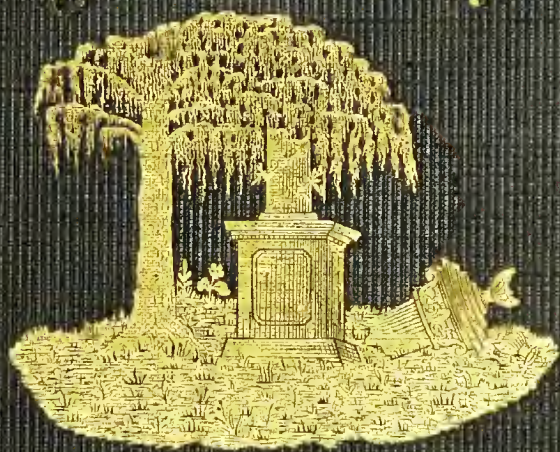


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# TILDEN MEMORIAL.



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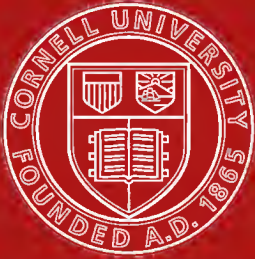
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*Samuel J. Tilden*





In Memoriam.

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Samuel A. Tilden.

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O GOOD GRAY HEAD WHICH ALL MEN KNEW,  
O VOICE FROM WHICH THEIR OMENS ALL MEN DREW,  
O IRON NERVE, TO TRUE OCCASION TRUE,  
O FALLEN AT LENGTH, THAT TOWER OF STRENGTH,  
WHICH STOOD FOUR-SQUARE TO ALL THE WINDS THAT BLEW.



PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
SENATE AND ASSEMBLY

OF THE  
*State of New York,*

RELATIVE TO THE DEATH OF

SAMUEL J. TILDEN,

HELD AT THE CAPITOL, MAY 23, 1887.

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ALBANY:  
THE ARGUS COMPANY, PRINTERS.  
1887.

LA.6618,



# In Memoriam.

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## PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

## Legislature of the State of New York

ON THE DEATH OF

EX-GOVERNOR SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

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IN ASSEMBLY,

*April 1, 1887.*

By unanimous consent, Mr. HOWE offered for the consideration of the House a resolution, in the words following :

*Whereas*, Death has recently removed SAMUEL J. TILDEN, a distinguished citizen, a former Governor of this State, and the candidate of a great party for the office of President of the United States; and,

*Whereas*, It is fitting that the great service rendered to the State and Nation by the illustrious dead, be gratefully recalled and commemorated, and especially the services rendered in freeing the City of New York from the clutches of the powerful and corrupt "Tweed' ring," and the State of New York from the

## Legislative Proceedings.

equally corrupt and still more powerful "canal ring," and the wise and patriotic counsel more recently given regarding sea-coast defenses; and,

*Whereas*, The munificent, generous and more than princely provision made by will for the education and amelioration of the condition of residents of the City of New York, also deserve the thanks and gratitude of the State; therefore,

*Resolved* (if the Senate concur), That a committee of three Senators and five members of the Assembly be appointed by the presiding officers of said bodies, respectively, to arrange for and present a fitting joint memorial service commemorative of the illustrious dead.

Mr. SPEAKER put the question whether the House would agree to said resolution, and it was determined in the affirmative.

*Ordered*, That the Clerk deliver said resolution to the Senate, and request their concurrence therein.

IN SENATE,

*April 4, 1887.*

The Assembly sent for concurrence the following preamble and resolution:

*Whereas*, Death has recently removed SAMUEL J. TILDEN, a distinguished citizen, a former Governor

## Legislative Proceedings.

of this State, and the candidate of a great party for the office of President of the United States; and

*Whereas*, It is fitting that the great service rendered to the State and Nation by the illustrious dead be gratefully recalled and commemorated, and especially the services rendered in freeing the City of New York from the clutches of the powerful and corrupt "Tweed ring," and the State of New York from the equally corrupt and still more powerful "canal ring," and the wise and patriotic counsel more recently given regarding sea-coast defenses; and,

*Whereas*, The munificent, generous and more than princely provision made by will for the education and amelioration of the condition of residents of the City of New York, also deserve the thanks and gratitude of the State; therefore,

*Resolved* (if the Senate concur), That a committee of three Senators and five members of the Assembly be appointed by the presiding officers of said bodies, respectively, to arrange for and present a fitting joint memorial service commemorative of the illustrious dead.

Mr. PRESIDENT put the question whether the Senate would agree to said resolution, and it was determined in the affirmative.

*Ordered*, That the Clerk return said resolution to the Assembly, with a message that the Senate have concurred in the passage of the same.

Legislative Proceedings.

IN ASSEMBLY,

*April 5, 1887.*

The Senate returned the concurrent resolution relative to the appointment of a committee to arrange for and prepare a fitting joint memorial service commemorative of SAMUEL J. TILDEN, deceased; with a message that they have concurred in the passage of the same.

Whereupon, Mr. SPEAKER appointed as such committee on the part of the House, Messrs. HOWE, CROSBY, COLE, CANTOR and CONOVER.

*Ordered,* That the Clerk return said resolution to the Senate, with a message that they have appointed a committee on the part of the Assembly.

IN SENATE,

*April 6, 1887.*

The Assembly returned the resolution relative to the memorial service of the late SAMUEL J. TILDEN, with a message that they had appointed as a committee on the part of the Assembly, Messrs. HOWE, CROSBY, COLE, CANTOR and CONOVER.

## Legislative Proceedings.

Whereupon, Mr. PRESIDENT appointed as such committee on the part of the Senate, Messrs. SMITH, HOYSRADT and DALY.

IN ASSEMBLY,

*April 6, 1887.*

The Senate returned the resolution relative to the appointment of a committee to arrange and prepare a fitting joint memorial service commemorative of SAMUEL J. TILDEN, deceased, with a message that the PRESIDENT had appointed as such committee, on the part of the Senate, Messrs. SMITH, HOYSRADT and DALY.

IN ASSEMBLY.

*May 16, 1887.*

Mr. HOWE, from the special committee appointed, presented the following report:

The undersigned committee, appointed to arrange for memorial services in honor of the late SAMUEL J. TILDEN, respectfully report, that with a like committee appointed by the Senate, they have arranged for such services to be held in the Assembly Chamber, on the evening of May 23, 1887, at which time Hon. GEORGE RAINES, of Rochester, New York,

## Legislative Proceedings.

is expected to deliver a eulogy suitable for the occasion.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

H. C. HOWE.  
ERNEST H. CROSBY.  
FREMONT COLE.  
JACOB A. CANTOR.  
SAMUEL CONOVER.

Mr. SPEAKER put the question whether the House would agree to said report, and it was determined in the affirmative.

IN SENATE,

*May 17, 1887.*

Mr. SMITH, from the special committee appointed by the Senate to arrange for memorial services in honor of the late SAMUEL J. TILDEN, presented the following report :

The undersigned committee appointed to arrange for memorial services in honor of the late SAMUEL J. TILDEN, respectfully report, that with a like committee appointed by the Assembly, they have arranged for such services to be held in the Assembly Chamber, on the evening of May 23, 1887, at which time Hon. GEORGE RAINES, of Rochester, New York, is expected to deliver a eulogy suitable to the occasion.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN E. SMITH,  
*Chairman Senate Committee.*

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

ON THE

*Life, Character and Services*

OF

SAMUEL J. TILDEN,

BY

HON. GEORGE RAINES.

