

# THE LIVING AGE.

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From The Colonization Herald.

DESTINY OF THE COLORED RACE.\*

THE free blacks, in every part of the United States, and from the commencement of their existence as a separate class, have occupied a position every way peculiar, and certainly not favorable to their general progress. Still, however, while that position has exposed them to many vices and much suffering, and has held out to them most inadequate inducements to high or sustained efforts, it has been attended with certain advantages, which have greatly exceeded those enjoyed during the same period by the bulk of the human race. They have lived by the side and under the shadow of a highly civilized and most energetic race. They have been protected by the freest institution in the world, and have seen the power and value of that which they have not been allowed to enjoy fully. They have received, as a race, through successive generations, a training by which they have been educated in the great duty and art of sustained toil, which, while it is the elemental curse of humanity, is also the elemental point of all its progress; and they have acquired, to a certain degree, all the arts and trades which flourish around them, as the incidents of a high state of social development. They have possessed themselves, to a certain extent, of that which, in a higher sense, we call knowledge; and it would not be true to say of them, as a race, that they are wholly uneducated. The manners, the habits, the wants, and the attainments of a civilization—low as compared with ours, respectable as compared with the average of the human race, and exalted as compared with the bulk of their own race—have been attained by them. And to crown all, the almost universal belief, and to a considerable extent the practice of the Christian religion has become their heritage, in the house of their bitter pilgrimage. Christ and his gospel are in their midst, far more really and substantially than in the midst of many nations we call Christian. If we will consider these things fairly, we cannot doubt that these people are in a condition, if they were but placed in circumstances favoring such a result, to assume a very different position from any they have hitherto occupied. It was a conclusion eminently reasonable and natural, from such premises, that such a race might be colonized, with the utmost certainty of a great and beneficent influence thereby, upon themselves.

The experiment has been made, and has produced, in this sense, more than was prom-

\* Part of a Discourse delivered before the Kentucky Colonization Society, by Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, D.D.

ised—perhaps more than was expected. Similar experiments have been made with every considerable race into which the human family is divided, and every part of the earth has been the theatre of these experiments. I think no record exists of any more decidedly successful, or, at a similar stage of it, more hopeful. I believe no instance has occurred in which results more cheering, and apparently more pregnant with further and immense results, have been produced under so many discouragements, with such limited means, and in so short a time; and certainly the progress of no single experiment has been more eminently free from great disasters. We have colonized this race—such as it was—with all the odium which its enemies could accumulate upon its head, and without any attempt on the part of its friends to vindicate or defend it. Silently accepting the character given to it, or, perhaps, too often ourselves testifying too unreservedly to its degradation, our great conclusion has been—let us remove it. We have done so, in sufficient numbers, and for a sufficient length of time, to exhibit clearly the nature of the fruits that will be borne. We have sent ten thousand of them some four thousand miles off, across the ocean. Thirty years have been occupied in doing this. We have done it, almost entirely with our individual resources. We have planted them in their new homes. We have committed to their own hands the administration of their own affairs—the organization of their own social state—the making of their own laws—the establishment of their own forms of government. With the deepest anxiety—yet without the slightest effort to control the result, except by reason—we have watched the progress of our work, as we patiently and steadily urged it forward.

Now we turn to our country, and confidently—might I not almost say proudly?—surely I may say gratefully—invite her to look upon it. There are those people—a free and Christian commonwealth, far off on the verge of human civilization; a small, but an enlightened and well regulated state. Industry prospers amongst them; the arts of common life flourish to a degree; commerce is regularly pursued; trade adopts its established laws; agriculture is establishing its conquests. All the social institutions which adorn and bless life, exist on the model they learned from us. Political institutions like our own are established with a cordial and unanimous consent, and administered with firmness, regularity, and justice. Schools are established, and the young are educated. Churches are erected to the living God, and Christ's gospel is preached to a believing people. Just, brave, and prosperous in peace

and in war, they have followed our great example; they wrong none—they fear none. And now, bound by equal treaties to some of the greatest empires of the earth, they have been received into the family of nations, and their new banner, like another star set in the sable brow of night, flashes along the coast of their fatherland? Yes, it is a child of our country!—outcast it may be—but still a child! And the day will come, when it will vindicate in glory, all that it has won in tears.

In this, as in every analogous case, a change in the condition of these men has wrought a corresponding change in their character. The good that is in them finds ample scope for exercise, and adequate motive for exertion; the evil is no longer pressed with ceaseless temptation, and aggravated by a constant sense of wrong. So it would be, as to all their brethren, situated as they once were. And the simple and truthful recital of what has actually occurred, seems to me to present to every benevolent and enlightened mind, an overwhelming argument in favor of the similar removal of the whole free black race from the United States. This, at least, is within the compass of our means and our authority—this, every view of our duty, and their interest, would seem to suggest.

