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LEGAL NOTICES.

DUNCAN J. DEVAN,
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW,
CLINTON, N. C.
WILL practice in the County and Superior Courts of Bladen, Cumberland, and Sampson, and of the adjoining Counties. Office near the Clinton Hotel, Feb. 16, 1860.

A. D. McLEAN,
A Lawyer & Counsellor at Law,
SUMMERVILLE, N. C.
WILL attend the Courts of Cumberland, Moore, Johnson and Harriet County PROMPT attention given to the collection of all claims entrusted to his care.
Dec 23 1859

CLEMÉNT G. WRIGHT,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
Fayetteville, N. C.
WILL practice in the County and Superior Courts of Bladen, Cumberland, and Sampson, and of all business committed to his charge.
April 2, 1858.

W. S. NORMENT,
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
LUMBERTON, N. C.
WILL attend the County and Superior Courts of Robeson, Cumberland, Bladen and Columbus. All business entrusted to his care, will receive prompt attention. Office in the Court House.
July 1, 1859.

A. M. Campbell,
AUCTIONEER & COMMISSION MERCHANT,
East Side of Gillespie Street,
FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.
Nov. 13, 1858.

H. GRAHAM,
Commission Merchant,
WILMINGTON, N. C.

WILL give prompt and personal attention to all consignments of Spirits, Turpentine, Rosin, Tars, Pine Oil, and all country produce for sale. Office at 212 1/2 N. State Street, over the Store of Mr. Von Glehn and adjoining Lutterloh's wharf, North Water Street.
June 18, 1859.

FAYETTEVILLE HOTEL,
W. H. BELL, PROPRIETOR.
THIS, the most commodious Hotel, is situated in North Carolina, fronting 300 feet on Hay and Donaldson streets. It is a portion of the town, and surrounded by all the banking houses, wholesale merchants and principal produce dealers.
Business men will find the Hotel a convenient and comfortable home.
All the stages arrive and depart from this Hotel.
Fayetteville, April 2, 1859.

**Stoves, Sheet-Iron
TIN-WARE, &c.**
O'Hand, a large assortment of Box and cooking Stoves; Tin-ware; Sheet-Iron; Lead Pipes; All the NEW YORK PATENT Office Pot. For sale at Nov. 27, 1858.
JAMES MARTINE.

NOTICE.
HAVING RECENTLY PURCHASED THE ENTIRE STOCK OF
of Council & McKethan, I am now carrying on the mercantile business at Council's Bluff.
R. H. LYON.
Aug 19, 1859.

BEDSTEADS AND CHAIRS
For Sale at reduced prices, at the Auction Store of
A. M. CAMPBELL.
Aug 21, 1858.

Paints, Oils, &c.
S. PERM, Red, Lead, Linseed and Tanners' OILS. WHITE LEAD, Burning fluid, Putty, Window Glass and Sash of all sizes.
A fresh supply of Pond's Pain Destroyer.
For sale by
JAS. MARTINE.
Nov. 27, 1858.

A CARD.
A Word To My Old Friends
THOSE persons for whom I have been attending to Banking business for years—I am still willing to serve you with the same promptness that I have always done—and to others that may want discounts, Pension business, &c., I offer my services, with a promise of strict attention.
JAS. G. COOK.
June 27, 1859.

GOLDSTON & FULLER,
Wholesale and Retail Dealers in
Groceries Hardware
&c., also
PROMPT ATTENTION GIVEN TO THE SALE of Cotton, and other Produce.
Orders and Consignments in the above line will receive the most prompt attention from reliable parties.
G. W. GOLDSTON. A. W. FULLER.
Dec 5.

JAS. N. SMITH,
Wholesale and Retail Dealer in
American, French and English Drugs, Medicines and Chemicals; Garden and Field Seeds; Perfumery, Dye-Stuffs, Liquors; Oils, Paints and Varnishes; Window Glass; Glass-ware; Fine Soaps; Fine Hair and Tooth Brushes; Paint Brushes; Surgical and Dental Instruments, and Fancy Articles, with all the Patent or Proprietary Medicines of the Day.
Fayetteville, N. C.,
Dec 6, 1859.

