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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CITIZENS' MEETING,

HELD AT

DIXON, ILLINOIS, JUNE 8, 1851,

IN HONOR OF

JUDGE DOUGLAS:

TOGETHER WITH THE

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS OF COL. DEMENT,

AND THE

Eulogy, delivered by Rev. W. W. Harsha.



CHICAGO:

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IN HONOR OF JUDGE DOUGLAS.

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JUDGE DOUGLAS having departed this life, in the City of Chicago, on Monday morning, at 9½ o'clock, the citizens of Dixon met in Exchange Hall, on Tuesday evening, for the purpose of testifying their grief at the occurrence of that sad event.

The meeting was called to order by Wm. E. Sheffield, on whose motion Col. JOHN DEMENT was chosen to preside.

H. B. Fouke and T. W. Eustace were elected Secretaries.

On motion of E. Pinckney, the following gentlemen were elected Vice Presidents: John Dixon, Charles Crosby, Dr. J. B. Nash, G. L. Herrick, A. C. Stedman, E. B. Stiles, E. Wood, Platt Townsend, A. L. Porter, J. H. Cropsey, H. Morgan, C. J. Reynolds, H. E. Williams, Wm. H. Van Epps, I. S. Boardman, N. W. Abbott, A. U. Hazen, P. M. Alexander, B. F. Shaw, A. Brown, and Dr. W. W. Wynn.

The President, in appropriate terms, stated the object of the meeting to be to make suitable arrangements for the purpose of publicly testifying the great sorrow of the citizens of Dixon at the death of Judge DOUGLAS.

On motion of Wm. Barge, it was agreed that the exercises be had on Saturday afternoon, the 8th day of June, at the Court House Square.

On motion of H. B. Fouke, a committee, consisting of Chas. Crosby, S. C. Eells, E. B. Baker, A. W. Stedman, and W. W. DeWolf, was appointed for the purpose of making all necessary arrangements.

On motion of T. W. Eustace, it was agreed that a committee be appointed to telegraph to the proper authorities at Chicago the earnest desire of the people of Dixon, that the request of the Springfield Committee, expressing the desire that Judge DOUGLAS' remains should be interred within the limits of the State of Illinois, should, if possible, be complied with. *Committee*—Col. J. Dement, Charles Crosby, E. B. Stiles, T. W. Eustace, and A. M. Gow.

On motion, the Committee of Arrangements was instructed to invite the Thirteenth Illinois Regiment, stationed at Camp Dement, and all the schools of the city, to unite with the citizens in the exercises on Saturday afternoon.

On motion, it was agreed that the business men be requested to close their stores on Saturday afternoon.

The meeting then adjourned.



The Committee of Arrangements met on Wednesday morning, and selected Rev. W. W. Harsha as Orator, and Major A. Gorgas as Chief Marshal. The Committee also agreed upon the order of procession and exercises, which will be found in a subsequent part of this report. Major Gorgas appointed Wm. E. Sheffield and Wm. C. Jones Assistant Marshals.



According to previous notice, the ceremonies in honor of Illinois' illustrious and lamented Senator were enacted on Saturday afternoon, the 8th inst.

The concourse of people that assembled was the largest ever gathered together on any previous occasion in the city of Dixon.



The procession formed at two o'clock, on the north side of the Presbyterian church, and observed the following order :

Chief Marshal.

Company A, Capt. Noble, and Company B, Capt. Bushnell, of the 13th Ill. Regiment; commanded by Adj. H. T. Porter.

Masonic Fraternity.

Dixon Sax Horn Band.

President and Orator.

Vice Presidents.

Secretaries.

Committee of Arrangements.

Committee on Resolutions.

Members of the Bar.

Mayor and Common Council.

Lient. Col. Parks and Staff of 13th Ill. Regiment.

The Public Schools of Dixon.

Citizens and Visitors.

The procession marched down Third street to the Arch; thence across to Main street; up Main street to Galena street; up Galena street to the Court House Square.

After arriving at the Square, the order of exercises were as follows :

Dirge, by the Band.

Prayer, by Rev. Mr. Warner.

The President of the day, Col. JOHN DEMENT, upon coming forward to introduce the Orator, spoke as follows :

FELLOW CITIZENS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

The occasion which calls this vast assemblage together, is one of a sorrowful and melancholy character. Death has been abroad in our land, and his arrows have been aimed at the greatest, the mightiest of us all. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS is no more. The eloquent advocate; the brave soldier; the impartial judge; the faithful representative; the uncorrupted senator; the great statesman; the tried patriot; and the firm

and constant friend, sleeps the last long sleep of death. We shall see his noble form no more, we shall hear his clarion voice no longer. He is dead. The lamentations of sorrow for his loss are heard as they are wafted upon the wings of every wind. They come to us from the North, from the East, and from the West; and even from the South is heard a wail which tells us more plainly than words can speak, that the faithful few, those who have not followed after strange gods, mourn, and deeply mourn the loss of the fearless champion of all their constitutional rights within the Union. The world mourns to-day, because a great heart has ceased to beat—because a mighty luminary has been extinguished forever.