In the long annals of the human race, there has never existed a powerful and highly civilized state in those immense and fervid regions which lie under the equator—and which, encircling the globe, and extending northward and southward to the tropics, embrace so vast a portion of the earth's surface. Forty-seven degrees of latitude in the central portions of the earth, covering five-sixths of the African continent, three-quarters of South America, the extreme southern portions of Asia and North America, and multitudes of the islands of the sea—amongst them some of the most extensive and fertile of all—have been condemned, since the creation of the world, to be the abode of the ignorant and scattered—for the most part feeble and semi-barbarous—and to a deplorable extent, savage and brutal tribes of men. And yet there was never an era in those protracted annals when the existence of a power of the first class, in any portion of that vast circumference, would not have been an event so decisive in the history of the human race, as to have altered the whole current of their history, and modified the subsequent destiny of the whole race. The grand necessity, this day, of the human family, considered as one great brotherhood—the overpowering want which human progress, considered in its scope, this day exhibits, is the reclamation of that immense circumference, from the reign of ignorance and barbarism, and the

establishment throughout its vast extent of the triumphs which man, elsewhere has won. If it had pleased God to erect, in the central regions of South America, extending from ocean to ocean, a confederacy like ours—or if he had planted it across the bosom of Africa, under the equator—or if he had made Australia the theatre of its glory; how universal and how immeasurable would have been the influence which would have penetrated and pervaded the inter-tropical world—an influence which must have been felt in some degree by the remotest tribes of men! Alas! alas! what would it not have presented—what would it not have achieved!

The imagination is lost in the contemplation of the magnitude and grandeur of the good which, it seems to us, must have followed—and the heart is smitten with astonishment, as it glances over the unfathomable misery which, it would seem, must have been averted! What a lesson of God's patience, and man's folly!

To us has been reserved a portion of this sublime work, on one of its widest theatres. We have planted a civilized State in Africa, under the equator. We have laid the foundations of an empire, whose priceless heritage is a free constitution and an open Bible.

We have done, by God's mercy, what all past ages needed, but could not achieve. Will our country and our age at last comprehend and complete our work? The central continent of the earth, so long buried in darkness, is at length invaded by the true light. Let heaven and earth bear witness against all who may seek to extinguish it.

There is a surprising grandeur in every result to which this work tends. Each of the great divisions of the human family seems destined to a development, in many respects peculiar to itself; and each one has been led through a pupilage, at once fitted to conduct it to the destiny which awaited it, and to prepare it for it. And this pupilage of nations and races has been painful and protracted in the double ratio of their ignorance and degradation when that pupilage began, and the height and duration of the renown to which it was to conduct them. Israel groaned in bondage for more than four centuries, and then pined and expired, under forty years of pilgrimage. But Israel crossed Jordan at last—with a nationality the most marvellous that the world ever saw—which has survived through eighteen centuries, without a country or a government, and under a conspiracy of the human race against it. This is a miraculous nationality, and we look not for the like again. But it was, nevertheless, a nationality created as to second causes, by the events through which Israel passed, and sustained by the hopes

which Israel has cherished. And so every nationality is thus created and thus sustained. And so God leadeth every race onward through its own destiny, till the highest summit any portion of mankind can reach will exhibit the combined result of the highest development that each part had attained. Beyond that there remaineth only, that the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of the Lord and his Christ!

The largest, the most enduring, and in all respects the most remarkable example, which history affords us of a race without nationality, and therefore without what could be properly called a distinct civilization, is this black race. And surely the pupilage through which it has passed has been without example bitter and protracted. How much has it not required to prepare it for its final destiny? Shall we therefore say, nothing awaits it? We cannot say this without contradicting all that is true in detail, or profound in conception, in the history of the past. Let us rather believe, that an exalted destiny may be in the career to which it tends. Unto this are all the testimonies of the past—unto this are all the indications of the present. The principles which are at work throughout the earth can scarcely fail to produce it. The exigencies which control all human things, present a combination which can hardly allow it to fail. Slowly—perhaps remotely, yet inevitably—there appear to await the black race a nationality, a civilization, and consequently a share in the affairs of this world, immeasurably different from any thing it has hitherto exhibited.

To us have been reserved, again, an immense, perhaps a controlling portion of this great work. Our colonics in Africa occupy the central portion of that sea-coast of the negro's fatherland, which, so to speak, faces inward to civilization. Behind them, stretching across the continent, are four thousand miles of fertile territory, inhabited, though not densely, in chief part by the black race, in the first stages of an opening civilization. North and south, for at least a thousand miles in each direction, is also a fertile country, inhabited mainly by the same race in a condition similar to that already stated. A land four thousand miles long from west to east, and two thousand miles broad from north to south—larger, by far, than the Roman Empire—the home of the black man, and the grave of all besides—now peopled with more than a hundred millions of inhabitants. All things conspire to the same grand result. The state we have planted is precisely so situated as to receive from without and to propagate within the best influences which all other nations can exert. The immense