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*Ennius has told us :*

*"Of men and customs mighty Rome consists."*—CICERO.

*And as nothing in a Commonwealth ought to be so uncorrupt as a suffrage and a sentence, I do not see why the man who perverts them by money is worthy of punishment while he who does so by eloquence is even praised.*—TULLY.





## The Address.

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The forces of Nature beat down the proudest memorials of Art. Deeds of moral grandeur done for liberty, for virtue or for religion, are touched with immortality, when written in the annals of States. The place of a great action, when marked with a temple or statue, by a solemn decree of State, has been enwrapt with the halo of the impulse there given to humanity and in hours of peril to morals, laws or governments, the world has been stirred to high endeavor by the memories there enshrined.

The wars of nations and races, for centuries swept the earth with black masses of people charged with passion, of whom now and then, the name of a chieftain, or the traditional prowess of a barbarous action, has been preserved in the meshes of the annalist. But the laws of a Solon, Lycurgus or Numa Pompilius, have taken a prouder place in the

## The Address.

regard of the patriot and philosopher than have the masterly marches, battles and ambitions of a Hannibal or Cyrus. The voice of Cato, speaking to peoples and kings what they should hear, rather than the blast of the trumpet of Cæsar, fills the aisles of history with the true glory of Rome. He who has enlarged and organized the liberties of a people, struck down usurpations of vice in customs or laws, exalted the standards of justice, faith and equity, represented moral rectitude as the test of all public and private affairs, and by his innate power of leadership changed administrations of States or of a nation, until he carved upon the very stones of fabrics of government, precepts of honor, truth and equality of right, is now crowned the world's hero, in the temple of historic fame which was once the unshared glory of warriors of bloody renown. In the spirit of just remembrance of one who has ennobled by precept and deed the time in which we live, and with the hope that his virtues and patriotism recorded by us in the annals of

## The Address.

our State, may awaken dormant capacities of usefulness, create high motives, and produce great actions, in the living, the Legislature of New York has appointed this stately memorial of the public service of the departed leader of the people, SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

### HIS PARENTAGE.

Mr. TILDEN, the son of Elam Tilden and grandson of Daniel Tilden, was born at New Lebanon, New York, in 1814. He was the heir of illustrious memories from an ancestry that had shared the exploits of two hundred years of colonial life, whom like the invincible Curius,

“Neither gold nor iron could subdue.”

From Kentish yeomanry sprang only lovers of free institutions. When the guns of liberty were fired at Lexington, Daniel Tilden, in command of a company, marched from Lebanon, Connecticut, to the relief of the embattled sons of Massachusetts, and afterwards served under Brigadier-General Israel Putnam, as a captain, having James Monroe as his lieutenant.

### The Address.

The "Brother Jonathan" of national fame, Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, wrote his commission. At the fireside in the New Lebanon of Columbia County, New York, the deeds of that elder time were mingled in story with the fame of Washington, great as a commander, but greater as the founder of a nation. The surroundings of his boyhood gave Mr. TILDEN most severe instruction in patriotic duty. To his home Martin Van Buren drove from Kinderhook to gather wise suggestion from the sturdy New Englander, Elam Tilden, a disciple of the Jeffersonian school. In the village store crudities of the thought of citizens were shaped into clear convictions by the earnest words of the father, and the son learned to admire the purity and nobility of the public men of the time. The names of Marcy, Michael Hoffman, Wright and Van Buren, were the household penates, while Jackson was the Jupiter Tonans of statesmanship.

## The Address.

Deeply upon the experience of the world  
is written the philosophic thought :

“He has no future who betrays his past.”

To the latest moments of his life, when the  
American people still sought his counsel and  
invoked his name, and there fell from his lips  
the soft answer of wisdom,

“Sweet, sharp care has mined  
The bulwarks of my life and thy great sea  
Of love doth overflow it.”

Mr. TILDEN had but exalted the fame of a  
pure and patriotic lineage.

### EDUCATION AND EARLY POLITICAL STUDIES.

The highest instruction of Yale and of the  
University of New York imparted to him a  
taste for classical research and possessed him  
of the sources and sanctions of laws as well  
as of the history of their developments. With  
an eager purpose to fill a space in the action  
of his time he exhausted the histories of  
nations to become master of the springs of  
popular controversies in the past and of the  
ebb and flow of the discontents and strifes of  
peoples. As may be seen in all his writings,

### The Address.

at his majority he made a comprehensive study of the financial systems of Europe, "*The Bullion Reports*," of the writings of Ricardo, Tooke, and the later economists among the English statesmen, and of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." The voluminous essays of Hamilton, Jefferson, and of a multitude of patriotic writers, then just finishing their careers, and the luminous discussions of great issues by Webster, Hayne, Calhoun and Clay—then in the zenith of their renown—completed a marvelous equipment of learning and training for a useful career. By heredity of mental gifts and the bias of education, by a multitude of associations and by profound study of theories and objects of government, Mr. TILDEN was confirmed in his adherence to the Democratic ideas of early days. The opposed theories of Federalism and Democracy, in the form of Federal and Anti-Federal or Republican doctrines, had struggled vainly to secure exact expression in the terms of the Constitution at the formation of the government. Concentration of power to make a strong government

## The Address.

in contrast with the weakness of the old federation, and individual liberty secured by localized authority of towns, counties and States were ideals in government which the fathers had sought to impress with varying success upon the fundamental law. The excesses of absolutism and of the Democracies of the past were sketched to the last detail in their debates, while the profoundest research was made by candid and philosophical minds for a middle ground of security in the division and co-ordination of powers. The framers of the Constitution differed vitally upon the functions of the government it created. They awaited the clashing of sectional interests and of ambitious leaders with deep solicitude. Fortuitous circumstances and adroit management postponed the first shock of violent contention as to the meaning of the Constitution until a quarter of a century had sunk deeply in the interest and patriotism of the people, love for the Union established by the fathers. Washington combined in his Cabinet, Hamilton and Jefferson, while the

## The Address.

Congress struggled along with the exigent questions of finance following the assumption of the debts of the confederated colonies. The propriety of intervention between France and England, then at war, the protection of our merchant shipping from the aggressions of France, the enactment of alien sedition and naturalization laws, the purchase of Louisiana, the war of 1812, with the multitude of incident questions, the "Era of Good Feeling," administration of Monroe and the financial distresses of 1820 carried the public mind away from controversies as to the character of powers of the federal government in matters of domestic administration. But successive vetoes of bills for internal improvements by Madison and Monroe, the issues growing out of the extension of slavery, for the time settled in the admission of Missouri as a State, and the determined and successful stand made by the advocates of the protective theory of taxation under the name of the American System, compelled attention to these issues of domestic policy, which held the vantage



