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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

MARY GARVIN.

From the heart of Waumbek Methna, from the lake that never fails,
Falls the Saco in the green lap of Conway's intervales;
There, in wild and virgin freshness, its waters foam and flow,
As when Darley Field first saw them two hundred years ago.

But, vexed in all its seaward course with bridges, dams, and mills,
How changed is Saco's stream, how lost its freedom of the hills,
Since travelled Jocelyn, factor Vines, and stately Champernoon,
Heard on its banks the gray wolf's howl, the trumpet of the loon!

With smoking axle hot with speed, with steeds of fire and steam,
Wide-waked To-day leaves Yesterday behind him like a dream.
Still, from the hurrying train of Life, fly backward far and fast,
The milestones of the fathers, the landmarks of the past.

But human hearts remain unchanged: the sorrow and the sin,
The loves and hopes and fears of old are to our own akin;
And, in the tales our fathers told, the songs our mothers sung,
Tradition, snowy-bearded, leans on Romance ever young.

O, sharp-lined man of traffic, on Saco's banks to-day!
O, mill-girl watching late and long the shuttle's restless play!
Let, for the once, a listening ear the working hand beguile,
And lend my old Provincial tale, as suits, a tear or smile!

The evening gun had sounded from gray Fort Mary's walls,
Through the forest, like a wild beast, roared and plunged the Saco's falls.

And westward on the sea-wind, that damp and gusty blew,
Over cedars darkening inland the smokes of Spurwink blew.

On the hearth of Farmer Garvin blazed the crackling walnut log;
Right and left sat dame and goodman, and between them lay the dog.

Head on paws, and tail slow wagging, and beside him on her mat,
Sitting drowsy in the firelight, winked and purred the mottled cat.

"Twenty years!" said Goodman Garvin, speaking sadly, under breath,
And his gray head slowly shaking, as one who speaks of death.

The Goodwife dropped her needles: "It is twenty years, to-day,
Since the Indians fell on Saco, and stole our child away."

Then they sank into the silence, for each knew the other's thought,
Of a great and common sorrow, and words were needed not.

"Who knocks?" cried Goodman Garvin. The door was open thrown;
On two strangers, man and woman, cloaked and furred, the firelight shone.

One with courteous gesture lifted the bear-skin from his head:
"Lives here Elkanah Garvin?" "I am he," the Goodman said.

"Sit ye down, and dry and warm ye, for the night is chill with rain."
And the Goodwife drew the settle, and stirred the fire amain.

The maid unclasped her cloak-hood, the firelight glistened fair
In her large, moist eyes, and over soft folds of dark brown hair.

Dame Garvin looked upon her: "It is Mary's self I see!
Dear heart!" she cried, "now tell me, has my child come back to me?"

"My name indeed is Mary," said the stranger, sobbing wild;
"Will you be to me a mother? I am Mary Garvin's child!

"She sleeps by wooded Simcoe, but on her dying day
She bade my father take me to her kinsfolk far away.

"And when the priest besought her to do me no such wrong,
She said, 'May God forgive me! I have closed my heart too long.

"'When I hid me from my father, and shut out my mother's call,
I sinned against those dear ones and the Father of us all.

"'Christ's love rebukes no home-love, breaks no tie of kin apart;
Better heresy in doctrine, than heresy of heart.

"'Tell me not the Church must censure: she who wept the Cross beside,
Never made her own flesh strangers, nor the claims of blood denied.

"'And if she who wronged her parents, with her child atones to them,
Earthly daughter, Heavenly Mother! thou at least wilt not condemn!'

"So, upon her death-bed lying, my blessed mother spake;
As we come to do her bidding, so receive us for her sake."

"God be praised!" said Goodwife Garvin, "He taketh and He gives;
He woundeth, but he healeth; in her child our daughter lives!"

"Amen!" the old man answered, as he brushed a tear away,
And, kneeling by his hearth-stone, said, with reverence, "Let us pray."

All its Oriental symbols, and its Hebrew paraphrase,
Warm with earnest life and feeling, rose his prayer of love and praise.

But he started at beholding, as he rose from off his knee,
The stranger cross his forehead with the sign of Papistrie.

"What is this?" cried Farmer Garvin. "Is an English Christian's home
A chapel or a mass-house, that you make the sign of Rome?"

Then the young girl knelt beside him, kissed his trembling hand, and cried:
"O forbear to chide my father; in that faith my mother died!

"On her wooden cross at Simcoe the dews and sunshine fall,
As they fall on Spurwink's grave-yard; and the dear God watches all!"

The old man stroked the fair head that rested on his knee;
"Your words, dear child," he whispered, "are God's rebuke to me.

"Creed and rite perchance may differ, yet our faith and hope be one;
Let me be thy father's father, let him be to me a son."

When the horn on Sabbath morning, through the still and frosty air,
From Spurwink, Pool, and Black Point, called to sermon and to prayer,

To the goodly house of worship, where, in order due and fit,
As by public vote directed, classed and ranked the people sit;

Mistress first, and goodwife after, clerkly squire before the clown,
From the brave coat, lace-embroidered, to the gray frock shading down;

From the pulpit read the preacher: "Goodman Garvin and his wife
Fain would thank the Lord, whose kindness has followed them through life,

"For the great and crowning mercy, that their daughter from the wild,
Where she rests (they hope) in God's peace, has sent to them her child;

"And the prayers of all God's people they ask that they may prove
Not unworthy, through their weakness, of such special proof of love."

As the preacher prayed, uprising, the aged couple stood,
And the fair Canadian also, in her modest maidenhood.

Thought the elders, grave and doubting, "She is Papist born and bred;"
Thought the young men, "'Tis an angel in Mary Garvin's stead!"

J. G. W.

Entered according to act of Congress, in the year 1855, by Elbert Perce, in the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia.]

FOR THE NATIONAL ERA.

ROSA AND HER SUITORS.

A TALE OF SWEDISH DOMESTIC LIFE.