While North and South and East and West feel the loss we now mourn, to the State of Illinois the blow comes with ten-fold power. He was her son—her adopted son, 'tis true, but not the less dear than if he had first seen the light of day upon her soil, instead of that of Vermont, where he was born. That Illinois loved Judge DOUGLAS, does not express the whole of her affection for him. Though he was but man, she idolized him. And surely, if it were ever sinful for any people to make an idol of any man, who is there in this whole land that will not say that the people of Illinois, in thus making the Little Giant their idol, committed *no sin*?

She gave to him her confidence, fully and unreservedly. He returned it with a devotion to all her interests, which knew no waywardness, and which experienced no decline. When repudiation raised aloft its hideous form, and the honor of Illinois had well nigh perished, he threw himself into the breach, and with giant power he drove the monster from the State, and saved her fame from obloquy. Commerce, education, agriculture, and all the pursuits which render a State great and a people powerful, have been the especial objects of his care; and the effects of his labors are visible from Dunleith to Cairo, from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River. His earliest efforts were given to the state of his adoption. His affections were bestowed upon her people. They will vindicate his memory with the utmost vigilance—they will watch around and guard his ashes with the care that a mother watches her sleeping offspring, and protects it from all danger and all harm.



It was my peculiar privilege to know Judge DOUGLAS personally ; and it gives me great pleasure to attest the truth of the statement that a more constant or uncalculating friend never lived. Selfishness was not a part of his composition. He knew it and felt it not. I speak knowingly upon this point, for I myself have been the recipient of his favor at a time when I needed his friendship ; and the aid he then gave me, the assistance he then rendered me, were bestowed with an unction which testified to the sincerity and disinterestedness of the motives which prompted the acts he then performed.

Much has been said and written concerning "My great principle," which Mr. DOUGLAS advocated so ably and defended so successfully. It *was* a great principle which he advocated ; it *was* a grand idea to which he gave utterance. Why do I see before me this vast military display which we here witness ? Why are these civic societies around me ? For what purpose is this large concourse of private citizens here assembled ? It is not to do homage to a mere man—not to worship a mere human being ; but it is for the purpose of testifying your devotion to that principle to which *his* energies were devoted ; for the maintenance of which *he* has lain down his life. The right of self-government is dear to every American heart. It is for that "great principle" that our armies are in the field to-day ; it is devotion to that "great principle" that fires these volunteers to leave homes, and friends, and comforts, and march on to battle. God bless you, noble men ! you are engaged in a holy cause. Go forth, and God speed you in your righteous and noble undertaking. Remember this fact—that if you fall, we who remain at home pledge ourselves as collateral security that your places shall be filled and re-filled, until that great principle for which Judge DOUGLAS died, and for the defense of which you now go forth, shall be fully and entirely vindicated, and established upon a basis so firm that neither time nor traitors shall be able to prevail against it.

It is a familiar saying that the "ruling passion is strong in death." This was never more truthfully exemplified than in the example of Judge DOUGLAS. He had lived a life devoted to his country's interests and to her people's happiness. Although calumny had poured out her vials of wrath upon his

head, he outlived malice and envy. He lived long enough to see himself vindicated, and his patriotism applauded. He had done his duty and his whole duty to his country, and the nation had experienced the blessings flowing from his actions. Surely, his work had been well done, and as he was brought near to the verge of the grave, prostrated by disease, with his friends gathered about him and a devoted wife bending over his bedside, it would be but natural that other thoughts should occupy his mind—that other scenes should engage his attention. But no; he had lived a patriot, and his dying words were the last that a patriot could speak. His two boys were absent in Washington. His wife bent over him and asked if he had any word to leave for his absent children. “Tell my children,” said he, “to obey the laws and uphold the Constitution;” and, ere the echo of those words had died upon the air, his spirit had passed from earth. Fitting conclusion for such a life. May the words he then uttered be embalmed in every American heart; and may the example he has given be improved to the good of us all, and to the peace and happiness of our beloved nation.

But I must not further trespass upon your patience. My duty was only to introduce the speaker; and yet I could not let the opportunity pass without adding my testimony to the greatness of the mighty man we have met this day to mourn. I now take great pleasure in introducing to the audience the Rev. W. W. HARRIS, the regularly appointed orator for this occasion.

Mr. HARRIS came forward and spoke as follows :

MR. PRESIDENT, AND FELLOW CITIZENS :

A great man has fallen in our land; and so seldom is it that one appears amongst us bearing the impress of true greatness—the marks of unmistakable superiority over all his compeers, that it becomes us to pause, and, though it be through the mists of tears, look for a little upon his character. It is said that to gaze upon a towering mountain, rearing its bared brow to the stars, gives, even to little minds, an inspiration before unknown. How much more ennobling may it prove to make, even for an hour, a mighty intellect and great heart our study—such an intellect and such a heart as God vouchsafes but once in a generation as a blessing to mankind. While I speak to you, the settled verdict of this land is being made up; and that verdict when the jury through their foreman, *the coun-*

*try's press*, speaks out will be, that the man we have this day met to mourn was, in many important particulars, the great leading mind of America's modern statesmen.

