Title I housing issues and they begin their series on July 30, 1956. They report on the living conditions and the fact that no construction or improvements have taken place on the Title I projects in the four years since they were turned over to private developers. The Slum Clearance program is tearing down non-slum properties and not replacing them with anything. Moses, and Moses alone, is in charge of the Title I program. As their series continues Moses is given advance knowledge of the contents and space to write his own story.

Gleason keeps digging and Fred J. Cook keeps writing. Gleason finds that project staffers will not talk to him openly. He has to meet them after dark in strange places. Gleason discovers a health department that ignored complaints of people and how they have had to live. The city's other newspapers reported on the Gleason-Cook stories only to allow Wagner to rebut them. Wagner did just that, telling the citizens that everything is fine. The press forces Wagner to hold a press conference on Title I and Wagner claims he was misled for five years. The press is surprised that Moses isn't relieved of his duties. Moses' people announce that they have a new developer for the Manhattantown project that will build the housing. Their plan allows Zeckendorf's group, the present developer, to be relieved without facing liability. Surprisingly enough, City Hall leaks details of the plan. Nothing changes as a result of the expose.

Moses captivates them all with his plans for Lincoln Center even though it means that 800 businesses and 7,000 low income housing units have to be destroyed. Most of the planned apartments for the site are luxury apartments. The Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrator Albert M. Cole tries to stop Moses. He fails to do so and a new agreement is reached. Gleason and Cook keep digging for three years. It is a matter of principle to Gleason that government is stomping the little guy. They then find out that the government has bugged their office. Other papers soon start reporting on the problems in Title I.

Part 7, Chapter 43, Late Arrival Analysis

Moses' veneer has a crack in it now. He has become vulnerable, and the reporters are no longer afraid to ask question and investigate, but nothing comes of their expose. Moses still has all of his powers because the machine needs Moses and Moses needs the machine. Even the federal administrator of the housing program can't stop Moses over the displacements caused by the Lincoln Center plan, but Moses' problems continue as the press does not stop digging and eventually other papers join in the investigations. Moses is no longer the untouchable figure that he used to be. Reporters

and reformers who are looking for shady dealings are finding them and are beginning to report on them. Moses, however, still has a bit too much power for it to affect him.



Part 7, Chapter 44 Mustache and the Bard

Part 7, Chapter 44 Mustache and the Bard Summary

Moses is a Shakespeare lover. A CBS stage manager asks if he could present free productions of Shakespeare in Corlears Hook in the little amphitheater that Moses had built there. Moses finds that Joseph Papp checked out. He wasn't asking to use the facilities for money-making purposes. Moses approves the project and eventually, in 1957, produces the plays in Central Park. These Shakespeare Festival plays are very popular with the public that lines up hours before the performances to secure a place. Actor George C. Scott performs in these plays.

Papp produces these plays on a shoe-string hoping that contributions would cover the expenses. He does not make money on the productions. Moses promises Papp \$50,000 for the 1959 productions and leaves for a Caribbean vacation. His Executive Officer, Stuart Constable is left in charge of the project. This is the post-McCarthy era and Constable is in to the red-hating paranoia of the period. Constable finds out that Papp was called before HUAC and refused to discuss any past communist affiliations or to expose friends that he knew were communists. He was fired by CBS for this stance and got his job back through the involvement of the union. Constable, who doesn't like Papp anyway, is sure he can use this to throw Papp out of the Park, even though Moses doesn't yet know any of these details. Constable informs Papp that Papp has to reimburse the Park Department for expenses.

The only way Papp could produce plays is if he charges admission. When Moses returns from vacation and learns of the situation, he supports Constable. Papp discusses his problems in the press. Charging admission locks out the very people they are trying to reach - the poor and disadvantaged. Moses responds with his usual smear tactics but they don't deter Papp. Moses cannot win this battle in terms of public opinion since it is the public that is losing out on the free plays. This fight becomes known as the Second Battle of Central Park. Mayor Wagner tries to stay out of the fight but Papp keeps drawing him in by questioning who is running New York City - Robert Wagner or Robert Moses. The battle becomes a front-page spectacle, as Moses avoids Wagner. Finally, Moses is hospitalized, which takes the heat off of Wagner for a while. Wagner, who can't fire Moses, has to support him.

Papp takes the issue to court and the court rules that the city can work out a reasonable arrangement with Papp to allow the production to continue. Moses says he will comply and names \$20,000 as the required amount of reimbursement, which is basically the situation they had before the controversy. Moses has the Board of Estimate provide the funds to Papp. Fifteen years later Moses and the Park Department build a theater for Papp's plays. By the time Wagner leaves office, Papp is receiving over \$400,000 a year plus private funding of almost \$2,000,000 to contribute to the cultural life of the city.



Part 7, Chapter 44 Mustache and the Bard Analysis

Moses allows Central Park to be used for the production of free Shakespearian productions which turn out to be very popular with the public. An altercation between Papp and Constable results in the funding being cut off and the Park Department demanding reimbursement of expenses for the Shakespeare Festival. Moses is known for standing by his subordinate's decisions, no matter what, as Papp finds out.

The impression is that Moses didn't want to see Papp's production halted but had to stand behind one of his men. Moses says he will abide by the court's decision and responds with a ridiculously low figure for reimbursement, then arranges for the city to cover the costs. He also helps raise private money for Papp's festival and becomes Papp's benefactor by building a theater and raising private donations for Papp's continuing cultural service to the city.

Moses is hurt as much by the Second Battle of Central Park as he was by the first. Popular opinion is against him as he is made out to be the villain trying to deprive the public of their free plays. The young new reporters that had been digging up information on Moses' dealings continue to dig.



Part 7, Chapter 45 Off to the Fair

Part 7, Chapter 45 Off to the Fair Summary

The press and reformers' investigation into the Slum Clearance Committee continues. Moses is sent a list of questions, which he responds to. He admits there is no competitive bidding. The press demands to see the files and Moses has to agree to the request, knowing that if he tried to fight it in court, he would lose. Moses has been involved in the Massena and Niagara dam projects and has left the Title I projects to his subordinates. He stalls as long as he can about letting them see the files.

When the reporters see the files, there is nothing significant in them. There is nothing about the sponsors that they want information on. They keep on digging and come across the name Louis I. Pokrass which rings a bell with one of the reporters. It seems that Meyer Lansky, Joe Adonis and Frank Costello are secret partners of Pokrass who is a sponsor on one of the Title I projects. This creates a scandal that the author feels Moses did not deserve because there is no way he could have known any of the facts. He never met Pokrass. Then they find another underworld figure, Vincent (the Chin) Gigante, working as a night watchman on the payroll of the Washington Square Village Corporation, a Title I project. The watchman is a hit man. This causes the investigation to intensify as new reporters start digging into the story. They further learn that land for a high-rent project is owned by a dummy owner, a Miss Helen Nugent, who is employed by the law firm of Goldwater & Flynn.