BY EMILIE F. CARLEN,

Author of "One Year of Wedlock," "The Bride of Omburg," &c., &c.

TRANSLATED BY ELBERT PERCE.

CHAP. XX.

The Captain's Resolution.

At ten o'clock on the following morning, our good Professor, attired in a gray summer coat, a cap of green morocco, and his valuable gold-headed cane in his hand, proceeded in state to the poor dwelling occupied by the Merchant Widen. This gentleman and his wife were sitting in the small corner room which looked out upon the street, and were confidentially talking over, with sighs and grief, their troubles and disappointed hopes, in regard to all the good fortune with which Mr. Garben was to have surrounded them, had Rosa accepted his offer, when, in the midst of the torrent of effusions, the lady caught a glimpse of the Professor as he came toiling up the steps.

"Ah! good heavens, my dear Widen," cried she, letting fall a plate of peas, which she was engaged in shelling. "Don't you see that? Run out! oh dear! all my peas spilled, too. Dear Widen, old man, it was the Professor himself; oh, do run as fast as you can, and take him into the sitting-room; I'll come directly. Aye, aye; did I not always think it would be so?" continued she, when her husband had left the room; "and now there it is; as she would not have Garben, I am sure she will still less have anything to say to that frivolous, extravagant Captain. Ah! that girl! that girl will bring down my gray hairs to the grave with her obstinacy! Caroline, Josephine, my darlings, come here, and help mother pick up the peas."

And while the children were on their knees, laughing, and gathering up their future dinner, Madame Widen in great haste put on her cap, arranged her hair, threw a shawl over her not very elegant morning wrapper, and betook herself to the sitting-room, full of the most intolerable curiosity to know what on earth this visit of the Professor's could signify.

"Welcome, welcome, my kind Professor Ling! Ah, how pleasant to get a sight of an old friend's face once more! Good faith, it is a long time since we had the honor of meeting Professor Ling last; but I believe Rosa was always a favorite of yours. Pray be so kind as to sit down, my good sir."

With his accustomed smile, the old gentleman seated himself upon the sofa, and then said, in a far more friendly and feeling tone than he had made use of towards Madame Widen on the betrothal day—

"Yes, Rosa is indeed my favorite, and a dear, good girl she is, too; and I should be glad to do something to see her happy. And I saw well that she never could have been so with my nephew, as their characters were utterly unsuited to each other, and for that reason I was against the match, though I loved the girl herself from the first moment I saw her."

Widen and his wife were now both surprised. They had been expecting a renewed proposal on the part of the Captain, and had both felt a certain degree of pride in the hope of returning a negative answer to it; but they could not fathom what the Professor was now driving at; and the look of significant inquiry which the husband and wife exchanged, convinced them that they were each equally remote from the mark which they had missed the first time.

After a pause, the Merchant at last spoke. "I really hardly know with what man Rosa would feel happy, and I almost begin to believe, with Mrs. Widen, that the girl has no heart for love at all. But I do not see, if that is the case, why she should refuse the very advantageous offer which is made her."

At this declaration, they fully expected to see the Professor astonished, and ask who had made this offer; but even this triumph was denied them, for he merely replied—

"It is exactly with reference to this proposal of marriage from Mr. Garben, that I have taken the liberty of coming here to-day, in order to have a consultation with you, as to what can be effected for Rosa's happiness and welfare."

Widen and his wife looked at each other again; but at the old gentleman's concluding words, the looks of the lady brightened up into a peculiar expression—a light seemed to dawn upon her. Might not the Professor have possibly taken it into his head to pay his court to the girl himself? Rosa's frequent visits to him now for the first time assumed a greater degree of significance in the mother's eyes; add to this the circumstance that Rosa had confided Garben's proposal to him; and, lastly, as it was quite impossible for any one to declare where the peculiarities of the human heart commence, and still less where they end, she began to think that it would not be the most unreasonable of all things she had heard of the same kind, if Rosa, though it really would have been almost too mad, might perhaps choose to marry the Professor.

"We are really infinitely indebted to you for this kindness," said Mr. Widen. "It is a comfort to afflicted parents, such as we are, when they have any one with whom they can advise upon those subjects which are nearest their hearts, and such are and must be the happiness and earthly weal of their children. And do you not find it very singular, indeed almost incredible, that a girl of Rosa's sound sense, and a heart at liberty, should refuse such an offer? at the same time, knowing that if she accepted it, she would be able to assist her father in his ruined circumstances; for, with Garben's exception, there is nobody who would advance me the necessary sum to enable me, even in a reduced way, to recommence business."

"This is not so certain a point," said the Professor, in a tone which approximated tolerably near to the ideas which Madame Widen had formed in her own mind, regarding the music of angels on awakening in a better world—at least, in the ears of herself and her husband, the voice sounded rather of Heaven than of earth, as the old man added, "I thought myself that this was mainly the reason for which my friend Mr. Widen wished a union to take place between Rosa and Mr. Garben."

"Surely, surely, my highly respected friend, what else could have made me wish it? Garben, it is true, is a fine, honorable man; but it never could be my wish exactly to see a child that I love as much as Rosa, and who is so necessary to my own happiness, established in another country, even one so near our own; and the more so, should it not accord with her own inclinations, unless, as I said, it had been dictated by a sense of my own advantage."

"However," rejoined the Professor, "Rosa told me, yesterday evening, that you were not inclined to use your paternal authority in this case—a power, indeed, which fathers too often abuse, to the ruin of their children and their own regret. I find all this right and proper, and know how to give you credit for it under existing circumstances."

The Merchant saw himself in a fix indeed; could he only have the smallest idea of what the Professor was aiming at; but the latter had so dexterously inserted a hopeful word here and there, without, at the same time, binding himself to anything, that Widen hardly rightly knew what he should say, in order to do neither more nor less in reference to his feelings of paternal generosity than his future behaviour would justify. At length, he said, in a somewhat hesitating tone—

"Rosa's excessive grief on this occasion, which to me is utterly inconceivable, afflicted me extremely last evening, and I remember having said something of the kind to sooth her; but, upon a more mature consideration of the matter, I shall feel it my duty, as her father, to represent that such an alliance deserves to be more seriously regarded, even on my account, without constraint, of course; there can be no question of that, in any case."

