

The Polk County Signal.

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RATES OF ADVERTISING
 One square—ten lines or less—first insertion, \$3 00
 Each additional insertion, \$1 00
 A liberal deduction will be made with yearly advertisements, or persons not rising largely.
 Legal tenders taken at their current value.
 Communications of a personal character will be charged half advertising rates.
 Blanks of every description furnished at low rates on short notice.
 Legal and transient advertisements must be paid for in advance to insure their publication. Advertisements not marked the length of time for which they are to be published, will be inserted until forbidden and charged accordingly.
 All advertising bills must be paid quarterly.

NEW COLUMBIAN HOTEL.

Main St., Corvallis, Oregon.

E. S. Altrec, : : Prop'r.
Board and Lodging on reasonable terms. Meals at all hours.

J. K. LERO, PRACTICAL BARBER and HAIR DRESSER, Independence, Oregon.

M. CANTERBURY, M. D. PHYSICIAN & SURGEON.

DIXIE, OREGON. Medical Examiner for Manhattan Life Insurance Co. of N. Y.

JONES THE JEWELER, State Street, Salem, Oregon. It is the place to go and get your watches, clocks and jewelry repaired in good style. I want all my work for one year; if it is not right, I make it right.

REMEMBER THE SHOP IN THE POST OFFICE BUILDING. N. B. Fine watches repaired with the greatest care.

Dr. W. D. JEFFRIES, PHYSICIAN & SURGEON. EOLA, OREGON. Special attention given to Obstetrics and diseases of women.

McCaulley & Alexander, DENTISTS. OFFICE on State street, over Gill's Book Store, Salem, Oregon.

WATSON & GRISWELL, Architects and Practical HOUSE CARPENTERS, INDEPENDENCE OREGON.

J. L. COLLINS, ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW. DALLAS, OREGON. SPECIAL attention given to Collection and to matters connected with real Estate.

Capital Saloon. SALEM, : : : OREGON. FINE WINES, LIQUORS, CIGARS, &c., &c. Liquors in kinds bottled for us and warranted.

J. C. CARDWELL, DENTIST, PORTLAND, OREGON. DENTAL OMS—NO 89 First Street.

J. W. McAFEE, M. D., Physician and Surgeon. Office—near residence, corner of Liberty and Court streets, Salem.

CALIFORNIA HOUSE. East Side of Main Street. CORVALLIS, OREGON.

J. H. JUSTICE, - - Proprietor. THIS hotel is situated in the CENTRAL and BUSINESS portion of the City, and the tables will be at all times supplied with the BEST market affords.

CAPITAL HOTEL. Corner of State and Liberty Sts., SALEM, OREGON.

HOMER SMITH. HAVING LEASED THIS LARGE, Com modious and Elegant Hotel, is prepared to accommodate both permanent and transient boarders, in the BEST STYLE, with or without lodging. My old friends and guests, and the traveling and resident public are cordially invited to extend to me a fair share of patronage. I assure them that no pains will be spared to accommodate them to the BEST THE MARKET AFFORDS.

Great Speech of General Ewing. The Issues of the Day—Severe Excoriation of the Radicals—Telling Review of the Purposes of the Democracy.

The following is the celebrated speech of General Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, in the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention in New York, on the Fourth of July:

I heartily thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me by calling upon me to address this assembly of soldiers and sailors, the largest ever gathered upon this continent since the grand review in Washington at the close of the war of the assembled armies of the Potomac, of Tennessee and of Georgia. Of the comrades who separated there and went each to his home and civic occupation, almost every regiment has here its representative. Why have we, soldiers and sailors, proud of our service for the Union, assembled here as delegates in mass convention to plan the overthrow of that political party which had the conduct of the Government through the war, and the defeat for the Presidency of a man who was erst the leader of the Union army? (Applause) If you will indulge me this warm afternoon, I will endeavor to give you briefly the reasons for our meeting and for our intended action. (Cries of "Go on.") On the fourth day of July, three years ago, the war for the suppression of the rebellion had totally ended. General Lee had surrendered to General Grant the army of Northern Virginia, and its officers and men were plowing the fields of the Old Dominion, drenched with the blood and scorched by the fire of four years of devastating war. Joe Johnson had surrendered to Sherman (applause) the daring and stubborn troops, which our Western armies had driven inch by inch, and the remainder were scattered over the hemisphere from Montana to Brazil. There was not an army, mounted or on foot, not a dock yard, fort, or arsenal, in which there was a rebel ship, cannon or musket; not a rod of land or a deck at sea, over which the Confederate banner waved. The last rebel privateers were being dragged for confiscation from the Indian Ocean and from the North Pacific and the leaders of the rebel force were wandering outcast over the earth or humbly seeking pardon of the President; who was a noble type, at once, of loyalty and of the Southerner. (Applause.) Never was there a rebellion more utterly overthrown, nor a cause more hopelessly lost. The Southern people, with marvelous promptness, quiet and unanimity, submitted to the result. We all recollect that while the war was going on, it was confidently predicted and believed, North and South, that when the armies of the rebellion were conquered and dispersed, they would fill the land with guerrillas, and wage a Vendeian warfare, more destructive even than a regular war. But this prediction was not in the smallest degree verified.

