

BY GEO. MILLS JOY:

North Carolina Times.

Liberty and Union—Now and Forever—One and Inseparable.

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Impressments—The Prospect.

Agents of the Commissary Department are serving notices on all the producers of Wayne, Johnston and Franklin, claiming all the surplus meat they may have, and forbidding them to dispose of any to citizens. The army ought to be fed and must be fed, but are the people at home to starve? If all the surplus meat in the country be taken, how are the non-producers—those engaged in other employments than that of farming—to live?

We have men enough for the army, and for the production of supplies for both army and people, and had a little common sense been employed in the management of the war, there would have been no want of men or supplies, but the imbecility, profligacy, recklessness and corruption that holds high carnival at Richmond, and has permeated all the ramifications of the government, bids fair to starve our people and wreck the cause. We are told by the minions of power that we are too gloomy and despondent. We are neither, but we cannot shut our eyes to events, and have never been indoctrinated in that code of morals that makes falsehood and deception a virtue, and honesty and fair dealing a vice. Our condition is desperate, and growing worse every day, and without a change of rulers or management of some kind, the end is not far off. Our people have given liberally of men, blood and treasure—have risked their all and themselves to support the cause and hold up the hands of those who pretend to administer the affairs of government—but their means have been squandered and usurpers have made their insidious approaches until we have neither rights of person or property left.

We are told by those who are drunk with passion and prejudice, that "all's well"—that there is a silver lining to the cloud, and that the morning star shines brightly ahead. This may be all so, but we know at the same time that one-half or more of the families of this Christian city are without meat, and many of them without bread, and that if all the "surplus" in this and the adjoining counties be "pressed" and carried off, they must starve. The masses of the people were seduced into this war by fraud and falsehood, and now the leaders who helped the abolition fanatics bring it on, would expend the last dollar, and slay the last man rather than have a day of reckoning, but we tell them the reckoning must come. If the revolution fails, (which God forbid,) the fault will not be with the people, who have surrendered everything, but the rulers whose shortsighted policy have squandered and misapplied what has been so freely and cheerfully given. What we want, and what we must have, if the cause is not to be wrecked, is wisdom, sagacity and firmness in council. Our armies are brave enough, and if properly managed, strong enough, but the running sore, the eating cancer, is at Richmond.

From the Richmond Examiner.

The astounding propositions which have signaled the first days of this present session, for placing the entire population of the Confederate States in the field, leaving no producers of food to feed the enormous army so raised, and no tax-payers to find the money to furnish it, have created a considerable sensation. A feeling of despondency has been produced by them among reflective observers; not by the prospect of the universal cessation of national life and organization, which the realization of those wild projects would certainly cause—for no one ran fail to see that there is no danger of realizing a patent impossibility;—but by the singular want of discernment which they indicate. It is difficult to believe that many members of the Congress really intend the establishment of a dictatorship in this country, still less to make Mr. Davis dictator. Yet it requires but little reflection to perceive that such a law lately suggested in his message, a suggestion which members of Congress have taken in trust from it, is nothing more nor less than that.

An entire nation cannot remain in the field more than twenty-four hours, under the penalty of death, by starvation. A law requiring the whole population to take up arms and go into camp is a nullity. Few will dispute the remark, and the President blandly proposed that the power and discretion should be given him to "detail" such persons as he pleased to continue the pursuits of civil life. The relative numbers of those in the army and those out of it, might not be changed by a law of universal enrollment if accompanied by this provision. The sole difference between the present and prospective condition of the military force and nation, would be the change of "details" for "exempts." One of these words designates persons who continue the work that must be done in war and peace, under the authority of a law; the other, those who go about their business because of the favour of the President and his office-holders, great and small. This is a proposition to give them des-

potic control over every individual in this country, and to destroy every check upon their will. The parasites of power are pleased with it. There exists a small faction in this country who have long clamoured for this measure, because they expect power, profit and revenge from it. But it is impossible to believe that those who have echoed this cry in some of the resolutions offered in Congress, intended to do so. A resolution of enquiry, fortunately, is not a law, and when the force of the measures suggested in the first has been examined, as it must be before it is fixed in the last, there will be little danger that Congress will stultify itself or sacrifice the cause by such insane steps as are now feared by many.