"'Influence.'" "Dem Bigwig.'" "Tammany.'" "Political Insiders.'" De Sapio. Buckley. The Boss of Manhattan and the Boss of the Bronx were somehow involved - deeply involved - in a Moses program. Following the trail left by those overlooked documents in Moses' files, the hard-riding reporters had come at last upon the secret that would destroy the heart of the Moses legend: the fact that this man who supposedly scorned politicians had allowed the top echelon of New York's politicians to reap fortunes from his Title I program. And they led their readers to the secret - with stories that, linking Moses to politicians, were as accurate as earlier stories linking him to the underworld had been unfair. A letter to the *Times* showed that at least one reader was grasping the significance of these revelations. It was a letter such as had never before been printed about Robert Moses. 'Robert Moses,' the letter said, is a boss like De Sapio himself.'" (Chapter 45, pg. 1046-1047).

As the investigators and reporters keep going they find more and more irregularities. They find Moses' publicist is a sponsor and involved in some shady dealings. They find one of Moses' associates and employees receiving hundreds of thousands of dollars in private consulting fees from the various Moses projects. Moses is getting in deeper and deeper by the reporters' continuous digging. The press soon speculates that Wagner will fire Moses, but Wagner can't and won't fire Moses. Moses holds the purse strings for too many city projects. Moses is removed from from his city positions and from his five state positions. In spite of this, Moses has almost no personal wealth himself.



Moses accepts the presidency of the World Fair. The salary from this position relieves his financial problems. Taking this job with a private corporation means he has to give up some of his city jobs but none of his state positions. His power won't be diminished by losing his city jobs. Moses writes a bill exempting officials of the Fair from the City Code of Ethics. He and others have to wait for the legislature to approve the bill before officially assuming duties with the Fair. Moses resigns the positions from which he has to resign. There appears to be a total reorganization taking place with Moses' former positions. It actually looks like Moses has lost a lot but in actuality he still has all the power as a result of his appointment as chairman of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority. There is a luncheon held for Moses at which Wagner announces the new appointees. The only thing Moses loses is the housing program. He is still in charge of parks and roads.

Part 7, Chapter 45 Off to the Fair Analysis

Moses backs himself into a corner when he responds to a list of questions and tells reporters that they can see his files on the Title I projects. When the reporters arrive to see the files, they find there is nothing significant in them - just plans, memos, permits and other things like that. However, they do find a name that they remember from the Kefauver Crime hearings that links a certain sponsor to organized crime. This proves to be just the beginning as the investigation intensifies. The press does not understand why the mayor doesn't fire Moses, but they haven't read the bills that Moses wrote that gave him his power. If the mayor were to fire Moses, he would lose half a billion dollars in funding for various projects. Firing Moses wouldn't diminish Moses' power in any way either. In addition to his city positions, Moses also holds five state positions. In the end the only area that Moses loses control over is housing. He maintains control of parks and roads.



Part 7, Chapter 46 Nelson

Part 7, Chapter 46 Nelson Summary

The Rockefeller wealth guarantees them also total power in the New York Republican Party. He is governor of New York and a threat to Robert Moses. There is no way that Moses can pressure Rockefeller. If he uses his usual tactics and submits his resignation, Rockefeller will probably accept it. The unions are the only form of pressure but Rockefeller makes his own terms with them. Moses has worked with the Rockefellers on various projects in different parts of the world for years.

Moses has to have the governor's official approval allowing him to work since he is past the state retirement age. In 1962 the governor wants Moses to resign his Long Island State Park Commission position so his brother Laurence can assume the chairmanship. Moses responds with his typical approach of threatening to resign all of his posts. They agree to meet again on December 14 and during the intervening period, Moses refuses to take any phone calls from the governor or his staff. Moses makes the mistake of putting his demands in writing and Rockefeller accepts his resignation. Moses hastily releases a statement to the press hinting that politics were behind his resignations. Rockefeller announces to the press later that day that he accepts all of Moses' resignations. Moses is left with two positions at the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority and the World's Fair; all of his other positions are gone and so is a sizeable amount of his power. Moses leaves for vacation while his men try to get Rockefeller to reject the resignations.

At the next meeting of the State Council of Parks the commission votes to name three parks after Moses - the parks at Messena, Niagara and Fire Island. They are all called the Robert Moses State Park.

Part 7, Chapter 46 Nelson Analysis

Moses gives the appearance of being unconcerned about Rockefeller. He knows that the governor doesn't like him, but neither do any of the other governors. When Rockefeller tries to have Moses resign his chairmanship at the Long Island State Park Commission, Moses does his usual routine of threatening to resign from all of his positions. As usual, he puts it in writing, but this time Rockefeller accepts the resignations. Moses' usual ploy has backfired. Moses loses all but two of his positions. He still has the Triborough Authority and the World's Fair positions. All of the others are gone and he can't get them back. Rockefeller is slowly working through a plan to rid the city of Robert Moses.



Part 7, Chapter 47 The Great Fair

Part 7, Chapter 47 The Great Fair Summary

Moses has always dreamed of a huge park in Flushing Meadows. Mismanagement by Tammany results in the island becoming basically a garbage dump. This is his reason for becoming the president of the fair. He wants to see a huge lasting park built in Flushing Meadows. As usual, contracts are doled out to the favorites. The 1964-65 World's Fair lasts for two years.

Moses does a lot of building for the World's Fair, including hydroelectric plants, bridges, highways and parks. Moses has too much work to keep track of it all. That is what he claims happened with the Title I project. Moses decides he will do as little construction as possible for the fair since the structures will only be there for two years. Moses is uninterested in the design of the structures because he is more concerned with the park that he hopes will be there after the fair. Therefore, there is no underlying theme in the design. Moses charges the highest possible rents he can extract from the exhibitors so he lets them design their own structures. Moses finds it frustrating to deal with the different states and nations and they all find Moses arrogant. The Bureau of International Expositions regulates these kinds of affairs and has two rules: there are to be no ground rents and the exposition could not run beyond six months. When Moses flies to Paris to confront them on these issues, not only do they refuse to compromise, but they also withdraw their official sanction and advise their members not to participate in the fair. The only European nation that participates is Spain.

Moses announces that different countries and different states are sponsoring various pavilions and exhibits. Reporters begin to check out the facts and find that the announcements aren't true. The press questions every detail at every press conference. There is one controversy after another. After the opening of the fair it becomes apparent that attendance figures are too low for the event to break even, let alone make profit. The fair is failing to cover its expenses. Subordinates finally tell Moses the truth about the attendance figures, followed by Moses firing the person who tells him. Another aide has a heart attack and dies. Moses tries to hide the truth from the newspapers and orders budget saving measures to be put in place. Soon the Fair Corporation is insolvent. Many bankers, after hearing some of the rampant rumors, are beginning to worry.

