

AGENTS FOR THE AMERICAN.

For First, Second, Third and Fourth Wards, Henry Johnson, residence 409 K street.

"The Union of the Unionists, for the sake of the Union!"

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UNMASKED DESPOTISM.

As a general fact, despotism is slow and cautious in making its inroads upon Republican institutions.

Without pretending to controvert the justice and propriety of recognizing the dicta of the President, as the true orthodox guide of all modern Democrats, we may be allowed to question the lawfulness, or at least the equity of that rule, which requires that each and every devotee to the faith of modern Democracy, as thus expounded, should know, from day to day, and from hour to hour, precisely what views the promulgator of Democratic doctrine may entertain on all the complicated questions which constitute the platform of this great Democratic party.

To illustrate our enquiry, we cite a case: A few weeks since, the President, following the tenor of the Kansas Nebraska act of 1844, and the Cincinnati platform of 1856, intrusted Governor Walker, then going to Kansas, to see that, when the proposed constitution to be made for Kansas should be submitted to the people for their adoption or rejection, a fair opportunity should be given to all the "bona fide inhabitants of that Territory" to vote upon the same.

In accordance with this, then Democratic doctrine, the various candidates for the convention repeated these promises to the people.

The Washington Union, as the great mouth-piece of the law giver of the Democratic party, uttered praises in favor of this creed—and all the little fry of mouth pieces said "Amen!"

Now comes the question. Governor Wise did not know, when he made this bold, and at that time, orthodox declaration, that the President had changed his mind—but he had changed it, though Governor Wise was ignorant of the fact—and now is Governor Wise a Democrat?

But other cases might be cited. That of Senator Douglas may be referred to. He is even a harder case than that of Governor Wise, for the latter might have inferred, from his own experience, that parties and politicians do frequently change their faith, whereas Judge Douglas has been a uniform and consistent advocate of pretty much the same series of measures, and has controlled rather than followed political events.

Entertaining these views, he honestly and openly avowed them at all times and places, down to the meeting of Congress—when, behold! he finds that the President has suddenly upturned and overturned the main articles of the Democratic faith, and issued a new political manual for the guidance of the faithful!

And now, what? Why, Senator Douglas is no Democrat! And Governor Walker is no Democrat! And nobody is a Democrat who dares to be a freeman, and who refuses to surrender conscience and consistency at the bidding of a tyrant President!

We are not the political partizan of Judge Douglas. We do not agree with him in his notions of "alien suffrage," or of "squatter sovereignty." But we admire the honest, sturdy, unbending independence which he has manifested on the questions growing out of the Leecompton Constitution. He is one of the few men of the times who dares be consistent at the hazard of being ostracized. Heroes and statesmen are made of just such stuff.

One word as to the policy indicated in the idea of the President to take the Leecompton constitution, in order to settle the agitation of slavery! It is a miserable and contemptible pretext. The only way to put an end to this agitation is, to permit the people of Kansas fairly and independently, to frame and adopt their own constitution. To force upon them the Leecompton Constitution, is to keep up the agitation, by inducing a civil war.

The Leecompton Constitution is a palpable fraud. The Topeka Constitution was a silly humbug. If left to the operation of a fair and enabling act, and the voluntary action of the citizens of Kansas, under such an act, free from all interference, the questions involved in the present contest would be settled in less than six months, and the country would have quiet.

But that is what the ultraists, both North and South, seek to prevent. They wish no quiet. They desire no adjustment of these questions. Agitation is their life blood. Watch them!

THE UNION ON GOV. WALKER.

The Union of Sunday morning, replies, in a three-column article, to Gov. Walker's letter. It says: "The letter with which Gov. Walker has thought fit to accompany his resignation has been laid before the public by himself, without awaiting an official promulgation."

"It was confidently expected by the good names that the letter would contain a full and manly revelation of facts substantiating all these amiable surmises. Well, the letter is before the public, and no damage is done. The infernal machine is discharged, and no bones are broken. The mine is sprung, and the administration survives unscathed. Whoever else may be hoisted by the dread petard, the President at least remains firm and unshaken in his tracks."

