

result, or if with result, the result of rendering the system of impressment more rigid and severe. If this apathy and sullen despair have taken possession of our people, let the voice of this Legislature go forth like the blast of a trumpet to arouse and reassure them. Let it be to them what the example of Hampden was to the thousands of true Englishmen who had submitted to the ship money tax—a point for them to rally around! Hampden did not inquire whether he would offend the menials of royal power about the year 1630; if there be such fear in North Carolina in 1864, having for its object the subordinates of the Confederate government, let us do what we may for its dissipation. Civil liberty is no weed springing spontaneously from the soil in favored regions. Its bright, consummate flower is the result of many ages of attention and skill. If it be not cultivated it will surely degenerate, and come to nothing. Upon any appearance of its decay in North Carolina, it becomes us, who are in great measure its custodians here, at least to tend and water that fair plant whose beauty has been derived from the care and wisdom of those who have preceded us.

If, however, it be accepted that the citizen has no remedy in the process of the Courts, the remedy which this Legislature can give by a firm protest, to be followed, if disregarded, by such action as will enforce obedience to its wishes, is all that is left to our constituents. I have already said that the Confederate government has published record evidence that it pays little attention to the complaints of the citizens upon this topic. We will not refer them to that again. We will speak our own mind upon the subject, and we will take care that it shall be respected. North Carolina's wisdom in all matters pertaining to this war has been too well ascertained for any solemn words of hers to fall unheeded upon the "understanding and conscience" of the government. She has proved herself to be wise in council, and resolute in the field. What she says in behalf of the rights of her people will be heeded.

There is another topic in connection with this general question which deserves a notice. Some days ago this House was startled by the announcement of the Public Treasurer that he would require some \$9,000,000 to defray the expenses of the current year. The idea of imposing a tax upon the people fourfold greater than that of last year, was frightful. It was well calculated to amaze legislators accustomed to the arithmetic of former years. Yet we see in the instance before us, the Confederate government snatching from the people in one article an amount greater than that, the thought of which had thrown us into such confusion. And when we consider the amount of other property thus seized, we may well remonstrate at the serious diminution which has been occasioned in the means of the people to support their State government. This very action of the Confederate States goes far to increase the discredit of the securities of the State. If the Confederate government had paid a "just compensation" only to the owners of horses and mules for so much of that property as it has impressed, there would have been more than a sufficiency of additional means among us to pay the deficits upon the State treasury during the next year.

I shall detain the House very briefly in discussing the merits of the other resolutions which I have introduced. While indignant upon this subject of impressment, I thought it a proper occasion for the State to show itself not unobservant of, and not satisfied with the general course of legislation in Congress upon other matters connected with our liberty. Among these I would specify particularly the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*; the cry for details, instead of exemptions; and the scheme of placing armed slaves in our army. It may be said that the Confederate States ought not to be censured in the two latter respects, as it has not yet adopted either policy. I submit that we will not act prematurely in censuring projects which have already received the approbation, at least contingent and qualified, of the head of the government. I understand that large armies frequently make their advances upon the position of the enemy by degrees. One corps moves forward and takes its position, and then another makes a corresponding movement, and the movement of the whole is an aggregate of the movements of each department. It seems enough to us to detect a movement against our rights by one part of the government. That is the proper time for objection and opposition, in its direction and character of the movement; and judging by our past experience in other departments of the go-

vernment becoming gradually educated to the President's standard, it appears correct enough even now to stigmatize the steps taken by him as inchoate steps of the administration.

There are other acts of the Confederate government to which reference is made in this resolution. Of all such acts, whether specified here or not, I submit to this House that such is our sense, that, having been always free ourselves—having sprung from free generations in other lands, and from generations whose freedom North Carolina has nurtured during a century upon this soil—we reflect upon them with profound agitation!

The third resolution utters a truth which is apparent to every one. It is not only in regard to impressments, but it is in many other respects, that the experiments of the Confederate government upon the temper of North Carolina have increased, and are increasing! The apprehensions of all thinking men are thoroughly aroused upon this subject. If such experiments have increased and are increasing, then most assuredly they ought to be diminished, and indeed come speedily to a full end.

It has always been my desire that the government of the Confederate States should enjoy liberally every power that is expressly or impliedly vested in it by the Constitution, especially in this time of pressing war. I have endeavored to make my private and public conduct and counsel conform to this standard; but I cannot believe that it is to the advantage of rulers or people that it should be indulged in non-constitutional and oppressive courses of action. If the Southern white man cannot obtain independence in the employment of constitutional methods of vindicating that independence, it is because Heaven has denied to him the boon.

