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THE COURIER

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STEPHEN BEAN.

[From the Old Guard.]

[Concluded from last issue.]

The Authors of the Federalists "Copperheads."

of a restored union until that is done is hypocrisy, or gross ignorance. Everything which was produced by the war, and which survives the war, must be swept away before any man of sense and intelligence will honestly say that the union is restored. If you say that is impossible, you pronounce against the possibility of a restoration of the union. You admit that you have destroyed the union; and so far as the war went, or could go, that is precisely what you have done. It was not in the power of war to restore the union, because the war was in violation of the fundamental principle of the union. What do you call a union? Do you call that system of military despotism by which Hungary is held fast to Austria, a union? Do you call that system by which bleeding Poland is held in the jaws of Prussia, a union? That is just as much of a union as this would be, with the sections held together by the same system of force. If it were not so monstrously impudent, it would be laughable to hear the bloody negro-quakers call themselves "unionists." The kite, with the dove in its beak, is "unionist," the wolf, with a lamb in his jaws, is a "unionist," just such a "unionist" as these lawless fanatics and impostors! Our fathers devoted their fortunes and their lives to form such a union! We, degenerate sons, are doing our best to bring back again that hated system of rule to this land! Call things by their names! Do not call this accursed system of bayonets, provost-marshal, military judges, and States-anthracizing despots a union!

Our fathers established a system of sovereignty upon the consent of all. Where is that union now? If Abraham Lincoln were not in his grave, ask him—ask his fellow-conspirators who are alive—ask Seward, Stanton, Sumner, Wade—ask the whole crowd of negro-freer and spoon-stealing traitors, who have inundated this once free and prosperous land with blood—where is the union of sovereign and equal sister States, based upon the consent of all. Where is that union now?

Never did one State adopt the federal constitution, and become a member of the union, until it had satisfied itself that, by no possible stretch of power, would the federal government ever attempt to do what has been done by the administration of Abraham Lincoln. How cautious and fearful the States were on this point may be learned from the following words of Hamilton, in attempting to quiet the doubts of the States of New York:

"Whatever may be the limits or modifications of the powers of the union it is easy to imagine an endless train of possible dangers, (could they have imagined worse things than have now transpired?) and by indulging an excess of jealousy and timidity, we may bring ourselves to a state of absolute skepticism and irresolution. I repeat here, what I have observed in substance in another place, that all observation founded upon the danger of usurpation ought to be referred to the nature of the composition and structure of the government, not to the nature or extent of its powers. The State Governments, by their original Constitutions, are invested with complete sovereignty. In what does our security consist against usurpations from that quarter? Doubtless in the manner of their formation, and in due dependence of those who are to administer them upon the people. If the proposed Constitution of the Federal Government be found, upon an impartial examination of it, to be such as to afford to a proper extent, the same species of security, all apprehensions on the score of usurpation ought to be discarded."—[Federalist, No. XXX.]

In this passage Mr. Hamilton places the security of the State against

the dangers of usurpation on the part of the general government, in the sovereignty of the States, and in the nature of the Federal Government itself. Even to his mind it seemed so monstrous, so much a violation of every principle on which the federal government was based, that he could not conceive it possible that it should ever attempt such a thing as war upon any one of the sovereign members of the union. In another place he calls this claim of a general government to war upon a sovereign State "a solecism in theory, so in practice it is subversive of the order and ends of civil polity, by substituting violence in place of law, or the destructive coercion of the sword in place of the mild and salutary coercion of the magistracy." This doctrine is now denounced as "copperheadism" by the followers of Mr. Hamilton. Are we to presume that these State coercionists are ignorant of the teachings of the great leader and founder of the old federalist party? By no means; but they rather presume upon the ignorance of the masses of their party. They are deceivers; and all who are not deceivers must be ignoramus. If there were any half-way place where our charity could bestow some of these people, we should gladly embrace the opportunity to save them from such disgraceful quarters. But the truth must be told, as the only hope of bringing these mischievous people to their senses. They are filling the whole atmosphere full of blatant harangues about the preservation of the union, which they have with malicious design destroyed, and the restoration of which they are determined to resist. They are now secretly drilling their party for violent war upon the administration of President Johnson. Every step he takes in the direction of the old union will be met with every species of resistance they can command. Their design is to virtually overthrow the sovereignty of all the States, and to centralize and consolidate all power in the federal head. They need not to be told that this plan embraces a total destruction of the federal system established by the constitution, as well as of the State system. It is a stupendous revolution and overthrow of the grand edifice of our fathers. Hamilton himself never went a thousandth part so far, for he said:

"An entire consolidation of the States into one complete national sovereignty would imply an entire consolidation of the parts; and whatever powers might remain would be altogether dependent on the general will. But as the plan of the convention aims only a partial union or consolidation, the State governments would clearly retain all the rights of sovereignty which they before had, and which were not, by that act, exclusively delegated to the United States. The exclusive jurisdiction, or rather this alienation of State sovereignty, would only exist in three cases:—Where the constitution in express terms granted an exclusive authority to the union; where in one instance in authority to the Union, and in another prohibited the States from exercising the like authority to the union, to which a similar authority in the States would be absolutely and totally contradictory and repugnant."—[Federalist, No. XXI.]

FOLLIES.—To think that the more a man eats, the fatter and stronger he will become. To imagine that every hour taken from sleep, is an hour gained.

Our Prospects.