NORTH CAROLINIAN.

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.
SATURDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 25.

THE TARBORO MERCURY.
This journal has lately striven to make a home thrust at us in regard to *ad valorem*, and asks us to get off the fence, stating that we are "yelping in the trail of the *Standard* and working men's association." We have always endeavored to make a trail for ourselves, and have heretofore had as respectable sheets as the *Mercury* yelping at us, disturbing us just as little as does the howl which reaches us from Edgecomb county. When it gets a cent it may possibly close its jaw.

The *Mercury* has taken upon itself to exhibit its lack of information upon the first principles of political economy, together with a number of issues placed before the Democratic party, which it must accept or (we be it to it) must, forsooth, lose its valuable support! The *Mercury* has withal misquoted us. We did not say we were in favor of *ad valorem* as advocated now, but we did say that we were in favor of the principle of *ad valorem*. Now does the *Mercury* profess to know any thing about government? If so, by what right is a man taxed in any shape? Is it not for the support of Government, and is the support of Government not demanded because of the protection it affords to the citizen? This being the case, a man ought to pay taxes just in proportion to the amount of protection received. This is *ad valorem*. You might as well try to hurl the moon from its proud eminence as to deny this great principle of political economy. The one is founded upon the necessary laws of nature, the other upon the humanity requiring necessity of the existence of government. Justice will never be accomplished till we conform as near as possible to the principle of *ad valorem*. Invidious distinctions ought not to be made in taxing, no more than in the proportion of immunities to be enjoyed by an American. When the time comes for opposition to the thing feared by the *Mercury*, we may possibly not be a whit behind our factious friend in Tarboro, in battling for the cause of justice; nor does it follow that because we may oppose the taxing of negroes *ad valorem*, that we must show our ignorance of right by opposing the whole principle.

On account of the misplacing of the copy of Mr Douglas's speech, we were unable to publish it in full last week. We therefore, re-publish to day the portion produced on last week with other parts of it. It is a superior production of mental power, and is worthy the attention of every person. We will conclude its publication during the next week.

MR McRAE'S ADDRESS.—The address of D. K. McRae, Esq., for the benefit of the Mount Vernon Association, was delivered last evening in the Fayetteville Hall, to a crowded house. We confess that we have never displayed a more brilliant, instructive and intelligent address. It was composed of the choicest of scholastic learning, the brightest conception of his superior mind, which with the fascinating charm of his free, natural and expressive manner of delivery, made his words seem more like acts—his theories like living realities. Mr. McRae is an orator of no common mould; he has naturally within him all the requisites to enable him to that distinction, which added to the polish of a splendid intellectual training, places him among the great men of his native State.

THE ENSUING ELECTIONS.
The Rhode Island democracy have nominated, on the 16th inst., Wm Sprague, Esq., for Governor, and J. Russell Bullock, for Lieutenant Governor. The conservative element of the State outside of the democratic party, held a convention upon the same day and nominated the same candidates. We look for their election.
Connecticut has nominated her great war-horse of Democracy and the favorite son of the State for Governor, Ex-Gov. Seymour of that State. The New York Tribune, gives up the State as certain for Seymour and the Charleston nominee.
A large and highly respectable portion of the Virginia democracy met in Richmond on Friday in State Convention to appoint delegates to the National Convention in Charleston. During the session, the following dispatch from a similar body then in session in Connecticut, was received:

HARTFORD, Conn., Feb. 15.
Resolved, That the Democracy of Connecticut send to Virginia, whose Democratic Delegates are to assemble in State Convention tomorrow, their fraternal regards, congratulating the Old Dominion on the effectual manner in which she suppressed an Abolition invasion of her soil, initiated to disturb her rights and to shed the blood of her citizens.
Is not this beautiful and touching? Connecticut Democracy and Virginia Democracy one and the same, united together by the bands of union and fraternal love. Oh, what a commentary upon the opposition of the South! When shall we hear a New England State greeting them with such friendly sentiments as the above?—NEVER.