I am fully aware, Mr. President, that strong party preferences are liable to warp our judgment in one way until we clothe those we esteem with imaginary virtues; and I know also that violent partizan prejudices are just as liable to warp our judgments in the opposite direction, until we deny to those we oppose the excellencies they unquestionably possess—and he of whom I speak to-day was peculiarly exposed to both these erroneous judgments. Still, the verdict is being entered up with remarkable unanimity by men of all parties—the verdict that is to be written in ineffaceable characters upon our nation's history—that STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS stepped into eternity from the very highest pinnacle of earthly distinction, having attained an eminence few ever attain—having acquired a fame to which even Presidential honors could have added no lustre, and yet to which he was fully entitled by the acknowledged greatness of his transcendent abilities. Yes, a great man has fallen, and we are turned aside for a moment from the exacting cares of a busy life to pay feeble homage to his greatness.

Imagine before you to-day, fellow-citizens, the cold remains of the eminent lawyer, judge, statesman, civil leader, and firm, unbending patriot, as they lie inclosed in yonder metallic case, quietly awaiting the mighty angel's voice declaring that "time shall be no longer." Draw near with me, Mr. President, you who knew him so long, admired and loved him so well—and you, fellow citizens, of every political creed—and you, patriot soldiers—draw near, and look upon those now impassible, rigid, marble features, while I attempt with trembling hand a brief, meagre and imperfect delineation of the characteristics of his greatness. And, first: *His was a self-wrought greatness.* The fame he had won—the well-deserved honors that crowned him—the reputation he had acquired, which was world-wide and enduring—were all emphatically his own. Unlike many of the great men of our nation, no wealthy or distinguished relatives or friends paved for him the way to distinction. No man high in office introduced him into place, or acted as his lackey to throw open the doors of state or federal halls before him. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS fought for, and won by the power of his unconquerable energy and his own single and unaided will, every step of his advance to greatness. Less than twenty-eight years ago, and when but twenty years of age, he entered the State of Illinois as emphatically friendless and unknown, and as truly penniless, as man could be; and at the close of those twenty-eight years we behold a nation clothed in sackcloth at his untimely death—mourning in bitterest grief at his bier, and his adopted State pleading by her most distinguished citizens and through her tears the honored, coveted privilege of retaining his dust within her borders. When impartial history rehearses to our children the tale of this nation's cherished sons, she will not fail to write the story of him who yonder lies, so frigid



and so nerveless now, telling how he swept upward in his brilliant career upon his own unaided wing, until he wielded an influence on the destiny of his native land second to none.

If it be an unmistakable index of greatness to carve out a portion for one's self—to win a world-wide distinction *of* one's self and *by* one's self—then is Illinois' great statesman not undeserving the honor his memory receives from a mourning people. He was no parasite, clinging to the more vigorous and independent tree that grew by his side, but the self-sustaining *hickory*, to which he has been not inaptly compared, whose innate vitality nothing can repress, but which grows and expands into a majestic perfection through the nourishment elaborated in its own healthful organism. Of the few, the very few, truly great in our nation, Senator DOUGLAS stood in modern days pre-eminent in a purely self-acquired greatness. All he was, all that he had won, all that for which posterity will remember him, were emphatically *his own*.

But, second: *Assurance of the undeniable greatness of the name we honor to-day is found in the fact that it was won despite early disadvantages of an educational character.* How many are there who rise to distinction in our land because, and *wholly* because, the polish of scholastic training has supplied in a great measure the want of a powerful native talent or a commanding, God-given genius. How many are there who, had it not been for their college drill, their finished academic culture, would have remained all their life-time in the obscurity of their native precincts. If they have a name, it is due to their superior education; and their greatness, such as it is, has the smell of the oil, the unmistakable marks of the toilsome process through which it has been acquired. These are the hot-house plants, coming to maturity, it may be bearing fruit without doubt, and yet men cannot fail to remember the artificial and forced processes through which the end has been secured. The great man we honor, sir, was none of these. He was great despite the disadvantages of an imperfect scholastic training; and in forming an estimate of the character of Mr. DOUGLAS, it would be unjust to him not to take this fact into the account. That such polished scholars as EDWARD EVERETT, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, or WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD, could press themselves, after years of diligent and persistent effort, into the highest positions statesmen in this land may hope to gain, may perhaps elicit little wonder when we consider the magic power there is in even the reputation of scholarly attainments; but it is surely to the lasting credit of STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS that he rose with a rapidity unsurpassed by any to a height of national honor and distinction attained by few, and that, too, without any advantages acquired in college halls. The fountain of his greatness was native to him. The Almighty God planted it within him at his birth. It was the gift of heaven, and through its possession he rose naturally and easily to eminence. As well might you expect a diamond to remain unnoticed in the collection of a skillful geologist, as for such a mind to lie buried in obscurity; as well might you expect the Mississippi to roll its wealth of

waters to the Gulf, forever undiscovered, as for such a mind to waste its power in a sphere of circumscribed influence.