"Yes, yes, very good; but there is a mode of putting such questions," suggested the Professor, "that is far more dangerous than the most decided constraint. Rosa came to me yesterday evening in so nervous and excited a state, that it required all my efforts to restore her to usual quiet state of mind. You must know that such violent emotions are injurious, and it might be at the risk of Rosa's health, peace, and, perhaps, even her life, if you were to prosecute your plan of exerting your influence upon her sensitive and affectionate heart. Besides, have you never thought that she may already have chosen some other person to love?"

"Well, to be sure, that might not be impossible," stammered out the Merchant and his wife, at the same time, while in their fancy they saw their dawning hope already beginning to develop itself in all its glory; but he quickly added, "we have no reason for any presumption of the sort. If such should be the case, however, and it was an honest and respectable man, who could take care of the girl, it would be quite immaterial whether his name was Garben or not, so long as it was an honorable one."

"That is just as I think, too," said the Professor, evidently much pleased; "but to resume the business in hand. In case you are willing to trust me, and will associate yourself with a man whose business capacity I can answer for, and to whom I have often been of service; if you will keep all your terms of payment regularly and decidedly, why, then, call in and see me to-morrow evening, when I will ask Mr. M—— to come also, and we can then arrange and agree upon all the minor matters."

"Surely, my friend, you cannot be in earnest?" said Mr. Widen, in a tone expressive at once of joy and apprehension that he might be deceiving himself in regard to this unexpected proposal.

"Most perfectly and entirely in earnest," the Professor assured him, extending his hand. "Voluntarily, I am willing to do the little good I can; but when I think people wish me to do things by force, it is generally very difficult; and I must confess that I do this principally for Rosa's happiness; for it must be understood, that irrevocably as I give Mr. Widen my word, his must be decidedly given to me in return, that by this day's post he will send Mr. Garben a thankful but negative answer; and this promise given, he may immediately resume his active career as a man of business—of course, always understood with prudence and economy, or else the matter is at an end."

"Here is my hand for all; I will do the best I can," replied the Merchant, with deep emotion. "My heart is thankful for Garben's kindness; but a thousand times rather would I accept my good fortune from the hand of one who has lost nothing by me, and, with God's help, never shall."

The two men exchanged a cordial grasp, and Madame Widen for once wept for true and natural joy; and as she was not anxious that her tears should produce an effect, she followed the impulse common in such cases, and covered her face with her handkerchief. However, long and deep expressions of feeling were quite out of her way, and she wiped her eyes, which now beamed with joy and hope, for a sweet prospect was now opened before them, [illegible] the long tedious days which she was at present obliged to drag wearily on. She thanked the Professor in eloquent terms for the generosity he had shown her husband; and then rapidly sought to change the conversation, to find out what was the cause of this kindness on his part, for she very well knew it was all connected in some way with Rosa.

This motive alone appeared to her hardly of sufficient importance, and there must be something besides—and had he not already hinted that perhaps Rosa had made another choice!

In vain did she exert all her penetration, and throw out all her hints. The Professor did not understand her, and she was obliged to see the old man leave without her curiosity being in the least appeased.

But, just as he was leaving the steps, she was seized with a sudden anxiety, at the thought of having to exist long in such a state of suspense and uncertainty; and, without thinking, she caught him by the skirt of his coat, and brought him back to the hall.

"Forgive me, I pray you, dear Mr. Professor," said she. "My good, kind Professor Ling, you have filled a mother's heart with anxiety. Can it be possible that Rosa should cherish a feeling which her mother, her most intimate confidant in affairs of the heart, should not know?"

"Pray, do not be anxious, my dear Madame," replied the Professor, laconically; "if you set the least value upon the friendship I have for your family, do not torment Rosa with the slightest allusion to, or question her upon the subject. When the proper time comes, I will announce the suitor to you."

And, saying this, the old gentleman left the house.

Poor Mrs. Widen remained alone, lost in conjectures. After puzzling her poor brain for a long time, she returned to her first presumption, that the Professor meant himself. Oh, yes, it was quite clear, perfectly so. Still she sighed, she could not help it, at the thought of seeing her charming, beautiful Rosa, the wife of such an old man as the Professor.

"What ideas do come into girls' heads nowadays," said she, half aloud; "who could imagine that Rosa would prefer this old superannuated body to a man like Garben, who is still in the prime of life? But I will be quiet; I know nothing about it, and then—he cannot live so very long."

[REMAINDER OF CHAP. XX NEXT WEEK.]

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS.

MAINE.

Governor Wells, of Maine, in his message, endeavors to bring his supporters into line with the South. He ignores the real issue between Freedom and Slavery, assumes that the free States are intermeddling for the purpose of reforming the domestic institutions of the South, and thereupon proceeds to read them a Pierce lecture. He thinks the time will soon come when the People will cease to desire the restoration of the Missouri Compromise. The Wells Party of Maine will find no difficulty in working in whatever team they may be placed by their Southern masters.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The part of the Governor's message recommending the repeal of the Personal Liberty Law has been referred to a special joint committee of the two Houses, consisting of three Senators and six Representatives.

CONNECTICUT.

The State Convention of the Know Nothings of Connecticut, lately held at New Haven, nominated the following ticket for State officers:

For Governor, Wm. T. Minor; for Lieutenant Governor, Albert Day; for Secretary, Nehemiah D. Sperry; for Treasurer, Frederick P. Coe; for Comptroller, Edward Prentiss.

The question of Slavery entered into its discussion. Whether the Convention agreed to be represented at Philadelphia on the 22d February, we have not learned.

