

Our are the plans of fair, delightful Peace, Unwarped by party rage, to live like Brothers.

FOR THE REGISTER.

ORATION.

Delivered by EDWIN PASCHALL, Esq., at the Celebration of the 4th Instant, at Oxford.

The occasion for which we have met, can affect very few in this assembly from its novelty—the 4th of July has, for almost half a century, been hailed at each return, with songs of triumph and shouts of jubilation, arising from hearts buoyant with the spirit of freedom and exulting in political blessedness.

On this day, many of you have witnessed the charms of eloquence and the embellishments of poetry, combining to give effect to the dictates of moral and political truth, and through the medium of the feelings to instruct the understanding.

These exalted duties are not, however, those to which the Orator of the Day deems himself competent to answer. It is only as the ordinary and formal organ of the harmonizing sentiments of a promiscuous auditory, that he challenges any pretensions to be heard, and as such only he hopes alike for the sympathy and for the forbearance of his hearers.

Among the multitude of associated recollections which at such a moment crowd upon the heart, and oppress its sensibility, we are carried back with strong and engrossing interest, to the day which ushered in this golden age—this "maius ordo seculorum," the epoch of which we have seen and still behold, but which the panegyric pen of some future Virgil must describe. When the people of other nations would contemplate the grand epochs of their history—the themes of boasting and of admiration, the imagination is compelled to travel in disgust and pain and loathing, through intervening periods of national vice, degradation and wretchedness;—not so with us—the vista through which we look is bordered with brightness and beauty;—the eye is everlastingly gazing, and the termination of the prospect is mellowed, and not obscured by its distance.

The Declaration of our Independence, which we commemorate, is a point whence has proceeded a continuous line of blessings, succeeding in close dependency, increasing in a ratio with time, and extending with every additional unit of population and every accession of territory. Thus distinguished by favor and crowned with various prosperity, who shall forbid us to rejoice? and in the midst of rejoicing, who will not be grateful and adore? and where is the clay-cold heart of sordid selfishness that will not mingle with the swell of gladness and devotion, a throes of commiseration for the fortune of those who know not our happiness.

Characteristics so appropriated to the grovelling nature of the brutes that perish, cannot individuate any person of my audience—all are prepared at such a moment to think and to act as becomes those who feel that God is their father, marking their brethren, and the world their home.

The anticipations of the assembly have, I trust, prepared them to welcome a rapid review of the transactions directly related to the august event, which has distinguished this above all the days which have revolved since the primal dawn—that day only excepted, when our race was absolved from fetters not riveted by human hands, nor frangible to human strength.

A little more than three centuries ago, and this region, now brightened with cultivation, and order, and art, was the home of the savage and the hunt of his prey. The project which eventuated in this discovery, denounced as the rags of a madman, and its accomplishment as like a miracle, are familiar topics of history, and need not to be enlarged on; but the mind accustomed to look up through the revolutions of human affairs, to the great cause of causes, will not fail to recognize the visible operation of a guiding Providence in the particular conjuncture in which was made this vast accession to the dominion of man.

From the time when Romans were freemen and heroes, and Greece revered the rights of man, a thick cloud of political darkness had overshadowed the people of the old world. The brutal barbarism of diabolical tyranny had been succeeded by the more refined and more corrupt policy of the Papal hierarchy, which conspiring with the soul-haunting doctrine of passive obedience and the divine right of kings, had depressed human nature to a point of degradation beyond which man must have lost the distinctive attributes of his species. In this night of ignorance and profundity of moral baseness, a ray of light penetrated the gloomy cell of an Augustine Friar. Native impetuosity of temper, virtuous indignation and sectarian zeal, impelled him with violence on the work of reformation—and Martin Luther lived to shake to its foundation the unrighteous dominion of the consecrated despot who had blasphemously arrogated to himself the prerogative of the God of Heaven.

It was during this period of turbid commotion—when all the malignity of the human heart was poured forth in outrage on society—when the dissociating influence of religious animosities had dissolved the brotherhood of mankind in the fairest part of Europe—while the thunders of the Vatican encountered the fierce defiance of fanatical courage, and the name of the Prince of Peace was employed to sanctify the excess of malevolence and infamy—then it was that this great city of refuge opened her gates to receive the harassed multitude who fled from the wrath of the merciless.

