REPORT

OF

THE AGENT

OF THE

COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

OF THE

STATE OF INDIANA,

IN REPLY TO A RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE.

INDIANAPOLIS:
AUSTIN H. BROWN, STATE PRINTER.
1835.

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SENATE CHAMBER, January 8, 1855.

Dear Sir:—I have the honor to transmit to you herewith the following resolution this day adopted by the Senate, to which a response is desired at your earliest convenience:

Resolved, That the Agent of the Indiana Colonization Society be requested, at as early a day as practicable, to furnish the Senate a statement in relation to the operations of said agency during the year 1854; the amount of money that has been expended out of State Treasury for said object, the number of colored persons, if any, that have signified a willingness to emigrate to Liberia, and all facts in his possession in relation to said population within this State.

Passed Senate, January 8, 1855.

Respectfully,

SOLOM TURMAN,
Secretary of Senate.

Hon. A. P. Willard,
President of the Senate of the State of Indiana:

Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the resolution of inquiry in relation to colonization adopted by your branch of the General Assembly on the 8th inst., and I herewith respectfully submit an answer thereon.

Yours with much respect,

J. Mitchell,
Agent Colonization Society,

Indianapolis, January 9, 1858.
REPORT.

OLONIZATION SOCIETY,

INDIANAPOLIS, Jan. 9, 1855.

To the Honorable Members of the
Senate of the State of Indiana:

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your resolution of inquiry, on the subject of African colonization, and respectfully submit the following answer thereto: qualifying that answer, however, by the statement, that since the first of August, '54, I have not been acting as the responsible officer of the State Board of Colonization, having resigned the secretarial position, which took effect at the above date, and in which Rev. T. A. Mills, of this city, was appointed my successor. However, holding as I do, the relation of Corresponding Secretary of the Board, which is an unusual office, and being requested by Mr. Mills to make such statement as will cover the time intervening between my last report and the first of August, I do so with great pleasure—recognizing your right to call on any of the officials of the American Colonization Society at any time, for such information as they may be able to furnish.

I made a report to the Governor, for the year 1853, which was published and circulated. It contained the following points: The organization of the State Board—correspondence with the authorities of Liberia, and the employment of a colored agent to visit Liberia—the growing spirit of emigration amongst the people of color—the notion of those States which have considered the subject of colonization—and a statement of the finance of the Board, by which it is shown that we have made but a slight draft on the moneys appropriated to the colonization fund. Our report for 1853 closes with an appendix containing extracts from our inews, showing the general powers of the Board, together with a few of its orders, and the certificate of Rev. Wm. McLain, the treasurer of the American Colonization Society, showing the names, ages, etc., of the emigrants from Indiana sent out by him, as the disturbance and
transporting agent of the State Board. We have been thus particu-
lar in reviewing that report, fearing that it may not have reached
the hands of some.

According to that report we have drawn the sum of ($3,000)
three thousand dollars, from our State colonization fund, and met
it in the hands of the treasurer of the American Colonization So-
ciety, to be expended according to the terms of our laws, viz: by
the appropriation of $200 to meet the expense of outfit and trans-
portation of each emigrant, properly accredited as from Indiana.
We refer you to the 13th and 21st pages of said report for the
proper exhibit of the condition of our account up to the date given.

Through the kindness of your predecessors, I have been permis-
sed to shape the appropriation bills for colonization—and being asso-
ciated to preserve to our enterprise a good reputation, for correct and
 economical management of funds thus appropriated, the laws have
been made in the most strict and guarded terms, leaving no discre-
tion with the Board or its officers in the application of the fund
—and to render the disbursements as more economical, and report there-
fore more reliable, the Board adopted the following order:

Resolved, That all money appropriated by the Board shall be
placed in the hands of the treasurer of the American Colonization
Society, at Washington City, to the credit of the State of Indiana,
to be paid out by him, on the application of negroes and mulattoes,
who desire to emigrate to Liberia, by their presenting the certificate
of the clerk of the county in which they reside, under the seal of
such county, and notice from the Agent or Secretary of the State
Board of Colonization.

Thus the Treasurer of the A. C. Society, becomes our disbursing
agent and auditor of the accounts of transportation, on whose
reports you can act at all times rely.