The Know Nothing State Convention at New Haven, on the 10th instant, nominated the following ticket for State officers:

For Governor—William T. Miner, Stamford.
For Lieutenant Governor—Albert Day, Hartford.
For Treasurer—Charles O. Belden, Litchfield.
For Secretary—N. D. Sperry, New Haven.
For Comptroller—Edward Prentice, New London.

The above candidates are the present incumbents, with the exception of Messrs. Day and Belden.

The Convention voted down a resolution to send delegates to the Twelfth Section National Know Nothing Convention at Philadelphia, on the 22d of February, and adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we adhere to and reaffirm the principles embodied in the platform of the American party of this State, adopted and published in June last, and renewedly pledge ourselves to their maintenance and support.

Resolved, That we invite the electors of this State to co-operate with us in the support of these principles, and regard all persons supporting the same at the ballot-box as members of the American party.

Resolved, That we approve of the principles embodied in the message of his Excellency the Governor to the last Legislature; and we again present his name, with the highest pleasure and satisfaction, for the suffrages of the electors of this State.

Resolved, That the Convention heartily approve the action of the Representatives in Congress from this State, in their efforts to elect a Speaker of the House, and we urge upon them to stand to the end in the position they have taken.

Resolved, That we have the fullest confidence in the ability and integrity of the several nominees upon our State ticket, and pledge them our efforts to secure their triumphant election.

The following gentlemen were appointed a State Committee for the ensuing year:

Hartford county—Wait N. Hawley, of Hartford.
New Haven county—O. H. Platt, of Meriden.
Fairfield county—James E. Dunham, of Bridgeport.
New London county—Hiram Willew, of New London.
Litchfield county—J. M. Wadhams, of Litchfield.
Windham county—Henry Hammond, of Killingly.
Middlesex county—D. D. Silliman, of Chester.
Tolland county—Patton Fitch, of Bolton.

NEW YORK.

January 15th, the House adopted the plurality rule, and the result was the election of Orville Robinson, (Soft,) Speaker, by a combination of the Softs and Republicans.

The "Soft" Convention met at Syracuse on the 10th, and adopted resolutions denouncing the Republican movement, dealing in all sorts of sophistical generalities, deprecating the agitation of the Slavery question, approving the principles of the Nebraska bill, endorsing the Administration and all its acts. Delegates were appointed to the Pro-Slavery Convention which is to meet at Cincinnati the first Monday of June next—delegates fully qualified to meet the South on any terms it may dictate. The Convention, in fact, was controlled by the Administration, for Administration purposes.

INDIANA.

The Administration [illegible] Convention January 8th, at Indianapolis.

"For Governor, Ashbel P. Willard; Lieutenant Governor, Col. John C. Walker, Secretary of State, Nathaniel McClure; Auditor of State, Gen. John W. Dodd; Treasurer of State, Aquilla Jones; Attorney General, Joseph E. McDonald; Superintendent of Public Instruction, W. C. Larrabee; Clerk of the Supreme Court, W. B. Beach; Reporter of the Supreme Court, Gordon Tanner."

The platform corresponds with the views of the present Administration. It endorses the Kansas-Nebraska bill, denounces Know Nothingism, favors Temperance while opposing Prohibition, approves of the measures of the Administration, and recommends the Hon. Jesse D. Bright for the Presidency.

The Pierce and Bright Democracy of that State will swallow any bolus that may be compounded for them by the Cincinnati Convention.

IOWA.

The Administration State Committee of Iowa has issued an address to the People, which the *Union* says is orthodox. The Committee is enamored of the Nebraska bill, and says:

"The principle which finally governed this legislation is the very principle that induced our fathers to throw off the British yoke. It is that which places the States on an equality; which goes further, and secures to every American citizen equality of rights, live on what American soil he may. Whether in Florida or Maine, Louisiana or Iowa, Nebraska or Kansas, the republican right of participating in the prescription of the rules that are to govern his domestic affairs are guarantied to him—yea, the constitutional right to 'be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens.' * * As there can be no law where there are no subjects for it to act upon, it results that the right to make laws accompanies the individual; and hence citizens removing from States to Territories retain that right as much as if they were to remove from one State to another State. The right, then, to determine the question of African Slavery rests with the citizen wherever he may go."

OHIO.

The Nebraska party met at Columbus, January 8th and 9th. Not having received any special favor from General Pierce, it declined to approve his Administration, but showed its real nature by endorsing the Nebraska bill, and putting itself in a position to marshal under the black flag of Slavery. Its resolutions are of the kind usually passed by the free State adherents of the Slave Power.

In another column we publish the larger portion of Mr. Chase's Inaugural. It is in refreshing contrast to the dirty, mean doings of the Pro-Slavery drivellers. It will be read with interest and delight by every friend of Freedom in the Union. With a few more such Governors at the North, the Slave Interest would be taught to lower its crest.

The Republicans of the House, in caucus, on motion of Mr. Yaple, of Ross, (in Moore's district,) adopted by a nearly unanimous vote the following:

"*Resolved,* That we, the anti-Administration members of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, approve of the course pursued by those members of the Ohio delegation in Congress who are at present voting for and adhering to Mr. Banks for Speaker of that body; and that we further recommend to the residue of that delegation the same course, as one, under all the circumstances, proper to be followed."

KNOW NOTHINGS OF OHIO.

The State Council met at Columbus, January 3d. One hundred and fifty delegates were in attendance. Had there been a full representation of all the Councils, there would have been nine hundred delegates. It would seem that they are dying out, owing to the indifference or withdrawal of the liberal men of the Order. We trust this is so. The best way to get rid of a bad thing is, not to attempt to reform it, but repudiate it, put it away.

The Convention was secret in its proceedings, but some facts have transpired. Mr. Spooner, President, made a long report, making the doctrine and policy of non-extension of Slavery an essential part of "Americanism," but it was killed by referring it to a committee, which concluded to report something more palatable to the Union-savers. Messrs. Ford and Baker, holding offices as Republicans, to which they were elected by Republican votes, sustained, it is said, the report of the Committee. We give the skeleton report of proceedings, as we find it in the newspapers:

STATE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN ORDER.