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ground of prominence in the national election of 1824. Mr. Webster then led Massachusetts to a union with South Carolina in opposition to the protective idea of taxation in the belief that the exported products of the South and of Massachusetts would feel and bear the burden of the tax upon imports, while New York, Kentucky, Ohio and Pennsylvania were swayed by the eloquent appeals of Henry Clay and the seductive protection of wool, iron and hemp to join their votes in support of the American System. The election of Mr. Adams as President, in 1824, by the House of Representatives, in disregard of the popular vote, which had favored Jackson, though it had not given him a majority of the Electoral College, aroused to fever heat the passions of our people, and induced careful scrutiny of the organic law for a remedy of its defects. Said Gouverneur Morris, in reply to a question as to the value of the Constitution: "That depends upon how it is construed," A tariff bill, more protective than any previous bill, was passed in 1828 upon a

## The Address.

sectional division of Congress, with Mr. Webster and Massachusetts in support of the bill, in disregard of previous records. Against the execution of that law in South Carolina, the State enacted her decree of nullification, and every power of the Federal Congress and Executive came under strict examination, touching its right, scope, and efficacy. Andrew Jackson had come into the Presidency. His election was a rebuke of the previous constitutional but unjust reversal of the popular will by the House of Representatives in the election of Adams as President, a repudiation of the extreme doctrine of protection by taxation, as represented by the tariff bill of 1828, and of the system of building canals and roads at the expense of the federal government, and was a decree of a reservation to the people of the States of powers of legislation not given to the nation by a strict construction of the Constitution. High in the confidence and councils of President Jackson was Martin Van Buren, for whom Mr. TILDEN had a profound admiration, confirmed from

## The Address.

year to year by intimate association and common convictions of duty. The enthusiasm of youth, the taste for political study, the incitement of a partisan devotion to the fortunes of his neighbor and friend, Mr. Van Buren, and the love of high controversy for the sake of applying great truths to important affairs led Mr. TILDEN to drink deeply of political wisdom at the fountain head in the dissertations of the fathers. At their sources in the institutions of all nations he traced the doctrines of liberty and studied the pleas of ambitious demagogues for diminution of the rights of the people. He found his ideal of a constitutional ruler in Jackson, who believed the Executive power adequate without special legislation to repress by arms the hostile movement of a State, and consummately perfected the Democratic idea of individual and localized power of government with the Shibboleth of the patriot "The Union it must and shall be preserved." In the very height of the discussion of the

## The Address.

meaning of the Constitution, Mr. TILDEN reached his majority.

### THE FIRST EPOCH OF HIS PUBLIC CAREER.

The separation of the affairs of the federal government from the complications of the Bank of the United States, with the luminous discussions incident to the tentative steps, and the final solution of the problem by the bold act of removal of the deposits of the government, was the grave matter of constitutional power, to the justification of which, the first political essays of Mr. TILDEN were addressed. They are masterpieces of calm and lucid statement, of direct and courageous assault upon false theories of duty and power, of learned examination of fundamental principles, of critical analysis of inconsistent or illogical reasoning, of comprehensive unfolding of the moral aspects of the mingling of public trust funds with private speculative investments as the basis of a monopoly of banking, and of the inevitable and general corruption of suffrage and legislation to accomplish the aggrandizement of a privileged

### The Address.

system or class. The literature of politics was then distinguished for its enunciation of the principles of social and political organization, its complete induction of historical fact with philosophical analysis, its profound regard for the application of the eternal truths of morality to human affairs, and its appeals to the highest motives of human conduct. He was most regarded who best sustained his contention by the precepts of the fathers. Mr. TILDEN, though but a youth, took part before the people in the discussions of the policies of the Van Buren administration. The economic questions involved in the separation of the finances of the government from the banks of the country, strongly urged in the first message of President Van Buren, were most wisely and temperately discussed by him in a series of papers published in *The Albany Argus*, in October, 1837. As a necessary sequence of severing the relations of the government with the Bank of the United States, Mr. TILDEN urged the disuse of the bank notes

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of all banks by the government and the establishment of the banking business as a private business in no way dependent upon the favor of the National Treasury and open to all private capital. The discredited banks of 1837 vastly outnumbered the solvent banks, and the Treasurer was forced to continual inquiry for rumor or fact as to the condition of their affairs to determine what bank bills should be received at par for government dues. With earnest pleas for the divorce of the banking capital of the country from the politics of the time as "indispensable to the safety of the one and the purity of the other," Mr. TILDEN maintained that the attempt to limit the franchise to property holders, and to create and foster a privileged class of banks, was the first step to the union of political with moneyed power, and a departure from the principle on which our political system is founded.

In an address to the farmers, mechanics and workingmen of the State, written by Mr. TILDEN in 1838, and adopted at a public

## The Address.

meeting in New York, reasoning from the evident control of the nations of Europe by the moneyed classes and the pauperized condition of the masses, he warned the American people against the insidious advances of a moneyed and privileged class to the control of legislation. He pictured the dismay, misery and ruin, created by the Bank of the United States in its attempt to retain its hold of public moneys and credit, and in terse phrase vindicated the purpose of the Van Buren administration to accord justice and equality to the people by the denial of special privileges to the wealthy few. Upon the defeat of Van Buren by Harrison in 1840, a controversy arose as to the power of Congress to charter a National Bank with an irrepealable charter, which was the proclaimed intention of supporters of the administration. Mr. TILDEN advocated the right and power of Congress to modify the powers and repeal the charters of any corporations created by its acts. His treatise remains the most exhaustive analysis of the

## The Address.

derivation and sanctions of this doctrine, which the assent of courts and people has now made the common law of States. Though only in the same year of 1841 admitted as a member of the bar of the State, the marvelous power to extract the germinal principle of decisions of courts and distinguish facts to which it justly applied, was as clearly shown by his learned discussion, as was his power of precise and comprehensive statement. The contrary conclusion stood forth as confounding reason, confusing practice and creative of destructive privileges of classes. Mr. TILDEN bent his energies in 1844 to the restoration of Van Buren to power by renomination to the Presidency by his party, became, for a time, a publisher of an influential journal, to the interruption of the practice of his profession, drifted upon the tide of the defeat of Van Buren, notwithstanding the election of Polk, again into his profession, from which he was sought to be drawn into the honorable office of Naval Officer of New York by his friend



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Governor Marcy, then Secretary of War. The refusal of the distinguished office, which was soon afterwards worthy of the ambition of that sterling patriot, Governor Dix, an ex-Senator of the United States, was couched in these words: "I resolved, when I was admitted to the bar, that I would never hold office on account of its pecuniary reward. If I take any position at any time it must be in the line of my profession or a post of honor, but at present I will take nothing." The shattered fortunes of Van Buren were sought to be rescued from ruin by the advancement of popularity of the administration of Governor Wright as the friendly Salmis of Democracy. Around it gathered the wisest of the leaders of his party, and induced by their appeal, Mr. TILDEN accepted service in the Assembly and Constitutional Convention of 1846. He did not fail to make deep impress upon the laws of the State of orderly definition of rights, public and private. The anti-rent agitations in his own district and adjoining counties were com-