After the results of an audit Moses announces that the fair will not be able to repay the city loan. It becomes obvious that the fair will not be able to repay its private notes and that it will not be able to reopen for its second season with a loan. Abe Beame investigates the fair scandal and obtains a court order to see the records of the contracts that had been given out. The controversy goes on. The mayor, governor and senator all want Moses to resign. However, no one can get Moses to resign as the fair begins its second season. They can't in any way correct the problems of all the heavy spending before the fair opens. The last month of the fair brings record attendance



figures, saving the event from being a total financial disaster. The fair closes with more than \$11 million in the bank. Moses announces he will use these funds to create a park at Flushing Meadows instead of paying the loans. He has enough money to demolish the fair buildings and build a park.

Part 7, Chapter 47 The Great Fair Analysis

One of Moses' reasons for accepting the presidency of the Fair Corporation is because he always wanted to develop the Flushing Meadows land into a series of parks. His vision of a park clouded his vision for the fair. He has little interest in building anything for the fair because they are only temporary structures. Things like security, garbage cleanup and insurance are doled out to friends as favors. He decides he will charge high rents and run the fair for two years. The problem is the international organization that sanctions the fair. He travels to Paris and tries his usual bulldozing techniques on them but they respond by withholding their official sanction and by advising their members not to participate. The only Western European country that does take part in the fair is Spain.

The fair is not going well. It is not drawing enough customers to cover its costs. When a subordinate is brave enough to inform Moses of this fact, the man is fired. Another has a heart attack and eventually dies after a meeting with Moses. Moses does not take criticism well and does not handle failure well. His response is to fire the messenger who gives him the truth, even though it is bad news.

It is obvious that Moses' usual tactics do not work. He can't bulldoze people like he used to. The lies catch up with him at the World's Fair and now there are media that are asking questions about every detail, making it difficult for him to sidestep the issues as he usually does. As the controversy worsens, so does Mary Moses' health. Moses responds by simply avoiding her. He stays in New York while she stays in Long Island until her death in 1966. A month after Mary's death, Moses marries Mary Grady.



Part 7, Chapter 48 Old Lion, Young Mayor

Part 7, Chapter 48 Old Lion, Young Mayor Summary

During the Lindsay administration the Transit Authority is faced with a big deficit, which Lindsay wants to offset by using the Triborough surplus. In January 1966, Lindsay announces that they are going to merge Triborough with the Transit Authority. Lindsay will appoint the head of the new authority. Lindsay sends an aide, Arthur E. Palmer to try to talk Moses into resigning so they don't have to force him out. Moses refuses and someone in the Lindsay administration reads the bond covenants and the Triborough statute. The legislation submitted to the legislature makes no mention of the surplus funds, but Lindsay still moves to merge the two authorities.

Lindsay learns about the Power Brokers and that he can't oust Moses. Chase Manhattan, as trustee of over \$379,300,000 of Triborough bonds, announces it will sue to invalidate the legislation because it would break the contract involved in the bonds. The bill does not pass.

At the Triborough's thirtieth anniversary celebration, Moses announces new improvements to the bridges, thus ending the surplus. During the festivities he receives a letter from the mayor removing him as the highways representative.

Part 7, Chapter 48 Old Lion, Young Mayor Analysis

Moses clashes with John Lindsay right from the beginning. Lindsay, unaware of the wording of the Triborough statutes and the bond covenants, wants to do what seems logical and use the Triborough surplus to bail out the transit authority. He tries to bring about a merger of the two entities but finds it can't be because of the contracts with the bonds. Nobody seems to look at the wording of legal documents. They want to get rid of Moses but can't do so without doing away with all of the money he controls. They have to wait until 1970 when his term expires.



Part 7, Chapter 49 The Last Stand

Part 7, Chapter 49 The Last Stand Summary

Rockefeller has his own plans for transportation and now becomes involved in removing Moses. He wants access to the Triborough surplus to use for his projects. Like Lindsay and the others, Rockefeller can't break the bond covenants without the bondholders suing as a result. If the bondholders sue, the bondholders will win. The trustee for the bondholders is Chase Manhattan Bank, which is controlled by the Rockefeller family.

Rockefeller announces his new transportation plan. He obtains Moses' support for the plan by promising him a position with the combined transportation authority. Rockefeller's referendum passes. There is still the problem of possible lawsuits from merging Triborough into a larger authority. Moses is gearing up for the Triborough Authority to file suit but finds the plans don't include using the surplus. The Rockefellers work out a plan to remove Moses from power. Moses still thinks he will have a position on the Metropolitan Transit Authority but finds he is offered a consulting position in which he would continue to coordinate Triborough's construction program and the Long Island Sound Crossing for a salary of \$25,000 per year. Moses has no choice but to accept the position.

Part 7, Chapter 49 The Last Stand Analysis

Moses survives the battle with Lindsay to merge his authority and then is immediately confronted by Rockefeller's attempt to unseat Moses and his power. Rockefeller, his wealth and his connections are too much for Moses. He is basically outsmarted and conned out of his power by Rockefeller. Moses' power stemmed from the Triborough authority and the bond covenants. The bondholder's trustee is the Chase Manhattan Bank, which is controlled by the governor's brother. Eventually all of these forces team up against Robert Moses to relieve him of the tremendous power he held all of those years.

He is now reduced to a low-level consultant at the Triborough. Now 79 years old, Moses accepts the position instead of retiring gracefully.



Part 7, Chapter 50 Old

Part 7, Chapter 50 Old Summary

Under the new leadership, Moses' former aides who are still employed with the new MTA are not allowed to talk business with Moses. Moses waits to build the bridge, but there is always some delay or another. It finally dawns on Moses that there will be no bridge or any other job for him to build. The Rockefeller administration is waiting for him to become too old to work.

Moses still has a sharp mind and since he has no responsibilities, he develops a housing program to clear the slums. His plan is to build a big housing project, move the slum dwellers into it and then raze the slum. He plans to build another new project on that site, move another group of slum dwellers into it, then raze the slum where they came from and so on. There are still bridges and roads to be built, but he is now watching as most of the money goes into public transportation.

Moses receives various civic accolades. Fordham University names a plaza after him. The Salvation Army and others name him Man of the Year and several buildings are named after him. As his projects that he started when he was head of Triborough are completed, he gives speeches at the dedication ceremonies. By 1972 the speaking engagements have pretty much dried up and his newspaper column is cancelled. He now finds himself with nothing to do.

Part 7, Chapter 50 Old Analysis

Moses becomes somewhat pathetic waiting year after year for the bridge project to materialize. He still tries to develop plans to fulfill his dream. He still has many projects that haven't even begun, but now he has no power to realize them, even with how much he has accomplished in his life. He is left to sit and watch Rockefeller go about things in his own way.



Characters

Robert Moses

Robert Moses is the main character since the book is his biography. He begins as an idealistic youth right out of college with dreams to develop roads, bridges and parks in New York and to reform the system and rid it of corruption. He learns the realities of politics in the Tammany system. He soon discovers that in order to succeed and accomplish things, he needs power. He must either work under someone with power that will support him or he must develop his own source of power. Moses does both. He writes the bills that give him his power in a system where nobody closely reads what comes before the legislature and what it adopts. Moses wields a kind of power from 1934-1968 that makes him one of the most, if not the most, powerful men in New York. He controls all public construction and all federal funds and writes the bills that give him this power. He can't be easily unseated and he knows this. He produces results that make the politicians look good and he knows this too. The fact that he is arrogant and often rubs people the wrong way is overlooked by everyone until the end of his career.