Mr. DOUGLAS has been called ambitious, and in seasons of heated political and partizan conflicts, this has been alleged as his reproach. Sir, when God gives such an intellect to man as that possessed by STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, it is for the express purpose that its powers may be felt—not by a single town or county or city, but by states and nations. Hence the ambition we see in the great is but a part of their God-given organism, spurring them on to work out their destiny. Had it not been for what the envious in their littleness stigmatize as ambition in the great, civilization would have yet been in its infancy, and the groaning earth would have continued to look in vain to her master minds. As well might you sneer at the oak for rearing its head above the hazel—the rock of Gibraltar above the pebbles at its base, or call the sun ambitious for shining with a lustre which of necessity eclipses the moon.

But, third: *The man we have met to honor gave unequivocal assurance of his greatness in the leadership spontaneously assigned him by his associates in any position he occupied in life.* Whether at the bar among the most eminent lawyers of the State and nation, or on the bench, with our most distinguished and learned judges as his colleagues, or in the deep thinking and astute planning of the political caucus, or the Herculean labors of the political canvass; whether in the lobby at Springfield, giving direction and shape to the legislation on the floor, or within the bar of the house itself, molding enactments by his powerful will, or upon that wider sphere of usefulness, the floor of our national legislature in Washington, or in the Senate chamber itself; whether in the primary assemblies of the people, or in the national conventions of the representatives of the great party to which he belonged—wherever by his country called to act, he was always readily and cordially recognized as *the leader* by those who acted whether *with* or *against* him. In a careful review of his life at his tomb to-day, all must in justice accord to him this evidence of unmistakable superiority. And this is no mean evidence—no inconsiderable token of his power; for to be a leader long in this land, with all the competition to be met and all the opposition to be overcome, indicates the possession of no ordinary abilities. With an unshackled opposing press freely canvassing every movement, probing to the bottom every action, narrowly scrutinizing every step, and mercilessly criticising every measure; with jealous associates anxious for the place he holds and ambitious to secure the proud distinction he has won; and with learned, experienced, skillful and open assailants, with whom to fail in the continually arising mental conflicts—intellectual tournaments—would be to lose all the prestige of the past and all the anticipations of the future; and yet, despite all, to maintain the leadership by common consent of every generous adversary, as of every trusting, admiring friend, year after year—to bear the banner in such a fight and against such odds, in preference of all others and much older and more experienced men—and that by the common con-



sent of all, as though it were a matter of course—this, surely, is to the man we mourn no mean, no unworthy testimonial of his undoubted greatness; and impartial history in rendering her verdict—in proclaiming his fame—will not fail to mention it.

But, fourth: *The power of our great senator is enhanced by the boldness and originality of his measures.* It is probably yet far too soon for us to secure anything like unity of sentiment upon the wisdom or necessity of all the great movements he inaugurated. We are yet too near the excited and exciting conflicts and struggles in which he bore so prominent a part, to ask a unanimous expression of opinion upon his acts. We do yet hold, and we may continue to hold, a diversity of views as to the important questions he felt it a duty to introduce to the attention of his countrymen. Still no one will deny, that in the boldness and startling originality of their conception, no less than in the new and striking arguments introduced to sustain them, the presence of a master mind is unmistakably displayed. To impartial history we may no doubt commit the question of the wisdom, propriety and statesmanship of those measures; but however that issue may be decided, his warmest friends, his most enthusiastic admirers, need not dread the verdict of posterity, as to the *originality* in which those measures were conceived, and the transcendent skill, genius, and energy with which they were defended.

Entering the legislative halls of the nation soon after General Jackson retired to private life, his first speech—his maiden effort—succeeded, by its originality, its new and forcible logic, its striking and overwhelming conclusions, in doing what all the veteran friends of that great man had hitherto failed to do. The young giant from the prairies, bursting the trammels which had circumscribed less original minds, trampled beneath him the gingerly and apologetic argumentation of those who advocated the bill to refund to General Jackson the \$1000 exacted by Judge Hall, of New Orleans, for an alleged contempt of court, during the siege of that city in the war of 1812. Mr. DOUGLAS struck boldly out, crushing down the sophisms of the foes of the measure, and exposing the defective reasonings of its friends, demonstrating to the satisfaction of all dispassioned minds, that General Jackson was not only excusable, but that he was *right*—that he had not only done no wrong, but that, had he not done as he did, he would have committed a crime for which posterity would have been slow to forgive him—that, in short, upon the clear showing of law and equity, there had been no contempt of court, but that the court itself had been the guilty party, and after seeking to obstruct the enforcement of laws indispensable to the safety of the land, had sought to cover the wrong by an act of unprecedented injustice to the gallant hero of New Orleans. All this Mr. DOUGLAS showed so convincingly as to carry Congress and the country with him.

This first speech was masterly, exhausting, unanswerable, and received, months afterward, for its distinguished author, the warm and flattering commendation of General Jackson himself, who said to Mr. DOUGLAS, that

he had never been fully satisfied of the entire legality of his course in that transaction until this speech was delivered.