[In reply to Mr. Shepherd, who had remarked upon the application of the words *rob and oppress* to the action of the Confederate States in reference to impressments; and who had protested against the general tone of the Resolutions and the foregoing speech, on the ground that Mr. Davis is our President and the Confederate States our government, Mr. Phillips said:]

Mr. Speaker: If the action of the Confederate States has produced the result which I have attributed to it; and if that action has been repeated and deliberate, then it involves necessarily the very idea contained in the words which I have used. I have no hesitation in repeating that any such unconstitutional action of the government in seizing private property, as has been described, is most grievous oppression and robbery; and I can entertain no scruples about dealing with such action with gloves off! It is no time to mince words.

I admit that Mr. Davis is my President, and that the Confederate States is my government; and that is precisely my reason for speaking of them, and for wishing the Legislature to address them in terms of rebuke. I have no interest in discussing the conduct of the Czar of Russia, or of the President of the United States. The reason given by the gentleman from Cumberland for excepting the Confederate States, is precisely the reason I would assign for including it. How should we be interested in the domestic concerns of a government that is not ours? I should regard it as a poor excuse from a servant whom I should have occasion to reprove, if he were to offer, as a reason for excusing him, the fact of his being my servant! I cannot comprehend the pertinency of the objection. No doubt North Carolina voted for Mr. Davis, and assisted to elect him; and it is for that reason that she regards him as responsible to her for his conduct, and will hold him to that responsibility.

Few things appear so beautiful as a young child in its shroud. The little innocent face looks so sublimely simple and confident amidst the cold terrors of death. Fearless, that little mortal has passed alone under the shadow. There is death in its sublime and purest image. No hatred, no hypocrisy, no suspicion, no care for the morrow ever darken that little face. Death has come lovingly upon it; there is nothing cruel or harsh in its victory. The yearning of love, indeed, cannot be satisfied; for the prattle and smile—all the little world of thoughts that were so delightful are gone forever. Awe, too, will overcast us in its presence for the lonely voyager; for the child has gone, simple and trusting, into the presence of an all-wise Father, and of such, we know, is the kingdom of Heaven.

The Rev. Neill McKay of Fayetteville Presbytery has been commissioned as a Missionary to the trans-Mississippi army, and is now on his way to the field of his future labors. He expects to remain beyond the Mississippi till the war is over.

N. C. Presbyterian.

## Hillsborough Recorder.

HILLSBOROUGH, N. C.

Wednesday, December 21, 1864.

Next week being Christmas week, our workman will be absent on a visit home; there will therefore be no paper issued from this office until the week following.

### To the Patrons of the Recorder.

In assuming the duties of Editor and Proprietor of the Recorder, I should, in accordance with an established custom, make known to the subscribers the plan upon which it will be conducted, and the principles advocated therein. I shall endeavor to make it a good Family Paper combining a reasonable amount of carefully selected literary matter with the latest news of the day.

In regard to the principles advocated, it will be purely Conservative, giving a proper and firm support to the lawful authorities, but reserving the right to criticize their public acts whenever occasion may arise.

J. M. TURRENTINE.

### To our Subscribers.

In consequence of failing health and the pressure of the times, I have found it necessary to enter into a new arrangement for the publication of the Recorder. To insure its regular appearance, I have made a lease to Mr. James M. Turrentine for the coming year, who assumes the position of editor and publisher. My interest in the establishment is not thereby diminished, nor will my care over it be lessened, as I am employed to superintend the paper under the advice of Mr. Turrentine; but I shall be relieved from most of the labor and anxiety connected with the business, which seems to be necessary in my present state of health, while I shall continue to receive all the profits. I hope that renewed health and an improved state of affairs, will enable me to resume my original position at the end of the year. DENNIS HEARTT.

Congress.—Very little of general interest has occurred in either House in open session. We call the following from the proceedings of Tuesday:

In the Senate, Mr. Graham offered a resolution instructing the Secretary of the Treasury to inform the Senate what disposition has been made of the machinery, implements, &c., of the Mint and Assay Office at Charlotte, N. C., and whether, in his opinion, the work of coining and assaying gold and silver may not be resumed thereat without further delay; which was agreed to.

The bill for the employment of free negroes and slaves to work upon fortifications, &c., passed the Senate, after several amendments, among which was the following by Mr. Graham: That all slaves impressed as heretofore provided, shall be held to labor and service as aforesaid for a time not more than twelve months at any one time, except with the consent of the owner.

The Hon. Talmon P. Chase, late Secretary of the Treasury, has been appointed Chief Justice of the United States, to succeed Chief Justice Taney, deceased. And the Hon. Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, has been appointed Attorney General, in place of Mr. Bates, resigned.