The State Council of Ohio adjourned this morning, having closed the session in the greatest harmony.

Lieut. Governor Ford and Thomas Spooner, late President of the Council, were appointed delegates at large to the Philadelphia Convention. Hon. L. D. Campbell and Hon. Samuel Galloway alternates.

Mr. Spooner resigned his position as President of the State Council, and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved,* That the thanks of the State Council and of the American party in Ohio are eminently due to our late President, Thomas Spooner, for the energetic, efficient, and able manner in which he has discharged the duties of his office, and, in retiring from the Chair, he carries with him our earnest wishes for his future prosperity and happiness."

Lieut. Gov. Ford was elected President of the State Council by acclamation.

The Committee on the State of the Order made the following report, which was unanimously adopted:

To the State Council of Ohio:

The Committee on the State of the Order, to which was referred the report of the President, have considered the same, and beg leave to report, that in view of the approaching session of the National Council at Philadelphia, and in good faith to the States represented in the Convention of Americans at Cincinnati in November last, it is inexpedient for this State Council to legislate upon the subject of the reports submitted to the said Convention at Cincinnati. The whole subject will again come before the National body, and where it is expected that the delegation from Ohio will strenuously oppose the "twelfth section" of the Platform adopted by the Convention at Philadelphia, in June last.

The principles of the American party having been proclaimed to the world, the Committee are of opinion, that hereafter purely American nominations should be made for President and Vice President of the United States, and for all State and local offices.

On the subject of secrecy, this State Council cannot legislate any farther than to express an opinion; and the Committee would recommend that the subject be referred to the National Council. Respectfully submitted.

January 4, 1856.

The State Council adjourned with three cheers for Ford and Spooner, and all separated with the greatest good feeling.

The next meeting will be held at Columbus, on the 4th of June next.

The following delegates were selected from their respective districts to the National Council, which meets on the 18th of February, at Philadelphia:

1. Thomas C. Ware.	12. Dr. J. B. Potter.
2. E. Barton Thomas.	13. George R. Morton.
4. B. S. Kyle.	15. B. R. Allison.
5. A. C. Harris.	16. Thomas McLees.
6. J. K. Harlay.	17. Wm. B. Simpson.
7. A. McKay.	18. Dr. H. M. McAbee.
8. L. H. Olds.	19. Bushnell White.
9. Horner Everett.	20. W. B. Chapman.
10. James H. Baker.	21. S. G. McKee.
11. E. A. Spencer.	

The *Cincinnati Commercial* says:

"Their report, it will be perceived by examination, neither affirms the doctrine of no more slave territory adopted at the Cleveland meeting, nor the restoration of the Missouri prohibition adopted at the Cincinnati meeting. It declares for expunging the 12th section of the Philadelphia Platform, without substituting anything in its stead against Slavery extension, leaving the Order perfectly non-committal on the Slavery question. This is just what a portion of the pro-slavery men of the South want. The *Washington Organ* and others are willing to give up the 12th section, provided the North will agree to stand with them non-committed on the question of Slavery. In view of these things, the action is a wonderful falling off from the position hitherto occupied by the Ohio Americans. That feature of the Platform declaring that, although they have fused in times past with outsiders, in future they will not support for any office any but genuine natives, is equally astonishing. For a body composed of a large majority of fusionists to first elect to its National Council the strongest advocate of fusion in its ranks, and then repudiate fusion, is passing strange. It was astonishing to many how this report was adopted. Its history, as far as I can learn, is this: The thing was prepared for the body by Capt. Ford, who, when it was read, made a Union-Saving B'hoy speech, which was greatly cheered by the Trimblers. The previous question was at once sprung, and it was rushed through without discussion. The Trimblers have exulted greatly over this result. Many members of the Convention did not understand the report, and supposed they were re-affirming the Cleveland Platform. They had not the sagacity to see through the tricks of the wire-workers. It is supposed by many, that the principal reason of Mr. Spooner resigning the Presidency, was in consequence of the adoption of this report. He is a true man, and whoever of the delegation to Philadelphia may cave in and show themselves doughfaces, Mr. Spooner will not."

The *Commercial* gives a good hit at the doings of this body in adopting the report of the Committee. It says:

"The substance of the report is a declaration 'that it is *inexpedient for this State Council to legislate upon the subject of the reports submitted to the said Convention,*' and that '*purely American nominations should be made for President and Vice President of the United States, and for all State and local offices.*' The first is a virtual affirmation that it is unsafe for the Order to attempt to decide what are its principles; and the second is a promise that, principles or no principles, the party will preserve its organization."

The Order in Ohio is committed to whatever policy the Philadelphia Convention may adopt.

The result we predicted fifteen months ago, is reached.

Lately, we reprinted a report, from the Auburn (N. Y.) *American*, of certain remarks said to have been made by Lieutenant Governor Ford, in conversation with the editor of that paper, hostile to Mr. Chase and the Republican cause. The Mansfield (O.) *Herald*, in the following paragraph, which has come under our eye for the first time, says:

"Now, in relation to all such representations of the position of Governor Ford, *we are authorized to say that they are utterly untrue.*

"We have heard Mr. Ford express his views upon this subject, in public and in private, often enough, we think, to know what his true position is.

"He believes, with true men of all parties, that minor differences of opinion should, for the time being, be forgotten, and that old party distinctions should be laid aside, until the question of Slavery extension and restriction shall be finally settled; and until this result has been consummated, no man will be more zealous in advocating the Republican organization than Captain Ford.

"In relation to Captain Ford's position at Auburn, New York, we have only to say that *he went there as a Republican, and as such addressed a Republican meeting at that place, and that he made no such statements as are contained in the extract from the Auburn American.*"

And yet, we now find this same personage, President of the State Council of an Order *not* Republican, which seeks to engross all political power; delegate of that Council to a National Convention of that Order, summoned to nominate a Presidential candidate, and pledged to vote for no man for any office who is not a member of the American Party!

