from its effect upon our colored population, and regarding it only in its missionary aspect, has furnished a nation for the task that no other human agency is competent to accomplish—the task of civilizing as well as Christianizing a mighty continent,—a nation, which, increasing in numbers by immigration, just as Plymouth and Jamestown increased of old, will do for Africa what the Pilgrims north and south have done for us, and until the Dark Continent shall be dark no longer.

So much for the past history of the Society and Liberia; a few words now in regard to their relations to the future.

Colonizationists, as a rule, have believed that two distinct races, that cannot or will not amalgamate by intermarriage, can live in the same land in but one of two relations—master and slave, or oppressor and oppressed. The first is out of the question, for slavery is at an end, here, forever. How stands it then with the latter alternative? Can there be any oppression now when the two races occupy the same level, before the law? There could be none, if Constitutional amendments and Acts of Congress sufficed to overcome the prejudices and the influences of Caste. To this extent they are absolutely powerless. The oppression of law which made the Negro a slave no longer exists. He may be, as he has been, a Senator or a Representative; but the oppression of circumstances is as potent to-day as it was an hundred years ago. The slave question has been settled, but the Negro question is still an open one.

During the late war, few emigrants went to Liberia; and when it closed many supposed that the American Colonization Society must die; and there were those, among its friends even, who stood ready to inter it, with a laudatory epitaph upon its tomb. And yet the emigration that followed the war was greater than had ever taken place in the same number of years before: and now there are applications representing 200,000 begging the Society for transportation to Africa; and this, too, where for years the Society has had no agent in the field whence the applications come. Circumstances are doing their work. To understand them in detail, it is only necessary to read the publications explaining the motives of those who led in the late exodus movement in South Carolina, or in the later exodus from the southern States to Kansas. All are connected more or less directly with the distinctions of Caste that operate oppression. Colonizationists believe that the more education refines the Negro and increases his sensibilities, the more irksome will become his position where the distinctions of race exclude him socially from what cannot but be the aim of his ambition. When it is found, as the generations pass, that neither wealth nor scholarship nor accomplishments, however varied, overcome the prejudices that cause social exclusion, these very incidents may prompt the emigration of the educated and ambitious to seek a land where the white man will be to

them what they are to the white man here. This is looking forward through a vista of many a generation, perhaps,—but that it will come to pass, became, as we fully believe, assured when Wiltberger transferred the *Elizabeth* emigrants from Bushrod Island to the main, and when Ashmun with a handful of sick and toil-worn men, made a host by a blessing from on High, repulsed the barbarians who would have extinguished the feeble light which has gone on increasing in brightness ever since, and which will one day pervade the land now in the shadow of death.

If these views are looked upon as visionary, it should be remembered how small were our own beginnings: and although it may be admitted that the Pilgrims by the *Mayflower* were socially and intellectually superior to those who landed from the *Elizabeth*, yet the capacity for improvement and self-government that has been developed in Liberia and illustrated in America in a thousand instances of learning, intelligence and refinement, fully justify the anticipations of colonizationists. And when a prosperous and happy people shall have made Liberia as attractive to the colored man as America is to the European emigrant; when commerce shall have bridged the Atlantic for an eastward, as it has for a westward march of thousands and tens of thousands; when gold, already within reach from Monrovia, will do for Liberia what gold did for California in attracting emigration; when ambition shall find across the sea, away from the influences of caste, the widest field for its exercise,—then will the Negro question be settled; not as was the question of slavery, by war and its attendant misery, but by the peaceful operation of causes that are inevitable; and then it will be seen that even so great a wrong as slavery may have had, in the order of God's providence, its accompanying good in the education of a missionary nation, with a continent for the field of its operation. And when that time comes, the historian of then regenerated Africa will find among the sources of her light and liberty the labors of the American Colonization Society.

On the return of Dr. Ayres to the United States, a map of the territory acquired by Commander Stockton and himself was made from his description, and Gen. Robert Goodloe Harper, one of the warmest and ablest among the friends of colonization, with the co-operation of the map maker, wrote on the engraver's proof-sheet the names that have since been adopted. The Latin word *Liber*, a free man, suggested the name of the territory; Mr. Monroe's invaluable aid was recognized in that of the then very humble capital. Bushrod Island, where the first settlers landed, was called after the President of the Society, and Stockton creek and Ayres creek completed a nomenclature that has since become familiar. The rivers St. Paul's and Mesurado, and the cape of that name on which Monrovia stands, were permitted to retain the names by which they were already designated on the maps of Africa. The map maker of Liberia, here referred to, is the present President of the Society.

Maryland Historical Society

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XV. Pamphlets (not in original collection)
15. Liberia: Its Origin, Rise, Progress and Results, by J.H.B.Latrobe, January 20, 1880, in Washington, D.C.
Washington, 1880