"In short, the letter is a public disappointment. It is not crushing or annihilating either in its facts or its logic. It is not angry, vindictive, denunciatory, or even disrespectful. Neither as an appeal to the North nor as a disclosure to the South is it damaging to the administration. The administration will survive it. The Democratic party will withstand the shock of the explosion—nay, we fondly trust that the cause of peace and order in Kansas will receive no prejudice from the fulfilment of it."

The Union whistles to keep its courage up. It puts on an air of indifference as if no body had been hurt. "The infernal machine," it sneeringly remarks, "is discharged, and no bones are broken. The mine is sprung, and the administration survives unscathed. Whoever else may be hoisted by the dread petard, the President at least remains firm and unshaken in his tracks."

It is a matter of policy for the President and that portion of the party which goes with him, to seem to be "unscathed" by the Walker bomb; but at the same time appearances give the lie to their vain boast. They have not escaped "unscathed"; it has damaged them, seriously, and they know it; and it will damage them more and more as it runs through the country and reaches the honest, unsophisticated, plain-minded people.

A Southern Democrat remarked to a Northern Democrat, after reading the letter, that there was no doubt on his mind, and there could be none on the mind of any one, that Mr. Buchanan had changed his ground; that he had been for having the entire constitution left to the people of Kansas, and that he had deserted Walker. And such will be the judgment of the people of the whole country, who love honesty and fair dealing.

They will see, and cannot help seeing, indeed, they know, that Governor Walker's and Judge Douglas' interpretation of the organic law of Kansas is the true and honest one, and that Mr. Buchanan's is but a juggle, a quibble, a cheat, a fraud, a trick; worthy only of a base varlet and knave of a thimble rigger.

Such dishonesty and trickery cannot succeed and will not, especially when exposed in the manner Judge Douglas' speech, and Governor Walker's letter expose them.

See extracts from Governor Walker's letter. FILLMORE.—A Niagara meeting was held at Mobile on the 14th, at which Governor Winston presided. Addresses were made by Messrs. Percy Walker, Judge Meek, C. Langdon, Judge Hopkins, and others. Resolutions were adopted favorable to Walker.

This looks as much like an open and defiant violation of our neutrality laws, and our moral obligations to other nations as an indiscriminate war, on private account, upon the commerce of all nations upon the ocean, looks like piracy—to our vision. Have the people of this country lost all sense of justice and shame?

Lord Napier, the British Minister, has delivered to the United States Government medals prepared at the instance of the British Government, for the presentation to the officers and men engaged in the several expeditions which have been fitted out in the United States for the recovery of Sir John Franklin and his companions.

The Leavenworth Herald, of the 10th instant, announcing the arrival of an express messenger from Utah, states that he passed Colonel Johnson's command near Fort Bridger. The baggage and provision trains were all safe, and the troops were in good spirits. This is the only news that transpired relative to the Utah expedition.

The Legislature of South Carolina is about to pass a bill limiting the circulation of their banks to three times the amount of their specie, and to prevent the issue of notes for less than ten dollars.

FLORIDA INDIANS.—A scouting party sent out to discover the Indians was fired on by a party in ambush, and Capt. Parkhill killed, several of his men were wounded. Three Indians were killed and their cornfields destroyed.

AN UNPASSABLE GULF.—The Mobile Register, the leading democratic paper of Alabama, says: "We fear there must henceforth exist an impassable gulf between the Southern people and the Illinois Senator. Undoubtedly such a gulf has been opened."

The Boston Advertiser says there are signs of an increasing activity in business; and if the restoration from the recent condition of stagnation is slow, it is likely to be sure.

At the time of the departure of the Canada from Europe, the Levisthat steamship had been moved still further down the launching ways, but the ship had still one hundred and seven feet to move before she would be aloft.

DOINGS OF CONGRESS.

The debate upon the Treasury Note bill was continued in the Senate on Saturday till a late hour, when the bill was passed. The Kansas question was under discussion in the same body on Monday and Tuesday, Mr. Bigler occupying most of the day on Monday in sustaining the administration side of the question, and Mr. Fitch on Tuesday, upon the same side. He was followed by Mr. Stewart on the Douglas side.