race and the vast continent behind this state, and around it, are placed exactly in those circumstances most favorable to the exercise of all such influences from such a quarter. And the state itself has been created, and will be indefinitely augmented, from those materials, which, of all that existed, are the best fitted for this, as well as for all the other great objects connected with African colonization. It is impossible to avoid the conviction, that such causes must be followed by corresponding results. Already they have manifested themselves, and the native population which has voluntarily sought the protection of the colonists, and subjected themselves to the genial control of their laws, is represented to be about twenty times more numerous than the colonists themselves. We have sent out ten thousand colonists; but their laws and institutions are respected, and to a good degree obeyed by 200,000 persons. Imagine a like result—but even in a much lower degree—produced by every ten thousand additional colonists sent out—or, if it be thought more rational, by every twenty-five years of effort. How manifest is it, that before we shall have removed the mass of our free black population, or before a single century shall have elapsed, a powerful nation will have been created, and the ultimate redemption of the black race in Africa placed on a footing as secure as that on which the prosperity of any existing state rests! Or, if any one thinks proper to do so, let him double, triple, quadruple the time, the toil, and the risk. In the creation of an empire—in the redemption of a race—in the regeneration of a continent—in the consummation of a work whose benefits all nations will reap, and from which no evil can arise to any human being, we can well afford to toil long, to risk much, and wait God's time. We set before our hearts sublime ends; and rejoicing in our day, over such fruits as our works may bear, we point to the luminous track, in which they who are to follow us should tread, and rejoice the more, that they shall reap far more abundantly than we.

The slavery of two millions of human beings is a question of awful magnitude, and invests all that can be supposed to bear upon it, even indirectly, with an importance which no thoughtful mind can disregard. The fate of five hundred thousand free blacks, and their posterity forever, is a matter which no one—and especially no one situated as we are—can lightly pass over. The destiny of one hundred and fifty millions of blacks, concentrated chiefly in Africa, and abiding still in heathen degradation, if not barbarism, cannot be contemplated with indifference by

any pious heart. The duty, the interests, the danger, and the glory of our own country, as connected with all these great questions, challenge the consideration of every wise and patriotic man. And the general influence of them all, and the effects of any course he may take in regard to them—all the consequences of all that may befall us, for good or ill, by reason of them—all these things, considered in their bearings upon the career and destiny of the human race, present subjects of inquiry, whose very magnitude oppresses us. The kingdom of God in the world—the salvation of at least the eighth part of the human race, and that a part most peculiarly committed in trust to us—these are topics which ought to lie immediately upon the Christian heart. Now, every one of these thrilling subjects enters more or less into every fair and complete consideration of the question of the black race, and of the cause and claims of African colonization, as bearing upon that question. Surely, they do not err who say, that taken in all its extent, the question of African colonization is one of the grandest and most fruitful which this generation has been required to determine.

Thirty-two years ago—before I had arrived at man's estate—I had occasion to examine this great topic, at the period of its first presentation for public patronage, and before ulterior steps had been very decisively taken. Struck with the grandeur, the simplicity, the completeness, and the feasibility of the great and humane conception, I have never ceased to cherish the profoundest interest and confidence in this cause. I

have witnessed all the vicissitudes, all the changes of opinion, all the varying aspects of the question, during those two and thirty years, and am somewhat familiar with what has been done, both in this country and Africa, during that long period, and with the public and personal history of most of the principal actors, in all that has occurred. Fortified by an experience of this description, and by the observations and reflections of so many years, I solemnly declare that the more I have examined the principles which are involved, and the more I have observed their practical results, the more has the subject seemed to me to be invested with unanswerable reasons challenging our cordial support, and exalted motives, commanding our earnest sympathy. I deem such a testimony more valuable than any argument from me, and therefore give it. And whatever weight it may be thought to have, deserves to be increased by the fact, that I have never had a constant or an intimate connection with any of the societies organized to promote this cause, and have seen much to disapprove in much that has been done. It is the great cause—and not all the modes of its manifestation, nor all the methods of its advocacy, nor all the acts of its chief managers—that I have vindicated through good report and ill report. And it is that I now avouch, from my inmost soul, to be the cause of justice, humanity, and wisdom—the cause of living hope to a vast and suffering race—the cause of my country's prosperity and renown—and, above all, of my Master's glory!

CAN any of your correspondents kindly inform me where I may find the following lines?—

"She took the cup of life to sip;  
Too bitter 'twas to drain;  
She put it gently from her lip,  
And fell to sleep again."

The following words, or at least words of similar meaning, I heard quoted as from an old divine. Where may they be found?—

"Humility deepens through all eternity, and is greater before the glory of the throne, than in the dust of the footstool."

In the Bible we read, "Perfect love casteth out fear." Can any of your readers help me to any passage of similar import in our English poets, showing that as love increases, jealousy and suspicion decrease?—*Notes and Queries.*

LIBYA.

Who is the author of the following lines?—

"Be pleased and satisfied with what thou art:  
Act well thine own allotted part.  
Enjoy the *present* hour, be thankful for the  
*past*,  
Nor wish, nor fear the coming of the *last*."  
—*Notes and Queries.* W. J. S.

1. "WORDS are fools' pence, and the wise man's counters."
  2. "I'll make assurance doubly sure."\*
  3. "Thus fools mistake reverse of wrong for right."—*Pope.*
  4. "Politeness is benevolence in trifles."
  5. "Nunquam periculum sine periculo vincitur."
  6. "Call not the royal Swede unfortunate."
- Notes and Queries.*

\* *Macbeth*, Act IV. Sc. 1.—ED. "N. & Q."