And it is scarcely necessary to add, that this quality of bold originality thus early displayed, Mr. DOUGLAS ever after maintained. All his great efforts on the platform, in the senate, and at the bar—all the great measures he originated—his bills for the organization of the territories incorporated in the compromise resolutions of 1850, receiving again and again, as they did, during the exciting discussions of that day, the commendation of Henry Clay, both in private and in public—the bills reported by him from time to time while acting as chairman of the committee on territories, securing territorial governments for Minnesota, Oregon, New Mexico, Utah, and Washington—the Kansas-Nebraska bill especially, carrying with it the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, leaving so unmistakably the impress of his great powers, that his name will descend in connection with it to remotest posterity—all, all, whatever we may now think of them, whether approving or disapproving, all give evidence that STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS was no copyist. This originality in his sphere was as evident, as patent, as Homer's or Shakspeare's, or Napoleon's, in theirs. He left the beaten track—ceased to roll over again the ideas of a past or present age, or build political cob-houses of the materials which others had made ready to his hands. He left the legislative coasting of other times, and, Columbus like, struck boldly out upon new and untried seas. What wonder that, like Columbus, he met with storms, and that some, at least, of his political shipmates, at critical moments, mutinied under his command, failing to see, as he firmly believed himself to do, the looming shores of a land of better political promise.

Time will tell whether what he saw as attainable in our political system was indeed a reality, or whether it was a far-reaching conception of an intellect in advance of its age, grasping in its semi-prophetic powers as present and attainable realities what must ever remain, in a government like ours, distant possibilities. Time, however, is not needed to demonstrate his originality. The past and present conspire to speak it, and all the candid concede it as an undeniable characteristic of his greatness.

Let us turn now to remark, fifth, *That the man we mourn to-day attested his greatness by an extraordinary display of commanding moral courage.*

Abundant evidence of this great quality might be found connected with almost all the leading events of the life of Senator DOUGLAS. My time, however, upon this occasion, will only permit me to refer to two or three of the more prominent. While yet a mere boy, he was wont to stand up almost alone, and when the bitterest party feeling prevailed, advocating, in the primary assemblies of the people of his adopted state, the policy of General Jackson with the bank of the United States, defending that great man, with all the fervid intrepidity which even then characterized him, and giving utterance to his sentiments with a fearlessness and courage scarcely to be expected in one nowise personally interested, and who depended for his daily bread upon the good will of those whose interests



he dared thus openly and boldly to attack. Afterward, when Judge in the Quincy Circuit, and when in the exercise of the functions of his office, he was exposed to dangers and brought into exigencies which developed his great courage and fearlessness in no ordinary degree. This was especially the case in the settlement of the difficulties existing at the time between the Mormons and the anti-Mormons. In the war which finally threatened to break out between the Mormons and their neighbors near Nauvoo, the following incident took place, exhibiting in a striking manner the courage of Mr. DOUGLAS. We quote from *Sheahan's Life of Senator Douglas*, pp. 51 and 52 :

“In the year 1846, the excitement against the Mormons reached its height. The people of the surrounding country determined to drive them away. The Saints determined to defend themselves. A civil war seemed imminent. Governor Ford sent a regiment to put down both belligerents. This regiment, consisting of 450 men, was under command of Col. John J. Hardin, the old political opponent, but warm personal friend of Mr. DOUGLAS, who held the post of major.

“As the little body of troops approached Nauvoo, they saw the Mormons 4,000 strong drawn up to oppose their advance. Every man of them was known to be armed with a ‘seven shooter’ and a brace of ‘Colt’s revolvers,’ twenty-one shots to a man, besides a bowie knife.

“Hardin halted his troops just out of rifle range, and addressed them. ‘There are the Mormons, ten to one against us. I intend to attack them. If there is a coward here who wishes to go home, he may do so now. Let any man who wishes to go step to the front.’

“Not a man came forward.

“‘Major Douglas,’ said the Colonel, ‘will take 100 men, proceed to Nauvoo, arrest the twelve apostles, and bring them here.’

“‘Col. Hardin,’ asked the Major, quietly, so that no one else heard, ‘is this a peremptory order?’

“‘It is.’

“‘Then I shall make an attempt to execute it. But I give you warning, not a man of us will ever return.’

“‘The apostles must be taken, Major Douglas,’ replied the Colonel.

“‘Very well, Colonel, if you send me alone, I will pledge myself to reach the city. As to bringing in the twelve, that is quite another question. I will try.’”

And he did try. He entered the city—induced the apostles to visit with him Col. Hardin’s camp. Negotiations were entered upon, in which Mr. DOUGLAS was the chief actor on one side, and Brigham Young on the other, and a treaty of peace was soon effected, which spared the effusion of blood, and resulted in the removal of the Mormons from the state.