Ejected from the bosom of their native country, in the wilderness they raised the star of Liberty, and devotedly worshipped in the midst of toil and privation, pestilence and peril. The hardy and independent virtues which had sustained them beneath the heavy hand of oppression, accompanied their migration, and, better than the household gods of Egypt, served to protect and strengthen

and to advance them. Though it might not accord with the truth of history, to consider the whole mass of our original population, as refugees escaping from the persecution of religious or even political bigotry, yet certainly this class was uniformly predominant to a degree sufficient to attract and to amalgamate with itself the particular variant prejudices existing in the community, produced by the occasional ingress of a number swayed by different affections. The American colonists never were, at any period of their history, a promiscuous and motley assemblage—our social body is not, at present, that agglomerated mass of heterogeneous particles, which our intemperate detractors have asserted, and which, perhaps, some of our vindicators have too easily admitted to be. If we are permitted to calculate with any degree of assurance as to the effect of moral causes in giving tone and determination to the character of a people, our ancestors must have possessed one, at least in regard to certain points, strongly and decidedly marked. She had groaned under the iron sway of despotism, and thence had contracted an ineradicable detestation of arbitrary power; they had felt what it was to be obnoxious to the jealous cruelty of hierarchies, and regarded with horrid aversion all exclusive religious establishments by law—they had been made heirs of poverty and wedded to toil by unfeeling exactions, to support the idle pomp and profuse luxury of legitimate monarchs and their drossy dependents, and it was natural for them to admire the cheap simplicity of republican government. Thus characterized, and distinguished for habits of temperance, industry, and unyielding rigidity of morals, were the men from whom we boast our descent—and such men only were qualified to plant the foundation on which has been reared a fabric so vast, so firm, so consistently beautiful—the present Constitution of the United States. If what is here urged should need to be confirmed, that confirmation will be found in advertising to the revolutionary movements of Europe for the last three centuries. Even with the advantage of the pure light which has reacted upon them from this country—with the perfect model of the American revolution before their eyes, the efforts of the people of Europe for political emancipation, have produced only a rapid and desolating alternation of anarchy and despotism—they have passed through the fire and are not purified. The catastrophe of our own political agitations, so happily different, strongly indicates a superior moral nature of the actors by whom it has been achieved. The spark of sacred fire transplanted with our ancestors under better auspices, kindled and blazed and illuminated, while the kindred flame from which it sprung was trodden down, and smothered and quenched.

It is the part of the American annalist to narrate the succession of events which marked our colonial growth, from infant helplessness to vigorous maturity—the vicissitudes of prosperity and of calamity which attended this progress—are these events trivial and contemptible? Is our primitive history that of a minute and almost unregarded appendage of a transatlantic kingdom? Be it so—it is no record of ambitious conquests, no blazonry of triumphs to illustrate the name of some "mighty murderer"—it recounts not the splendid elevation, nor laments the dignified disasters and heroic downfall of the royal and the anointed—themes that fire the eloquence of Gibbon, and warm the philosophy of Hume. But are we humiliated by the reflection? Patriotism forbid. The most interesting and brilliant portion of the history of any nation, is not always that of the greatest happiness to the people, and in this quiet and homely scene, an object meets the observing eye, compared with which the most memorable wars and revolutions which have depopulated and convulsed the world, become ordinary and unimportant—it is the intellectual improvement and moral melioration of man—the progressive expansion of the soul to its native dimensions—it is the majestic march of mind—we pursue with complacency this advancing illumination of truth and reason, till we are brought to pause with ineffable interest on the crisis—the moment pregnant with more than the fruits of centuries—when that language to which we have this day listened with such ardent delight, was addressed by a council of practical sages, to a people qualified to approve it upon the ground of sober and rational conviction. We are now arrived at a point which may be regarded as the termination of the long contest of light and darkness for the empire of the human mind, the period of the final prevalence, we may hope, the everlasting triumph of just principles over the ignis fatuus of delusive opinions which have dazzled and misled mankind, and with what sensations should we contemplate it? Upon such a subject, enthusiasm is only sensibility, and he who does not feel, cannot feel.

The joy thus derived, is no narrow gratulation—its objects are co-extensive with the sympathies of a generous heart—we exult not only that we ourselves are set in calm security, on the centre-based rock where we defy the surge and laugh at the tempest, but that our course may point the track to others, and from our station blaze the beacon light to guide them to the place of safety.