The debate has acquired a rather tart character. In the House the Treasury Note bill has been the only topic of discussion for several days, and has elicited many elaborate and ardent, if not eloquent speeches and interesting colloquies.

The Congressional Globe of yesterday contains about sixty columns of Congressional debate. AN OLD DOCUMENT. Col. Forney exhibits and presents to the public, the following very pertinent document. He says: "Upon the passage of the bill admitting her as a State, a protest was entered upon the journals of the Senate, protesting against its passage for three principal reasons, viz: "First, That it gave the sanction of law, and thus imparted validity to an unauthorized action by a portion of the inhabitants of California."

"Second, Without any legal census, or other evidence of their possessing the number of citizens necessary to authorize the representation they may claim."

"Third, Without any of those safeguards about the ballot-box, which can only be provided by law, and which are necessary to ascertain the true sense of the people."

"Fourth, As not having sufficient evidence of its (the Constitution) having the assent of a majority of the people for whom it was signed."

The protest was signed by Senator J. M. Mason, Virginia. A. P. Butler, South Carolina. H. L. Turley, Tennessee. Pierre Soule, Louisiana. Jeff Davis, Mississippi. D. K. Atchison, Missouri. D. L. Yulee, Florida. All Democrats.

"Kansas is now about to present herself and claim to be admitted into the Union as a State, under a Constitution made by a Convention not authorized by Congress, and elected by only a small portion of the people of Kansas—without any legal safeguards thrown around the ballot box—and not only without evidence of its having the assent of a majority of the people for whom it is designed, but with evidence that a majority of the people are decidedly opposed to it."

"What will Congress do now? "What will Mr. Davis, Mr. Yulee, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Hunter do now? "Nova Terrona."

From the New York Express. SUSTAINING THE ADMINISTRATION. One good turn deserves another. His Honor the Mayor went to Washington, a few days since, to get Mr. Buchanan to turn out District Attorney McKoon, in order to be revenged of him for voting and working for Mr. Tiemann. The President has been unwise enough to comply. Thereupon, His Honor the Mayor returns to Tammany Hall to get up a meeting in order to "sustain the President," and to read out of the church Senator Douglas, and all other "traitors" who refuse to be party to the outrage of thrusting the Leecompton Constitution down the throats of the people of Kansas, whether they like it or not.

As Mr. Buchanan appears to be rather green on New York city politics, it may be doing him a kindness to let him know who it is that have addressed themselves to the task of "sustaining his Kansas policy." The gentlemen who call for the Tammany meeting, then, are—Bryan McCabill, Patrick Coyle, Thos. W. McMahon, James Mahoney, John McClure, Dennis Root, Michael Ryan, Matthew T. Brennan, Michael Toney, Andrew McCarty—with some dozen other personages of similar position and influence.

L. W. POWELL has been nominated for the post of United States Senator, to succeed Hon. J. B. Thompson, of Kentucky. His competitors were Mr. Guthrie, Mr. Boyd, Mr. Preston, renegade Whip, and Mr. Hese, Mr. R. is said to be an affable, social, pleasant spoken gentleman whom everybody likes. The Frankfort Commonwealth says: "His warmest personal friends in this city are Americans. Although very far from being a Clay, a Crittenden, a Rowan, a Barry, or a Hardin, he is still superior in intellect, and in moral character to the generality of the Democratic politicians in the State."

THE WEEK.—We have had a glorious, bracing, busy week; every body has had his hands full; every body has had business who would work, and every body seems tolerably well satisfied. The city is crowded with people, and there is scarcely a house to let left. We don't know whether there is another city in the Union that now presents such a picture of life and thrift as this does. We certainly ought to be allowed to feel a little proud of our position and prospects as a business mart. The manner in which we have withstood the shock, will, if we know how to turn it to a good account, set us ahead a whole decade at a single bound.—N. O. Com. Bulletin.

MORE SLAVES CAPTURED.—Norfolk, December 21.—Arrived here to day the barque William G. Lewis, thirty five days from the coast of Africa. She was captured in the Congo River by the boat expedition under Lieuts. Walker and Cummings from the Sloop-of-War Dale, Captain McBlair. The brig "Windward," supposed to have been captured as a Slave, is to be here in a few days.