But whilst we were thus careful to guard the credit of our enter-
prise, the Board found itself much embarrassed, from the want of
a contingent fund to meet necessary expenses, connected with move-
ments and measures, that from time to time arise in the history of
our undertaking, a benevolent character. The most embarras-
sing to the writer of which has been the mission of Rev. John
McKey, colored agent, sent out to Liberia by the Board. He sailed
from Baltimore for Monrovia in November, 1853; in company with
several, which, as we have seen, was 20 of our emigrants. The Board allowed him $350 as salary and
traveling expenses on the trip; but having no contingent fund on
which to draw, I have been obliged to borrow the money necessary
for this purpose. He received instructions to be in Africa from the 19th of December, 1853, to the 11th of last March, visiting most of the important
places in the republic. He arrived on New York at the English
ferry, in April. On his return he made a report to the

The Annex

The last session of the Legislature of the State of South Carolina
is about to close, and the prospects are very favorable for the
adoption of a plan for the colonization of the free colored people.

The House of Representatives was convened in the City of Charles-
ton, and has been several weeks in session. The amendments made
in the bills, and the debates on them, are not

To meet such cases as the above claim, I made an appeal to the public to raise a contingent fund by subscription, and sent out a few letters to my friends requesting aid—this application failed, arising from the opinion that it has become correct, that the Legislature through the State Board, has made ample provision for all such reasonable claims, and that the equitable distribution of this slight burden, by legislative appropriation is the better way to dispose of such claims. However, in response to my call I received the following sums—of M. Helms, Esq., $80; William Taylor, Esq., $3; N. J. Thornsberry, Esq., $2; Messrs. W. W. Cotton, and M. McPhadley, each, $1; in all $11, the receipt of which I thus acknowledge.

It may not be out of place, for me to attempt in a respectful manner a few suggestions, calculated to smooth the way of my successor, Mr. Mills. First, that a contingent fund of a few hundred dollars be placed at the disposal of the Board, to be applied to the furtherance of the enterprise. Or, what would be better still, that the expenditure of the annual appropriation, a wise discretion be allowed the Board, so that their hands be not too tightly bound.

Indeed, this discretion is necessary to the successful planting of the settlement at Grand Cape Mount;—there should an appropriation made to aid the government of Liberia, in making the necessary improvements at that point, in consideration for which they will grant lands at reasonable prices, for the terms of which we refer you to the correspondence with that government. It is true that the price per acre has not been fixed, but we have been led to believe that price will be a nominal one. But whether this be the proper way to pay for the lands or not, it will be a gracious act to place such power in the hands of the Board, as will enable it to negotiate without trammel, and secure the best terms from the government of Liberia.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

During the last session of Congress I visited Washington, to enlist, if possible, some of the western and south-western statesmen, in our cause. During that visit the confidential report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, made to the Senate in executive session, was permitted to obtain publicity, for the purpose of disabusing the public mind, which some of the ultra-northern papers, were about to mislead, in regard to a resolution submitted in the Senate some time before, proposing to abrogate the eighth article of the Ashburton treaty, so as to effect some change in the existing plans for the suppression of the African slave trade. This, it was said, was preparatory to a move for the renewal of that trade; and this assertion received some amount of plausibility, from the fact that an irresponsible and corrupt sheet in Charleston, South Carolina, advocated the renewal; now every one knows that sentiments emanating from such a section, and such a source, are not the exponents of southern views; and in
The following is the Report submitted to the Senate in secret session on the proposal to alter the Treaty with Great Britain as regard to the suppression of the slave trade on the coast of Africa:

[UNCLASSIFIED]

Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, of the Senate, on a resolution relative to the alteration of the eighth article of the Treaty with Great Britain of the 9th August, 1814, providing for preventing a Naval force on the coast of Africa, &c.,

The committee on Foreign relations, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by Mr. St. Clair, on the 28th May, 1814, "That in the opinion of the Senate it is expedient and in conformity with the interests and sound policy of the United States, that the 8th article of the Treaty between the Government and Great Britain, of the 9th of August, 1814, should be altered, and that should be President of the United States, under whose opinion it is requested to signify, to the Government of Great Britain, in conformity with the 11th article of that treaty, the wish of this Government to terminate the said 8th article," have had the same under consideration, and now respectfully report:

That by the 8th article of the treaty with Great Britain, made at Washington on the 9th of August, 1814, the two governments are to provide, equip, and maintain in service, on the Coast of Africa, a sufficient and adequate squadron, or naval force of vessels, of suitable numbers and description, to carry in all not less than 50 guns, to enforce temporarily and respectfully the laws, rights, and obligations of each of the two countries, for the suppression of the Slave trade; and to perform all such other services as shall enable them mutually to set in motion and co-operate, upon mutual want of evidence, to suppress and co-operate, upon mutual want of evidence, for the attainment of the object.