The Orator of the Day would, perhaps, exceed the purposes of his designation, should he attempt an investigation of the moral right of the Convention of 1776 to dissolve the political bands which had connected them with a foreign nation. To us such a vindication is superfluous, and to those who have required it, the answer has long since been made. To communities, as to individuals, the only rule of right is that of general and ultimate utility, and if there ever was a doubt, none can now exist, that its application will amply justify the part acted by our ancestors. If the boasted English revolution of 1688, which I hope it is not invidious to call partial and incomplete, was founded in right, it fully re-

futes the criminations which the adherents of the British Ministry did not forbear to heap on the wise and virtuous author of that change which made us a sovereign nation. They were libelled as undutiful children, rebelling against the just authority of a parent, who, with tender solicitude had fostered their infancy and sustained their helplessness. We omit to enquire of the history of the times how far her discharge of maternal duties might entitle the mother country to the superabundant gratitude of her offspring, but admitting the full force of this fanciful and defective analogy, it falls far short of supporting the pretensions of which it seems to have been considered as the foundation. No parent can justly claim a right to destroy the important interests and essential happiness of a child for any purpose of self-aggrandizement, and though it may be asserted, it cannot be believed, that this country could ever have obtained the high destiny for which the munificence of the Creator seems to have designed it, while retained in a state of pupillage and subserviency to the British government. Such a state of things is incongruous and unnatural—a dependence of the strong upon the weak, a supremacy of the little above the great, which we do not find but in the perverse creations of the mind of man.

But to judge with truth, and to resolve with magnanimity, was not all that was required of those to whom were committed the destinies of America—and it is a subject of triumphant felicitation, that it is not all they did perform.

Time would fail us to recount the admired achievements by which they nobly proved that the manifesto of the 4th July was not the hollow boast of speculative courage, nor the ebullition of a temporary and evanescent excitement. Their deeds of heroism, their patriotic sufferings, are the themes of the nursery tales which warmed our infant imagination—veneration for their characters, viewed with the ardor of filial affection in our youthful bosoms—and their lives are the models of conduct which, as men, we would desire to imitate. Indeed, it is of the nature of every powerful and compelling emergency, acting on a mind properly prepared, to evolve the mental energy required to meet it, and it is no matter of astonishment, if these sons of the storm should display a vigor and a hardihood which it is vain to expect among men conversant only with the ordinary and tranquil scenes of life. The eagle does not cradle her offspring in the hedge, but builds her aerial nest on the tempest-shaking oak of the mountain—and the fierce elements of the lion's heart are formed by the torturing extremities he is doomed to endure in the bleak and howling desert. It is this plastic power of occasion which could transform the illustrious disciple of the Roman Cincinnatus from the simple and pacific farmer, to be a leader able to chastise the military pride of those professors who had defied competition in the art of war. Afterwards when his country's service no longer required the sword of the conquering patriot—when her situation, with which his own was identified, called for the powers of the statesman, we find the same individual sitting at the helm of the vessel of state, and with a master hand, guiding her triumphant course amidst the hurricane of violence and the buffetings of faction; and with a dextrous policy preventing the operations of our government from being implicated in that whirling convulsion of systems, in the fluctuating interests of the chaos of parties, which distracted and destroyed the Republicanism of France. Such was Washington, his country's strong arm of war, the Atlas prop of her Constitution.

But the greatest remains yet to be told, and if virtue is not indeed "an empty name"—if the religion in which we believe is not a solemn illusion of the understanding—if the sublimating hope of a future and everlasting retribution at the hand of God is any thing better than the dream of a poet or the trance of a madman—a hab of fadeless glory has encircled his head whose proud ascending soul disdained an earthly diadem. He indeed stands distinguished in super-eminent and single blessedness; and if mankind were a society of tyrants and slaves, preying and preyed upon in hopeless depravity, yet a misanthrope would love his species for the redeeming virtues of one man.

Transcendent as this character is, it is only the first and brightest of that shining host whose diffused and mingling radiance renders our moral firmament a glowing galaxy. Many of them, like him, after having done the work of virtue, lived to enjoy her reward—the love and admiration of their contemporaries—a peaceful and honourable age.