However, once the press begins its digging and attacking, he can never recover his former popularity. Mayor Lindsay wants to get rid of him but can't because of the bond covenants. It takes Governor Rockefeller and his family connections to relieve Moses of his power thus bringing the empire of Triborough to an end. Moses builds the parks, beaches, bridges, highways and buildings that New York needs during the course of his career. From his point of view, everything he did was to benefit future generations. He never seems to consider the effect on the present generation when he bulldozes their homes and neighborhoods or how the people are treated. The man that foreign nations came to consult becomes the epitome of the model that politicians don't want by the end of the book.

Bella Moses

Bella Moses is Robert's socialite mother. She supports Robert and his family financially for most of her life since his first twenty years of work in government is as a volunteer. Bella is one of the social do-gooders involved in promoting settlement houses to minister to the flood of Jewish immigrants fleeing the pogroms in Russia and Europe and pouring into New York City. Her son Robert is closer to her than he is to his father. She had married well so her children never have to want for anything. She is happy with her son Robert's choice of a career in public service even though she has to support him, and later his family, for many years.

Emanuel Moses

Emanuel Moses is Bella's husband and the father of Robert, Paul and Edna. He is an immigrant, the son of Spanish-Jewish parents. When he marries Bella, he is already a



successful New Haven businessman and department store owner. Bella and Emanuel spend the early years of their marriage in New Haven, where they have their three children. The family is mostly happy in New Haven, but Bella forces a move to New York City. Emanuel sells his store and liquidates his assets in order to move to New York. He basically retires at the age of forty-six.

Paul Emanuel Moses

Paul is oldest child of Bella and Emanuel. He is stronger-willed and more charming than his brother Robert. He refuses to follow the career path that Bella chooses for him and works as an electrical engineer. When Bella is on her deathbed, she pretty much cuts Paul out of her will by leaving him the interest off of a small trust fund. Paul, who is unemployed and has no money, spends nights sleeping in Salvation Army missions. His brother offers him no moral or financial support. He never works on a state or city contract throughout his career. In 1962 Robert helps his brother secure a job as an errand-boy.

Edna Moses

Edna is the youngest child of Bella and Emanuel. She doesn't appear much in the book. She supports Robert in the issue of Bella's will. When she moves to Florida in 1940, her brother Robert turns his back on her. He never phones her and makes it clear that he doesn't particularly care to see her when he is in Florida.

"Five A" Johnson

"Five A" is a friend of Moses' from Yale. He becomes Robert's roommate in his third year at Yale and is nicknamed "Slat" by Robert. Much of the information about Robert's days at Yale comes from "Five A."

Mal Dougherty

Mal is one of Moses' Yale classmates who attends graduate school in England at the same time Moses does. During their years in England, the two tour Europe with the Moses family and they travel around the world together.

William H. Allen, Henry Bruere and Frederick Cleveland

These three are social reformers known as "ABC." Their goal is to clean up government and rid it of corruption. Their idea is to implement various procedures that make grafting impossible. They are the founders of the Bureau of Municipal Research, the first place that Moses works as a volunteer. This is during the early 1900s when social reform



movement is taking place. Even though they don't like Robert Moses, they keep him on as an unpaid volunteer

Henry Moskowitz

Moskowitz is the chair of the Municipal Civil Service Commission where Moses is assigned as an unpaid volunteer, to help reform the system. Moses writes the plan for reform of the civil service system, which has the support of Moskowitz.

Darwin R. James

James is a member of the Civil Service Commission when Moses writes the plan for reform. James also supports Moses' plan for reform.

John Purroy Mitchell

Mitchell is elected mayor of New York City in 1913. He is a close friend of the "ABC" group that runs the Bureau of Municipal Research. He is the one who asks for the Bureau's recommendations regarding reorganization of the administration. The "ABC" group recommends Moses to him for work on civil service reform.

Belle Moskowitz

Belle is the wife of Henry Moskowitz. She is the power behind the throne of the governorship of Al Smith. When she is appointed to head a government commission to reorganize the state administration, she hires Moses as her Chief of Staff. Belle is the one who shows Moses how the system functions and how to work within the system.

Governor Al Smith

Al Smith is the governor of New York. He appoints Belle Moskowitz to head a commission to reorganize the state administration and she hires Robert Moses to be her Chief of Staff. This is how Moses meets Smith. Moses and Smith form a friendship and alliance that lasts until Smith dies. Smith is a Tammany politician and a product of the slums of New York. Moses begins to write his own bills during the Smith administration that ultimately lead to Moses' base of power.

When Smith loses his re-election bid, Moses is out of a job. When Smith re-captures the governorship in 1923, Moses goes back to Albany with him. During his second term, Smith, with Moses, institutes many reforms in the state administration. He offers Moses his choice of positions, several times. Eventually Moses tells Smith that he wants a position in the parks department. Smith appoints Moses as president of the Long Island State Park Commission in 1924. Moses remains loyal to Smith until Smith dies.



Richard Childs

Childs is a government reformer and heir to the Bon Ami fortune. He forms his own organization to act as a watchdog over state government and hires Robert Moses to head the Good Government Committee in 1921. They publish the monthly *State Bulletin*. Childs ends up feeling that Moses uses the organization for partisan purposes to help Al Smith's re-election campaign.

W. Kingsland Macy

Macy is a Long Island resident and stockbroker. He, along with a group of wealthy men known as the Robber Barons, opposes Moses' plans for the development of beaches and parkways on Long Island. Moses condemns property that he needs the right-of-way for if the owner's won't sell. Macy opposes Moses on principle, stating that the government should not have the right to take people's homes. He mounts legal challenges against Moses' authority to take people's property. The property they fight over is called the Taylor Estate. The island's wealthy residents buy the place to keep Moses from building his parkway through their area and plan to develop the estate. Macy leads a legal battle that goes on for years.

Thomas A. McWhinney

McWhinney is an assemblyman from Hempsted who becomes a friend of Moses. He assists Moses in his attempts to win referendums and acquire the lands he needs for his highways and beaches. He apparently teaches Moses about the awarding of construction contracts and such things.

Francis Perkins

Francis is a friend of Moses from his Yale days. She is the first to hear of his dreams for great highways in New York, soon after they are out of school. She served as a commissioner on the New York Industrial Commission and appears several times in the book with comments.