Within sixty days after the last great battle of the war, the Federal marshals and tax gatherers quietly executed their processes, unarmed and unattended, in the jungles lately swarming with guerrillas, and over fields lately shaken with the roar of rebel artillery. The whole people of the South bowed to the authority of the nation, with hearts in which, as they were human, there were yet doubtless regret and sorrow for their humiliation and bereavements, and an undying attachment to the cause they had dearly loved and bravely maintained, but which yielded implicitly all that the American people, or Congress, or any party, or General, or Admiral had ever told them were the purposes of the war. In the very year the rebellion ended, through their Constitutional Conventions and Legislatures, the Southern people amended their Constitutions and laws, abolishing slavery and the harsh codes founded upon it, abandoning the doctrine of secession and repudiating the rebel debt, and in short, giving every guarantee which men could give that they submitted with a spirit of loyalty and concord to every avowed purpose of the war. Now, the Republican party was bound, in loyalty, in honor, in good conscience, to accept that submission of the Southern people and promptly restore the Union. (Applause.) It was bound to do it out of obedience to the Constitution, in the sacred name of which the war was waged, and which, while allowing each House to judge of the qualifications of its own members, expressly prohibited the exclusion from representation of any State as a State. It was bound to do it too, because from the beginning

to the end of the war it was in every form of authority, declaring that the war was urged solely to secure unconditional restoration of the Union, and the unconditional submission of the Southern States. Said Sherman to the people of the South in his Atlanta letter: "We do not want your negroes, or your horses, or your houses, or your farms, for anything you have." We do want, and will have a just obedience to the Constitution and laws of the United States." (Applause.) And Republicans in the National Convention of 1864, which set about the time that Horace Greeley was endeavoring to effect a dishonorable peace through George N. Sanders and Beverly Tucker (hisses and laughter) declared that the war should be waged until it forced the unconditional surrender of hostility and the return of the rebels to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and then the war would cease. Throughout the war, from its beginning to its end, there stood—and still stands—upon our statute books, a law declaring that the war was waged in no spirit of oppression, but solely to restore the Union with all the dignity and equality of rights of the several States unimpaired. (Applause.) That law was the pledge of the Republican party made in 1861, and reiterated in the National Convention of 1864, that the vast powers committed to it by the people of all parties for the preservation of the national authority, should never be used for sectional or party domination. And upon the faith of that pledge we gave every dollar of money and every drop of blood shed in the war. (Applause.)

But the Republican party had not the wisdom or the patriotism to accept this submission of the Southern people and promptly restore the Union. I recollect that it was a minority party that had come into power in 1861, through a division of the Democratic party, by less than half of the popular vote. Yet with the prestige and moral power resulting from a successful prosecution of the war, and a prompt and cordial restoration of the Union, it could have retained power until this generation of voters had passed away, or had forgotten the anti war attitude of the Democratic party. But it took counsel of its fears. It doubted its own destiny. It forgot the ineradicable love in the hearts of the American people for the Constitution and the Union. It therefore refused to take what the war was always waged for—to get a prompt and cordial reunion and a pacification under the Constitution—it did this in the vain hope of being able to control the Southern States in the interest of the radical party, by making voters of the negroes, and by disfranchising and prohibiting from holding office all the governing talents of the South who would not bow to the edicts of the party. But while forcing upon the Southern people, at the point of the bayonet, a system of rotten boroughs to be represented in Congress by Northern manufacturers and plantation negroes, the Republican party is losing its hold upon the Northern States. (Applause.) Like the dog in the fable it drops the substance to snatch the shadow. The first step towards the postponement of reunion until the Southern States could be subjugated by the radical party, was the offer in 1866 of the Constitutional Amendment. That amendment contained the declarations as to the purposes of the war, which the Southern people had already embodied in their constitutions and codes, and to which they freely assented. It contained also a clause forcing negro suffrage and representation, and also the clause increasing largely the volume of Federal power, to which the Southern States would have assented reluctantly for the sake of reunion. But inseparably connected with these and forming with them one proposition, which proposition they had to reject or accept as a whole, was the clause of disfranchisement and proscription, to which the Southern people could not assent without dishonor. It proscribed from holding any office, high or low, State or Federal, practically, every man in the South who was of age when the war broke out, and who was fit to hold office. So sweeping was this proscription that Generals Meade, Schofield and Canby have since severally officially recorded that it was impossible to administer the Government in the Southern States while executing that clause of the proscription. The Southern people did as the radical leaders knew they would and intended they should—reject the amendment, and they acted like men in doing so. (Applause.) Let us ask ourselves whether, if the