Thus early developed, this trait in his character found in after years and upon other fields ample scope for its manifestation. Need I refer to the terrible ordeals through which this great man passed upon his return to the North after the passage of the Compromise measures of 1850, and again after the enactment by Congress of the Fugitive Slave law? It has passed into history with what unflinching courage and uncompromising fearlessness he defended both these measures and the men who in Congress voted for them. This defense, especially in the case of the latter bill, required no ordinary courage. Never, probably, in the history of the

country, has any similar enactment witnessed the North so greatly excited; and at his home, among his constituents in the city of Chicago, a most terrible storm of indignation was raging, which no ordinary man would have dared to brave. Into the very heart of that storm, however, he immediately rushed, demanding to be heard before he was condemned, and gaining a hearing when almost any other man would have failed. Openly, boldly, without reserve or equivocation, did he claim, in the name of the Constitution, that that law, so long as it was a law of the land, should be obeyed. While others at such a time might at least have kept silence, or remained for a season prudently at a distance from the scene of the whirlwind, so did not he. He bared his bosom to the storm, and in his fearlessness ceased not to defend the law in the light of the constitutional provision upon which it was based.

Then, too, who will ever forget the Luther-like courage and determination with which he stood his ground beneath the unprecedented opposition which assailed him from all parts of the North, pending the action of Congress upon the Kansas-Nebraska bill? Never before, probably, in the history of the legislation of this land, has the country witnessed such a spectacle. The combined power of an influential press; the thunders of thousands of pulpits; the terrible and scathing attacks of the most skillful and experienced leaders of the opposing party, were directed with unceasing rigor and energy upon his devoted head. Petition after petition from all parts of the land, directed against the bill and its author, poured in upon Congress. Three thousand New England clergymen of every sect, at one time, and over five hundred from his own State at another, uttered remonstrances and warnings and entreaties, and yet never, never for a moment, during all those long and weary weeks, did he hesitate or quail or waver. Never for an instant, so far as we could judge, did he tremble in a single nerve; but like some great rock, amid the surges of the storm-tossed ocean, he stood, receiving without an apparent jar or tremor the whole burden of those terrific blows. His speeches made at this time are a wonderful combination of forcible logic, scathing rebuke, withering sarcasm and bold defiance. Never did his transcendent powers as a skillful disputant and fearless leader shine more resplendently than during this contest.

Whatever we may think of the provisions of the bill passed amid such opposition, we must concede to its author and defender a courage more true and grand than that of him who storms a fortress bristling with bayonets, or marches amid the excitement of the battle field to the cannon's mouth.

To pass by many other demonstrations of this quality in our distinguished Senator, we will further only remind you of the conflict between Mr. DOUGLAS and Mr. BUCHANAN, pending the effort in Congress to adopt the Leecompton constitution. Mr. DOUGLAS differed from the administration, and with his accustomed determination and fearlessness undertook to defeat what the administration wished to enact. Upon the history of



that struggle I need not dwell. You are all familiar with it. You know how the whole power of an administration with which Mr. DOUGLAS had hitherto co-operated, and of which he was the firm and leading support, was made to bear upon him with a view to his political overthrow. Day after day, and week after week, did that struggle continue; but the man of iron could not be made to yield. The blows given were returned with a ten-fold power by the indomitable senator. No other man in the land could have fought such a battle and sustained himself; no other man could have maintained his position with the same unflinching courage. An attempt was made to ostracise him; to convict him of political heresy—of defection from and want of fidelity to his party. This stigma was extended to his friends everywhere; and to be the friend of DOUGLAS was with the administration to be untrue to the democratic faith. Yet with a bravery, an unflinching courage which won the admiration of the republican party and established him more firmly in the affection of his friends, did he conduct the conflict to the end; and, returning to his adopted State, he fought the battle over again before the people, and was by them sustained. Into further detail I cannot enter. I cannot even quote from his bold, masterly, independent and defiant speeches made at this time; but this I may venture to affirm: that since the days of Luther, in his memorable stand before the Diet of Worms, the world has seen no more sublime display of high, invincible, determined, moral courage *History will write* STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS *the Luther of modern statesmen.*

Turning, however, from these painful struggles from which, happily and forever, this great man now rests, I remark, sixth: *That his greatness received its highest charm in that it was attested by his devoted patriotism.* This, sir, is the crowning virtue of his public life, and upon this characteristic it gives me unfeigned pleasure, at this hour, in this crisis of our national affairs, to dwell. If a life-long adherence to the laws, and an unflinching defense of the Constitution, and a high regard for the guaranteed rights of all the citizens of this land, north, south, east and west, constitute a patriot, then was he one of whom I speak to-day.

His devotion to the Constitution of his country was fervent and genuine. That he interpreted all the provisions of that instrument as some of you do who hear me, is not the question; but that he was desirous, and *always* desirous, that that instrument, as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States, should be respected and cherished and defended as the organic law of the land, cannot, I think, be justly questioned. Sometimes he differed in his understanding of that great document with the North, sometimes with the South; sometimes with the members of his own party, and always with extremists in all sections and all parties: but never—never—so far as I know or can learn, has he expressed an unwillingness to accept as authoritative and binding the decisions of the supreme judicial authority of the nation upon that instrument. His record here is one of which his friends and admirers may be justly proud. I find nowhere, in all the long record of his active public life, a single



