

be supplied utterly, and overthrown by the Federal arms, instead of being restored, reinstated, and reestablished, as a constituent part and institution of the old Union!

Was such abominable, anti-Union, treasonable sentiment ever uttered by any man, and Charles Sumner gave it last year, the dignity of a Senatorial formula?—the *ne plus ultra* of abolition radicalism!

And Brigadier General Shepley returns to Maine, and explains how this wicked and desolating war of despotism upon, not only the rights of the State of Louisiana, but the State Constitution itself, of Louisiana, heretofore adopted by the people, and in force at the advent of the rebel usurpations there, are to be overthrown and blotted out entirely, under the military power of Mr. Lincoln's Federal and Abolitionist Administration! And as this is to be done in Louisiana, so is it to be represented in every other State, upon the organization of which the rebels seized, to consummate their disloyal schemes!

In Maine prepared to join in this trampling of the heel of a military despotism, heated red hot by revengeful and blood thirsty abolitionism, upon the constitutions and local institutions, laws and governments of the Southern States, when, and as fast, as they shall be redeemed out of the sacrilegious hands of the rebels!

Mr. Shepley, and his masters at Washington, are vastly deceived, when they so reason—so hope—so urge upon the people of Maine.

Of such a crusade of barbarian vandalism, there will not be two opinions among the Justice and Union-loving people of Maine.—As Douglas said of a war that was being conducted alike for the preservation of the Constitution, of the Union and of the Constitutions of all the States, so may we say of this outrageous Charles Sumner and George F. Shepley doctrine, of subjugating the Southern States into the abolition of slavery, "in such a war there can be no neutrality. There can be none but patriots and traitors." And they are traitors to the Union, who, under cover of war, or of punishing the rebellion, would destroy the Constitution of a single State, or force upon any people a local government against the will of a majority of that people upon whose interests it is designed to operate. Such a Constitution would be no part of the old Union, but a parasite, and a viper upon its vitals.

With all his negro humanitarianism, Mr. Secretary Seward never gave us to such base doctrines as Mr. Shepley is now preaching to the people of Maine.

On the contrary, in a letter to Mr. Dayton, our Minister at Paris, Mr. Seward wrote on the 22d of April, 1861, the following patriotic pledge, from which Gen. Shepley has fallen, fallen, fallen as Lucifer fell from his once high abode:

"The Territories will remain in all respects the same, whether the revolution shall succeed or shall fail. The condition of slavery in the several States will remain just the same whether it succeed or fail. There is not a pretext for the complaint that the disaffected States are to be conquered by the United States if the revolution fails; for the rights of States, and the condition of every human being in them, will remain subject to exactly the same laws and forms of administration, whether the revolution shall succeed or fail. In the one case the States will be Federally connected with the new Confederacy; in the other they will remain, as now, members of the United States; but their constitutions and laws, customs, habits, and institutions in either case will remain the same.

"It is hardly necessary to add to this incontestable statement the further fact that the new President, as well as the citizens through whose suffrage he has come into the administration, has always repudiated all designs, whatever and whenever imputed to them and him, of disturbing the system of slavery as it exists under the constitution and laws. The case, now, would not be precepted if I were to omit to say that any such effort on his part would be unconstitutional, and all his actions in that direction would be prevented by the proper authority, even were they assented to by Congress and the people."

But how fallen, too, is this same General Shepley from the Jameson Platform! He was cautious to quote only one resolution of it, and that to misapply its sentiment to a condition of war that did not exist when uttered as it exists now. When uttered, the war had not become one of emancipation, but was one of restoration—a war, as Congress proclaimed in its resolution, "not waged in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or for any purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States UNIMPAIRED; and that as soon as those objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

The Jameson resolutions not only pledged a restoration of the rights of loyal men, to which Gen. Shepley's new theory limits the protective action of the Federal Government, but the Jameson resolutions pledged the Democracy of Maine to defend all the constitutional rights of the misguided rebel citizens. This is the language of one resolution:

Resolved, That the Democracy has ever been foremost to stand by the Constitution and the Flag of the country in the hour of their peril, and while they now bare their arm for the defence of these, they reiterate the declaration to their misguided fellow citizens in revolt, now as ever, they are ready to defend all their constitutional rights, within the Union, not outside of it."