And do we lament the fate of those who fell? Or is their destiny less happy than of those who survived? They might have lived for the benefit of their country and of mankind, but their own measure of honor was full. Centuries and generations have come and gone, since on the carnage-covered plain of Thermopylae, the soldier of freedom found a grave so glorious as the battle field where sleep the Ghivahy of America. It is seldom that a human breast has felt or can feel the exaltation of spirit which governs the last moments of such a death. Patriotism, courage, the excitement of danger and of action, the thought of death itself in such a cause, all conspire to kindle the burning pathos with which the dying hero turns his last look on the Star Spangled Banner that waves over the spot where he has fallen—with his back to the field, and his face to the foe—his last effort of respiration is exhausted in a prayer for his country, and a half-sounded huzzah of triumph, to hail the cry of victory, quivers on his expiring lips. Poor and despicable, and slavish, indeed, must that man be who would shrink from a fate like this; and the heart of every true American shall be cold as death can make it, when it ceases to warm at these tales of the "old Revolution." The result of a contest prosecuted upon such principles,

and by such men, must be inevitable. Impotent and unavailing would be the incumbent weight of the world to crush the indomitable elasticity of a spirit conscious of its rights and determined to assert them.

But the consummation of our Independence is not the climax of our fortune. It is the dawn, the morning gleam of that sun of political light, in whose meridian blaze we now walk, and stumble not. Our fathers planted, and toiled to rear the tree of liberty, beneath whose expanded shade, we, their happy offspring, sweetly and safely repose, and whose mellowed fruits now fall for the refection of millions.

It would be untrue to affirm, that our course of prosperity has never been obstructed, as it would be absurd to expect it ever could be exempt from interruption. But it will be both instructive and gratifying to examine the cause and the nature of the evils which have assailed us. Are any of these attributable to an original defect in the organization of our civil policy? The consequence of any fundamental misdirection of the powers of sovereignty? Or must we be humbled by the confession, that however perfect in theory our Constitution is, yet like all others liable to a mal-administration in practice, subversive of the good to be expected from it? It is obvious to remark such is not the case, at least, that the temporary and accidental reverses which we have encountered are no evidence that these things are so. Every government, however wisely established and righteously administered, is of necessity limited in the objects and in the extent of its influence—and a glance of investigation will discover that the sources of our calamity are extrinsic and beyond the controul of any measures we could adopt.

If we have been visited by the horrors of war, it was because the equitable and pacific temper of our government has not been reciprocated by others. If we have participated in the common sufferings of an almost universal commercial embarrassment, the fact accuses the illiberal and monopolizing regulations of foreign states, or the errors of calculation and imprudence of adventure on the part of individuals, which attach to all human transactions. It is at home, and in matters depending upon the internal and domestic operations of our constitution that we are entitled to expect political purity and justice and consequent happiness, and it is here that we find them; our unquestionable superiority in this respect is yet unimpaired, and our national deterioration is yet to commence. We are, indeed, a favoured, and should be a happy people—and in despite of the natural propensity of all men to be dissatisfied with their own lot, we feel and are convinced that we are eminently happy. The root of our felicity is laid in our social institutions, which, by a gradual process of maturation, operating on the broadest and soundest basis of equal rights, have arrived at a point of perfection which they may pass, but which has never yet been paralleled. The spirit of general freedom, in its pervasion of every department of the government, dictating every law, and attending its execution, rises into a distant emulation of the universal Providence which resides in every particle of its creation, and superintends every event.

How unwelcome, at such a moment, is the obtrusive thought, that even within the pale of our own country, there is a class of human beings, excluded from all the blessings in which we revel—who must hang their heads in abject despondency, and listen to the swelling strains of our song of liberty while its echo awakens the slumbering energies of Europe from the dormancy of ages. But I forbear. Let pity regard them with the tear of silent regret till the liberating hand of the genius of universal emancipation shall lift even from their dejected necks the yoke of intolerable bondage. Blindness alone can fail to perceive that a spring has been touched in the moral world whose motion tends to universal renovation—and it is no effort of fancy to conceive that the causes now operative, which, at no very distant period of time, shall produce a change which the highest hope of the philanthropist has but lately ventured to anticipate. It is not chimerical to hope that even within our own times, the country of Miltiades and Socrates, so long trampled beneath the feet of insulting barbarians, shall flourish as America now does, the home of freedom and the seat of science, the delight and admiration of the world.

Laws of the United States.