utterance which looks like rebellion against the Constitution or laws, or which counsels, even by implication, rebellion in others to any state or federal enactment. He has nowhere, that I know of, in Congress or out of Congress, said that he would not obey a law that he did not like. He has nowhere, directly or by implication, counseled friend or foe to resist federal or state officers in the discharge of their legal functions. Whoever now are in rebellion against the law and the officers of the law, or whoever may hereafter in this land, North or South, stand in that attitude, they can never plead a word or act of STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS as their encouragement. His record upon this point can go down to posterity without the shadow of a stain. It is in this direction clear as a sunbeam. His voice, like that of DANIEL WEBSTER, the great expounder of our magna charta, has ever been raised for the Constitution and the laws. Though laws have been enacted of which he did not approve—which he strenuously and to the last opposed—yet so soon as they received executive sanction, his head was bowed in obedience to the constitutional will, and until lawfully repealed, all such enactments were sacred with him.

Nor did he ever allow his position upon a matter so vital to the very existence of a constitutional government, to remain doubtful. His attitude was never equivocal. Every one who wished could at once ascertain where STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS stood in regard to the Constitution and the laws. Hence, when, upon the election of his distinguished rival in the last Presidential canvass, not waiting to inquire who would like it and who would not, he stepped boldly and nobly forward, and said to traitors in the South, "Mr. Lincoln is the legal chief executive, constitutionally elected, and I will sustain his government against rebellion," it was taking no new ground—it was but defining anew his old position. And when at length the inaugural was delivered, he stood up in his place in the senate chamber, not waiting for any one to give him his cue, not waiting to know whether his party would like it or not, but nobly, boldly, the same fearless, courageous man as ever, he spake out before his party and the whole country, those patriotic words which proclaimed his determination to adhere with unwavering constancy to the constitution, defending it against all assailants, let who would be President; he took no new ground, but planted himself on the old corner stones, doing just what his long record of devotion to law and order told us we might expect from him. And when at length treasonable plots deepen, and the clouds gather yet blacker, and portend more trying hours, we find him in Mr. Lincoln's private room, face to face with the man with whom but now he had contested every foot of the presidential race, encouraging him, counseling him, enjoining upon him moderation, caution, prudence, but firmness and determination, assuring him, with a warm clasp of the hand in which were the pulsations of the blood from no traitor's heart, as one brother might assure another, that he would stand by him in the impending, bitter conflict with the enemies of the Constitution, it was taking no new ground, but was in keeping with his honorable record of a life-long adherence to the lawful government of the land,

and just what we had reason to expect from the great-hearted statesman. And then, at length, as if to crown himself with the very highest earthly glory preparatory to launching forth from earth forever—when, leaving Washington for Chicago, he roused by his eloquence the people everywhere, making the noblest, most patriotic appeals in behalf of the Constitution, our government and our flag, pleading with friends and foes to lay aside at this time their party feelings, and let everything now be merged in the one grand, central, absorbing emotion of love to country, to the whole country—pleading for this unselfishly at Indianapolis, before the legislature at Springfield, at Chicago, everywhere, in public and in private, with old friends and old foes; tell me, sir, was it anything new? Was it not rather in the direction of his life-long patriotism and devotion to his country's constitution? And when, at last, and but a few short weeks thereafter, we find him upon his dying couch, trembling over the verge of the eternal world, so far reduced by the terrible ravages of disease that he can utter but one syllable at a time, and his faithful wife asks for a message from the dying father to his absent boys, what do we hear? Listen, my countrymen—listen, all parties and men of every political creed—listen, traitors to the constitution and the laws, whether ye are north or south—listen, it is the patriot's last great speech—a patriot's dying legacy to his darlings: "TELL MY CHILDREN TO LOVE AND UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION!" Do these words surprise you? Did you expect to hear other language from him now? O no. In beautiful harmony and in entire consistency with his life-long record is this last utterance from his lips.

'Tis said the swan sings her sweetest song in death, but it is the same strain which distinguished her in life. It is not another song, though it be enriched with a harmony born of the hour—a melody intensified by the solemnity of the occasion. So the patriot dying leaves as a legacy to his sons the epitomized, the condensed, the intensified teachings of his life. No more fitting utterance could be given to close a life of such devotion to the cause he loved.

And now, Mr. President and fellow citizens, I must hasten to bring this hasty and imperfect sketch of the character of this great man to a close. He possessed other distinguished traits, upon which, had I time, I might enlarge to almost any extent. I could speak, seventh, of his unconquerable energy which bore him forward over all opposition in the honorable pathway to distinction which he had marked out for himself—an energy which never flagged, which never deserted him, which the enervating power of sickness itself seemed scarcely to abate, and which nothing but the shaft of death could subdue. In contemplating this trait of his character, we have felt that he was possessed of an almost superhuman power.

Eighth, I might speak to you of the *wonderful*, and, to such a remarkable degree, *unusual* combination in his character of the *executive* with the *reflective*—the ability to *accomplish* as well as to *plan*—the *practical* as well as the *theoretical*, entering into and enhancing his greatness. It was this combination, so rarely seen in the same person in such eminence, and in

which, it is safe to say, he was not equaled by any of his cotemporaries, which made Mr. DOUGLAS pre-eminently the man of the people. A mere theorizer, however great he may be in that department, has but little to endear him to the people. They love the worker—the man with the great head and heart, 'tis true, but chiefly him of the great, efficient *hand* to go with the head and heart, causing their mighty plans and gracious purposes to crystalize into mighty actions. History will no doubt pronounce STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS the great *worker* of the age, and hence his popularity with the masses of his countrymen.