The motive of those who have given a quasi sanction to these projects is easily understood. The Confederate army sorely needs replenishing. But some means of effecting that purpose must be found which is not at once a folly and a crime. The present army is created by conscription. If the actual conscription law does not furnish a sufficient number of men, the natural and rational means of remedying the defect is to enlarge the sphere of its action, by increasing the age of conscripts, and diminishing where it can be done with safety, the exempted class.

But is it true, that the actual law does not affect the desired number of men, having the youth and occupying the relations in life which require them, if anybody, to do military duty? It is quite notorious—it is not denied by any one person whatever—that the law, though badly enforced, has really furnished the army with a number of men double that which its ranks have at any time contained. Where are they?—The reply is that they have "absented" themselves—deserted—or been allowed to go home on some excuse and never returned. Why does such a state of things exist? The answer was unconsciously given by a local reporter the other day, who concluded his list of "City Intelligence" with this paragraph: "No Execution.—The military executions ordered to take place at Camp Lee, yesterday, were postponed on account of the respite or reprieve of the condemned."

The reader will remember (if he can) how often he has seen a similar announcement since the army was organized. When deserters are caught they are generally tried by a court-martial. The penalty fixed by law to that crime is death; sentence is passed and execution arranged. But the inevitable sequel is contained in the stereotyped phrases of the local reporter. Hence we have in practice laws without penalties; that is to say, neither law nor justice. Hence, too, the army is a sieve. Conscription does not fill it; a levy in mass will fill it less, for the greater the volume of water, the swifter is the current through the holes of a sieve. An increase of the army is necessary.—Without it we perish. But nothing will increase it while justice has no minister. The canker of the modern man is the loss of that vigour of rectitude which "executes judgment" and inflicts punishment. A snivelling compound of selfish vanity and nervous sensibility, which the weak mistake for mercy, has usurped the place of the monarch of the soul; justice; the conception of law and penalty, the sentiment of the right. Interference against all innocent persons in favor of one guilty man, is flattered with the title of benevolence, instead of being abhorred as the vilest of crimes, and the worst of treasons.

The Richmond Examiner of the 27th November, 1863, has the following in its leading editorial upon Lieutenant General Longstreet and his Knoxville and Suffolk campaign, which are pronounced as parallel failures. The liberal admissions by the rebel press at the time and now respecting the Suffolk operations, are highly creditable to the command of Major General Peck, and ought to satisfy those who sought to understand that campaign:

"Perhaps the result might have been different if Longstreet and his corps of the Virginia army had been in line. His operations in East Tennessee afford little compensation for the reverse at Chattanooga. nor have the late bare and scanty news from that quarter sustained the high hope which the public justly based on the first intelli-

gence briskly forwarded by General Bragg. His telegram declared that Longstreet's cavalry had pursued the enemy into Knoxville, that the infantry was 'close up'; and it was natural to suppose that the next news would be that of Knoxville's recapture. But the next news from Longstreet contained a mention of entrenching, which suggested disagreeable reminiscences of Suffolk. Since then, little or nothing has been heard from Longstreet, unless we are to receive the 'unofficial' story of the telegraph this morning to be trustworthy. Of that it may be so! His pressure on Burnside has, undoubtedly, quickened Grant's attack on Eragg; while the absence of his whole corps from the Confederate line at the time of Sherman's arrival in the Federal host has given the enemy a great opportunity. It was during the parallel campaign of Longstreet against Suffolk that Hooker made his coup at Chancellorsville; but he found there Jackson, while Grant had to do with Bragg alone."

Liberty and Law.