## The Address.

posed by radical and numerous changes of the laws of leases of agricultural lands and of trusts, which remain a permanent monument of his wisdom, upon whose report to the Legislature they became laws. In the Constitutional Convention Mr. TILDEN advocated those definite limitations of powers of taxation, of use of public credit, of creation of public debts and the substitution of general laws for special legislation, which have since become well recognized as vital to the safety of the people. As second to Michael Hoffman on the committee on canals and finance, his counsel and advocacy were solicited at the gravest junctures in the discussions of that able body of publicists. The defeat of Silas Wright for Governor in 1846, sadly marked by his death a few months later, left Mr. TILDEN subject only to the dictates of his judgment as to his future career and in his own mind released him from the burdens of public life. The first epoch in his life closed at the grave of his friend and ideal of leadership. If he

### The Address.

admired Van Buren, he loved Silas Wright. The deepest attachment of his life confirms the proudest estimate of Mr. TILDEN's character by so much as Silas Wright was the grandest character of the public life of his time. Martin Van Buren wielded the same power in the politics of New York from 1819 to 1840, that Mr. TILDEN is accredited with from 1872 to 1885. Twice elected United States Senator, resigning to become Governor of the State, resigning the Governorship to become Secretary of State in the Cabinet of Jackson, Van Buren was successively elected Vice-President and President 1832 and 1836. He was a marvelous compound of superior mental gifts; he was shrewd, adroit, tireless, swift to utilize opportunities, never leaving the forces of politics unobserved or undirected, a staunch friend and capable of welding hostile interests into harmonious action. It must be said of him that in the practice of statesmanship he never overlooked the management of politics, and that his mind was sharply drawn to the consummation

### The Address.

of leadership, when engaged in the creation and enforcement of policies of legislation. The tribute paid to his commanding fame and merit by the refusal of Silas Wright in 1844 to permit his own name to be used for President in a convention which refused Van Buren a nomination is as unique in American politics, as it was worthy of the fidelity of great minds to an honored friendship. Not zeal to rise upon the ruins of the ambitions and hopes of Van Buren, but self-sacrifice to serve as a bulwark of defense in his hour of confusion and defeat, illustrated the symmetry of the greatness of Silas Wright. He had not dexterity, but sincerity of purpose and elevation of soul. He was not the politician that Van Buren was in the best use of the term. He was an incarnate conscience, in whom the desire "to avoid being subject to worthless men and to prevent the State being torn to pieces by them," was a master virtue.

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### HIS RELATION TO THE ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION.

No period of Mr. TILDEN'S earlier public action so deeply affected the course of history as that of his co-operation with Van Buren in the memorable free soil revolt of 1848. The Northern States were in the grip of a sentiment that was destined soon to bathe the hearthstones of the people with the blood of their first born. But leadership in forming the lines of that great controversy in the rent condition of Northern parties, Whig and Democratic, was the leadership of forlorn hopes to overwhelming disaster. Not yet had any considerable party risen to make a national issue of the rights of free labor, but the arrogance of Southern leadership then evoked the mighty issue by its demand of the surrender of the Territories soon to be acquired of Mexico, to the tread of the slave. In that distracted condition of parties Mr. TILDEN came from a brief retirement to assert the doctrines of the fathers with regard to the institution of slavery. He shared the authorship of an address, issued

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by members of the Legislature, in April, 1848, in which the impossibility of slave and free labor existing in the same community was profoundly argued, and the dignity and welfare of free labor boldly asserted to require the Territories as a heritage. Every sanction of the Southern doctrine that it was a constitutional right of citizens to dwell with their peculiar property wherever the flag waved and challenge for it national protection, was assailed by argument drawn from the necessities of the people, the purposes of the fathers and fundamental law. As a delegate to the National Democratic Convention of 1848, rejected with his associates, because of their unyielding adherence to these views, Mr. TILDEN drew the report of their proceedings and further dignified the high morality, courage and patriotism of his purposes in public life by demanding that the nominees of the National Democracy, Cass and Butler, be rejected by the Free Soil Democracy of New York. Van Buren and Adams were placed in nomination, and the

## The Address.

first gun in the war of systems of labor echoed across the continent in the defeat of Cass for President.

### HIS RELATION TO THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

The absorbing demands of a professional career in which vast properties were under his protection excluded him from political activity for many years, beyond the use of his name as a candidate for Attorney-General of the State, in 1855, by the "Soft Shell" Democracy. The great events of the future were ominously lifting above the horizon of the country. The chaotic condition of parties in the North, which had in a measure ceased to have a national issue after the adoption of the compromise measures of 1850, and had been chasing the *ignis fatuus* of Prohibition, or stoning to death the immigrant who dared claimed the honors as well as the protection of our institutions, again began to be resolved into large party divisions upon the exigent issues raised by a disturbed balance of power between free and slave States in the Congress

### The Address.

of the nation and the contention of the North that slavery should not expand its limits. The admission of Missouri and Maine in 1820, of Michigan and Arkansas in 1836, of Iowa, Florida and Texas in 1845, and of Wisconsin in 1848, had at that time made a Union of fifteen free and fifteen slave States. But the struggle had reached a point where the universal laws of history declared the contest of wealth, populations and progress must end in the majestic and overtopping growth of free institutions in the empire of the West. Already there were eighteen free and fifteen slave States. Mr. TILDEN was a profound lover of the institutions of freedom, and had never shared in any effort to restrict by violence to the principles avowed in 1848 their swift advance to empire in the Republic. He had seen the swaying standards of liberty driven back from their outposts by border ruffianism and the attempts of the people to frame free constitutions for the Territories thwarted by unlawful assumption of power. He had seen the cloud upon the horizon enlarging till the



## The Address.

skies were black and sulphurous with hate. A force mightier than laws was guiding the civilization of the West to its consummate hour of passion. Metes and bounds of the empire of liberty were no more to be set upon a parallel of latitude. Her dominion was to be set on the face of the whole earth. The sally of the fanatic had met the gallows tree in its path; the skirmish of the picket line had left smoking firesides and murdered freemen to mark its gallantry; mobs had answered back to hunters of fugitive property in the streets of cities, and along the gulf the possession of the pamphlet of Helper destroyed all claims to the protection of laws; the press heralded the proclamation of irrepressible conflict; the pulpit preached the crusade of liberty; the compacts of evil with good, by which a charter for chattelhood of human rights was written in the laws of the land, did not outlast the touch of the pen that wrote them, and in the fiery wave of sentiments of liberty sweeping from the North, were consumed to ashes. The tract

## The Address.

and the novel, the debate, the bludgeon of Brooks and the eternal cruelties and barbarism of human slavery swelled the stream of agitation, until it beat against the very towers and bastions of the Constitution. A whole people were gathering to the hustings, bringing arms with their ballots. The great party, whose boast had been that it was the defender of the Constitution, was riven like an oak by the lightning of Heaven. From the privacy of professional life Mr. TILDEN was invoked by patriotic duty to an effort to avoid the disaster of Civil War he clearly saw impending. He had long been of those who believed that the humanities of civilization, reinforced by the inevitable decay of Southern society and commerce, as compared with the steadily symmetrical growth of the population wealth and commerce of the North, would eventually extirpate slavery by peaceful means. The hope of the fathers often expressed, and the philosophy of history, had built up this controlling conviction, and in the long struggle of the past he had

## The Address.

with unwavering fidelity been true to the purpose to aid the consummation.

