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THE

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AND

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NOTICES.

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In our last number we contrasted the condition of the colonists of Liberia with that of the agricultural laborers of St. Domingo. The latter, who were formerly the slaves of individuals, are now the slaves of the Government; their hours of labor and amount of compensation are settled by laws enforced by the military; while the colonists of Liberia are as free as are the citizens of this country. Their ability to defend themselves has been fully proved, and no longer can there be a doubt of their capacity to make and execute their own laws. Everything in Liberia has a tendency to improve the condition of the people. The mind cannot indeed free itself at once from the degrading associations which it has acquired in a condition of slavery, but the children of the colonists grow up under the influence of their free institutions, with the same feelings of independence as do the free children of our own republic; with the same consciousness of superiority to the uncivilized natives, that the whites of this country feel to the negro. The Liberian acknowledges no superior.

That the free colored man of this country ought to emigrate we have always maintained. We will now inquire whether the British West Indies offer him equal privileges and inducements, to those which he can enjoy in Africa. The inducement at present for the colored man to remove to the West Indies, is the demand for labor occasioned by the late emancipation act. This labor is required by white planters on the large plantations, and as the demand becomes supplied, the wages will of course be reduced, as no new plantations will be opened, while there is a deficiency of hands to carry on those now in operation. The emigrant will take the place of the freed slave who refuses to work for his former master, and although the law de-
clares the colored man a free citizen, yet it is not to be expected that the planters, who have felt themselves aggrieved by the act of emancipation, forced upon them by Great Britain, will receive the American colored laborers as their equals, or that they will regard the substitute for a slave in any other character than that of a menial. Nor can the emigrant thus situated, exercise the independence of a free man in Liberia; he has a master, not an employer merely, a white man who cares only for his labor, not for his elevation. Schools may be provided for colored children, but the white planter can have no interest in encouraging their education; it is the cultivation of his land which he seeks, and not the cultivation of the minds of those who till it. An elevated, educated people is not what he wants, it is bone and muscle; it is physical not mental power which he requires. The newspapers are filled with disastrous accounts of the falling off of crops, the want of laborers, the ruin of the planters, but no complaint of the want of schools, no enlarged plans proposed by the planters for the elevation of the colored people. Under such circumstances the American colored man can feel none of the elevating influences of nationality of character. While the white planters retain the great portion of the wealth of the island, the influence of the poor colored man must be limited indeed. His condition can be improved only as the number and influence of the whites decrease, and his independence attained only when the whites disappear from the islands.

Until this change takes place, we consider that Liberia presents far greater inducements to our free colored population than the West Indies. It may be replied by those who advise them to prefer the West Indies to Liberia, that our colored population are generally unwilling to remove to Liberia. This is no doubt true, and it would be strange were it otherwise. For more than ten years many of those who have taken an active interest in favor of the colored people, have labored incessantly to prejudice them against Liberia, and to induce them to remain in this country, alleging that their remaining would hasten, and finally secure, not only the emancipation of the slaves in the United States, but the attainment of equal rights with the whites. This party, who claim to be the exclusive friends of the colored man, have very naturally succeeded in acquiring a controlling influence over the free colored population, both in the free and slave States, denouncing emigration to any quarter, but particularly to Liberia. The avowed principles and practices of this new school of philanthropists have given great offence to the South, and many warm friends of African Colonization have withdrawn their support, not distinguishing between those friends who sought quietly to remove the free colored men with their own consent to Liberia, from those who demanded the immediate abolition of slavery. But, while the patrons of Colonization have pursued the even tenor of their way, the enemies of the cause have taken new ground, and, abandoning the plan of elevating the colored people in this country, now advise their emigration to British Guiana and
the West Indies; still, however, maintaining their hostility to emigration to Liberia. We believe that our free colored people would be gainers by emigrating to any country where they can be owners of the soil, and conductors of their own government, since we cannot expect them to be elevated to that privilege here; but we should not select the British West Indies, and we think there are good reasons why their advisers ought well to examine this subject. Before they turn the current of emigration to the British dominions, they ought to be well satisfied, that the advantages there presented to colored men, are superior, not only to those they might enjoy in Liberia, but in any other country to which they could remove.

Nor while consulting the best interests of the colored man, are we at liberty, as patriots and philanthropists, to disregard the welfare of our common country. The vital interests of fifteen millions of people are not to be sacrificed to untried and doubtful experiments in behalf of three millions. The colored emigrant to the West Indies, made to believe that the refusal to extend to him equal, social, and political privileges here, was cruel oppression, carries with him no good will to this country, and is surrounded with circumstances tending to increase his hostility, to foreignize his feelings, and to estrange him wholly from his native country. Taught to regard the British as the exclusive friends of his race, pledged for their elevation, he becomes British in his attachments, his interests and his prejudices. Having become British subjects, these emigrants will be controlled by British influence and will add strength to the British power; their labor must contribute to increase British wealth and commerce; and finally, when required, they will become British soldiers.

The colored man who goes from this country to Liberia with feelings of hostility against the white man for supposed or real injuries done him here, is placed in circumstances calculated to remove that hostility. The kind solicitude for his welfare which is extended to him in his new home, overcomes his prejudices, wins his confidence, and secures his attachment. He looks to this country as his father land, the home of his benefactors. The colony of Liberia will grow into a nation, taking this country as their model in laws, religion and customs; the produce of that country will find a market here, and our manufactures will find consumers there. But although that nation will become independent, still it will be American in feeling, language, and interests—and as far as its influence and government extend over that continent, it will be an extension of American influence, trade and commerce.