Ninth: I might, too, had I time, speak to you of his *benevolence*, always displayed upon a scale commensurate with the greatness of his character, his fame, and his fortune. Let me point you, as an attestation of this remark—and it is all I now can do—to the University of Chicago, of which he was the unsolicited founder, the munificent patron, and the unwavering friend. So long as that Institution stands, he who sleeps beneath the shadow of its massive turrets will need no other monument to his liberality.

Tenth: Then, too, I might speak to you this day of his many distinguished social virtues, which no one has ever denied to him. His fidelity as a friend; his geniality as a companion; his devotion as a son; his tenderness as a husband, and his loving faithfulness as a parent. But why descend to these particulars upon this mournful occasion? The recital would but call up the most painful emotions, which would be wholly unavailing, now that he is gone. If you wish testimonials to his many virtues in social and private life, go, hear from the lips of thousands who weep at his grave how they loved him; go, ask that sobbing mother and sister, denied the privilege of kissing him a last adieu; and above all, go, listen to the wailings of that young, beautiful and devoted wife, and those noble sons, as, forming a group worthy the pencil of the angel of sorrow, they keep their ceaseless vigils by the dust of the mighty dead, while the hearts of millions throb responsive to their woes.

One thing more, and only one, would God I were this day permitted to say. Would God, I had the same evidence of his life-long piety that I have of the greatness of his head and heart. But he is gone. He is in the hands of the Just, the Holy, the Merciful One. We leave him there. We know not what heaven-born aspirations burned in that mighty soul as it struggled with dissolution and grappled with death. Ignorant of the extent of the Spirit's power, we will not set limits to his love.

And now, sir, I am done. Yonder lies the man for whom this great nation mourns to-day. Look; how quiet—how peaceful, now, his slumbers. No babe in its mother's arms rests more securely. Though the land he loved so well and served so faithfully rocks from center to circumference, he heeds it not. Though traitor hands seek to tear asunder that glorious Union of States for which he would have died, he is not disturbed; and well may he thus sleep, securely, peacefully, undisturbed. *He* was no traitor to the land of his birth—no rebel to the government of his



country. A patriot—great, unswerving, pure—he lived; a patriot—loving, beloved, lamented, wept—he died.

Rest thou, great man, from all thy labors; and forever rest, while a grateful nation guards thy dust, and the waters of the mighty Michigan murmur unceasingly thy requiem!

After music by the band, the report of the Committee on Resolutions was read, which was as follows:

WHEREAS, It has pleased Almighty God, in the dispensation of his providence, to remove, in the vigor and usefulness of his manhood, our illustrious Senator, and most esteemed and respected fellow-citizen, the Hon. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, who departed this life at his home in the city of Chicago, on Monday, the 3d inst., after a protracted illness of several weeks, therefore—

*Resolved*, That we have received with deep sensibility and heart-felt sorrow the melancholy intelligence of the death of Mr. DOUGLAS.

*Resolved*, That we cherish the highest respect for the acknowledged ability of the deceased—for his moral courage and manly firmness—for the integrity and uprightness of his public life—for his urbanity and kindness of heart—for his inflexible fidelity to the Constitution and the American Union—and for those other estimable qualities which characterized him as a man, as a neighbor, as a benefactor, as a citizen, a statesman and a patriot; and that to testify these sentiments we will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

*Resolved*, That the secretaries of this meeting transmit a copy of these proceedings to the bereaved family of the deceased, as a testimonial of the esteem in which the character and virtues of the departed husband and father are held by the people of Dixon, and in token of their unfeigned and unaffected sorrow for his loss.

*Resolved*, That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be furnished to the Dixon, Amboy, and Chicago papers, and that they be requested to publish the same.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

WM. BARGE, <i>Chairman</i> ,	} <i>Committee.</i>
JAMES K. EDSALL,	
CHARLES V. TENNEY,	
A. McPHERRAN,	
EUGENE PINKNEY,	

Mr. Barge said, Mr. President, I move the unanimous adoption of the resolutions just read as a further token of our respect for the memory of the departed great.

Mr. A. C. Stedman seconded the motion, which was adopted.

A motion was then made and carried, that the orator be requested to furnish a copy of his address, for publication.

The Benediction was then pronounced by Rev. S. G. Lathrop, after which the multitude quietly and orderly dispersed to their homes.

The oration was of a character in keeping with the occasion. The unanimity with which it was commended, showed how highly appreciated were the great truths it portrayed in connection with the illustrious dead.

The streets through which the procession moved were all appropriately draped in mourning. All the places of business were closed, and everything indicated how deeply felt was the loss which the state and nation had sustained.

HENRY B. FOUKE,  
THOMAS W. EUSTACE, } *Secretaries.*