What are we fighting for? Not for the sake of fighting—not for any man or set of men, but for liberty and law. There can be no civil liberty without civil law. Military law may be endured in camps during war, but outside the camps it should never be felt. It is a principle as old as English liberty that no man shall be imprisoned without due process of law. Our Courts have thus far maintained this great principle, and we trust they will continue to do so.

We have heard of recent infringements of personal liberty in this State by order of military officers, which will doubtless receive the attention of the General Assembly; and also of military interference with the freedom of suffrage, which cannot be overlooked by the General Assembly if we expect to retain even the forms of freedom. We learn, for example, that a test oath was required of certain citizens of Bertie County, at the late election, and that the action of the inspectors on this subject was sustained by some Georgia troops at the point of the bayonet. It is expressly provided by the Statute Law of this State that it shall not be lawful to assemble armed men on the day of election, at any place appointed by law to hold elections for electors, governor, members of Congress, or members of the General Assembly, under the penalty of one thousand dollars, to be recovered of any person who shall call such muster, or assemble such armed men, and applied one half to the use of the informer, and the other half to the use of the State. Yet armed men were assembled in Bertie, and some of the citizens of that County were arrested and held in custody by the military. We learn also that the military terrorism which prevailed in some of our Western Counties prevented numbers of citizens from voting.

A Confederate Colonel, a few weeks since, arrested one of the best and worthiest citizens of Wilkesborough, and put him in the guard-house on the vague charge that a soldier had told him, the Colonel, that a deserter had told him, the soldier, that he, the deserter, could get as much powder as he wanted at the store of the citizen arrested!—and further, that the citizen referred to had been active in the peace or so-called Union meetings! He was thus imprisoned on suspicion, and because he had attended and taken part in a public meeting, composed of loyal citizens.

We have also heard that another military officer boasted, when he had reached that part of the State, that if Chief Justice Parsons executed any writs of *habeas corpus* in relation to those under his command, he would have to do so over his bayonets; but the Chief Justice did execute writs of the kind, and the officer had the good sense, on reflection, to respect the action of the Chief Justice.

These acts, and many others that might be mentioned, have been committed in contempt and derogation of the Constitution and the laws of this State; and it is for the legislature to vindicate and uphold the that Constitution and those laws. The judicial branch of the State government must be sustained at all hazards. It is the last great breakwater against the inflowing tide of innovation and aggression. Here, at the very outpost, the strides of military power must be met and resisted. Our people have a right to assemble together to consult for the common good; and "no freeman ought to be taken, imprisoned, or disseized, of his freehold, liberties or privileges, or outlawed or exiled, or in any manner deprived of his life, liberty or property, but by the law of the land." We trust the Legislature will maintain these rights at all hazards, and sustain the courts in their decisions. In the language of Governor Graham, in his speech in the Convention, "our people are resolved to be independent and free, not only in the end but in the means, they are resolved, not only to be freemen at the termination of the contest, but will not surrender their liberties during its progress." This is of the essence of Conservatism.

We repeat, the civil law must be maintained. We must preserve liberty among ourselves while contending for it against our enemies; for if it should be lost in the struggle, and unbridled military power should take its place, in vain will be all our struggles, sacrifices, and privations in this revolution.

The Kentucky House of Representatives has passed resolutions that the State of Kentucky will assume the payment of losses incurred by Union men from Union soldiers, and look to the general government for reimbursement. It will pass the Senate.

AN EVENT AT CHATTANOOGA.

—B. T. furnishes the following interesting story of the battle of Chattanooga to a Chicago paper: At one point there was a lull in the battle—at least it had gone shattering and thundering down the line, and the boys were as much 'at ease' as boys can be upon whom, at any moment, the storm may roll back again. To be sure occasional shots and now and then a cometary shell kept them alive; but one of the boys ran down to a little spring, and toward the woods where the enemy lay, for water. He had just stooped and swung down his canteen, when 'tick,' a rifle ball struck it at an angle and bounded away.