Lord Lyons, it is said, has gone to Europe, and will not return for some time, perhaps not at all.

A respectable portion of our subscribers have been punctual payers from the beginning; another portion though not so punctual, have made good their payments in the end. To both of these classes we tender our sincere thanks. But a considerable number are new subscribers who paid for six months or a year, and the periods for which they paid, some of them have expired and others about expiring, and as we have been compelled to advance considerably the price of the Recorder, it seems proper that a new engagement should be made. Those in arrears are requested to make immediate payment, and those desiring to do so to renew their subscription. After the first of January next we must adopt the cash system, as all our contemporaries have done, and discontinue the paper when the time paid for has expired.

### FROM MISSISSIPPI.

The telegraph this morning informs us, (says the Montgomery Mail of Friday, Dec. 24,) of the progress of the raid of the Yankees from Baton Rouge to Tangipahos, on their way through the State of Mississippi. The expedition is commanded by one Gen. Davidson, and its force is said to be five thousand cavalry and twelve pieces of artillery, with ninety-six loaded wagons and eight pontoons. They are thought to be moving in the direction of Franklin, La., on the direct route to Pearl river, and destined, as they declare, for Mobile. No doubt they will attempt to reach the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. To meet and repel this invasion, Gov. Clark has called out the militia of the southern portion of Mis-

issippi under fifty years of age. He wishes them to move instantly and report at Brandon and Summit, bringing all the arms they can get.

### THE MILITARY EXEMPTION BILL.

The following bill was reported by Mr. Miles, of S. C., from the Military Committee, to the House of Representatives, on Saturday last:

*A Bill to Amend an Act Entitled "An Act to Organize Forces to Serve During the War."*

The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That the tenth and eleventh sections of "an act to organize forces to serve during the war," approved 17th February, 1864, be, and the same are hereby repealed, and in lieu thereof, there shall be inserted the following, to wit:

Sec. 10. That all laws granting exemptions from military service be, and the same are hereby repealed, and hereafter none shall be exempted except the following:

I. All who shall be held unfit for military service, under rules to be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

II. The Vice-President of the Confederate States; the members and officers of Congress and of the several State Legislatures, and such other Confederate and State officers as the President or the laws of the respective States may declare to be necessary for the proper administration of the Confederate or State governments, as the case may be.

III. Every minister of religion in the regular discharge of his ministerial duties who, on the seven-tenth day of February, eighteen hundred and sixty-four, had according to the rules and usages of the denomination to which he belonged, the pastoral care of a religious congregation; but no minister of religion shall be exempted under this act who has, at any time during the war, engaged, or who shall hereafter engage, in buying and selling for profit; superintendents and physicians of asylums for the deaf, dumb and blind, and of the insane, and nurses in asylums for the insane; one editor for each newspaper being published at the time of the passage of this act, and such practical printers and pressmen as said editor may certify on oath to be indispensable to the publication of such newspaper; the public printer of the Confederate and State governments, and such journeyman printers as the said public printer shall certify on oath to be indispensable to perform the public printing; one skilled apothecary in each apothecary store, who was doing business as such apothecary on the tenth day of October, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and has continued said business without intermission since that period; skilled pharmacists engaged in the manufacture of drugs and medicines to the value of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars per annum, for the use of the government or the public; provided that not more than two persons shall be exempted for any one establishment; all physicians who are, and were for the ten years next preceding the seventeenth day of February, eighteen hundred and sixty-four, in the regular practice of their profession, and who shall not, at any time, engage in buying and selling for profit; but the term physician shall not include dentists; provided, that no physician shall be exempted under this act unless he shall, within sixty days after the passage thereof, file with the enrolling officer of his district, or the Secretary of War, or general commanding the trans-Mississippi department, a statement in writing that he will practice his profession for Confederate currency, at prices to be fixed by the Board of Commissioners for the State under the impressment act, and it is hereby made the duty of the commissioners under the impressment act to fix the fees of practicing physicians in their respective States, and publish the same in their several schedule of prices; all presidents and teachers of colleges, theological seminaries, and military academies, who have been regularly engaged as such for two years next before the passage of this act; provided, that the benefit of this exemption shall extend to those presidents and teachers only whose colleges, theological seminaries, and military academies are composed of twenty students or more; all superintendents of public hospitals established by law before the eleventh day of October, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and such physicians therein as such superintendent shall certify, on oath, to be indispensable to the proper and efficient management thereof.

IV. The president, treasurer, auditor and superintendent of any railroad company engaged in transportation for the government, and such conductors, engineers and skilled artisans, and also such other employees, over 45 years of age, as the president or superintendent shall certify, on oath, to be indispensable to the efficient