

# NORTH CAROLINA ARGUS.

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**EXTRACT**  
**FROM THE SPEECH OF C. L. VALANDIGHAM OF**  
**OHIO, IN THE FEDERAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**  
**ON THE BILL TO BORROW \$250,000,000.**

N. At after the blockade, sir, in the catalogue of daring Executive usurpations, comes the proclamation of the 2d of May, and the orders of the War and Navy Departments in pursuance of it—a proclamation and usurpation which would have cost any English sovereign his head at any time within the last two hundred years. Sir, the Constitution not only confers to Congress the right to declare war, but expressly provides that "Congress (not the President,) shall have the power to raise and support armies; and to provide and equip a navy." In pursuance of this authority Congress, years ago, had fixed the number of officers, and of the regiments, of the different kinds, of service; and also the number of ships, officers, marines and seamen which should compose the Navy. Not only that, but Congress has repeatedly, within the last five years, refused to increase the regular Army. More than that still; in February and March last, the House, upon several test votes, repeatedly and expressly refused to authorize the President to accept the service of volunteers for the very purpose of protecting the public property, enforcing the laws and collecting the revenue.

And yet the President, of his own mere will and authority, and in violation of the Constitution, has proceeded to increase, and has increased, the standing army by 25,000 men; the navy by eighteen thousand, and has called for and accepted the services of forty regiments of volunteers for three years, numbering forty-two thousand men, and raising thus a grand array of military force, raised by executive proclamation alone, without sanction of Congress, without warrant of law, and in direct violation of the Constitution and of his oath of office, of eighty-five thousand soldiers enlisted for three and five years, and already in the field. And yet the President now asks us to support the Army which he has thus raised; to ratify his usurpations by a law *ex post facto*, and thus to make ourselves parties to our degradation, and to his infractions of the Constitution. Meanwhile, however, he has taken good care, not only to enlist the men, organize the regiments, and muster them into service, but to provide in advance for a lot of fortune, wornout, and broken down politicians of his own party, by appointing either by himself, or through the Governors of States, Major Generals, Brigadier Generals, Colonels, Lieutenants, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, Adjutants, Quartermasters, and Surgeons, without any limit as to numbers, and without so much as once saying to Congress—"By your leave gentlemen."

Beginning with this wide breach of the Constitution, this enormous usurpation of the most dangerous of all powers—the purse and the sword—other infractions and assumptions were easy; and after public liberty, private right soon fell. The privacy of the telegraph was invaded in the search after treason and traitors; although it turns out significantly enough, that the only victim, so far, is one of the appointees and especial pets of the Administration. The telegraphic dispatches, preserved under every pledge of secrecy for the protection and safety of the telegraph companies, were seized and carried away without search warrant, without probable cause, without oath, and without description of the places to be searched or of the things to be seized, and a plain violation of the right the people to be secure in their houses, persons, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures. One step more, sir, will bring upon us search and seizures of the public mails; and finally, as in the worst days of English oppression—as in the times of the Rascals and the Sydneys of English martyrdom—the drawers and Secretaries of the private citizen; though even the tyrants had the grace to look to the forms of the law, and the execution was judicial murder, and military slaughter. But who shall say that the future Tibertus of America shall have the modesty of his Roman predecessor, in extenuation of whose character it is written by the great historian *avertit oculos, justitiam excelebra non spectavit*.

Thus it is, sir, that here, in America, in the seventy-third year of the Republic, that great writ and security of personal freedom which cost the patriots and freedom of England six hundred years of labor and toil and blood to extend and to hold fast from venal judges and tyrant kings, written in the great Charter at Runnymede by the iron barons, who made the simple Latin and unsmooth words of the times *nullus liber homo*, in the language of Chatham, worth all the classics; recovered and confirmed a hundred times afterwards, as often as violated and stolen away, and finally and firmly secured at last by the great act of Charles II, and transferred thence to our own Constitution and laws, has been wantonly and ruthlessly trampled in the dust. Ay, sir, that great writ, bearing, by special command of Parliament, those other unsmooth but magic words, *per stratum tricessimo primo Caroli secundi regis* which no English judge, no English minister, no king or queen of England dare disobey, that writ brought over by our fathers, and cherished by them as a priceless inheritance of liberty, an American President has contemptuously set at naught. Nay more, he has ordered his subordinate military chiefs to suspend it at their discretion! And yet, after all this, he coolly comes before this House and the Senate and the country, and pleads that he is only preserving and protecting the Constitution; and demands the respects of this House and of the Senate and the country, their thanks for his usurpations of power; while outside of this Capitol, his myriads are clamoring for impeachment of the Chief Justice, as engaged in a conspiracy to break down the Federal Government.