What next?

NEW JERSEY LEGISLATURE.

Trenton, N. J., Jan. 10.—The House was duly organized to-day. Mr. Demarest, Democrat, of Bergen, was elected Speaker, and Mr. Dannon, of Gloucester, Clerk.

The Annual Message was sent in. After reviewing State affairs, he takes up the Slavery question, and argues the justice and necessity of allowing the people interested, whether in States or Territories, to decide this matter for themselves. He also endorses the position of President Pierce upon the Central American question.

GOVERNOR OF WISCONSIN.

Madison, Jan. 16.—The Supreme Court of this State has issued a write of *quo warranto*, at the instance of Mr. Bashford, requiring Governor Barstow, who has just been re-inaugurated, to show by what authority he holds the station of Governor. This will lead to an investigation of the late election returns, some of which are alleged to be fraudulent.

PITTSBURGH MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

Pittsburgh, Jan. 9.—Mr. Bingham (Know Nothing) was elected Mayor to-day, by 386 over Irwin, (Democrat,) and had 474 over Volz, (Fusionist.) The anti-Know Nothings have a majority in the Councils.

The Allegheny municipal election was also held to-day, and the Citizens' candidate, Mr. Adams, received a small majority for Mayor.

NOMINATION TO THE PRESIDENCY.

Baltimore, Jan. 8.—The Know Nothing State Council of Virginia has nominated the Hon. John M. Botts for the Presidency. The Richmond *Whig* denounces it as a misrepresentation of the sentiments of the Know Nothing party in that State.

From the New York Evening Post.

GOVERNOR CHASE'S INAUGURAL.

Aside from the prominent position which the present Executive of Ohio has occupied in the Federal Councils of the nation, the fact that he is looked upon by a large number of his countrymen as one of the men for whom a much higher honor is in store, and by a yet larger number as one who is eminently worthy of the highest, naturally lends a peculiar interest to his first Executive message, which was delivered to the Legislature of Ohio on the 14th inst. It is a dignified and statesmanlike document, in spite of a certain stiffness in the introductory sentences, which disappear as soon as the writer gets beyond the official commonplaces which are incidental to all such communications.

It opens with the usual expressions of gratitude, diffidence, good intentions, and a definition of the relative rights and prerogatives of the Executive and Legislative departments of the Government. He then urges economy and retrenchment; intimates that the new Auditor will dissent from the practice of his predecessor in his credits in listing his property for taxation;" recommends the passage of a General Banking Law, subject to the approval of the people, and that the present rate of interest, ten per cent., be reduced, because "there seems to be no valid reason why the capitalist should be encouraged to demand so large a proportion of the earnings of the producer and the profits of the manufacturer and merchant." He recommends a militia enrolment, substantially like that which exists in this State, and amendments of the Constitution for the election of Representatives to the Legislature by single districts, and the restoration of single instead of biennial sessions of the Legislature—which latter, he thinks, are not sufficient to meet the current wants of a State like Ohio.

The Governor next calls attention to the choice of a United States Senator, which the Legislature has to make this session. In treating this point, he gives expression to his views upon the subject of Slavery at considerable length, but we have tried in vain to condense them without impairing their interest and value:

"Your first and most earnest attention, gentlemen, will doubtless be directed to the important matters within the immediate sphere of your legislative powers; but you cannot forget that you represent a sovereign State of the American Union, third, of the thirty-one, in wealth and power and population—second to none in patriotic devotion to the welfare of the whole country. The appointment of a Senator, to represent the State in one branch of the American Congress, devolves upon you; and in making this appointment you will necessarily be required to consider the interests of Ohio as a member of the Union.

"Foremost among these interests is the preservation of the Union itself. Established by the wisdom of our fathers, for the sublimest and noblest political ends, it descends to us as a sacred trust. Under its benign influence, our country has steadily advanced from strength to strength, and from greatness to greatness, extending her borders, enlarging her resources, and augmenting her power, until the name of American citizen has become a nobler distinction than was the name of Roman citizen in the proudest days of the mightiest republic of antiquity. To maintain the integrity of this Union; to defend the Constitution, which is its bond; and to guard against all invasion, from whatever quarter, those American institutions which the Union and the Constitution secure to us, have ever been, and I trust will ever be, acknowledged as sacred obligations by the people of Ohio.

"Cherishing these sentiments, and ever prepared to give full proof of unwavering fidelity to them, it is not only our right, but our duty, to insist that the interests of Ohio shall be duly regarded in the Administration of the General Government. Few States contribute so largely to the national revenues as our own. The people of Ohio have paid to the Federal Government, or to its grantees, for the soil which they occupy and cultivate, more than thirty millions of dollars. Of the revenue derived from duties, we contribute necessarily in proportion to our numbers. As the population of our State is about one-tenth of the entire population of the Union, we pay about one-tenth of that revenue. Its entire amount for the last year exceeded sixty millions of dollars. The proportion of Ohio was, of course, six millions.

"While we have thus paid, for the very soil we live on, an amount which no other people has ever paid under like circumstances, or under any circumstances; and while we still contribute thus amply and freely to the annual revenue, it is not an agreeable reflection, that of all the States in which the General Government has asserted a proprietary right to the soil, Ohio has received the least in grants of land for education, improvement, and other like purposes; and that while millions are expended for the protection and benefit of commerce on the ocean coasts of the Republic, the property and lives of our own people are exposed to continual peril and enormous loss upon our rivers and our lakes, for the want of comparatively insignificant appropriations for the improvement of their channels and harbors. The injustice of unequal grants of land is perhaps beyond remedy; but it will be our own fault if our rivers and harbors continue to be thus neglected.

"While in these, and many other important details of administration, the interests of our own State are deeply affected by the action of the National Government, we are even more vitally concerned in the great principle by which that action and the progressive development of our country are regulated and controlled.

"As man is more than his circumstances, as freedom is better than wealth, as rights are more important than institutions, it becomes us to look well to the fundamental ideas which determine the character of Government, and the course of its practical operation.

