portation to the one or to the other is nearly the same. The emigrants would be in a state of dependence on the present inhabitants of the island, who have more intelligence, and have made greater advances in civilization, and moreover possess all the power of the Government. They speak a different language. It should not be the policy of the United States, when they consider the predominant power of the island and its vicinity to the Southern States, to add strength to it. And, finally, Hayti is destitute of some of those high moral considerations which belong to the foundation of a colony in Africa.

The country west of the Rocky mountains is also objectionable on several grounds. The expense of transportation of emigrants to it, whether by sea or inland, would be incomparably greater than to Africa. They would be thrown in the midst of Indian tribes, to whom they are as incongruous as with the whites. Bloody and exterminating wars would be the certain consequence; and the United States would be bound to incur great expense in defending them and preserving peace. Finally, that wave of the European race which rose on the borders of the Atlantic, swept over the Allegany mountains, reached the Mississippi, and ascended the two great rivers which unite near St. Louis, will at no distant day pass the Rocky mountains, and strike the Pacific, where it would again produce that very contact between discordant races which it is so desirable to avoid.

The society has demonstrated the practicability of planting a colony on the shores of Africa. Its exertions have been confined exclusively to the free colored people of the United States, and to those of them who are willing to go. It has neither purpose nor power to extend them to the larger portion of that race held in bondage. Throughout the whole period of its existence, this disclaimer has been made, and incontestable facts establish its truth and sincerity. It is now repeated in its behalf, that the spirit of misrepresentation may have no pretext for abusing the public ear. But, although its scheme is so restricted, the society is aware and rejoices that the principle of African colonization which it has developed admits of wider scope and more extensive application by those States and private individuals who may have the power and the inclination to apply it.

The slave population of the United States, according to the last returns of their census, as was shown more in detail on another occasion, increased in a ratio of about 46,000 per annum. It may, perhaps, now be estimated at not less than 50,000. It was said on that occasion, "Let us suppose, for example, that the whole population at present of the United States is twelve millions, of which ten may be estimated of the Anglo-Saxon, and two of the African race. If there could be annually transported from the United States an amount of the African portion equal to the annual increase of the whole of that caste, whilst the European race should be left to multiply, we should find at the termination of the period of duplication, whatever it may be, that the relative proportions would be as twenty to two. And if the process were continued during a second term of duplication the population would be as forty to two—one which would eradicate every cause of alarm or solicitude from the breasts of the most timid. But the transportation of Africans, by creating, to the extent to which it might be carried, a vacuum in society, would tend to accelerate the duplication of the European race, who, by all the laws of population, would fill up the void space." To transport to Africa fifty thousand persons would cost

one million of dollars, upon the estimate before stated. One million of dollars applied annually, during a period of sixty or seventy years, would, at the end of it, so completely drain the United States of all that portion of their inhabitants as not to leave many more than those few who are objects of curiosity in the countries of Europe. And is that sum, one-tenth part of what the United States now annually appropriate as a sinking fund, without feeling it, and which will soon not be requisite to the extinction of the national debt, capable of producing any suffering or creating any impediment in the execution of other great social objects of the American communities? What a vast moral debt to Africa, to the world, and to our common God, should we not discharge by the creation of a new sinking fund of such a paltry sum?

This estimate does not comprehend any indemnity to the owners of slaves, for their value, if they are to be purchased for the purpose of colonization. It is presumable that States or individuals, no longer restrained from the execution of their benevolent wish to contribute their endeavors to blot out this great stain upon the American name, by the consideration of the difficulty of a suitable provision for liberated slaves, when they perceive the plan of colonization in successful operation, will voluntarily manumit many, for the purpose of their emigration. One of the latest numbers of the National Intelligencer states the fact, that a recent offer has been made of 2,000 slaves to the society, to be sent to Liberia, which the want of funds alone prevents its accepting. If the reasoning before employed, founded upon the decline in value of that description of property, be correct, many will be disposed to emancipate from less disinterested motives. From some or all these sources, and from the free colored population, an amount may be annually obtained, for the purposes of colonization, equal to the number of fifty-six thousand which has been supposed. As the work of colonization advances, the ability of the European race to promote it will increase, both from the augmentation of its numbers and of its wealth, and the relative diminution of the negro race; and, in the course of the progress of its execution, it will not be found a burdensome appropriation of some of the revenue of the people of the United States to purchase slaves, if colonists cannot otherwise be obtained. Meanwhile, it affords cause of the sincerest gratification, that, in whatever extent the scheme of African colonization is executed, good is attained without a solitary attendant evil.

I could not discuss the question of the extent of the respective powers of the various Governments of this Union, without enlarging this address, already too much prolonged, in a most unreasonable degree. That the aggregate of their total powers is fully adequate to the execution of the plan of colonization, in its greatest extent, is incontestable. How those powers have, in fact, been divided and distributed between the General and State Governments, is a question for themselves to decide, after careful investigation and full deliberation. We may safely assume that there are some things which each system is competent to perform, towards the accomplishment of the great work. The General Government can treat with foreign Powers of the security of the colony, and with the Emperor of Morocco, or other African Princes or States, for the acquisition of territory. It may provide in the colony an asylum for natives of Africa introduced into the United States in contravention to their laws, and for their support and protection, as it has done. And it may employ portions of our

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XIV. Books

2. Report of Mr. Kennedy, of Maryland
H.R. report no.283, 27th Congress
3rd session, Washington, D.C. 1843