It won't be long before there will be a proposition brought forward to annex Europe, Asia and Africa, to this great Union. We shall not speak of the proposition until it will come up in shape in Congress. There is now a proposition before Congress to annex Cuba, one to annex Canada, also, one to annex Mexico. In the midst of all this, the New York Tribune, of the 17th, call the Black Republican committee on the Dist. of Columbia, to action, looking to a change of the seat of Government, on account of the fact that it would be desirable to have it upon free territory—next week it will advocate the re-mooring of the Constitution.

Kit Hoffman, who was reported to entice a negro belonging to Wm. Cade, Esq., has been arrested at Wilmington, N. C.

At the Democratic Convention in Richmond Va., a resolution expressing a preference for HERRY A WISE for President, was defeated.—The convention, also, passed resolutions sustaining South Carolina's views, respecting the proposed Southern Convention.

By the late news from Mexico, we learn that the outrageous acts of Cortinas in Texas were through the sanction of the Mexican authorities.

Members of Congress are now franking oyster cans to their constituents, as seeds have given out.

The American members of the Legislature in Louisiana met in convention and by a vote of 77 to 17, resolved to support the nominee of the Charleston Convention for President.

Eggs and chickens were scarce in Newbern at the last accounts. Eggs quite plentiful here.

So says the *Wilson Ledger*, and we presume it is true, as the *Ledger* has exhibited some signs of the thing lately. *Foy* for shame.

The editor of the *Charlotte Bulletin* says he might publish a couple of columns of his paper with complimentary notices of the *Bulletin*, and himself! We have read *fish stories* in papers long since. We presume all papers might publish them for the amusement of their readers.

It is most laughable to read the non-sensical pro-ceedings of a whole day in Congress—the whole of yesterday spent, eulogizing the departed.

HICKMAN A COWARD.
According to the best reports which have reached us, Hickman, the black republican N. C., from Pennsylvania, has shown a decidedly mean and cowardly spirit when attacked by the Hon. Henry Edmundson, of Va. When Edmundson attacked him with the switch, Mr Keitt, of S. C., caught one of Edmundson's arms and Mr Clingman, of N. C., the other. Keitt then told Hickman to run, and immediately Mr E. broke loose and followed in the chase.—Hickman ran for his life. He is a brave man when addressing the abolitionists from Willard's Hotel, but when a Virginia switch is placed in juxtaposition to his person he's not that!

JUDGE DOUGLAS.
We are satisfied that those who have read the speech of this great statesman must acknowledge that it has placed him in the position of a champion of Southern rights. We have never read a more able and masterly effort in our life, and we confess that it has entirely banished any objections which we might have had to his nomination at Charleston.

This speech, added to the remarks made by Mr Douglas in the Territorial caucus, upon the resolution of the House of Representatives, to maintain the position of the United States against the slaveholding States. It was generally received and regarded as an authoritative announcement that the Constitution of the United States confers no power upon the Federal Government to protect each of the States of this Union against invasion from the other States, or to interfere with the jurisdiction of the President to declare that the existing laws confer no authority upon him, or that the Constitution empowers Congress to enact no laws which would authorize the Federal interposition to protect the States from invasion; my object is to raise the inquiry, and as a result of the Senate and of the House of Representatives on the question, whether it is not within the power of Congress, and the duty of Congress, under the Constitution, to enact all laws which may be necessary and proper for the protection of each State against invasion, either from foreign Powers or from any portion of the United States.