An act for the relief of the officers, volunteers, and other persons engaged in the late campaign against the Seminole Indians.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That any officer, volunteer, ranger, cavalry, or other persons, engaged in the campaign of one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, against the Seminole Indians, who has sustained damage by reason of the loss of any horse or horses, which, in consequence of the government of the United States failing to supply sufficient forage, while engaged in said service, died or were unavoidably abandoned and lost, shall be allowed and paid the value thereof.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That said officers, volunteers, and rangers, cavalry, or other persons, for the loss of any necessary equipage of said horse or horses, or for any guns lost in said service, or which were left in possession of the United States, or of any officer thereof, shall be allowed and paid the value thereof; said claims to be paid out of any moneys in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated: Provided, That if any

payment shall have been made to any officer or soldier aforesaid, for the use and risk, after the death or abandonment of his horse, such amount shall be deducted from the value thereof, unless said officer or soldier shall shew that he was reimbursed, in which case the deduction shall only extend to the time such officer or soldier served on foot: And provided, *et c.* That if any payment shall have been made to any officer or soldier, on account of clothing, such payment shall be deducted from the value of his horse or accoutrements: And provided further, That no claim shall be allowed under the provisions of this act, until proper evidence shall have been received by the accounting officers from the company to which the claimants shall have belonged, shewing the number of horses lost in said company in manner aforesaid, the time when lost, and the name of the owner.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That the accounting officer of the Treasury Department shall audit and settle those claims under such rules and regulations as the President of the United States may prescribe. Approved—May 4, 1822.

An act to designate the boundaries of a Land District, and for the establishment of a Land Office, in the State of Indiana.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That for the sale of the unappropriated public lands in the state of Indiana, to which the Indian title is extinguished, the following district shall be formed, and a land office established: All the public lands, as aforesaid, to which the Indian title was extinguished by the treaties concluded at St. Mary's, in the month of October, eighteen hundred and eighteen; lying east of the range line, separating the first and second ranges, east of the second principal meridian; extended north to the present Indian boundary, and north of a line to be run separating the tiers of townships numbered twenty and twenty-one, commencing on the old Indian boundary, in range thirteen east of the said principal meridian, in Randolph county, and the said district to be bounded on the east by the line dividing the states of Ohio and Indiana shall form a district, for which a land office shall be established at Fort Wayne.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That the President is hereby authorized to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for the aforesaid district, a Register of the Land Office, and a Receiver of Public Moneys; which appointments shall not be made, for the aforesaid land district, until a sufficient quantity of public lands shall have been surveyed within the said district, as to authorize, in the opinion of the President, a public sale of land within the same; which Register of the Land Office, and Receiver of Public Moneys, when appointed, shall each, respectively, give security, in the same sums and in the same manner, and whose compensation, emoluments, and duties, and authority, shall, in every respect, be the same in respect to the lands which shall be disposed of at their offices, as are or may be provided by law in relation to the Registers and Receivers of Public Moneys in the several land offices established for the disposal of the public lands of the United States, in the states of Ohio and Indiana.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That all the public lands within the aforesaid district, to which the Indian title has been extinguished, and which have not been granted to, or secured for the use of any individual, or individuals, or appropriated and reserved for any other purpose, by any existing treaties or laws, and with the exception of section numbered sixteen, in each township, which shall be reserved for the support of schools therein, shall be offered for sale to the highest bidder at the land office for the said district, under the direction of the Register of the Land Office, and Receiver of Public Moneys, on such day or days, as shall, by proclamation of the President of the United States, be designated for that purpose: the lands shall be sold in tracts of the same size, on the same terms and conditions, and in every other respect, as provided by the act, entitled "An act making further provision for the sale of the public lands;" approved April twenty-fourth, eighteen hundred and twenty.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That the President of the United States shall have power, and he is hereby authorized, to remove, whenever he shall judge it expedient so to do, the land office aforesaid, to such suitable place, within the said district, as he shall judge most proper.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That the Register of the Land Office, and Receiver of Public Moneys, shall each receive five dollars for each day's attendance in superintending the public sales, in the said district. Approved—May 8, 1822.

The Steward's Hall, at the University of North-Carolina, together with the other Buildings, Garden and Lots of ground appertaining to it, will be rented for the remainder of the present year, and immediate possession given.—Apply to the Committee of appointment, in Raleigh. Raleigh, June 25, 1822.