Franklin Roosevelt

Roosevelt is the governor of New York in 1929, having followed Smith, and becomes President of the United States in 1933. Roosevelt does not like Moses and his interest in parks predates Moses since he served on the Taconic Park Commission. Roosevelt had had plans for the development of parks and roads that were thwarted by Moses at this time. Roosevelt gives up his position on the Taconic Park Commission when he is elected governor. In spite of the bad blood between them, Roosevelt and Moses work together, somewhat, during Roosevelt's term as governor. Roosevelt cannot remove



Moses because he is already too entrenched in power and government, but Roosevelt benefits from a lot of public relations from ribbon cutting ceremonies.

Moses' problems with Roosevelt continue during Roosevelt's presidency. Roosevelt tries to force Moses out of his Triborough position with a WPA Administrative Order that could only apply to two people, one of whom is Moses. The order is leaked to the press, who question Roosevelt about the incident. The administration soon backs down on the matter.

Herbert H. Lehman

Lehman succeeds Roosevelt as governor in 1933. He is the source of another increase in Moses' power as Moses takes charge of the Depression-era programs involving public works and other state agencies that have to do with roads and parks.

Judge Samuel Seaburg

Seaburg is a Fusion Party leader who leads an investigation into Tammany corruption in the 1930s. He also doesn't like Smith or Moses and considers them to be Tammany puppets. When the Fusion Party considers Moses as a candidate for mayor, Seaburg blocks the offer.

Fiorello H. La Guardia

La Guardia becomes the Fusion Party candidate instead of Moses. As mayor, he is nicknamed the Little Flower. La Guardia has a good relationship with Moses, who is basically the power behind the throne. La Guardia pretty much gives Moses free reign to do as he wishes since he views Moses as a competent man who gets things done. He brings Moses into city government officially as New York City Park Commissioner. Moses writes the legislation that allows the appointment. He also appoints Moses as head of the Triborough Bridge Authority. Under La Guardia, Moses gains appointment to and control of all of the agencies that have to do with road and park construction in the New York metropolitan area. La Guardia has his share of run-ins with Moses but they remain friends until La Guardia dies.

F. Trubee Davison

Davison is the individual who offered Moses the Republican gubernatorial candidacy in 1934.



Bill Exton and Robert Weinberg

Exton and Weinberg are social reformers who are opposed to Moses and his tactics and policies. They claim he destroys everything that makes New York City habitable when he builds his projects. They are active in the fight against the West Side Improvements.

William O'Dwyer

O'Dwyer is the Tammany politician who follows La Guardia as mayor. He creates the City Construction Coordinator position for Moses. When the Kefauver organized crime hearings take place, he escapes by being appointed Ambassador to Mexico. He serves as mayor for 44 months.

Thomas E. Dewey

Dewey is governor of New York in the period immediately following World War II. The Dewey administration enters into several mutually beneficial deals with Moses that result in a burden on the taxpayer. Dewey does not like Moses or his arrogance, but Dewey needs Moses.

W. Averell Harriman

Harriman is governor of New York after Dewey. Harriman was interested in parks before Moses but couldn't accomplish anything. He is mostly in awe of Moses and what he has accomplished. Harriman benefits from attending many ribbon-cutting ceremonies with Moses.

Nelson Rockefeller

Nelson Rockefeller becomes governor of New York in 1958. He and his family have worked with Moses on various projects. When Rockefeller is governor, Moses tries his usual tactics on Rockefeller when he doesn't get his own way, submitting his resignation. To his amazement the governor accepts the resignation, leaving Moses with nothing but the Triborough chairmanship and the presidency of the Fair Corporation. The governor eventually works out a deal with his brother David, who heads the Chase Manhattan Bank and is trustee of the Triborough bonds that result in the end of the Moses' Triborough empire. Moses' loses his position as chairman of the Triborough Authority due to the machinations of the Rockefellers.



Vincent R. Impellitteri

Impellitteri, nicknamed Impy, is mayor of New York City for 40 months beginning in January 1947. As President of the City Council, he assumes control when O'Dwyer resigns and leaves for Mexico. There has to be a special election for mayor. In exchange for Moses' support, Impellitteri gives Moses more positions and power. He gives Moses complete control of the construction of all public works projects. Public housing projects are built during this administration and Moses is the force behind the mayor.

Carmine DeSapio

DeSapio is a Tammany boss during the Impellitteri era. He does not support the candidacy of Impellitteri but supports Wagner in his run for mayor. His name and some of his associate's names come up in the Title I investigation of reporters Gleason and Cook. DeSapio is said to be making money on Moses' projects.

Jerry Finkelstein

Finkelstein is a friend of Mayor O'Dwyer who is appointed as Chairman of the City Planning Commission. He conducts independent studies that challenge Moses' claims. Moses does not like Finkelstein. O'Dwyer flees the country in response to the Kefauver committee's investigation and Moses is able to rid himself of Finkelstein when his term expires.

John J. Bennett

Bennett follows Finkelstein on the City Planning Commission. He controls the Title I hearings where citizens air their complaints against Moses. Bennett is a member of the Moses camp.

Robert Ferdinand Wagner, Sr.

Ferdinand Sr. is mayor of New York City after Impellitteri and is only mentioned a few times in the book.

Robert Ferdinand Wagner, Jr.

Wagner Jr. is mayor of New York City in 1953. It is during his administration that both Battles of Central Park occur. He has no choice but to support Moses. Wagner does not like Moses but has to work with him because he can't get rid of him.



Henry Cohen and Hortense Gabel

Cohen and Gabel are two reformers that investigate the housing conditions brought about the highway construction. They try to make the situation public.

Louis J. Pokrass

Pokrass is a sponsor of one of the Title I project. Cook and Gleason remember the name from the Senate organized crimes hearing. Pokrass has ties to organized crime.

Frank Costello, Meyer Lansky and Joe Adonis

These three men are underworld organized crime figures linked to Pokrass and Title I projects.

John Lindsay

Lindsay is the New York City mayor who tries to eliminate Moses' position by combining the Triborough Authority with the Transit Authority so he can use the Triborough surplus to counter the transit deficit. The merger is stopped by a lawsuit filed by Chase Manhattan Bank, as trustee for the Triborough bondholders.



Objects/Places

Mobile, Alabama

The Cohen brothers, one of whom is Bella Moses' father, immigrate to Mobile, Alabama from Germany in response to the anti-Semitic conditions in Bavaria. Unlike other immigrants, the Cohen brothers come to America with money that their family gave them and they start a dry goods store in Mobile, upon their arrival. They move to New York in 1848 and become importers and millionaires.

New Haven, Connecticut

Emanuel Moses is a successful New Haven businessman when he marries Bella. They reside at 83 Dwight Street where the Moses' three children are born. The three Moses children all have fond memories of this house and did not want to move to New York City.

46th Street, New York City

The Moses family moves from New Haven to 20 W. 46th Street in New York City. This is the house where the Moses children grow up.

Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

Robert Moses returns to New Haven to attend Yale University. He is socially ostracized his first two years because he is Jewish. He lives off-campus his first years and then lives alone in a dormitory his second year. His reading and writing attract the interest of his classmates and he rooms with "Five A" in his third year. Being Jewish keeps him out of the major clubs and sports, but he becomes the best of the minor ones.