The denial of the existence of such a power in the Federal Government has induced an inquiry among conservative men—men loyal to the Constitution and devoted to the Union—as to what means they have of protection if the Federal Government is not authorized to protect them against external violence. It must be conceded that no community is safe, no State can enjoy peace, or prosperity, or domestic tranquility, without security against external violence. Every State and nation of the world is bound to protect itself against aggression from without. The States of this Union would possess that power, were it not for the restraints imposed upon them by the Federal Government. When that Constitution was made, the State surrendered to the Federal Government the power to raise and support armies, and the power to provide and maintain navies, and not only thus surrendered the means of protection from invasion, but consented to a prohibition upon them of the use of force, so that no State shall keep troops or vessels of war in time of peace.

The question now recurs, whether the States of this Union are in that helpless condition, with their hands tied by the Constitution, stripped of all means of repelling assaults and maintaining their existence, without a guarantee from the Federal Government, to protect them against violence. If the people of this country shall settle down into the conviction that there is no power in the Federal Government under the Constitution to protect each and every State from violence, from aggression, from invasion, they will demand that the cord be severed, and that the Federal Government perform its duty. The means of defence, the means of repelling assaults, the means of providing against invasion, must exist as a condition of the safety of the States and the existence of the Union.

Now, sir, I hope to be able to demonstrate that there is no wrong in this Union for which the Constitution of the United States has not provided a remedy. I believe, and I hope I shall be able to maintain, that a remedy is furnished for every wrong which can be perpetrated within the Union, if the Federal Government performs its duty. In the first place, I think it is clear, on a careful examination of the Constitution, that the power is conferred upon Congress, first, to provide for repelling invasion from foreign countries; and, secondly, to protect each State of this Union against invasion from any other State, Territory, or place, within the jurisdiction of the United States. I will first turn your attention, sir, to the power conferred upon Congress to protect the United States—including States, Territories, and the District of Columbia; including every inch of ground within our limits and jurisdiction—against foreign invasion. In the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution, you find that Congress has power—

"To raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a Navy; to make rules for the Government and regulation of the land and naval force; to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

These various clauses confer upon Congress power to use the whole military force of the country for the purpose specified in the Constitution. They shall provide for the execution of the laws of the United States, and, secondly, suppress insurrections. The insurrections there referred to are insurrections against the authority of the United States—insurrections against a State authority being provided for in a subsequent section, in which the United States cannot interfere, except upon the application of the State authorities. The invasion which is to be repelled by this clause of the Constitution is an invasion of the United States. The language is, Congress shall have power to "repel invasions." That gives the authority to repel the invasion, no matter whether the enemy shall land within the limits of Virginia, within the District of Columbia, within the Territory of New Mexico, or anywhere else within the jurisdiction of the United States. The power to protect every portion of the country against invasion from foreign nations having thus been specifically conferred, the framers of the Constitution then proceeded to make guarantees for the protection of each of the States by Federal authority. I will read the fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution:

"The United States shall guaranty to every State

Speech of Senator A. Douglas, ON THE INVASION OF STATES; AND HIS REPLY TO MR FESSENDEN.

Delivered in the Senate of the U. S., Jan. 28, 1860.

The hour having arrived for the consideration of the special order, the Senate proceeded to consider the following resolution, submitted by Mr. Douglas on the 16th inst.:

Resolved, That the committee on the Judiciary be instructed to report a bill for the protection of each State and Territory of the Union against invasion by the authorities or inhabitants of any other State or Territory; and for the suppression and punishment of conspiracies or combinations in any State, Territory, or place, within the jurisdiction of the United States, for the purpose of invading, seizing, or molesting the inhabitants, property, or interests of any other State or Territory of the Union.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on the 25th of November last, the Governor of Virginia addressed an oral communication to the President of the United States, in which he said:

"I have information from various quarters, upon which I rely, that a conspiracy of formidable extent, in means and numbers, is formed in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and other States, to resist the laws of the United States, and to liberate the prisoners at Charleston, Virginia. The information is specific enough to be reliable.

"Places in Maryland, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, have been occupied as depots and rendezvous for these desperadoes, and unobstructed by guards or other means, to invade this State, and we are kept in continual apprehension of outrage from fire and rapine. I advise you of these facts in order that you may take steps to preserve peace between the States."