Vast and controlling as were the ambitions of Southern leaders, determined as had been their demand that their social system should have increasing guaranties, merciless as they had been to the fame and ambitions of Van Buren and Douglass when they yielded to the spirit of liberty a part of its due, wrecked as were the doctrines of the party of Jefferson and Jackson, and the party itself by the piratical crew who had taken possession of it, yet Mr. TILDEN believed that they would yield something of their contention as tribute to the fame and maintenance of the Union. Therefore, to the people of the North he addressed his remarkable letter: "The Union—its dangers; and how they can be averted," published in the *New York Evening Post*, October 30th, 1860. Mr. TILDEN, in many forms, presented his earnest conviction that the Union would not survive the shock of the election of Mr. Lincoln, except it was maintained by the most bloody war of

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history. The remedy he then suggested and again urged in the winter of 1860-1861, a convention of the States, was the suggestion of a patriotism and wisdom as profound as that which a few years later put the Presidency of the nation upon the roll-call of a tribunal not known to the laws, but sanctioned by the grave necessities of national peace and honorable arbitrament of an issue full of national peril. He argued that without any considerable body of adherents of Mr. Lincoln in sight in the fifteen Southern States, separated from eighteen Northern States by only a geographical line, it was inevitable that fear of oppressive restriction of their social system to which Northern sentiment tended, would drive the South into an attempt to set up a government by itself. That remarkable paper closed with the prophetic words: "My mind is filled, my heart swells, with the thought, that yon wave which towers before us, will engulf more of human happiness and human hopes, than have perished in any one catastrophe since the world began."

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When the guns of Moultrie boomed to the world the hour of destiny for the Republic, prepared by a century of swiftly moving, often baffled moral forces, in the first onset of the deep shuddering horror of the people, Mr. TILDEN declared, "I will go as far to sustain Abraham Lincoln as I would to sustain Andrew Jackson in his efforts to preserve the Union." When the call for 75,000 troops was rushed over the wires to the cities of the North, at a meeting in the home of the revered patriot, Governor Dix, Mr. TILDEN urged that 500,000 was the number that should be summoned to arms to overawe and overwhelm the disloyal States. To Mr. Stanton, his lifelong friend, Mr. TILDEN renewed the same advice, "You have no right to expect a great military genius to come to your assistance; they only appear once in two or three centuries. \* \* \* Your only course is to avail yourself of your numerical strength and superior military resources, \* \* \* concentrate your forces on decisive points and

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overwhelm your adversaries by disproportionate numbers and reserves.”

Throughout the wavering struggle Mr. TILDEN served as a mighty force to influence the party in opposition to the administration, to the vigorous support of war measures and to sustain the arm of the government, in making effective war. When a convention of his party, against his protest, wrote out with unseemly haste in its platform that the war seemed to be a failure, Mr. TILDEN induced the soldier candidate of the convention to condemn the resolution with no uncertain language. That a party of opposition should exist in all times of peace and war is inseparable from the genius of free governments the just check of abuses of functions, the high guaranty of the return to the people of powers, not belonging to the Executive, but assumed in the hour of perilous need. That Mr. TILDEN maintained the true standard of patriotic opposition, upheld the arms of the government by standing shoulder to shoulder with Horatio Seymour

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in every effort to recruit from the sons of New York the decimated ranks of the Union Army, that the flags he gave to the columns of blue as they marched to battle were riddled in the fields of the Wilderness, and yet waved in glorious triumph in the world's great pageant of liberty, as the Grand Army marched in review down Pennsylvania avenue, is the tribute of just history to the fame of him who saw the red lining of the cloud of war and cried to his countrymen to spare their country. If he cried as he looked out into the sea of darkness for which history had set no beacon and had made no chart,

“I hear the swift blades dip and splash  
Of unseen rowers ;  
On unknown lands the waters dash,  
Who knows how it be wise or rash,  
To meet the rowers.”

yet in the night of dismay he held patriotic hope and did not despair of his country. Ever he uttered the bold defiance of Strathmore, when told his cause was crushed :

“Crushed ! No, it triumphs still ! Though freedom's  
hosts  
Bleach the green earth with death, that cause is safe,  
That has its Chief above.”

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The career of Mr. TILDEN as a publicist and leader, culminated in the two decades following the Civil War, in which he was elected Governor of the State, President of the United States, and deprived of the latter office by the decisions of the tribunal known as the Electoral Commission of questions submitted to it by the Congress. He was afterwards twice sought by the voice of his party to accept nominations for the same office, but was compelled to decline from increasing feebleness of health.

His fame will chiefly rest upon the radical changes in thought and tendencies of action among the American people he was potential in evoking in that epoch.

Mr. TILDEN had a remarkable equipment for the career opening before him. Large experience at the bar gave him knowledge of human character in its weakness, strength, motives and passion, patience, moderation of judgment, facility and resource in defense and attack, appreciation of the value of time in determining the wiser action. Education



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added to professional prejudices against disregard of precedent and authority. He was persistent and tireless in pursuing the accomplishment of a purpose once entertained. He gave fortunes in early years to friends and clung to them in all phases of his career. He recognized the good in men, but never accepted service of one he distrusted, lest the obligation should be exacted. He widely read modern literature and the classics, with keen analysis of style and reasoning. Himself no ordinary controversialist, he studied the models of Junius, Burke and Jefferson. His mental gifts comprised talent and sense as defined by Coleridge. The former, a comparative facility of acquiring, applying and arranging the stock existing in books and conservatories of intellect. The latter, a just balance of the faculties which is to the judgment what health is to the body, in which the mind, acting by a synthetic rather than an analytic process, perceives immediately, as it were, by a peculiar tact or intuition. With the latter goes a disposition to avoid extremes

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in theory or practice, to remain in sympathy with the *general mind* of the age or country, with a feeling of the necessity and utility of *compromise*. Universality and precision of conception, logical process of thought, the enthusiasm of utter sincerity, a copious diction, and mastery of his theme by profound study, made his papers and addresses models of comprehensive and forcible appeal to the judgment of men

Mr. TILDEN highly appreciated the utility of that large force of workers in affairs who are best described as clever men, with a "genius for instrumentality," whose "brain is in the hand." He sought them, communed with them, and utilized their practical genius. The sun of his mentality warmed them into healthful activity and they reflected his moral influence.

He gathered about himself for consultation, men of ideas and culture, and infused his varied information and conclusions, from study of the theme into their minds. Around him with abundant faith in the wisdom of

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his matured judgment, the purest and best minds were content to shine as a galaxy of stars of lesser magnitude, finding the sufficient reward of highminded men in the consciousness of the promotion of public virtue. In the months in which the Canal Message of March, 1875, took on its outline and grew big with startling facts of fraud and arraignment of systems of extravagance, the mild but potent Horatio Seymour was profoundly investigating and accumulating the facts of that message as his last service to the canal system he had for a lifetime jealously guarded. The names of such men as the trusted friend and editor of his literary works, Mr. Bigelow, of Charles O'Connor and Peter Cooper, thickly gather to the memory as worthy of mention as colaborers in the work of his later life, though their careers were distinct and full of honor in periods when Mr. TILDEN exhibited less public activity.