The British Steamer Eleonor seized the barque Clara E. Williams, and an American schooner, about the same time. There were many slaves on the African coast. Twelve had been taken since the Dale arrived out. The Dale was to leave for St. Helena soon. The officers and crew were well.

FOUR DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE. Arrival of the Adriatic. One week's later advices had been received from India. Gen. Havelock was still hemmed in at Lucknow. There had been severe fighting there, and General Outram was reported wounded. Sir Colin Campbell and staff had started for Cawnpore. The troops were also moving thither as quick as possible, and they would proceed to the relief of Lucknow as soon as in sufficient force. More troop ships had arrived out. ENGLAND.—Both houses of Parliament have unanimously voted a pension of £1,000 per year to Gen. Havelock. The Bank of England indemnity bill had been ordered to a third reading in the House of Commons.

The Bank of France had reduced its rates of discount another 1 per cent. The Corps Legislatif had adjourned to the 18th of January. The Spanish and Mexican difficulties are assuming a more pacific aspect. The lady who tried to run against the wind, fell down backwards.

GOVERNOR WALKER'S LETTER.

Unable to make room for the whole of this very important paper, we have made such extracts from it as will, in the main, exhibit Gov. W.'s views, and the reasons which have prompted his course both as Governor, and in resigning his office. His letter will be as generally read as the President's Message or Mr. Douglas' speech.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 18, 1857. Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of State.—"SIR: I resign the office of Governor of the Territory of Kansas. I have been most reluctantly forced to this conclusion, after anxious and careful consideration of my duty to my country, to the people of Kansas, to the President of the United States, and to myself.

"The grounds assumed by the President in his late message to Congress, and in recent instructions in connection with the events now transpiring here and in Kansas, admonish me that as Governor of that Territory it will no longer be in my power to preserve the peace or promote the public welfare."

"In the earnest solicitation of the President, after repeated refusals, the last being in writing, I finally accepted this office upon his letter showing the dangers and difficulties of the Kansas question, and the necessity of my undertaking the task of its adjustment. Under these circumstances, notwithstanding the great sacrifices to me, personal, political and pecuniary, I felt that I could no more refuse such a call from my country, through her Chief Magistrate, than a soldier in battle who is ordered to the command of a forlorn hope."

"I accepted, however, on the express condition that I should advocate the submission of the constitution to a vote of the people for ratification or rejection. These views were clearly understood by the President and all his Cabinet. They were distinctly set forth in my letter on my acceptance of this office, of the 26th of March last, and reiterated in my inaugural address of the 27th of May last, as follows:—'Indeed I cannot doubt that the Convention, after having framed a State constitution, will submit it for ratification or rejection by a majority of the then actual bona fide resident settlers of Kansas.'

"With these views, well known to the President and the Cabinet, and approved by them, I accepted the appointment of Governor of Kansas. My instructions from the President, through the Secretary of State, under date of the 30th of March last, sustain the regular Legislature of the Territory in assembling a Convention to form a constitution, and they express the opinion of the President that 'when such a constitution shall be submitted to the people of the Territory, they must be protected in the exercise of their right of voting for or against that instrument, and the fair expression of the popular will must not be interrupted by fraud or violence. I repeat, then, as my clear conviction that unless the Convention submit the constitution to the vote of all the actual resident settlers of Kansas, and the election be fairly and justly conducted, the constitution will be, and ought to be rejected by Congress.'

"In that inaugural I proceed further to say: 'The people may, by a subsequent vote, defeat the ratification of the constitution.' I designate this a 'great constitutional right,' and add 'that the Convention is the servant, and not the master of the people.' In my official despatch to you of the 23 June last, a copy of that inaugural address was transmitted to you for the further information of the President and his Cabinet. No exception was ever taken to any portion of that address; on the contrary, it was distinctly admitted by the President in his message, with commendable frankness, that my instructions in favor of a submission of the constitution to a vote of the people, were 'general and unqualified.' By that inaugural and a subsequent address I was pledged to the people of Kansas to oppose, by all lawful means, the adoption of any constitution which was not fairly and fully submitted to their vote for ratification or rejection. These pledges I cannot recall or violate without perpetrating a dishonor and the abandonment of fundamental principles; and, therefore, it is impossible for me to support what is called the Leecompton constitution, because it is not submitted to a vote of the people for ratification or rejection."