England

Moses attends graduate school at Oxford University in England. He is happy at Oxford, happier than he was at Yale. He travels around various parts of the world with an old Yale classmate who is also attending school in England. He is attracted to the British system of civil service and informs his parents that he intends to work in civil service when he returns to the United States. He writes his Ph.D. dissertation on the civil service system.



Bureau of Municipal Research

This is the first place where Moses works as a volunteer in New York City. The Bureau is the creation of William H. Allen, Henry Bruere and Frederick Cleveland. The Bureau is a product of the Progressive movement of the time that seeks to rid government of corruption. When John Purroy Mitchell becomes mayor in 1914, he is interested in civil service reforms and asks the Bureau of Municipal Research to recommend someone who can work on the project. They recommend Moses for the job.

Municipal Civil Service Commission

This is a new commission created by Mayor John Purroy Mitchell whose purpose is to reform the city administration. Moses writes the plan for reform of the civil service system and develops a rating system based on math that allows supervisors to evaluate each person's performance. He also assigns a grade level to each job that is consistent with a certain level of salary. If put in place, this would have downgraded many Tammany appointees so the plan is obviously opposed and defeated by Tammany.

Hall of Records

This is the location of Moses' office when he works for Belle Moskowitz as chief of staff of the committee charged with recommending reorganization of the state administration. The Hall of Records is four blocks from the Bureau of Municipal Research in New York City.

Albany, New York

Albany is the state capitol of New York. Moses spends much time there writing bills and performing administrative duties and functions for Governor Al Smith. Throughout the book, Moses travels to and from Albany whenever he has to.

Long Island

Moses has a house at Babylon on Long Island. It is also the place where he begins to fulfill his dreams of building a highway and parks system when he is appointed to the position of president of the Long Island State Park Commission. Long Island is the home of the wealthy, including the Robber Barons. Moses prevails with appropriation and right-of-way and develops a beach and highway system along with bridges.

Taylor Estate

The Taylor Estate is a deserted estate on Long Island that becomes the subject of a prolonged legal battle. Moses negotiates an option to buy the estate but has the locals



buy the estate to try to develop it and prevent Moses from building his parkways. Moses, using two little known state laws, appropriates the property. This leads to a legal case that eventually is won by Moses and the Park Commission.

Randalls Island

The Triborough Bridge Authority is the source of Moses' power. He writes the Triborough statute that creates the authority and gives him the power. He learns about revenue bonds and covenants. The bridge authority exists as long as there are outstanding bonds. If the bonds are never repaid, the authority never goes out of existence. Reissuing new bonds keeps the Triborough Authority in business and allows Moses to build his power basis. The Triborough Bridge Authority is headquartered at Randalls Island, which is Moses' headquarters.

Flushing Meadows

Flushing Meadows is the site of the World's Fair. Moses is president of the Fair Corporation. He not only loses the support of the Bureau of International Expositions, but he also alienates them to the extent that they withdraw official sanctions and advise their members not to participate in the fair. There is gross mismanagement at the fair, which operates at a loss for 23 of its 24-month existence. It makes enough the last month for Moses to build a park at Flushing Meadows, instead of paying off the loan from the city.

Themes

Value of Dreams

One of the themes of the book is the value of dreams. Moses has a dream throughout his career in public service. His dream begins when he is a young man fresh out of school when he used to gaze out over the East River and dream of a great expressway. The book, and Moses' story, is the story of how he fulfills his dream. His dream involves developing a system of parks and highways for New York. Parks and highways cannot be built without money and power. Moses has to find ways of acquiring money and power in order to make his dreams come true. In order to obtain approval for projects and acquire the appropriations necessary for the projects, Moses finds he either has to have someone in power supporting him or he has to be in a position of power himself. Moses studies the system and figures out how and where to develop his own base of power.

Moses writes his own bills for adoption by the legislature, knowing that nobody reads the bills close enough to ascertain all of the details in them. By giving people a broad overview of what's in the bills without going into detail, the bills are adopted along with the clauses allowing Moses to accumulate unbelievable power within the state of New York and within the city of New York. Moses also writes the bond covenants in such a way that anybody who wants to do anything has to have his permission. Moses does all of this to obtain the necessary authority to fulfill his dreams and does provide New York with a system of parks, highways, bridges and buildings that are there for future generations.

His dreams for New York come true because of his ability to figure out the system and how to make the system work for him so he can do the construction that he desires. He learns enough about government to pick the positions that he needs to create his dream. Moses still has plans for New York when he is forced into semi-retirement, but he does not have any way to fulfill those dreams. He finds himself out of favor with the press and the politicians due to the irregularities the investigations reveal. If Moses did not have his dream of a great highway along the East River, New York might not have the infrastructure that it needed with the speed with which it was built.

The Use of Power

Moses could not fulfill his dreams if he didn't have the power to make those dreams come true. Things like construction projects do not just get done in politics, especially in a system like the Tammany Hall system. He needs political clout. He needs to have political power or at least the support of someone who does have political power.

As a volunteer in the Bureau of Municipal Research Moses has no power to have his plans adopted, and he finds it very frustrating. As a volunteer for the Municipal Civil



Service Commission, he still has no power to get his civil service reform plan approved. He locks horns with Tammany directly because he threatens their power over the patronage system. When he works for Governor Al Smith he finds himself in a position where he can develop the power he needs to create the New York of his dreams. He writes his own bills that become enacted as statutes. He has the power of the governor behind him when he writes the bill for his appointment as president of the Long Island Park Commission.

Moses studies the existing statutes and writes the bill that gives him the power and authority to do what he wants. As he receives more appointments he writes bills that give him more and more power, knowing that nobody reads the proposed bills in detail before they are voted into law. In this way he gains control of all construction in New York City and of all the agencies that have anything to do with parks and highways in the state and city of New York. He finds that a bridge authority exists only as long as there are bonds to be repaid, so he figures out a way to keep issuing new bonds so that his Triborough Authority never goes out of business and turns the bridges over to the city. He develops bond covenants that prevent any authority, legislature or politician from using the Triborough surplus, the source of his funding for projects and the source of his power. He works himself into such a position of power that he can't be fired.

Another bill that he writes specifies that he is the only contact with federal funding agencies. If New York wants federal funds for public works projects and interstate highways, they have to go through Robert Moses. Moses, and the bills he writes and the legislation he gets adopted, make him one of the most, if not the most, powerful men in the state of New York. Part of the reason they put up with him is because he produces results. They have a system of highways, parks, bridges and buildings that attest to Moses' accomplishments and achievements. The politicians need Moses and Moses needs the politicians. Any industries or entities that are complementary to any of Moses' projects support Moses because to them he represents money in their pockets.