He looked around an instant, discovered nobody, thought it was a chance shot—a piece of lead, you know, that goes at a killing rate without malice preposse; and so, nowise in form of purpose, he again bent to get the water. Ping! a second bullet cut the cord of his canteen, and the boy 'got the idea'; a sharpshooter was after him, and he went to the right-about and the double-quick to the ranks. A soldier from another part of the line made a pilgrimage to the spring, was struck, and fell by its brink. But where was the marksman?—'I wo or three boys ran out to draw his fire, while others watched. Crack went the unseen piece again, and some keen-eyed fellow spied a smoke rolling out from a little cedar. This was the spot, then; the rebel had made him a hawk's nest—in choice Indian, Chattanooga in the tree—and drawing the green covert close around him, was taking a quiet hand at 'steep-shooting' at long range.

A big, blue-eyed German, tall enough to look into the third generation, and a sharpshooter withal, volunteered to dislodge him. Dropping into a little runway that veared the tree diagonally, he turned upon his back, and worked himself cautiously along; reached a point perilously close, he whipped over, took aim as he lay, and God and his true right hand 'gave him good deliverance.'—A way flew the bullet, an instant elapsed; the volume of the cedar parted, and, 'like a big frog,' as the boys described it, out leaped a grayback, the hawk's nest was empty, and a dead rebel lay under the tree. It was neatly done by the German man-grow.—May he live to tell the story a thousand times to his moon-faced grandchildren!

A HORSE FOND OF MISCHIEF.

—A gentleman some years ago, speaking of the habits of animals, gave the following curious account: 'There is,' he said, 'a very fine horse in the possession of Sir Henry Meux & Co., the eminent brewers, which is used as a dray horse, but is so tractable that he is left sometimes without any restraint to walk about the yard, and return to his stable, according to his fancy. In the yard there are also a few pigs of a peculiar breed, fed on grains and corn, and to these pigs the horse has evidently an insuperable objection, which is illustrated by the following fact: There is a deep trough in the yard, holding water for the horses where this horse goes alone with his mouth full of corn, which he saves from his supply. When he reaches the trough, he lets the corn fall near it on the ground, and when the young swine approach to eat it, (for the old ones keep aloof,) he suddenly seizes one of them by the tail, pops him into the trough, and then capers about the yard, seemingly delighted with the frolic. The noise of the pig soon brings the men to his assistance, who knew from experience what is the matter, while the horse indulges in all sorts of antics, by way of showing his glee, and then returns quietly to the stables.—En. Pa.

The Humanity of England.

The "humanity" of England is beautifully illustrated in her recent treatment of Japan.—An Englishman was murdered for refusing to yield the road to the Prince. The British Government demanded satisfaction, which was given in the form of an apology from the Tycoon and the payment of half a million of dollars. But this was not sufficient; it was insisted that the murderers should be punished. The Tycoon, through his Minister replied, admitting the enormity of the offence, stating that all efforts to arrest the guilty parties had been vain, and asking for delay. This, however, did not satisfy the English; and the day after the interview, Admiral Kopes opened fire on Kagusima—a city of 180,000 inhabitants. "The buildings," says the writer, "being chiefly of combustible materials, were quickly in flames, the vast population of men, women and children, had of course no opportunity to save their property or even their lives. For two days the fire was raging, the city was laid in ashes, and no one can tell what suffering was inflicted upon the innocent inhabitants by the sudden bombardment and configuration."

The Campaign in East Tennessee.