"The basis of American institutions is the Democratic principle of equality among men. They rest upon the solid foundation of popular consent. The primary objects of their establishment are the defence and protection of personal rights. If they fail to secure these ends, it is the duty of the people who established, to amend or change them. To organize and administer the Government upon these principles, is the true work of a Republican people.

"While the Democratic idea thus constitutes the basis of American institutions, various exceptions, under the pressure of real or supposed exigencies, have been admitted to its universal application. Among these, Slavery, the creature of Despotism, and the deadly opposite of Democracy, claims baleful pre-eminence.

"When our country asserted her independence, Slavery existed in all the States. Its evil influences, social and political, were, however, well understood, and its irreconcilable antagonism to the rights of human nature, and the principles of just government, was universally acknowledged."

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise is treated with exquisite perspicuity, as follows:

"The founders of the Republic, in framing our institutions, were careful to give no national sanction to this portentous anomaly; but they attempted no interference with its existence in the States. Outside of State limits, they allowed it no shelter. Within State limits, they left it to the exclusive disposition of States immediately concerned. No fact is better established by the records of the past, than the prevalence, during the earlier period of our history, of an almost universal expectation that Slavery, excluded by positive prohibition from all National territory, would gradually but certainly, and at no distant day, under the operation of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and through the action of the State authorities, disappear wholly from every State of the Union. The foremost champions of Freedom were citizens of slave States, and occupied the highest stations in the State and National Governments.

"In 1784, immediately after the partial adjustment of the conflict between the claims of the Union and the pretensions of the States in respect to the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, through the cession, by Virginia, of the territory northwest of the Ohio, Jefferson proposed to provide forever against the extension of Slavery, by a positive prohibition of its existence after 1800, in any territory ceeded or to be ceded, or in any State to be created out of such territory. This proposed prohibition received the votes of sixteen out of twenty-three delegates, and of six out of nine States in the Congress of the Confederation. It failed to become a law by reason of that provision of the Articles of Confederation which made the concurrence of at least seven States necessary to an affirmative decision of any question. The great majority in its favor indicates, however, the prevalent sentiment of the time.

"Three years later, the Ordinance of 1787 impressed upon the soil of the territory northwest of the Ohio an indelible prohibition of Slavery. That Ordinance was adopted by the unanimous votes of all the States in Congress. It covered every inch of territory subject to the exclusive regulation of the General Government. In the same year, [illegible] was framed. Mr. Madison declared it 'wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man.' No such word as slave or slavery found place in any of its provisions. All recognition of the rightfulness of slaveholding, and all national sanction of the practice, was carefully excluded from the instrument. In every clause which has been or can be construed as referring to Slavery, it is regarded as the creature of State legislation, and dependent wholly upon State legislation for its existence and continuance.

"There is no trace in the Constitution itself, or in the debates of its framers, of any expectation or apprehension of the institution or maintenance of Slavery by National law, or in National territory. No one anticipated its extension beyond the limits of the existing States.

"But the people required additional security. When, therefore, Virginia suggested an amendment of the Constitution, that 'no *freeman* ought to be deprived of his life, liberty, or property, *but by the law of the land,*' Congress refused to sanction this restricted guaranty, but proposed for the adoption of the States an amendment embracing a comprehensive and express interdict against all invasion of personal rights by the General Government. That interdict, made part of the Constitution by the consent of the States, is in these words: 'No person * * * * shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.' So long as this provision remains unaltered, it is not easy to see how Slavery can be constitutionally introduced anywhere and continued anywhere by National legislation and on National territory.

"This brief statement will suffice to show what was the policy and what was the anticipation of the founders of this Republic in respect to Slavery. Their policy was one of repression, limitation, discouragement; they anticipated with confidence the auspicious result of universal freedom. Persistent adherence to their policy would doubtless have realized their anticipations.

"I need not say to you that this policy has not been adhered to: nor need I trace the gradual process by which the Constitution has been wrested from its original purposes, and the Government has been converted into an instrument for the maintenance and extension of Slavery.

"By cessions from slave States, and by treaties with foriegn Governments, vast territories have been acquired, in all of which the original policy of the Government required prohibition, but to none of which was prohibition actually applied, until resistance to the further increase of Slavery and the slave power in the Republic, by the admission of Missouri as a slave State, led to the great contest between the Extensionists and the Restrictionists, which in 1820 terminated in the adjustment generally known as the Missouri Compromise.

"The terms of that compromise were these: That Missouri should be admitted with Slavery; that Slavery should be forever prohibited in the territory acquired from France, north of 36 degrees 30 minutes, except Missouri; and that Congress should refrain, for the present at least, from legislative prohibition of Slavery south of 36 degrees 30 minutes. This last term was only implied; it was not expressed.

"This compromise, in substance and effect, was a compact between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding sections of the country, and was universally so regarded. It yielded to Slavery absolutely the territory occupied by Missouri, and it left without the protection of prohibition all the residue of territory acquired under the French treaty, south of 36 degrees 30 minutes. As the original policy of the country, and the true principles of the Constitution, required the exclusion of Slavery from the whole of this territory, it was to be expected that this adjustment would be recieved with much dissatisfaction in the free States. It was so received; but after a time, for the sake of peace, and in the full belief that its stipulations in respect to the territory north of 36 degrees 30 minutes would be faithfully observed, the people generally acquiesced in it.

"Concession invites aggression. Having succeeded in establishing Slavery in Missouri, the Slave Power soon insisted upon the implied term of the compromise as a positive stipulation for the allowance of Slavery south of 36° 30′, not only in the territory acquired from France, but in all other territory, whenever and however acquired, in which Slavery might exist at the time of acquisition. This interpretation was tacitly admitted; and under the compromise, thus interpreted, Arkansas, Texas, and Florida, came into the Union as slave States, and the small remainder of the territory south of 36° 30′ was allotted to slaveholding Indian tribes.