Politics and Power

A third theme of the book is that of politics and power. Nothing can be accomplished within the Tammany Hall system unless it is done the Tammany way. Moses does not have any political affiliations *per se*. He does not come up through the Tammany system either. Early in his career he develops a plan for civil service reform that infringes on the power of the Tammany system and directly challenges that power. The plan, no matter how good it would have been for the city, is defeated. Moses realizes he needs to learn to do things within the system And does just that with the help of Bella and McWhinney. He gets what he wants by giving others what they want. When he is studying the state administration for purposes of reorganization he looks at who made the appointment for a particular position and the position of the person who made the appointment. Whose power is being infringed upon if the position is eliminated? With his Long Island projects, Moses also learns that deals are a part of politics and power. He wants to build his highway to Jones Beach through Hempsted, so he works with the assemblyman as chairman of the delegation.



Soon it becomes known that a certain parcel of land adjoining the right-of-way has been purchased for resale after the construction of the highway. The construction contracts are awarded to certain favorites. The awarding of contracts having to do with the World's Fair is another example of politics and power. No matter who bid what, the contracts for insurance, trash removal, security and other things are awarded to the "favorites" at extremely high prices. It is said that power corrupts in politics. Moses does not become rich over any of these deals, but those around him do.



Style

Points of View

The author functions as the narrator of the biography. He tells the story of Robert Moses and how the parks, highways, bridges, playgrounds, buildings, beaches and other structures of New York come into being. Even though there are many quotes in the book from direct conversations, it is the author who tells us the story. The author presents other characters' points of view throughout the book so the reader can ascertain both sides of the story.

It is obvious that the author performed a great deal of research for the writing of this book. He uses articles, books, documents and interviews to convey his information. All of the sources are delineated in the 56 pages of notes that document the information in the book. The author does a thorough job in his research and presentation of the facts.

Caro presents the information in an objective manner. There is no bias in his writing and he tells the story he set out to tell in an objective manner, letting the reader draw his or her own conclusions. Caro does not try to force any point of view or make any value judgments. He just states the facts, what happened, who was involved and what it led to. The reader has to appreciate the objectivity, especially in a book of this length with all the details presented.

Setting

The main setting for the book is New York, primarily the New York City metropolitan area from the late 1800s to the 1970s. Moses is born in New Haven, Connecticut and his family moves to New York City when he is still a child. The setting shifts to New Haven again when Moses attends Yale University and then to England when Moses attends graduate school at Oxford University. The scene shifts to Albany, New York when Moses works for Governor Al Smith.

Although there are some scenes in other parts of Europe during family vacations and when Moses travels to the Bureau of International Expositions in Paris, France, most of the action takes place in various parts of New York City and Long Island. This is where the highways, parks, bridges, playgrounds and buildings are constructed. It is the neighborhoods in this area that are discussed. These are the neighborhoods that are changed by Moses' various constructions projects. These are the neighborhoods whose residents are displaced and whose lives are ruined by the construction projects.

The reader watches as New York grows and becomes more and more congested due to the relevance of the automobile. The construction of one bridge doesn't relieve the congestion on other bridges and is congested itself from the day it opens. The reader watches the attempts to relieve such congestion, how they are planned and how the plans are implemented.



Language and Meaning

The book is written in clear, concise English. It is easy to understand by anybody. Caro apparently wrote the book for anyone with an interest in the subject of New York, politics or how the infrastructure of New York was developed.

Caro's book represents an in-depth and thorough study of Robert Moses and the development of the New York infrastructure in regard to highways, parks, buildings, playgrounds and other structures. He uses a variety of sources including articles, books, documents and interviews to present the facts of the story. Because of this he is able to use a variety of direct quotes and present different situations from different points of view.

Structure

The book is divided into seven parts and fifty chapters. The seven parts correspond to seven different phases in Moses' life and career. Part 1 is "The Idealist," which deals with Moses' formative years and his education. Part 2, "The Reformer," deals with Moses' early career as a volunteer when he tries to reform the system. Part 3, "The Rise to Power," shows Moses' learning phase and how he begins to put together his own power base. Part 4, titled "The Use of Power," discusses the period when Moses uses his power to start fulfilling his dreams of building the parks and highway systems. In Part 5, "The Love of Power," Moses uses his power over people, like his brother, to achieve what he wants. In Part 6, "The Lust for Power," we see a Moses who wants power for power's sake. He uses his power against people now to try to destroy them. The final part, Part 7, "The Loss of Power," shows the consequences of having too much power and abusing it. It shows the factors that led to Moses losing his power.

The book is not strictly chronological, which may be confusing for some readers, given the length of the book. There are numerous times when the reader has to try to figure out the time period, whose administration it is, etc. For instance, there will be a chapter describing events at an opening ceremony and then, several chapters later, they are discussing the construction of the project and what happened. The book is hard to follow in this respect.



Quotes

"In the twentieth century, the influence of Robert Moses on the cities of America was greater than that of any other person" (Introduction, pg. 12).

"In later decades, when Robert Moses was famous almost as much for his personality as for his achievements, observers would marvel at the depth and degree of his outspokenness, stubbornness, aggressiveness and arrogance. They would wonder at the origin of the mold in which he had been formed in so hard a cast. But relative and friends of the Moses family never wondered. Whatever it was that made Robert Moses the way he was, they knew, whatever the quality that had shaped an unusual - in some ways unique - personality, the quality was one that they had watched being passed, like a family heirloom, from Robert Moses' grandmother to his mother to him. 'Robert Moses,' these people would say, 'is Bella Moses' son'" (Chapter 1, pg. 37).

"Such an explanation, however, failed to take into account the full extent of the difference. For one thing, Moses was not only obeying Mrs. Moskowitz but also obviously studying the lessons that she was teaching, and studying them hard. His conversation began to include the phrases of practical politics as well as those of scientific management textbooks. His analysis of a state job began to take into consideration not only whether the position was necessary for the betterment of mankind but also who had appointed the man who now held the position. He learned to weigh the governmental gains that might be achieved by the position's elimination and by the use for worthier purposes of the salary allocated to it against the political losses the elimination might entail - how much it would antagonize the appointer and how great an obstacle such antagonism might be to Smith's over-all program" (Chapter 6, pg. 99).

"Under Belle Moskowitz's tutelage, Bob Moses had changed from an uncompromising idealist to a man willing to deal with practical considerations; now the alteration had become more drastic. Under her tutelage, he had been learning the politicians' way; now he almost seemed to have joined their ranks" (Chapter 7, pg. 135).

"But other reform causes had been pressed with more urgency. With so much open space then in the city's outlying boroughs, there had seemed no rush to reserve any of it, and the cost of condemning buildings in the slums, so heavily built up that any other method of obtaining space there seemed unfeasible, was so prohibitive that even the most zealous of reformers had found it difficult to suggest such a step seriously. Other matters, it had seemed, should take precedence. There would be time to get to parks" (Chapter 9, pg. 143).