General Burnside and staff arrived in New York from Cincinnati. During his stay in the latter city he was surrounded, in response to which he made a speech. The Cincinnati Gazette reports him as follows:

He said that he did not claim for himself the credit of the campaign in East Tennessee. That belonged to the private soldiers, non commissioned officers, and officers. He never was associated with an army in which every man seemed more determined to do his whole duty, than was the Army of the Ohio, through all the trying scenes they had passed. During the siege of Knoxville not a man flinched. Every one did all he could, and neither by look or word, or deed gave expression to a possibility of failure. In this unanimity of devotion to the cause was their safety, and out of it came success. When the history of this war was fairly written, and its facts fully understood, it would appear that in all the armies and campaigns it had been as he testified it was with the Army of the Ohio in East Tennessee, the honor belonged chiefly to the rank and file. There were as good men serving as private soldiers as any of the officers; and the cases were not a few in which the men were better than the officers.

The general's opinion is that the rumors of reverses in East Tennessee, and of the resumption of a menacing attitude by Longstreet, have very little foundation in fact.—General Longstreet and army retired from in front of Knoxville sorely troubled in mind and body, and lost largely as reported, in deserters and stragglers, and siege guns abandoned. The enemy is in no position to undertake an offensive campaign, and the Federal force in East Tennessee is much larger than Gen. Burnside had there.

Gen. Burnside has not resigned his commission. He tendered his resignation, and it was not accepted. He was relieved of the command of his department and ordered to report at Washington.

Longstreet's loss during his operations commencing at Loudon, up to the time he had reached Rogersville, was not less than five thousand men and nine pieces of artillery. Our loss during the same period does not exceed, and hardly equals, fifteen hundred. It was the expectation of the rebels, when Longstreet was detached from Bragg's army, with a force greatly superior in numbers to that which General Burnside commanded (the country would be startled if the numerical superiority of the rebel force were made known,) that they would be able to "occupy and possess" East Tennessee speedily, and take the Army of the Ohio, with all its artillery and trains. Their total defeat is one of the most important results of the war. Continuing the success of the credit belongs to General Burnside and his gallant army.

The Agony of Despair.

That the South is now in the agony of despair must be apparent to every one of reflection. Its exhausted condition is strongly exhibited in a letter from a lady, "whose name would be a guaranty at once of her patriotism and her truthfulness," which appeared last week in the New York World. The lady, it is stated, has spent a year in the most prosperous and wealthy part of Alabama, and her statements are the result of her own observations, extending not merely over Alabama, but throughout other States in which she was permitted to travel. Of all these States she writes:

Their desolation beggars description. Destitution is everywhere; men that were worth hundreds of thousands are reduced to utter poverty. As for the luxuries of life, formerly so abundant in the South, there are none. Persons formerly the wealthiest have nothing to sustain life but what the country affords, and not enough of that, for imprisonment it is taken from them for the army. Their garments, even their shoes, the families have to make themselves; they spin, weave, and dye their cotton, and wear homespun clothes, rich and poor. Tea, coffee, and sugar are not to be had; milk and water are the only beverages; Indian corn is their principal food. This, as a picture of the retribution which has overtaken rebel passion and slaveholding treason, is in itself sufficiently conclusive and terrible, but the writer does not stop here. Not only is society impelled to fall back upon the rude appliances and barbaric life of the dark ages, but even the domestic condition, the fountain head of life in the State, has ceased to exist. "The families," says this writer, "are broken up and ruined." You seldom meet with a male inhabitant, and if you do, he is either infirm or a cripple. A large part of the male population are killed in battle; many more crippled for lifetime; many patriotic Union men died of a broken heart. What remains are in the army or in the employment of the government. Nevertheless, press gangs cross the country in all directions in search of men for the army. All ties of social life are completely dissolved. No courts of justice and equity are held—justice is meted out by the military. Universities, colleges and schools are all suspended. The country in many places resembles a wilderness. Wherever the armies march, there everything is ruined—the crops destroyed; fences burned; trees cut down; domestic animals killed, robbed or taken for the army.

Could a more lugubrious picture than this be presented? And yet there are those among us who affect to believe that the South has the ability to carry on the war for years to come!

A number of fashionably dressed women were detected at Memphis, with their stockings, hoops, bustles, and busts well filled with contraband articles, which they proposed to carry through the lines.