To this communication, the President of the United States, on the 28th of November, returned a reply, from which I read the following sentence:

"I am at a loss to discover any provision in the Constitution or laws of the United States which would authorize me to 'take steps' for this purpose." [That is, to preserve the peace between the States.] This announcement produced a profound impression upon the mind and especially in the slaveholding States. It was generally received and regarded as an authoritative announcement that the Constitution of the United States confers no power upon the Federal Government to protect each of the States of this Union against invasion from the other States, or to interfere with the jurisdiction of the President to declare that the existing laws confer no authority upon him, or that the Constitution empowers Congress to enact no laws which would authorize the Federal interposition to protect the States from invasion; my object is to raise the inquiry, and as a result of the Senate and of the House of Representatives on the question, whether it is not within the power of Congress, and the duty of Congress, under the Constitution, to enact all laws which may be necessary and proper for the protection of each State against invasion, either from foreign Powers or from any portion of the United States.

The denial of the existence of such a power in the Federal Government has induced an inquiry among conservative men—men loyal to the Constitution and devoted to the Union—as to what means they have of protection if the Federal Government is not authorized to protect them against external violence. It must be conceded that no community is safe, no State can enjoy peace, or prosperity, or domestic tranquility, without security against external violence. Every State and nation of the world is bound to protect itself against aggression from without. The States of this Union would possess that power, were it not for the restraints imposed upon them by the Federal Government. When that Constitution was made, the State surrendered to the Federal Government the power to raise and support armies, and the power to provide and maintain navies, and not only thus surrendered the means of protection from invasion, but consented to a prohibition upon them of the use of force, so that no State shall keep troops or vessels of war in time of peace.

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"The United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive, (when the Legislature cannot be convened,) against domestic violence."

This clause contains three distinct guarantees: first, the United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of government; second, the United States shall protect each of them against invasion; third, the United States shall, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive, when the Legislature cannot be convened, protect them against domestic violence. Now, sir, I submit to you whether it is not clear, from the very language of the Constitution, that this clause was inserted for the purpose of making it the duty of the Federal Government to protect each of the States against invasion from any other State, Territory, or place within the jurisdiction of the United States? For the power and the duty of protection against foreign nations had already been provided for. This clause occurs among the guarantees from the United States to each State, for the benefit of each State, for the protection of each State, and necessarily from each State, as much as the guarantees had been given previously as against foreign nations.

If any further authority is necessary to show that such is the true construction of the Constitution, it may be found in the forty-third number of the *Federalist*, written by James Madison. Mr. Madison quotes the clause of the Constitution which I have read, giving these three guarantees; and after discussing the one guarantying to each State a republican form of government, proceeds to consider the second, which makes it the duty of the United States to protect each of the States against invasion. Here is what Mr. Madison says upon that subject:

"A protection against invasion is due from every society to the part composing it. The latitude of the expression here used seems to secure each State, not only against foreign hostility, but against ambitious or vindictive enterprises of its more powerful neighbors. The history both of ancient and modern confederacies proves that the weaker members of the Union ought not to be insensible to the policy of this article."

The number of the *Federalist*, like all the others of that celebrated work, was written after the Constitution was made, and before it was ratified by the States, and with a view to securing its ratification; hence the people of the several States, when they ratified this instrument, knew that this clause was intended to bear the construction which I now place upon it. It was intended to make it the duty of every society to protect each of its parts; the duty of the Federal Government to protect each of the States; and he says, the smaller States ought not to be insensible to the policy of this article of the Constitution.