"It is only such Convention can be called sovereign as have been truly elected by the people, and represent their will. On reference, however, to my address of the 16th of September last, on the day qualification question, a copy of which was immediately transmitted to you for the information of the President and Cabinet, it is evident that the Leecompton Convention was not such a body. That Convention had vital—not technical—defects, in the very substance of its organization under the Territorial law, which could only be cured, in my judgment, as set forth in my inaugural and other addresses, by submission of the constitution for the ratification of the people. On reference to the Territorial law under which the Convention was assembled, thirty-four regularly organized counties were named as election districts for the purposes of the Convention. In each and all of the counties it was required by law that a census be taken and the voters registered, and when this was completed the delegates to the Convention should be apportioned accordingly. In nineteen of these counties there was no census, and therefore there could be no such appointment there of delegates upon such census. And in fifteen of these counties, there was no registry of voters. These fifteen counties, including many of the oldest organized counties in the Territory, were entirely disfranchised, and did not give (by no fault of their own,) could not give, a solitary vote to the delegates to the Convention. This result was superinduced by the fact that the Territorial Legislature appointed all the sheriffs and probate judges in all these counties, to whom was assigned the duty by law of making this census and registry. These officers were political partisans, dissenting from the views and opinions of the people of these counties, as was proved by the election of October last. These officers, from want of funds as they alleged, neglected or refused to take any census or make any registry in these counties, and therefore they were entirely disfranchised and could not and did not give a single vote at the election for delegates to the Constitutional Convention. And here I wish to call attention to a distinction which will appear in my inaugural address, in reference to those counties where the voters were fairly registered and did not vote. In such counties, where full and free opportunity was given to register and vote, and they did not choose to exercise such a privilege, the question is very different from those counties where there was no census or registry, and no vote was given, or could be given, however anxious the people might be to participate in the election of delegates to the Convention. Nor could it be said these counties acquiesced, for wherever they endeavored, by a subsequent census or registry of their own, to supply this defect occasioned by previous neglect of the Territorial officers, the delegates thus chosen were rejected by the Convention. I repeat, that in nineteen counties out of thirty-four, there was no census. In fifteen counties out of thirty-four

there was no registry, and not a solitary vote was given, or could be given for delegates to the Convention in any of these counties. Surely, then, it cannot be said that such a Convention, chosen by scarcely more than one-tenth of the present voters of Kansas, represented the people of that Territory, and could rightly impose a constitution upon them without their consent. These nineteen counties, in which there was no census, constituted a majority of the counties of the Territory; and these fifteen counties, in which there was no registry, gave a much larger vote at the October election, even with the six months qualification, than the whole vote given to the Leecompton constitution of the 17th of November last. If, then, sovereignty can be delegated, and the Convention, as such, are sovereign, which I deny, surely it must be only in such cases as when such conventions are chosen by the people, which have been seen not the case as regards the late Leecompton Convention. It was for this and other reasons that I may inaugurate and other addresses I indicated that my constitution should be submitted to the people by the Convention, as the only means of curing this vital defect in its organization."

"The power and responsibility being devolved exclusively upon me by the President of using the federal army in Kansas to suppress insurrection, the alternative was distinctly presented to me by questions propounded at Topeka, of arresting the revolution by the slaughter of the people, or of preventing it, together with that civil war which must have extended throughout the Union, by a solemn assurance then given, that the right of the people to frame their own government, so far as my power extended should be maintained. But for this assurance, it is conceded that the Topeka State government, then assembled in legislative session, would have been put into immediate actual operation, and that a sanguinary collision with the federal army and civil war must have ensued, extending it is feared throughout the Union."