North had rebelled and been conquered, the South had offered us reunion on condition that we would vote to proscribe from ever holding any office in our States every white man among us who could read, write, cypher to the Rule of Three, we would have ourselves accept our own disgrace and disfranchisement? (Voices, "no, no.") No, gentlemen, no people are fit to be free who would have themselves with their own hands put on their own necks, the yoke of political slavery (applause); and so far from the rejection of the amendment by the Southern people, being a just cause of complaint to them, they would have been worthy only of the contempt and scorn of all high-minded men, had they accepted it. But the Constitutional Amendment served its purpose—the campaign of 1868. To the careless or superficial observer it was an effort in good faith on the part of the radicals towards reunion. The Southern people promptly, but unanimously, rejected the amendment; and they were forthwith denounced throughout the land, through the press, the pulpit, the rostrum, as still rebellious and defiant.

Just then, you recollect, a few of the worst men of both parties in New Orleans, contrived to bring on a bloody riot, and the radicals rode on the tumult it created, and swept the North. Since then, with two thirds of both Houses in Congress in their hands, and animated by a thorough contempt of the Constitution, the radical party has been omnipotent. It has protracted disunion nearly as long as the rebels did, and has done more to destroy our form of government than all the parties that ever controlled its destiny. On the 8th day of July, 1863, old Thad Stevens (hisses) in the House of Representatives, plainly and boldly announced the doctrine that the Southern States were not States of the Union, and that Congress might legislate over them as over conquered provinces. If this proposition be true, it is because the ordinances of secession were legal and took the States out of the Union; that is, that under our constitutional form of Government the States had the right to secede, and consequently the United States had no right to make war upon them for seceding. When this doctrine was announced it was violently assailed in the House by Owen Lovejoy and others of the friends of radicals of the House, and denounced in the name of the war party. Again, in the year 1864, in the Republican National Convention, Stevens proclaimed the doctrine, and declared that Tennessee was now a subjugated province, and Andrew Johnson an alien enemy. The Convention contemptuously repudiated the doctrine, and gave emphasis to its action by nominating Andrew Johnson for Vice-President, and by endorsing Mr. Lincoln's reconstruction policy, which was in substance, that while the war was going on the soldiers were called for to fight for the Constitution and the Union, and not for conquest. (Applause.) But when the war had ended, and the elections of 1864 had given the radical party a new lease of power, this infamous doctrine which, if true, makes the war for the Union unwholly and unprovoked for conquest, a dogma which, three years before, had been like the hateful Richard—

searches and seizure, and from deprivation of life, liberty, and property, without due process of law; and above all, the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, that shield of liberty, in possession of which the people of a despotism are free, and without which the Republic is a despotism. (Applause.) These constitutional provisions were not that of a coercive reconstruction; and Congress was forbidden by the Constitution, in peace, to touch any one of them. Unless these ancient and sacred liberties could be destroyed, vigorous military despotisms in these Southern States could not be established. While these provisions remained in the Constitution and were obeyed, laws could not be enacted prohibiting from holding office of the white people of a section as a punishment for a crime, a new punishment Governors of States, chosen in conformity with State constitutions and laws, could not be superseded as impediments to reconstruction by military commanders. State Legislatures enacting laws for a free people, could not be prostrated at the point of the bayonet. While these guarantees remained, State Treasuries could not be robbed, and widows and orphan creditors defrauded of their dividends, to pay plantation negroes eight dollars a day for sitting in convention. (Applause.) New codes of laws, framed by zealous moralists like Daniel Siefles (hisses) could not be proclaimed or enforced over the Carolinas. A judge conducting a murder trial could not be pushed from the bench, and the trial proceeded with—to sentence and conviction and execution by a Colonel in uniform. Citizens of the United States, in one of the old thirteen States of the Union, could not while those guarantees of liberty remained in the Constitution, be arrested without suspicion of crime, on letters of *catches* issued by post adjutants, thrown into lathouse dungeons by the military commander, forsooth, suspected they knew respecting the merits of some wretch like Ashburn. (Applause.) Nor could military courts—those courts organized to convict, at whose doors no man ever had the blame of doubt as to the law, or uncertainty or delay in its execution, carrying out the rule that it is better that ninety nine innocent men should be punished than that one guilty man should escape, inspire among the Southern people a proper respect for the Northern radical party and its measures, by being prepared at a moment's warning to try any citizen for any act in which the opinion of the officer convening the court was criminal; nor could men be sentenced to live for months and years, or for life in the dungeons or in the Dry Tortugas, beyond all hope of Executive pardon or reprieve. Therefore to accomplish reconstruction in the interest of the Northern radical party, these guarantees of personal liberty must be destroyed. And as they invented a new theory on which to exclude from Congress the Representatives and Senators of the Southern States, to wit: That the States were out of the Union, so with decent hypocrisy, they invent a new theory, under which to strike down these ancient and sacred guarantees of the Constitution.