Sir, I am obliged to pass by, for the want of time other grave and dangerous infractions and usurpations of the President since the first of April. I only allude casually to the quartering of soldiers in private houses without the consent of the owners, and without any manner having been prescribed by law; to the usurpation over the telegraph, and the infringement, repeatedly, in one or more of the States, of the right of the people to keep and bear arms for their defence. But it all these things, I ask, have been done in the first two months after the commencement of this war, and by men not military chiefs, and unused to a military power, what may we not expect to see done in three years, and by the successful heroes of the fight, for the power and rights of the States and the people,

only and wickedly stricken down; free speech, too, has been repeatedly denied; and all this under the plea of necessity.

Sir, the right of petition will follow next—may it has already been shaken; and the freedom of the press will soon fall after it; and let me whisper in your ear, there will be few to mourn or grieve, unless, indeed, its ancient high and honorable character shall be rescued and redeemed from its present reckless mendacity and degradation. Freedom of religion will yield, too, at last, amid the exultant shouts of millions, who have seen its holy temples defiled and its white robes of a former language trampled now under the polluting hoofs of an ambitious and faithless or fanatical clergy. Momentaneous national banks, bankrupt laws, a vast and permanent public debt, high tariffs, heavy direct taxation, enormous expenditure, gigantic and stuporous speculation, anarchy first and a strong government afterwards, no more State lines, no more State governments, and a consolidated monarchy or vast centralized military despotism, must all follow in the history of the future, as in the history of the past they have, centuries ago, been forgotten. Sir, I have said nothing, and have time to say nothing now, of the immense indebtedness and the vast expenditures which have already accrued, nor of the folly and mismanagement of the war so far, nor of the atrocious and shameless speculations and frauds which have disgraced it in the State Governments and the Federal Government from the beginning. The avenging hour for all these will come hereafter, and I pass them by now.

The Congress of the United States meets here again to-day; but how changed the scene. Instead of thirty-four States, twenty-three only, one less than the number forty years ago, are here or in the other wing of the Capitol. Forty-six Senators and one hundred and seventy-three Representatives constitute the Congress of the now United States. And of these, eight Senators and twenty-four Representatives, from four States only, linger here yet as deputies from that great South which, from the beginning of the Government, contributed so much to mould its policy, to bid up its greatness, and to control its destinies. All the other States of the South are gone. Twenty-two Senators and sixty-five Representatives no longer answer to their names. The vacant seats are, indeed, still here, and the echoes of their respective States look down now solemnly and sadly from vaulted ceilings. But the Virginia of Washington, and Henry, and Madison, of Marshall and Jefferson, of Randolph and Monroe, the birth place of Clay, the mother of States and of Presidents; the Carolinas of Pinckney and Sumter, and Marion, of Calhoun and Moultrie; and Tennessee, the home and burial place of Jackson; and other States, too, once most loyal and true, are no longer here. The voices and the footsteps of the great dead and of the past two ages of the Republic, linger still, it may be in echo, along the stately corridors of this Capitol; but their descendants from nearly one-half of the States of the Republic will meet with us no more within these marble halls. But in the parks and lawns, and upon the broad avenues of this spacious city, seventy thousand soldiers have supplanted their places; and the morning drumbeat from a score of encampments within sight of this beleaguered Capitol, give melancholy warning to the representative of the State and of the people, that *amid arms laws are silent*.

Sir, some years hence, I would have hope some mouths hence, if I dare, the present generation will demand to know the cause of all this; and some ages hence, the grand and imperial tribunal of history will make solemn and diligent inquest of the authors of this terrible revolution.