Then, again, Mr. Shepley accouts the idea of conciliation, or amicable adjustment with the rebel States. But what was the declaration of the Jameson platform? Here is another of its resolutions:

Resolved, That while we will uphold to the utmost the dignity of the Nation and the honor of the flag, we yet believe that neither the one or the other requires or permits that the ear of conciliation should be shut, or the ear closed against offers of adjustment, but that in this war with our brethren, which will be best subserved by twining around the sword of governmental power the olive branch of fraternal peace."

Well may the abolitionists hug Gen. Shepley to their bosoms. But the repelling sentiments with which he inspires the Democratic party of the State, will throw him with a rebound to an interminable distance from it forever. The want of frankness, and a steady

vision to guide against the lures of public office, is what has ruined forever many a talented advocate of popular rights during this war. General Butler has lead off in this gold and office hunting crusade against the South, and wheeled with himself many New Englanders, who were deemed pillars of strength in the Democratic party. Of this number is Mr. Shepley, and as the Argus will say, "he will be very sorry for it hereafter."

As a specimen of what Butler was, as well as what Shepley was, in the early stages of this war, when abolitionism first smacked its longing lips at the opportunity of converting it to their fanatical purposes of destroying the States South, we will conclude this article with quoting from a letter of Gen. Butler to Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, ere "the nigger" became the divinity of the war:—

"I appreciate fully," he wrote, "your Excellency's suggestion as to the inherent weakness of the rebels, arising from the preponderance of their servile population. The question, then, is, in what manner shall we take advantage of that weakness? By allowing, and of course arming, that population, to rise upon the defenceless women and children of the country, carrying rapine, arson and murder—all the horrors of San Domingo, a million times magnified, among those whom we hope to renounce with us as brethren, many of whom are already so, and all who are in their power will be, when this horrible madness shall have passed away or be threatened out of them? Would your Excellency advise the troops under my command so make war in person, upon the defenceless women and children of any part of the Union, accompanied with brutalities too horrible to be named?—You will say, 'God forbid!' If we may not do so in person, shall we arm others so to do, over whom we can have no restraint, exercise no control, and who, when once they have tasted blood, may turn the very arms we have put in their hands against ourselves, as a part of the oppressor white race? The reading of history, so familiar to your Excellency, will tell you the bitterest cause of complaint which our fathers had against Great Britain in the war of the Revolution, was the arming by the British Ministry of the red man with the tomahawk and the scaling knife against the women and children of the colonies, so that the phrase, 'May we not use all the means which God and nature have put in our power to subjugate the colonies' has passed into a legend of infamy against the leader of that Ministry who used it in Parliament. Shall history teach us in vain? Could we justify ourselves to ourselves—although with arms in our hands, amid the savage wildness of camp and field, we may have blunted many of the finer moral sensibilities—in letting loose four millions of worse than savages upon the homes and hearts of the South? Can we be justified to the Christian community of Massachusetts?—Would such a course be consonant with the teachings of our holy religion? I have a very decided opinion upon the subject, and if any one desires, as I know your Excellency does not, this unhappy contest to be prosecuted in that manner, some instrument other than myself must be found to carry it on."

### The Difference between Mr. Shepley Without Office, and Brig. Gen. Shepley with Office.

Speaking of the war, this gentleman says: "There can be no neutrality. There can be none but patriots and traitors."

He says, these words were in the Jameson platform, which he adopted in 1861. And he says:

"They are true now, as they were true then; and they are worthy as a rule of action and a guide of our conduct now, as they were when they were thus enunciated."

Now we take no issue with Gen. Shepley, as to the patriotism, or truthfulness of these quoted words from the Jameson platform, which in turn quoted them from a speech previously made by Judge DOUGLAS, (who, by the way, Mr. Shepley never did support,) as they were applied, and understood, when spoken by Judge Douglas.