The say the framers of the Constitution never contemplated a great rebellion, and therefore never conferred power upon Congress adequate to the emergency; and therefore Congress was compelled, in the matter of reconstruction, to go outside of the constitution. Now, gentlemen, the framers of this Constitution were the grandsons and great grandsons of the old Partisans and Cavaliers, who kept England and smothered in civil war for fifty years (applause), and experiencing in their own persons how harsh is the hand of power when aroused by the passions of civil war, and with the full recollection of this public and family history in their minds, they not only withheld from Congress the power to destroy these guarantees in peace, but they inserted in the instrument, by way of abundant caution, express prohibitions upon the power, so that their descendants, in whom they might well guess the blood of revolution would flow, in case they should get into revolt and be conquered, should never be ground down and driven from the country by measures of revenge like those which sent their ancestors from England to our shores. As to the argument that Congress may act outside of the Constitution, any schoolboy can answer it by saying that Congress is a creation of the Constitution, and outside of that instrument has no power and is no Congress. (Applause.) Lawless actions, not warranted

expressly or by fair implication by the Constitution are more usurpations, whether prohibited by it or not. If you present this argument to the radicals they merely reply that if the Constitution does not confer the power the power is necessary, and Congress, therefore, must exercise it. A French philosopher on one occasion explained to Professor Faraday a new theory of the transmission of light. The English philosopher listened patiently, and then objected that it was contrary to certain established facts in natural science, to which the Frenchman very confidently responded, "So much the worse for the facts." (Laughter.) So when we say these powers are not conferred by the Constitution they reply, "So much the worse for the Constitution." It is to accomplish this scheme of reconstruction in the interest of the radical party that ten States are destroyed and excluded from the Union, and that every guarantee of life, liberty and property which the Southern people, like ourselves, inherited from a free ancestry, and which their forefathers and our forefathers put in the Constitution to place them beyond the reach and the rule of a faction, has been absolutely destroyed.

The Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization rose to report, but the Convention refused to allow the speaker to be interrupted, and with much cheering cried upon him to proceed. After a few moments' delay he proceeded:

It is amazing with what quiet the people, North and South, have everywhere submitted to this gross, dangerous and insolent usurpation. They have done it, however, in the belief—now, thank God, almost certainly—that the Northern people in November will seize this radical party and its half-executed usurpation, and dash them to pieces. (Frenzied cheering.) But some of the military commanders have tempered the harsh rule they have consented to invoke, out of love for our ancient republicanism which is born in every true American, and which is so strong in the administration of at least one of the district commanders, as to cover with new and false-gold glory the thrice illustrious name of Hancock (Tremendous cheering and waving of hats and banners.) I am at a loss to understand how any American, proud of his race, and of our republican form of Government, can behold, without mingled disgust and indignation the processes and results of Congressional reconstruction and the pretences by which it is sustained. It is excused to be in the interest of peace, while fomenting deadly and irreconcilable strife between the two races, subjecting the superior to the inferior, and then leaving them to struggle for dominion; in the interest of free government and progress, while destroying ten great States of this Union, four of them of the old theater that founded the Republic; supplanting them by military despotisms in which the intelligent, cultivated white men made the political slave of the brutal and ignorant negro; in the interest of national prosperity, while destroying the accumulated wealth and productive energies of the South, crippling every industry of the North, and cutting off the great and eager markets for our manufactures and bread-stuffs. What a spectacle for gods and men does not this reconstruction present! See the negro population of the South, jampered in idleness out of the money-wringing tools of the Northern white man (applause) filled with vain dreams of ruling their former masters, and by growing rich by confiscation of their estates, and becoming each year more utterly and irremediably idle and shiftless. See the splendid cotton and rice and sugar plantations of the South, at once the evidence and the product of a century of civilization, growing rank with weeds, the splendid machinery rusting idly in the sugar houses, the Mississippi roving over broken levees and abandoned plantations, and the boorish black field hands sitting in content. Look at Virginia, the Niche of States, the mother of Presidents and illustrious statesmen; she by whom this great blessed Government was founded; (applause) she by whose free and generous deed the great States of the Northwest, upon the Ohio, were freely given to the United States. (Applause.) See the Civil Government founded by her Washington, (applause) her Madisons, (applause) her Harrises, (applause) her Lees, (applause) the foremost statesmen of their day upon this earth, stricken down, supplanted by a military despotism, that in time to be supplanted by a Constitution framed by infamous rascals like Hannicut and his associates. (Hisses.) If this

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