**THE BLOCKADE OF SOUTHERN PORTS—ITS EFFICIENCY.**—The New Orleans Delta publishes a list of names of all vessels that have run the Lincoln blockade, either for entry into or departure from Confederate ports. During the period of time between the 26th of May, 1861, and January 6th, 1862, the total number of vessels that have left Confederate ports for Cuban harbors is fifty, as follows: Spanish, 4; Mexican, 2; American, 4; British, 26; Confederate, 14; Total, 50.

During the same period, the number of vessels run into our ports was forty-eight, as follows: Spanish, 2; Mexican, 1; American, 2; British, 41; Confederate, 2. Total, 48. Of these forty-eight vessels twenty-three were schooners, loaded with coffee. There was also one steamer loaded with the same article.

A printer out in Arkansas, whose office is ten miles from any other building, and who hangs his sign on a limb of a tree, advertises for an apprentice. He says: "A boy from the country preferred."

**THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY.**—An anecdote is related by Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, to this effect:

A couple came to join them in wedlock. I consented to perform the ceremony; and said to the man:

"Do you take this woman to be your wedded wife?"

"Certainly," he replied.

"Do you take this man to be your lawful husband?"

"Yes I do."

"Then you are man and wife—that's all."

Both looked with great astonishment, and the lady asked:

"Is that all?"

At a camp meeting a number of ladies continued standing on the benches notwithstanding frequent hints of the minister to sit down, a reverend old gentleman, noted for his good humor, arose and said:

"I think if those ladies standing on the benches knew they had holes in their stockings they would sit down!"

This address had the desired effect. There was an immediate sinking into the seats. A young minister standing near him, and blushing to the temples said:

"O, brother, how can you say that?"

"Say that?" said the old gentleman; "It's a fact—if they hadn't holes in their stockings I'd like to know how they get them on!"

**THE POSITION AT COLUMBUS.**  
 The Memphis Appeal of Wednesday, says: We have the rumor in such a form as to give it credit, that an order had been issued by General Polk for the evacuation of Columbus, which movement is understood to be executed under the direction of Gen. Beauregard. It is stated, accordingly, that preparations are being made for our army to fall back to Island No. 10 or Fort Pillow—a very necessary move, it seems to us, in view of the capture of Fort Donelson, and the surrender of Nashville. As General Polk made a call two or three days since upon the planters along the Mississippi river for a thousand negroes, for the purpose of completing and strengthening the fortifications at Island No. 10, we were not unprepared for this intelligence. Indeed, it has long since been perfectly palpable to us that Columbus must eventually be evacuated, and our lines drawn in, so soon as the central column of our army under General Johnston at Bowling Green gave way, or Forts Henry or Donelson fell into the enemy's hands. The capture of these positions was tantamount to a successful flanking of both Bowling Green and Columbus, and hence it required no experienced military man to foretell of its more immediate consequences. These reasons strengthened our conviction of the authenticity of the rumor.

Island No. 10, is a strong position not far from Hickman, Ky, about forty-five miles below Columbus, and 115 above Fort Pillow, and 185 above Memphis. It completely commands the Mississippi river for miles above, and can be so fortified with heavy guns as to be made impregnable against any river attack. As it is demonstrated at Forts Henry and Donelson that the Federal gunboats are not invulnerable to rifled cannon and heavy columbiads, the position is well chosen, and with the aid of a good land force, can be maintained against the approach of Foote's flotilla.

If it be true that Columbus is to be evacuated, it will require, we presume, several days for the execution of the order, as care should be taken that none of our munitions or ordnance are left behind.

Gen. Beauregard now no doubt directs all military operations in this department—a fact which insures success in everything possible to be attained by energy, skill and experience.

**ARRESTED.**—Two men were brought as prisoners to this city on Monday on a charge of having piloted the Yankees to Roanoke Island. They were arrested on board of a schooner a short distance from Plymouth. They were committed to jail.—*Raleigh Register*.

"The Rebels left nothing at Bowling Green except a few old wagons." Such is the admission of the enemy according to the reports through the Northern papers.

Gen. Huger, commander of our forces at Norfolk, has issued a general order directing that all "bars, drinking shops, or other places where liquor is retained, be immediately closed." If Gen. H never done a good deed before, he certainly deserves, and will receive, the gratitude of his country for this one act. Something of the same sort, we fear, will have to be resorted to in other places besides Norfolk.

**J. A. Liles**  
 EARNESTLY REQUESTS ALL PERSONS IN