"The governor, she said, 'wanted you to tell him what it looked like. ...He got more information out of people who would tell him the exact thing they'd seen, [who] described the detail The he saw what it was lie.' Anxious to improve the lives of the urban poor, he was especially anxious to improve them through things he could actually see improving them; his Governorship was distinguished by his emphasis on works of physical entity that was a park, and no one was a more vivid describer, a more graphic



presenter, than Bob Moses. After Smith's election in November 1922, Moses persuaded him to visit the New York City watershed properties. They were barren in winter, but with his gift for words Moses made the Governor see them as they could be in summer, with leaves on the trees and people sitting at picnic tables under them" (Chapter 9, pg. 167).

"The lesson Robert Moses would often recite to associates. He would put it this way: As long as you're fighting for parks, you can be sure of having public opinion on your side. And as long as you have public opinion on your side, you're safe. *'As long as you're on the side of parks, you're on the side of the angles. You can't lose'*" (Chapter 12, pg. 218).

"In politics, power vacuums are always filled. And the power vacuum in parks was filled by Robert Moses. The old park men saw beauty in their parks. Moses saw beauty there, too, but he also saw power, say it lying there in those parks unwanted. And he picked it up - and turned it as a weapon on those who had not thought it important and destroyed them with it. Whether or not he so intended, he turned parks, the symbol of man's quest for serenity and peace, into a source of power" (Chapter 14, pg. 256).

"Moses was playing by the rules of power now and one of the first of those rules is that when power meets greater power, it does not oppose but attempts to compromise" (Chapter 16, pg. 256).

"A nation looked at Robert Moses' dream and found it good" (Chapter 17, pg. 309).

"Moses was fond of repeating at this time a quote often used in Albany. 'You can get an awful lot of good done in the world if you're willing to let someone else take the credit for it.' Certainly Moses was willing at least to share the credit for the work he had done with the man he needed if he was to get more done" (Chapter 17, pg. 315).

"Not only does a Governor not interfere with an official like Robert Moses; he heaps on him more and more responsibilities. No matter what the job was, it seemed, if it was difficult Roosevelt turned to the same man. During 1930, 1931 and 1932, Moses handled more than a dozen special assignments for Roosevelt and produced results on every one. And if increasing Moses' responsibilities meant increasing his power - giving him more money to work with, more engineers, architects, draftsmen and police to work with - well, the Governor simply had no choice but to increase that power" (Chapter 17, pg. 319-320).

"They attributed Moses' arrogance to brilliance, his impatience to zeal" (Chapter 19, pg. 348).

"But Moses no longer had to discuss. He had long had great dreams for the city, and now he had learned how to make dreams come true. He had learned the technique of stake driving and of whipsawing. He had learned how to mislead and conceal and deceive, how to lie to men and bully them, how to ruin their reputations. And he used all these methods to bring the dream to reality. Or was it all for the dream?" (Chapter 24, pg. 495).



"Of all the remarkable qualities of Robert Moses' matchless mind, one of the most striking was its ability to take an institution with little or no power, and seemingly, with little or no potential for more power (at Yale, an unprestigious literary magazine; in state government, the Long Island State Park Commission) and to transform it into an institution with immense power, power insulated from and hence on a par with the power of the forces that had originally created it. And now the mind of Robert Moses had begun focusing on the institution known as the 'public authority'" (Chapter 27, pg. 614).

"Giving public authorities indefinite existence and such vastly expanded powers would not be easy. In proposing to give the institution substantial governmental powers and a lifespan at least of decades, possibly of centuries - in proposing to make it an institution that might endure as long as the Republic endured - Moses was in effect, whether or not he thought in such terms, proposing to create, within a democratic society based on a division of powers amount three branches of government, a new, further branch, a branch that would, moreover, in significant respects, be independent of the other three" (Chapter 28, pg. 624).

"Moses has the say - absolute authority- to decide not only who should design and build all highways in the metropolitan area, but which highways would be built, when they would be built and where they would be built. The state had in effect turned over to him - intact and complete - all its authority over the construction of arterial highways in and around New York City" (Chapter 33, pg. 711).

"Taylor had warned McGoldrick and McGoldrick had warned Joseph that Moses would 'bankrupt' the city. One way in which the Comptrollers were afraid Moses would do this was by forcing the city to issue long-term revenue bonds to pay for the 'negligible' city share of the costs of his public works, costs which, he assured the press and public and city officials not as familiar with city finances as the Comptrollers, were being almost entirely borne by state and federal government. Since most of these facilities were not revenue-producing - those that produced revenue he built under the auspices of his authorities so that they, rather than the city, would get that revenue - the only method of paying the interest on those bonds was to take the money out of the city's current revenues, to include debt service in the expense budget" (Chapter 34, pg. 795-796).

"When Robert Moses came to power in New York in 1934, the city's mass transportation system was probably the best in the world. When he left power in 1968, it was quite possibly the worst" (Chapter 40, pg. 933).

"He had allowed himself to remain too long in the glare of a spotlight strong enough to show him as he was. The city had finally gotten a good look at the man behind the legend. Part of the legend still remained un-illuminated. Even after the Battle, Robert Moses was still, in the public consciousness, a man uninterested in money, a man who ignored bureaucrats and politicians, who was above political consideration. He was still the Man Who Got Things Done. Those elements of the Moses myth remained untouched.



"But other elements had been destroyed. No one who had followed the Battle closely could believe any longer that Robert Moses was in public life solely to serve the public. It had been all too obvious that what he wanted was to be not the public's servant, but its master, to be able to impose his will on it" (Chapter 42, pg. 1003).

"Headlines told the public that Moses had been guaranteed a salary of \$100,000 per year. That salary was then near incredible for a public servant; the Mayor's was only \$40,000 per year. There was, moreover, the "escrow account;" the public may not have understood it, but there was something sinister about the way the press played it. It made him seem greedy, money-hungry, taking a huge personal profit out of an institution that had been suppose to provide the city with parks and educational money but was not doing so. The last surviving portion of the Moses image was destroyed. No one had ever said he was personally interested in money. Now they had. Of the image of Robert Moses, that had stood glittering and pure of thirty years, there was now not a single part left untarnished" (Chapter 49, pg. 1108).



Topics for Discussion

As a young man Moses used to go by the East River and gaze over the land. What did he dream about?

Discuss the lessons Moses learns from Belle Moskowitz. Why are they valuable?

Discuss the problems involved in the Taylor Estate. Why is the Taylor Estate crucial to both sides?

Discuss how Moses builds his power base.

Roosevelt wants to oust Moses at the beginning of his administration, but by the end, he supports Moses. What happens that changes Roosevelt's position?

Discuss the Seabury investigation. Why is it important? What are the "Goo Goos?"

Discuss what is involved in the West Side Improvements project. How does this fulfill Moses' original dream?

Why and when does Moses team up with the Port Authority?

Discuss the meaning and the role of the Highwaymen.

Moses eventually loses his city positions. Explain how and why.

Discuss how Rockefeller causes Moses to lose all his positions but his Triborough and Fair Corporation positions.

Explain how the Rockefellers ease Moses out of power.

What is the relationship between the divisions of the book, or the parts, and the life and career of Robert Moses?