Machiavelli says "that it must be considered that of all undertakings, the most arduous, the most dangerous, the most liable

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to miscarry is the introduction of new laws ; for he that introduces them will be sure to make all those his enemies who live to their satisfaction under the shelter and protection of their old institutions ; and will be but coolly supported by such as are to be benefited by the new ones. From hence it comes to pass that when his enemies have an opportunity of exerting themselves against him, they do it vigorously and with advantage." He declared the power of arms alone adequate to success, in the absence of powerful discontents as a preparation. Indifference to indirect wrongs, incredulity as to the purposes of new leaders, distrust of new establishments not recommended by experience were powerful allies in opposition. Three centuries of modern progress have lifted men to swifter judgment upon error in morals or administration, and brought us to the reign of public opinion as a sufficient leveler of abuses.

The same forces of opposition organize cabals and show forth defiance, but the electric popular perception of right, the diffusion

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of truths and facts to myriad minds in the same hour, the general impulse of elevated moral training, make up a widespread and uncontrollable tendency of the people in sympathy with the assertion of right, which is another name for the popular conscience in action, and prepares the overthrow of evil organizations. Public opinion, said Webster, "is that impassable, unextinguishable enemy of mere violence and arbitrary rule which, like Milton's angels,

"Vital in every part,  
Cannot but by annihilation die."

Mr. TILDEN, beyond all the statesmen of his time, save the immortal Lincoln, had come to rely upon this ultimate conscience of the people in affairs. Religious convictions were an inheritance that he cherished with the traditions of his New England lineage. He did not believe with Locke, that the conscience of man was merely his own opinion of his actions, but that conscience was an oracle of God in the human soul uttering an eternal and universal voice of truth. To make men think was to bring it into action.

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Others by isolated assemblies, blare of music, illuminated processions and spectacles, awakened the public mind to enthusiasm of inquiry. Mr. TILDEN pursued the individual in his home with multitudinous tracts of varied statistics, argument and entreaty, and unquestionably dominated his thought by the individual appeal. The education of millions of people could be the result only of powerful facts and incessant illustration in the press, whose voice was heard at the fireside in the same hour that the patriot and Christian knelt to invoke Heaven's guidance.

Zenocrates said his disciples learned "To do that of their own accord which they might be compelled to do by law." Said Cicero, "Whence comes justice, faith, equity? Whence modesty, continence, the horror of baseness, the desire of praise and renown? Whence fortitude in labours and perils? Doubtless from those who have instilled some of these moral principles into men by education, and confirmed others by custom, and sanctioned others by laws."

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### HIS REFORMS IN MORALS AND LAWS.

The acquisition of a competence released Mr. TILDEN largely from the exactions of his profession, and permitted his tastes and aptitude for public affairs to draw him into extensive relations with the politics of the country after the close of the war. Hitherto the appeal of friends in charge of the administration of government, or of the management of parties, for temporary succor, or deep feeling of the exigencies of his country, had impelled him to occasional public effort. He had never belonged to that class of "no party men, who vindicate their claim to that character by doing injustice to all, even without the excuse of bias." He had always found enough of love of justice and truth in some partisan organization to draw his sympathy and support. Though in 1846 he assisted to tear the Democratic party asunder, in 1854 repudiated its use to further the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and in 1864 condemned its "failure of the war" declaration, yet he had believed its original doctrines

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were of the essence of civil liberty, and could best be promoted by its preservation. In better days it had worshipped at shrines where patriots and wise men knelt, and its traditions were treasuries of patriotic achievement. He had seen the Democratic party, like a ship, laden with a cargo of human hopes, drifting in tumultuous seas, its chart and compass lost in the breakers of faction, while mutinous disloyalty clambered to the decks to despoil its wealth of fame by the babblings of conspiracy against the flag at the masthead. Yet the maintenance of sound doctrines of finance, and of just definition of the functions and rights of rulers and people, even the social and political redemption of the people, he believed, depended upon the rescue of the good ship from wind and storm and fury of passion and her safe pilotage into the harbor of government. To that task he committed himself in the acceptance of the Chairmanship of its State Committee in 1867. The career which then opened, broadened in its scope from mere partisan effort into the



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struggle of the moralist and patriot, regardless of partisan results, with prodigious forces of evil that recognized no obligations of morals, laws or religion, knew no limits of parties, and audaciously sought control of all avenues to power.

He entered upon an epoch of which the parallel may be found in the history of other nations only after protracted wars or revolutions. The genius of Gibbon and Macaulay faltered at the age of Cataline and of the Restoration, the philosophic step of Guizot grew cautious at the dark portals of the reign of terror, lest horrors of vice ever new and overtopping should exceed the credulity of man. Not so deeply in the ranks of our citizenship, nor so varied in form of manifestation, nor so intense in active propagation were the headed evils of the politics and society of the period we approach, because our civilization was more masterly in its original virtue, our people were newer to the conditions in which vicious growths could take root, and were yet under the powerful impulse

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of the purposes of patriotism ; but it was the period of deepest degeneracy of what makes up the civilization of our people. We do not place the fame of Mr. TILDEN, or his service to the American people, upon a loftier pedestal than that of other honored sons of the State of New York. It has been an illustrious assembly, to be accounted worthy to be one of whom, outranks the proudest testimonial of man to human excellence. All human virtues well up in thought as the dust is stirred upon memories gathered in our history as a State, since in Kingston, April 20, 1777, the Constitution was adopted. Schuyler, Herkimer, Livingston, John Jay, the draftsman of the Constitution ; George Clinton, seven times Governor and twice Vice-President ; Alexander Hamilton, an officer on the staff of General Washington, first Secretary of the Treasury of the United States and founder of the Federal party ; DeWitt Clinton, who wedded the ocean to the great lakes, scattered villages and cities as gems along the valleys of the Mohawk and among the forests of Western New York,

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and with continuous music of cannon from Sandy Hook along the Palisades, the Highlands, the Catskills, over the hills of Onondaga by the Falls of the Genesee to Lake Erie, proclaimed the commercial supremacy of the Empire State. Marcy, Wright, Van Buren, Seward and Fenton, all adorned public life, loved their country, and by wise thought added to the stature of her greatness. They guided the State past the shoals of dishonest finance, through the seditious excitements of conspiracies against public order, through the angry tempest of Southern rebellion, into the "summer of the world," a peace of our people we trust as perpetual as honorable.