"I state it as a fact based on a long and intimate association with the people of Kansas, that an overwhelming majority of that people are opposed to that instrument, and my letters state that but one out of twenty of the press of Kansas sustain it. Some oppose it because so many counties were disfranchised and unrepresented at the Convention; and some oppose to paper money, because it authorizes a bank of enormous capital for Kansas, nearly unlimited in its issues and in the denomination of its notes from one dollar up and down; some because of what they consider a Know-Nothing clause, by requiring that the Governor shall have been a citizen of the United States; some because the elective franchise is not free, as they cannot vote against the constitution but only on the single issue whether any more slaves may be imported, and then only upon the issue of voting for or against a constitution in which there are no provisions for the franchise and no provisions for the elective franchise and a perilous sporting with the sacred rights of the people; some oppose it because the constitution distinctly recognizes and adopts the Oxford fraud in apportioning legislative members for Johnson county upon the fraudulent and fictitious returns so falsely called from that precinct, which recognition of that fraud in the constitution is abhorrent to the moral sense of the people. Others oppose it because, although in other cases the president is authorized to issue writs of election to the regular Territorial or State officers, with the usual judges and with the established precincts, and on the adjudication of the returns—in this case unprecedented, and vice regal powers are given to the president of the convention to make the precincts, the judges, and to decide finally upon the returns. From the grants of these unusual and enormous powers, and from other reasons connected with the returns of Oxford and McGee, an overwhelming majority of Kansas have no faith in the validity of these returns, and therefore will not vote. Indeed, disguise it as we may to ourselves under the influence of the present excitement, the facts will demonstrate that any attempt by Congress to force this constitution upon the people of Kansas will be an effort to substitute the will of a small majority for that of an overwhelming majority, of the people of Kansas, that it will not settle the Kansas question or localize the evil—that it will, I fear, be attended by civil war, extending perhaps throughout the Union, thus bringing this question back again upon Congress and before the people in its most dangerous and alarming aspect."

THE FILLMORES.—The Galveston News of the 26th ultimo says there are now about seven hundred men enlisted in Texas as emigrants to Nicaragua. It further says: "Most of these will soon leave for Nicaragua, and the rest will follow with but little delay. Of course nothing has yet been heard from General Walker since he left, but news will be received from him by the 1st of December, and no doubt accounts will show him to be in possession of the ports and harbors of the Gulf. There is no force there to oppose him. General Henington is now in New York, doing all he can to aid the cause. Col. Waters is in Houston, and will leave with the first emigrants that start to join Walker. It will be known that Walker is now receiving the active co-operation of many of the most influential men in the South, and though the movement has been delayed by the recent financial embarrassments of the country, yet everything is now progressing most favorably. Col Rogers is in New Orleans, acting as Gen. Walker's principal agent there."

A LONG TIME TO WAIT.—In the middle of the fifteenth century the Count of Logrono was made prisoner by the Duke of Burgundy. He remained his life by the surrender of immense estates, conditioned, however, that they should not be sold, and that after four hundred years they should revert to the heirs of the Count. For this long time the estates have been enjoyed by the heirs of the Duke, and the ultimate rights of the heirs of the Count have been kept in view and recognized. The four hundred years have expired, and the arrangements have been made for the transfer of the property. The heirs of the Duke have offered to pay 20,000,000 francs for a clear title to the property.

We thought that with Judge Douglas and the Democratic party there ought to be at least a slight interval between dinners and dinners. We think so still, but if it shall appear that the Judge has drawn the dagger on the party with malice aforethought, why then upon them devolve the duty of slaying the "Little Giant," who was nurtured and raised up by their care. We yet hope, however, that they will not be called on to discharge a duty so disagreeable and painful. A few days must decide whether Judge Douglas is hereafter to occupy a prominent position in the Democratic party, or whether he has sought a convenient pretext for deserting to the standard of the enemy.—Richmond Examiner.

The Illinois Delegation at Washington. The very best authority from Washington informs us that Judge Marshall, from the Shawnee County District, will go with the Democratic party out and out; and that Messrs. Shaw and Morris will very probably do the same. But Messrs. Harris and Smith will both join the Douglas faction against the President. I repeat, that in nineteen counties out of thirty-four, there was no census. In fifteen counties out of thirty-four