Then, sir, if it be made the imperative duty of the Federal Government, by the express provision of the Constitution, to protect each of the States against invasion or violence from the other States, or from combinations of desperadoes within their limits, it necessarily follows that it is the duty of Congress to pass all laws necessary and proper to render that guarantee effectual. While Congress, in the early history of the Government, did provide legislation, which is supposed to be ample to protect the United States against invasion from foreign countries and the Indian tribes, they have failed, up to this time, to make any law for the protection of each of the States against invasion from within the limits of the Union. I am unable to account for this omission, but I presume the reason is to be found in the fact that no Congress ever dreamed that such legislation would ever become necessary for the protection of one State of this Union against invasion and violence from her sister States. Who, until the Harper's Ferry outrage, ever conceived that American citizens could be so forgetful of their duties to themselves, to their country, to the Constitution, as to plan an invasion of another State, with the view of inciting servile insurrection, murder, treason, and every other crime that disgraces humanity? While, therefore, no blame can justly be attached to our predecessors in failing to provide the legislation necessary to place the whole military power of the Government at the disposal of the President, under proper guards and restrictions against abuse, to repel and suppress invasion when the hostile force shall be actually in the field. But, sir, that is not sufficient. Such legislation would not be a full compliance with this guarantee of the Constitution. The framers of that instrument, meant more when they gave the guarantee. Mark the difference in language between the provision for protecting the United States against invasion and that for protecting the States.

When it provided for protecting the United States, it said, Congress shall have power to "repel invasion." When it came to make this guarantee to the States it changed the language and said the United States shall "protect" each of the States against invasion. In the one instance, the duty of the Government is to repel; in the other words guarantee is that they will protect. In other words the United States are not permitted to wait until the enemy shall be upon your borders; until the invading army shall have been organized and drilled and placed in march with a view to the invasion; but they must pass all laws necessary and proper to insure protection and domestic tranquility to each State and Territory of this Union against invasion or hostilities from other States and Territories.

Then, sir, I hold that it is not only necessary to use the military power when the actual case of invasion shall occur, but to an extent, the judicial department of the government to suppress all conspiracies and combinations in the several States, or molest or disturb its peace, its citizens, its property, or its institutions. You must punish the conspiracy, the combination with intent to do the act, and then you will suppress it in advance. There is no principle more familiar to the legal profession than that wherever it is proper to declare an act to be a crime, it is proper to punish a conspiracy or combination with intent to perpetrate the act. Look upon your statute-books, and I presume you will find an enactment to punish the counterfeiting of the coin of the United States; and then another section to punish a man for being counterfeiter, coin in his possession with intent to pass it; and another section to punish him for having the molds, or dies, or instruments for counterfeiting, with intent to use them. This is a familiar principle in legislative and judicial proceedings. If the act of invasion is criminal, the conspiracy to invade shall also be made criminal. If it be unlawful and illegal to invade a State, and run off fugitive slave, why not make it unlawful to form conspiracies and combinations in the several States with intent to do the act? There have been told that a notorious man who has recently suffered death for his crimes upon the gallows, boasted in Cleveland, Ohio, in a public lecture, a year ago, that he had then a body of men employed in running away horses from the slaveholders of Missouri, and pointed to a livery stable in Cleveland which was full of the stolen horses at that time.

I think it is within our competency, and consequently our duty, to pass a law making every conspiracy or combination in any State or Territory of this Union to invade another with intent to steal or run away property of any kind, whether it be negroes, or horses, or property of any other description, into another State, a crime, and punish the conspirators by indictment in the United States courts and confinement in the prisons or penitentiaries of the State or Territory where the conspiracy may be formed and quelled. Sir, I would carry these provisions of law as far as our constitutional power will reach. I would make it a crime to form conspiracies with a view of invading States or Territories to control elections, whether they be under the auspices of Emigrant Aid Societies of New England or Blue Lodges of Missouri. (Applause in the galleries.) In other words, this provision of the Constitution means more than the mere repelling of an invasion when the invading army shall reach the border of a State. The language is, it shall protect the State against invasion; the meaning of which is, to use "the language of the preamble to the Constitution, to each State domestic tranquility against external violence." There can be no peace, there can be no safety in any community, unless it is secured against violence from abroad. Why, sir, it has been a question seriously mooted in Europe, whether it was not the duty of England, a Power foreign to France, to pass laws to punish conspiracies in England against the lives of the princes of France. I shall not argue the question of comity between foreign States. I predicate my argument upon the Constitution by which we are governed, and which we have sworn to obey, and demand that the Constitution be executed in good faith so as to punish and suppress every combination, every conspiracy, either to invade a state or to molest its inhabitants, or to disturb its property, or to subvert its institutions and its government. I believe this can be effectually done by authorizing the United States courts in the several States to take jurisdiction of the offence, and punish the violation of the law with appropriate punishments.

