Speech of Senator Douglas at Norfolk.

On Saturday evening Judge Douglas delivered an address at Norfolk to an audience of nearly six thousand people. The address occupied two hours in delivery. The following is taken from a report in the *Herald*:

In the middle of his address a slip of paper was handed to him. It was cut from the Norfolk *Daily Argus*, and contained two polite questions for Judge Douglas.

Having anticipated the questions thus propounded, he said thereon, I am not in the habit of answering questions propounded to me in the course of an address, but on this occasion I will comply with the request, and respond very frankly and unequivocally to these two questions.

The first question is, if Abraham Lincoln be elected President of the United States will the Southern States be justified in seceding from the Union?

To this I emphatically answer "no." [Great applause.] The election of a man to the Presidency by the American people, in conformity with the Constitution of the United States, would not justify any attempt at dissolving this glorious Confederacy. [Applause.] Now I will read to you the next question, and then answer it.

Question. If they, the Southern States, secede from the Union upon the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, before he commits an overt act against their constitutional rights, will you advise or vindicate resistance by force to their secession?

VOICES. "No, no!" "Bell men say no, Douglas!"

Mr. DOUGLAS. I answer emphatically that it is the duty of the President of the United States, and all others in authority under him, to enforce the laws of the United States as passed by Congress and as the courts expound them. [Cheers.] And I, as in duty bound, by my oath of fidelity to the Constitution, would do all in my power to aid the Government of the United States in maintaining the supremacy of the laws against all resistance to them, come from what quarter it might. [Good.] In other words, I think the President of the United States, whoever he may be, should treat all attempts to break up the Union, by resistance to its laws, as Old Hickory treated the nullifiers in 1832. [Applause.]

The laws must be enforced, but, at the same time, be it remembered, it is the duty of every citizen of every State, and every public functionary, to preserve, maintain, and vindicate the rights of every citizen and the rights of every State in the Union. I hold that the Constitution has a remedy for every grievance that may arise within it, the limits of which are very frank in answering these questions. I am not in favor of any policy which would tend to give rise to complaints of any kind, much less to such as would call for resistance from any quarter. I acknowledge the right of every citizen of the United States to remove from any place, any grievance become too burdensome to be endured, I acknowledge the right of every sovereign State to alter and change the form of government under which it has lived whenever it proves oppressive to the ends for which it was established. I acknowledge all this right, however, never to be exercised but in the last extremity, when the operations of the Government become more grievous than the consequences of revolution. And therefore I say that the mere apprehension of a President of the United States whose political opinions were in my judgment hostile to the Constitution and safety of the Union, without an overt act on his part, without striking a blow at our Constitution or our rights, is not such a grievance as would justify revolution or secession. [Cheers.] Hence, I say, whoever may be elected President of the United States, he must be sustained in the exercise of all his just constitutional rights and prerogatives. If he transcends them we will punish him with all the rigor of the law, as you punished John Brown when he violated your laws. [A storm of applause.] I, for one, will sustain with all my energy the President elect in the discharge of his duties of all the powers conferred upon him by the Constitution, but I would take just as much pleasure in hanging him if he transcended those powers, as I feel pleasure in knowing that you hanged John Brown when he was guilty of murder and treason against the State of Virginia. [Renewed storm.]

I am a law-abiding man, a Union-loving man, and I believe the Union can be maintained by a faithful observance of the Constitution, but I insist in exacting the fulfilment in good faith of every provision of that Constitution; I insist on a line of policy which will place all the people of all the States in an exact equality, and maintain and protect them in their just rights, but which will also compel obedience to the Constitution and the constituted authorities of the country. Now, these opinions, put to me the first day I landed on Virginia soil, having emanated from the friends of the Secessionist candidate, I ask that like questions may be also put to those candidates, and that you insist upon such frank and unequivocal answers as I have given.

A VOICE. "They could not do it square."

Mr. DOUGLAS. Remember that Mr. Breckinridge was nominated on the theory that the election of Lincoln was preferable to that of Douglas. Now, no man doubts that if Breckinridge's friends had not seceded at Baltimore, but had acquiesced in the legitimate action of the Convention, I would have in this contest beaten Lincoln by the popular vote.

A VOICE. "That's so."

Mr. DOUGLAS. Less than one-third of the Convention seceded from the two-thirds, on the ground that Southern rights were not secure. Southern rights were safe in my hands, and that hence it was necessary to divide the party in every State of the Union, so that Lincoln might have a chance of running in between the Democratic forces of the Democratic party, and get elected by a majority vote.

A VOICE. "That's so."

Mr. DOUGLAS. The only citizable and true object sought in making a Breckinridge ticket in the Northern States was to divide the Democratic party so as to give Lincoln every one of those States, so that I tell you if Lincoln be elected President it will be the Secessionists whom you will have to blame for it.

A VOICE. "That's so."

Mr. DOUGLAS. Lincoln has no hope of being elected except through the efforts of the Secessionists, who have divided the Democratic party—supposing that Breckinridge could carry every Southern State—though it now seems he is not going to carry a single one, by the people. Still, by dividing the North, he gives every one of the States to Lincoln. Lincoln can be elected by the votes of the popular vote. Why, what was the true aspect of the contest before the secession? Lincoln had no show whatever for more than two States till the Breckinridge division took place, and I would have beaten him in every State but Vermont and Massachusetts. As it is, I tell you I will be beaten myself if them yet. [Cheers.] But should Lincoln be elected, the Secessionists, who nominated and now support Breckinridge, will be entitled to the credit of it, and upon them will rest the responsibility of having adopted the fatal policy, and dreading the result of their own rash and frantic act. Gentlemen, which we live whenever it proves necessary for the ends for which it was established and ordained, but never, however, never to be resorted to until