"All the territory south of the Missouri line, whether acquired before or after the date of the compromise, was thus incorporated into slave States, or otherwise appropriated to Slavery, under the slaveholding interpretation of the compact. Nothing was left to Freedom, or settlement by non-slaveholding freemen, except the territory north of the Missouri line. The freedom of this territory, it was thought, was firmly secured. Guarantied by the Constitution, protected by original policy, guarded by a compact, in the fulfilment of which so much had been yielded that it seemed impossible for Slavery itself to ask more, the people of the free States never dreamed that it could be invaded or endangered. But this anticipation proved illusory. When the time arrived for the organization of government for this territory, with a view to open it for settlement and cultivation, the country was astounded by the demand of the Slave Power for the abrogation of the Missouri prohibition.

"At first, the demand was heard with incredulous amazement, and then with unavailing indignation. It availed nothing to appeal to plighted faith; nothing to appeal to ancient policy or constitutional guaranties. The great dominant power of Slavery demanded the sacrifice of Freedom, and the oblation must be made. The Missouri Prohibition was repealed; the Compromise of 1820, performed to the letter, and far beyond the letter, by the free States, was broken up and destroyed by the slave States, to avoid the fulfilment of its only stipulation in favor of Freedom.

"The pretences under which this wrong was perpetrated give additional keenness to the sense of injury. It was boldly asserted that the prohibition was unconstitutional. The power to prohibit Territorial Slavery had been exercised by the first Congress under the Constitution, in the act providing for continuing in full effect the Ordinance of 1787. The Constitution, in express terms, had conferred on Congress the power to make all needful rules and regulations concerning the territory of the United States. This provision had been uniformly regarded as authorizing all necessary Territorial legislation. Almost every Congress had exercised the power, and almost every President had approved its exercise. The very persons who denied the power to prohibit Slavery, asserted the power to establish Territorial Governments, and to define their departments and powers, and therefore, in denying the power of prohibition, were reduced to the necessity of denying that the greater includes the less.

"Under these circumstances, after the prohibition had remained unquestioned for more than the third of a century, the denial of its constitutionality rather provoked indignation than excited doubt.

"It was also insisted that the doctrine of popular sovereignty required the repeal of the prohibition. This was a mere abuse of terms. The true idea of popular sovereignty demands, as a primary essential condition, the recognition of inalienable personal rights. There can be no genuine popular sovereignty where a portion of the population is enslaved. The prohibition of Slavery is therefore a necessary prerequisite to the real sovereignty of the people. In the sense of the apologists for repeal, popular sovereignty signifies nothing but the right of a portion of the community to enslave the rest. It begins by the denial of the natural rights of man. It must end in the total subversion of the fundamental principle of American [illegible] people, it would substitute [illegible] masters, dependants, and slaves.

"Such is the repulsive theory. In practical operation, it has not proved more attractive. As embodied in the Nebraska-Kansas bill, it has been fruitful of nothing but evil. It has not conferred a single substantial benefit upon the settlers of either Territory. In no respect are they distinguished from the settlers of Minnesota, where Slavery is prohibited, except by exposure to its evils. The sole special effect of the Nebraska-Kansas act upon the Territories organized under it, is to open them to the introduction of slaves. In one of them it has led to desperate attempts to effect that object—to invasion, usurpation, violence, bloodshed—almost to civil war. Crimes like these are not the legitimate fruits of that doctrine of popular self-government, to the maintenance of which our fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their honor.

"In all these things, our own State has a deep and peculiar interest. Our own history furnishes the most complete vindication of the policy of Slavery prohibition. We occupy, in part, the soil protected from the blight of Slavery by the Ordinance of 1787. For more than half a century, the people of Ohio have been accustomed to regard that Ordinance with mingled emotions of gratitude and pride. Conspicuous among its provisions, and in fit companionship with its sacred guaranties of religious freedom, of liberality towards immigrants, of the inviolability of private contracts, of the security of private property, and of universal education, stands the great interdict against Slavery, acknowledging and impartially protecting the rights of man as man. The words to which we always recur when seeking in the Ordinance the peculiar springs of our wonderful prosperity and progress, are those which embody this prohibition.

"Never did the noble pioneers who laid the foundations on which we now joyfully build, complain of that interdict as an abridgement of any rights, personal or political. On the contrary, they have ever spoken of it as the pillar of fire by night and of cloud by day, which guided and protected them in the wilderness. More than any other State, Ohio, as the first-born of the Ordinance, and indebted to the Ordinance for her proud position as the third State of the Confederacy, and first among the new States, is bound to cherish and defend its great and beneficent principles. In so doing, we shall be fellow-workers with its illustrious framers, in their own declared policy and purpose of 'extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions are erected, and fixing and establishing those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in' American 'territory.'

"No political duty appears to be more urgent than this.

"The question of Slavery, it is almost universally conceded, transcends in present importance all other political questions of a national character. The repeal of the Missouri Prohibition, abrogating the Missouri Compromise, opens anew the whole subject of the relations of Slavery to the Union, to the States, and to the Territories. In determining the true line of duty, under these circumstances, it seems to be the part of wisdom to recur to the acts of the founders of the Republic, and to the principles of the Constitution. To me, these guides seem to indicate a plain path. It leads back to the original National policy. That policy, I have already remarked, while it sanctions no outside interference with Slavery within slave States, contemplated no extension of it beyond slave limits. It regards Slavery in all its relations as subject exclusively to State legislation, and absolved the General Government from all responsibility for its extension or continuance.

"Our return to that policy should be signalized by the restoration of the guaranty of Freedom to the Territories, which have been deprived of it by the retrograde legislation of Congress. Had the policy originally adopted been persistently pursued, the question of Slavery would have ceased long since to vex our repose and disturb our councils. Should that policy be restored, may we not confidently expect the restoration, also, of those relations of harmony and good will which characterized the era of its adoption, and that, through repeal of all National legislation in support of Slavery and the constitutional action of State Governments, the ar-