But their careers had closed with honorable distinction before the insidious Nemesis of all the Democracies of the past poisoned the sources of our national life at its fountain. War, terrible and majestic, trod to earth social and moral duties, restraints upon vice and incentives to virtue in private and public life. Vast expenditures encouraged extravagant methods of living, and greed of wealth

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ate into the integrity of official life, from the petty district to the lobbies of Legislature. Values of labor, money and property were unsettled, and private business was the speculation of the hour. Stock jobbers gambled with the national credit, and distrust and dismay paralyzed legitimate capital. Local governments projected growing schemes of expenditure, that the dividend of plunder might increase. Wherever public revenue was levied and gathered, flocked the buzzards of society. Indirection, corrupt intrigue and thievish propensity choked the avenues to entry upon public service to the exclusion of honorable men. Profligate and immoral men seized political power in all its manifestations, debauched by largess of place or money, the leadership of all parties, bargained with legislators and courts to make and interpret laws to further establish their absolute control of State and nation, and sought places of power by the general corruption of suffrages. The ambitious winked at the wickedness of the time. The weak and vicious shook hands

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with it. The balance of power in all assemblies of the people, State and national, was firmly held by rings of speculators and the dictation of nominations for the highest places in State and Federal government was ready to be assumed. Indifference of the people to departures from standards of purity in public affairs, to general disregard of the true functions of government by legislators and to the massive growths of evil purposes entrenched by law and powerful support in both political parties, was all pervading. There were great men before Agamemnon; but to Mr. TILDEN it was permitted to extirpate the roots of evil in the habits of thought, customs and laws of the people, to renew desecrated temples of justice, to sink deeper the foundations of law in the bed-rock of morality, to scourge into obscurity the swarming agencies of vicious systems of administration, and to lift up to honors' top the degraded standards of public duty.

The general vice of customs and politics rose to its full height in the commercial

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metropolis of the country. To it flowed incessantly the business life of near and remote communities, and from it ran as from reservoirs of evil pernicious habits and tendencies. The best citizenship of New York, deprived by legislation of the power directly to create and change its own rulers, except at considerable intervals, and seeing its choice made ineffectual by the jugglery of legislation following swiftly upon the exercise of its power, drifted out of relations with its bureaus and executive departments. Accumulated debt rather than increased taxes was the policy of the numerous rings that marched through all departments to gather levies of plunder. Wasteful official systems filled with satellites of powerful leaders tapped the public revenue at every point to maintain idle and profligate careers. The press gathered in millions for printing bills, and defended or extolled the public spirit of showy improvements, or gilded the lives of the auditors of accounts for their munificent charities. Corporations seized franchises of untold value without public recom-

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pense. Pensioners of the system of fraud exalted as the master virtue of leadership fidelity to friends. Reputable men accepted corrupt favor and returned fealty. Judicial life was the gift of the political leader, and orders for receiverships wrecked successful business to secure the larger plunder of bankruptcy. Punishment of crime awaited the nod of the creator of district attorneys and judges. The very gutters of society poured out municipal officers, and the morals of the greenroom limited the spoliation of public trusts. A towering body of infamous associations, degrading practices and corrupt purposes—called the “Tweed Ring”—sat upon the commerce of New York, and spat upon the morals and virtues of her people, with the same effrontery with which it divided six millions of plunder at a sitting between the four chieftains of the new era. It bartered at Albany, place in New York city, or gold, for enlarged powers, and renewed or extended terms of office. It traded with every combination of interest, whether canal, State prison or municipal ring, vote for

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vote its solid delegations in political convention and in the Legislature. It breathed corrupt life into defunct and blasted systems of fraud in every branch of government, pointed highminded men to the sway of State and national conventions by the delegation of New York city, and warned them that its paths were strewn with the wrecked ambitions of its enemies. Its suppliants were in all places of influence; its enemies dispirited or broken upon the wheel of fortune; its banners waved with the huzzas of the multitude, and civil liberty gasped in the stifling smoke of its torches of triumph. No period of our history witnessed such accumulated power and purposes of evil with such allied forces of demoralization in the social and commercial conditions of American life.

Mr. TILDEN, accompanied by Mr. Otten-derfer, appeared in April, 1870, before the committee on cities of the Legislature, and addressed to its chairman, Mr. Tweed, his remonstrance as a private citizen against a proposed new charter for the City of New



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York. Its adoption would entrench the chiefs of the ring in the fiscal offices of New York for terms from four to eight years in duration.

Mr. TILDEN denounced the bill in unmeasured terms, and demanded a government "popular in form" for New York. Said Mr. TILDEN, "I am not afraid of the stormy sea of popular liberty. I still trust the people,  
\* \* It is in the stagnation of bureaus and commissions that evils and abuses are generated. The storms that disturb the atmosphere, clear and purify it." Mr. Tweed's charter was adopted. The subsequent revelation, by the treachery of a subordinate clerk, of some of the secrets of the Ring, their bold publication in the *New York Times*, the examination of accounts, the institution of civil suits as the consummation of the labors of Mr. TILDEN for many months, the personal solicitation by him of the influence of many citizens in the work of discovery, and of the service of Mr. O'Connor in the prosecution, the consummate brief upon the proposition that the State had power to inquire of and

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punish municipal maladministration, the denunciation by him of Democratic candidates for the Legislature as the tools of Mr. Tweed, the antagonism of Mr. Tweed in the State organization of his party, the vacant chair of Mr. Tweed in a Senate that had not courage to expel its patron, the impeachment of judges, the indictment of leaders, the gradual vanishing of the audacity of the conspirators in contemptible pleas for mercy from an outraged people and in betrayals of associates, the two years of hand to hand wrestling for the complete mastery of the Ring, and the culmination of the career of crime in the cells of Blackwell's Island, are the tales of yesterday, the living fact of history. Along the lines of the great controversy the sleepless vigilance of Mr. TILDEN moved the popular mind with appeals to duty and interest. The fall of the monstrous creation of evil gave back the echo of his footsteps in the halls of justice and legislation.

The lessons of the struggle and triumph of citizenship over the system and power of

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corrupt combinations entered every household, were told in the schools, the pulpit, and the public assembly. Everywhere in the land the consuming fire of investigation and punishment ran through the stubble of wickedness. From the school district to the Congress, official action and accounts were put to close scrutiny, and loose methods became as criminal as corrupt purpose. The taxpayer became a disciple, political leaders of every party apostles of the new dispensation. Accountability and economy in administration were put into the vocabulary of politics. From the agitation of thought grew the constitutional amendments of 1874, with their varied checks upon methods of administration and law-making, which cut down the volume of annual laws to one-third its former size, and sent to courts for determination the body of claims that had supported lobbies and been the bribe of legislators.

The election of Mr. TILDEN as Governor came to him as a tribute of gratitude and an invocation to larger duties. That by his annual messages he magnified his high office

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and brought to the attention of the whole country the need of a sounder system of finance, that he persuaded the thoughts of the people towards the living issues of present economies, that he held up to the contempt of all time the waste of resources incident to past courses of administration, and pointed out methods to reduce taxation, that he sternly enforced the rigid provisions of the amended Constitution in the midst of urgent solicitation for evasion, that every department of public expenditure felt the pervading influence of his spirit and yielded up cherished corruptions, that his suggestions of new laws for the punishment of offenses against the public funds took form in varied enactments is the concurrent voice of all citizens. Finding a management of the canals by which fraudulent profit was accruing to contractors, and that chicanery in biddings was participated in by a multitude of powerful partisans, Mr. TILDEN fearlessly invaded the secrets of the system, and of the bidders by investigation of their accounts, filed in departments, arraigned them

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in a message to the Legislature, caused the appointment of a commission to take evidence of corrupt acts and conspiracies, placed suspected persons upon trial where their perjuries and briberies had been committed, and without delay aroused the public sentiment of the State by addresses in the cities of Western and Central New York. The system and its beneficiaries ceased their activities in spoliation, and the canals of the State began to fulfill their purpose in aiding instead of burdening commerce.