It cannot be said that the time has not arrived for such legislation. It cannot be said with truth that the Harper's Ferry case will not be repeated, or is not in danger of repetition. It is only necessary to inquire in to the causes which produced the Harper's Ferry outrage, and ascertain whether those causes are yet in active operation, and then you can determine whether there is any ground for apprehension that that invasion will be repeated. Sir, what were the causes which produced the Harper's Ferry outrage? Without stopping to adduce evidence in detail, I have no hesitation in expressing my firm and deliberate conviction that the Harper's Ferry crime was the natural, logical, inevitable result of the doctrines and teachings of the Republican party, as explained and enforced in their platform, their partisan presses, their pamphlets and books, and especially in the speeches of their leaders in and out of Congress. (Applause in the galleries.)

Mr. MASOX. I trust the order of the Senate will be preserved. I am sure it is only necessary to suggest to the Presiding Officer the indispensable necessity of preserving the order of the Senate; and I give notice that, if it is disturbed again, I shall insist upon the galleries being cleared, entirely.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President—The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will pause for a single moment. It is impossible for the Chair to preserve order without the concurrence of the vast assembly in the galleries. He trusts that there will be no occasion to make a reference to this subject again.

Mr. TOOMBS. I hope that the Presiding Officer will place officers in the galleries, and put a stop to this thing. It is a very bad sign of the times. It is unbecoming this body, or the deliberations of any free people.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Presiding Officer has not the force at his command to place officers in the gallery.

Mr. DOUGLAS. If the Senate will pardon me for a digression an instant, I was about to suggest to the Presiding Officer that I thought it would be necessary to place officers in different parts of the gallery, with instructions that if they saw any person giving any signs of approbation calculated to disturb our proceedings, they should instantly put the guilty person out of the gallery.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That has been done.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I was remarking that I considered this outrage at Harper's Ferry as the logical, natural consequence of the teachings and doctrines of the Republican party. I am not making this statement for the purpose of crimination or partisan effect. I desire to call the attention of members of that party to a reconsideration of the doctrines that they are in the habit of enforcing, with a view to a fair judgment whether they do not lead directly to those consequences, on the part of those deluded persons who think that all they say is meant, in real earnest, and ought to be carried out. The great principle that underlies the Republican party is violent, irreconcilable, external warfare upon the institution of American slavery; with the view of its ultimate extinction throughout the land; sectional war is to be waged until the cotton field of the South shall be cultivated by free labor, or the ryefields of New York and Massachusetts shall be cultivated by slave labor. In furtherance of this article of their creed, you find their political organization not only sectional in its location, but one whose vitality consists in appeals to northern passion, northern prejudice, northern ambition against southern States, southern institutions, and southern people. I have had some experience in fighting people. I have had some experience in fighting the source of their power consists in exciting the prejudices and the passions of the northern people. They not only attempt to excite the North against the South, but they invite the South to assail and abuse and traduce the North. Southern abuse, by violent men, of northern statesmen and northern people, is essential to the triumph of the Republican cause. Hence the course of argument which we have to meet is not only repelling the appeals to northern passion and prejudice, but we have to encounter their appeals to southern men to assail us, in order that they may justify their assaults upon the plea of self-defence.

Sir, when I returned home in 1858, for the purpose of canvassing Illinois, with a view to a re-