At no time since the democratic party and all other parties were seized with the hydrophobia, in '61, have the prospects of a democratic victory been half so flattering in Oregon or elsewhere, as they are to-day. It only remains for the convention, which is to assemble at Portland, April 5th to do justice to the DEMOCRACY, in order to make an easy conquest of the sworn enemies of good government on the first Monday of the approaching June. Of materials, we have an abundance—men who never wavered in their adhesion, in a single instance, to the democratic party, and to democratic principles—men who have sacrificed much in the cause of democracy, are the men for our standard bearers in the coming contest. We have full faith in the wisdom and true democracy of the aggregate of democrats throughout the State, and if all tricksters and unscrupulous wire-workers are scrupulously excluded, from any interference in their primary councils, all will go well. No person should be appointed a delegate to the State Convention who will not pledge himself in advance to attend in person. The proxy system is all well enough when it ends well—which is seldom. A nomination from the democratic party at present is a prize worth the effort to obtain it, and the democratic party would present a spectacle that no party ever has yet, if it did not contain a few demagogues at least, who espoused it to subserve a selfish and personal end. Hence, it behooves us to be on the alert, and put up notice whose record is not above impeachment. We invite the cooperation of all men of whatever political antecedents, to aid us in the good work of righting the many grievous wrongs which have been inflicted by the parricidal band of fanatics upon State and nation. And upon the hearty cooperation of large numbers of those who have hitherto gone against us, we may confidently calculate in the future, but at the same time, true modesty would dictate that they should prefer the first honors to be awarded to those who have lost much through their persistent adhesion to their true line of duty.

Reconstruction.

Below we copy a few extracts from a series of letters written, the Oregonian says, "by a prominent citizen of Oregon at the request of one of the most distinguished public men in the United States, and will be found worthy of perusal."

We lay the extracts referred to, before our readers in order to demonstrate the animus of the party that unfortunately holds the destinies of the American people in its grasp at the present time. Following are the extracts:

While I admit the necessity of dividing a vast empire like ours, into States, or Provinces, and clothing each with the power to legislate upon its local affairs, and interests, there should be no independent executive—no divided jurisdiction. The same code of laws should govern and be in the same way administered in all parts of the Union. The officers of each State, though elected by the people of the State, should owe duty and obedience to the Federal Government and be amenable thereto, as other Federal officers.

The idea of a government based upon the sovereignty of the people, is in my mind inseparable from universal suffrage. Every member of the commonwealth, no matter of which sex, what color, or where born, if free from the tutelage imposed by the domestic relations should have the right to vote or hold office if morally and mentally qualified to do so, I say the right not the privilege, because he, or she, who obeys the laws, pays taxes or renders bodily service to the Government has a right to be heard in its administration.

I should therefore require the voter to be of good moral character, that he clearly understands our system of Government, and the responsibilities he took upon himself as one of its rulers. I would bind him in an oath of fidelity to it, and to cast his vote in all cases for that man or measure that he in his judgment and his conscience believed would best promote the public good and that in casting his vote he would not be influenced by personal friendship, or any advantage to himself individually. I would have a commission to examine and pass upon the qualifications of candidates for the right of suffrage, and those found to possess the requisite capacity, and honesty should, upon taking the required oath receive a diploma which (until forfeited by crime) should entitle him to vote at any election held in any part of the Union where he resides, or might reside. I would require an oath, or some other form of appeal to the Deity, because I believe no one should take part in ruling this nation who denies the existence of a God, or who is not bound in conscience by a belief in a state of future rewards and punishments.

I would make the examination of candidates for the diploma of citizenship as searching and impressive as possible—not a mere form but an actual test of merit. I would have the young men of our country feel that to be a citizen of this great and free nation was an honor worth contending for, and as the disappointed might again enter the list at pleasure, it would not only greatly encourage the growth of political knowledge among the people, but have a beneficial effect upon their morals also. The only excuse I can offer for this long letter is that my heart is very much in the matter of which it treats.

Now we presume no one after reading the above will be mistaken as to the kind of government the republican party, as soon as they dare do it, would foist upon the people of this country. The policy indicated is approved by the leading republican organs of this State, and will sooner or later be engrafted into their creed as one of their leading tenets. What think you, voters of Oregon, of the proposition that "the same code of laws should govern and be in the same way administered in all parts of the union." Would the blue laws of Connecticut, the aristocratic code of South Carolina, or the pealm singing and witch burning statutes of Massachusetts be acceptable to you? Would you not, irrespective of party predilections spurn the narrow, bigoted, intolerant and penurious system of laws that obtain in most of the eastern States? Such laws are not adapted to our circumstances, our interests, our tastes our habits nor our latitude. Again: The "right of every member of the commonwealth, no matter of which sex, what color or where born," is claimed for all human kind to vote.

But at the same time they would have a system of commissions, pensioned at the people's expense interwoven into our system of government to examine and pass upon the CAPACITY, judged by an arbitrary standard of morals and intelligence and religious belief, of the candidate for the privilege of voting. They would require us to obtain a diploma vouching safe our qualifications to vote, ere we could exercise the elective franchise. Now, is it not plain that the party that may happen to be in power, can, under such a system, admit to, and exclude from, the voting privilege at pleasure? The politics, the religious notions or some other imaginary disqualification could, and doubtless would be set up by the paid censor as a ground for the excluding of those whom through the caprice, interest or villany of the satrap may have been "spotted" as not fit to vote. Voters of Oregon, and of Yamhill County especially, how do you like the picture? And is it not true as life?

"I shall be at home next Sunday," the young lady remarked, as she followed to the door her beau, who seemed wavering in his attachment. "So shall I," was the reply.