It was not singular that the man who for six years had filled so large a place in the work of administrative reform, had set so many active forces at work in all parts of the country, to investigate and punish public offenses, and had changed laws and conditions of public life should seem to a great party, then for sixteen years in utter adversity, the agency with which to commend itself to the general confidence of the country. The Democratic party had bravely accepted defeat under worthy leadership in four national campaigns. It had

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tried the expedient of nominating the implacable enemy of its historic principles, upon a platform of conciliation between sections of the country and the revival of commercial relations yet paralyzed by the hatreds and impoverishment of war. It had finally turned its face to the future and accepted the constitutional amendments as common law of justice and politics. The travesty of its principles of finance and taxation in the selection of its nominee, the bitter prejudices of long decided but unforgotten issues, and the facility for refusing victory at the time it might be won, which the Democracy had established as its peculiar distinction led to the overwhelming disaster of 1872. It is not too much to say that the issues upon which Mr. TILDEN forced the thought of the country from 1870 to 1876, recreated from a mob a grand army of disciplined and enthusiastic Democracy. His career was accepted by the people as its platform. The formal resolutions of the party touched all the exigent issues of finance as did Mr. TILDEN in his acceptance of the

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nomination for President, but impartial history must record that the key which unlocked the shut and barred gates of power to the Democracy, was the simple, but comprehensive policy of "administrative reform." He was the magician of destiny. The lips of oratory that had become chilled with the topics of Southern reconstruction, amnesty and loose finance, were warmed with the lighted torch of public virtue.

It is not in the province of this address to describe the varied phases of the campaign of 1876. It was a battle line that swept across a continent. The advocates of fiat or of honest money, of inflation or contraction of the currency, of resumption of specie payment, of the privileges of monopoly or of the rights of the consumer, of amnesty for offenses of disloyalty, or of better guaranty of the social and political rights of the freedmen, contended with each other. But finally the flint locks of the past were discarded by both parties for the needle guns of administrative reform, and either drew from its armories its

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most modern achievements in economies of administration. No eloquence of orators, nor glittering parade of deeds in war could turn the battalions of voters from their purpose to venture upon a new era under new leadership. Where public sentiment had been most deeply stirred by misgovernment, majorities ran highest. In a quarter of a million majority of the popular vote of the nation, Mr. TILDEN found high warrant for the contention of his party, that he was elected President of the United States. How the country was convulsed with forebodings of evil; how the Congress composed the great issue by surrender of its functions to a tribunal unknown to our traditions and laws, and to the justices of our greatest court turned the faces of the people for their hope of a deliverance of truth and right; how the Electoral Commission divided in party lines, inscribed "*aliunde*" upon the grave questions of usurpation of functions by officers of States and rendered judgment against the suffrage of the country are matters that the just his-



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torian must describe, weigh and adjudge in motives and results. The calm and dignified submission by Mr. TILDEN to the decree which established, in his view, "A government by discarded servants, holding over by force and fraud," commands the encomiums of every lover of his country.

With the decision of the Electoral Commission closed the active leadership in affairs of Mr. TILDEN. The party founded by Jefferson, led up heights of honorable fame by Jackson, covered with confusion and disaster by conspiracies of its leaders against liberty and the Union, Mr. TILDEN found making bricks of the stubble of bondage, led it through the waters of purification, and gave it the tables of a new dispensation of morals and patriotism.

His career created the issues of politics, which have since shaped government. The standards he fastened in the thoughts of his countrymen measure still the greatness and merit of statesmen and policies. His genius in affairs has borne rich fruitage of popular

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education in duty, of official accountability, of instinctive reprobation of immoral practices and loose systems in public expenditures, of rigid economies and reduced taxation, of higher ideals of official character and purer inspiration in halls of legislation. The laws of all States have garnered for the guidance and admonition of the people checks of efficient penal laws, wise systems of finance and fundamental rules of legislation of general utility. Tribunals of justice have been given enlarged jurisdiction of rights of property, and the most perilous sources of corruption of suffrage and laws have been extinguished.

The epoch of American politics and social life, of which he was the master spirit, dictating from public office, or the retirement of his home, the course of administrations and the policies of parties, has witnessed revulsions in morals, laws and administrations that inseparably link his name with the history of our nation. To his countrymen, as the shadows fell upon him, he said: "Set your hearts unto the words which I testify among you

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this day, which ye shall command your children to observe to do, all the words of the law; for it is not a vain thing for you, because it is your life." Like another leader of the people he ascended to the mountain of Nebo, even to the top of Pisgah, and looked upon "the plain of the valley, the city of palm trees."

At the harbor of Piræus, near the inlet of a bay, by the still waters, and in the form of an altar, stood for centuries the tomb of Themistocles, of which Plato wrote :

"Oft as the merchant speeds the passing sail,  
Thy tomb, Themistocles, he stops to hail!  
When hostile ships in martial combat meet,  
Thy shade, attending, hovers o'er the fleet."

The great seas, which the patriotic hope of Mr. TILDEN covered with the flags of his country, and over which his latest thoughts of wisdom saw lowering clouds of danger floating westward, will not murmur a requiem of soft repose above his tomb; the stately ships of nations will not boom above his mold their salute of honor as they float through channels of commerce he opened, though the due

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memorial of bronze may find its place in the classic shades of the metropolis he loved and rescued in its greatest need. Among the shades of an ancestry he made more illustrious, amid hills and valleys on which the light of his fame sheds perpetual lustre, in a Valhalla of nature, he chose his final resting-place. But upon the whole land, from its portals of light to its sunset of glory, rises in clear and noble outline of beauty, beneficence and power, the true memorial of the career of a patriot, philosopher and statesman, in the exalted virtue of a people guarding a heritage of liberty and laws consecrated to humanity by bloody ransom of patriot lives. As America lifts her steadfast gaze up to heights of progress, and gilds her fame with achievements of virtue and wisdom, in the Pantheon of her heroes in arms and civil arts, she will place in an exalted niche of fame, and reverence, him whose triumph was won in the strifes of morals, whose glory it was that he rescued institutions of civil liberty from the corruptions of his time, and secured the destiny of his country.

Legislative Proceedings.

Concurrent Resolutions of the Senate and Assembly.

IN ASSEMBLY,

May 24, 1887.

Mr. HOWE offered for the consideration of the House a resolution, in the words following:

*Resolved* (if the Senate concur), That there be printed, under the direction of the Clerks of the Senate and Assembly, 3,000 copies of the proceedings of the Legislature and the memorial oration of the Hon. GEORGE RAINES, on the death of ex-Governor SAMUEL J. TILDEN, for the use of the members of this Legislature; 500 copies for the use of the Hon. GEORGE RAINES; 500 copies for the family of the deceased, and 500 copies for the officers and reporters of this Legislature.

The foregoing resolution was  
duly passed.

By order of the Assembly,  
CHAS. A. CHICKERING,  
*Clerk.*

IN SENATE,

May 24, 1887.

The foregoing resolution was  
duly concurred in.

By order of the Senate,  
JOHN W. VROOMAN,  
*Clerk.*





















KF 368 T57 N53

Author  
New York (state) Legislature, 1887<sup>Vol.</sup>

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