But we do say, that when Mr. Shepley undertakes to quote them upon the authority of either Judge Douglas, or the Jameson platform, as being applicable, or truthful and patriotic in respect to the present conduct of the war by the Lincoln administration, and which he is now subserviently supporting under a fat military commission against KINETT-NIXE in every hundred of his old Democratic friends and associates in Maine, he knows better; he knows that so to quote them is a fraud upon the sentiments, and judgment, and meaning of the illustrious author of these words, and a gross perversion, too, of the Jameson platform.

He knows that both Judge Douglas, while living, and the Jameson platform, which still lives, alike denounced every abolition aspect and proclivity of the war, and regarded as the satanism of treason, every measure and movement which, under pretence of hostility to the rebellion, presumed, or aimed at any encroachment upon the local Constitutions of the Southern States, or which countenanced an interference, under cover of the war, with the slave institutions of the South. Who does not remember these memorable words of the lamented Douglas, spoken before the Legislature of Illinois, now Democratic, on the 23d of April, 1861,—the last great speech of the lamented patriot. Mr. Douglas said:

"The first duty of an American citizen, or of a citizen of any constitutional government, is obedience to the Constitution and laws of his country. \* \* \* I will say to you now, with all frankness and all sincerity, that I will never sanction nor acquiesce in any warfare whatever upon the Constitutional rights or DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS of the people of the Southern States. On the contrary, if there was an attempt to invade those rights; to stir up servile insurrection among their people; I WOULD RUSH TO THEIR RESCUE, and interpose with whatever strength I might possess" HE DEFENDS THEM FROM SUCH A CALAMITY."

AND WHO DOES NOT recall the following truthful, yet indignant and denunciatory warnings of the same patriotic mind, in a letter to the *Memphis (Tenn.) Appeal*, under date of Feb. 2d, 1861, at the moment when Congress had under consideration the peace-making and patriotic propositions of the now lamented, but immortal CATTRENDEN:

"You must remember," wrote Judge Douglas—"that there are disunionists among the party leaders at the North as well as at the South—men whose hostility to slavery is stronger than their fidelity to the Constitution, and who believe that the disruption of the Union would draw after it, as an inevitable consequence, civil war, servile insurrection, and finally, the utter extermination of slavery in all the Southern States. They are bold, daring, determined men; and believing as they do, that the Constitution of the United States is the great bulwark of slavery on this continent, and that the disruption of the American Union involves the inevitable destruction of slavery, and is an indispensable necessity to the attainment of that end, they are determined to accomplish their paramount object by any means within their power."

"For these reasons, the northern disunionists, like the disunionists of the South, are violently opposed to all compromises or constitutional amendments, or efforts at conciliation, whereby peace should be restored and the Union preserved. They are striving to break up the Union under the pretence of a sacred devotion to it. They are struggling to overthrow the Constitution which professing undying attachment to it, and a willingness to make any sacrifice to maintain it. They are trying to plunge the country into civil war as the surest means of destroying the Union, upon the plea of enforcing the laws and protecting the public property. If they can defeat every kind of adjustment or compromise by which the points at issue may be satisfactorily settled, and keep up the irritation, so as to induce the Border States to follow the Cotton States, they will feel certain of the accomplishment of their ultimate designs."

When these memorable sentiments were written, they were the sentiments of every Democrat and every conservative Republican at the North. They were then the sentiments of Mr. George F. Shepley. But, how strangely has he become not only the convert to, but the advocate of these abolition doctrines of breaking up the old Union, by ignoring the Constitution of every Southern State as it was at the advent of the rebellion, if the recognized loyal men, though no more than ten in number, in each of those States, who are the supporters of the Lincoln Administration, shall declare for a new one, abolishing slavery in such States! According to his new theory, of the Federal Constitution, rebellion not only taints the culprits engaged in it, but, in no less fatal degree, taints the pre-existing constitutions of every State which the rebels have outraged, so that it, too, is to