Washington, Wednesday, June 21.

[Signature]
of this article, copies of all such orders to be communicated by each government to the other, respectively."

By the 8th articles of the same treaty, it is declared that the 8th article shall be in force for five years from the date of exchange of the ratification, and afterwards until one or the other party shall signify a wish to terminate it.

The policy of stipulations of this kind with any foreign power, may well be questioned on general grounds; but your committee do not think it necessary to enter upon so large and debatable a field of discussion, and will confine themselves to an examination of the question, whether, admitting the propriety and expediency of the measure at the time of its adoption, with the imperfect or erroneous information then possessed, it may not be proper and expedient now to strengthen it. It was then supposed that the most efficient mode of suppressing the Slave trade, was to employ numerous cruisers on the coast of Africa, and the very cession of the treaty indicates the reverts that were expected to be obtained by it. It is entitled "A move to settle and define the boundaries between the territories of the United States and the possession of Her Britannic Majesty in North America, for the final suppression of the African Slave trade," &c. It was believed that the best point for the employment of a naval force for the attainment of an object which the people and government of the United States desired quite as earnestly as Her Britannic Majesty and her subjects, was the coast of Africa. An experience of twelve years has demonstrated the fallacy of that opinion.

Large squadrons have been kept up during that period by the two powers, at an enormous expense in money, with a lamentable loss of lives and destruction of the health of the officers and men employed in that service, &c. And what has been the result? Let the record show. The British squadron comprises several steamers, existing in all 27 vessels, carrying about 300 guns, and 5,000 men. The annual expense of the squadron, £706,456—about $1,000,000. This is the expense proper of the squadron. That of auxiliary establishments on the coast connected with this service, and which might otherwise be dispensed with, is estimated at £200,000 to £500,000. Take the lowest figure, and you have $1,500,000 to add to the direct cost of the squadron, making a total annual expenditure of five millions of dollars. In 1849 alone, the number of deaths of officers and men was 250, and of officers and men invalidated, 571.

The United States have four vessels and 90 guns on the coast of Africa, being about one-eighth of our whole naval force afloat; and, at the estimated expense of the navy, after deducting special objects, such as the transportation of the mail in steamships, improvement of navy yards, &c., is $3,351,171, the annual cost of this squadron may be fairly calculated at $800,000, or $1,000,000 per year. This, it will be observed, is considerably less than the cost per gun of the British squadron, which is about $11,700.

It is a subject of congratulation, however, that for the last four
years the mortality of our officers and men employed in this service bears a favorable comparison with that of other stations. This, the Navy Department attributes to the extraordinary caution or superintendence adopted by the officers of the squadron.

France at one time supposed herself to keep up an equal force with Great Britain on the Coast of Africa, say 26 vessels; but finding the engagements too onerous, she applied to the British Government for a modification of the treaty, which was conceded, and she now has only twelve vessels so employed. There are no precise data as to which the expenditure of France can be established, but it appears to the proportion of vessels employed, say 12 or 16, it would be about $1,600,000. The annual joint expenditure of England, France, and the United States, thus appears to be $7,600,000.

Mr. Hearne, the chairman of the select committee of the House of Commons appointed to investigate this question, stated on the 19th of March, 1859, that the number of slaves exported from Africa had sunk down in 1849, the very year of the negotiation of the Abbeaton Treaty, to very nearly 30,000. In 1850 it rose to 58,000; in 1854 it was 76,000; in 1857 it was 84,000, and was then in a state of unusual activity.

Sir Charles Foxman, who commanded for several years on the coast of Africa, and who is one of the most distinguished officers of the British Navy, on his examination before the select committee, thus replied to the question propounded to him:

"Was the force under your command in a high state of discipline, generally speaking?"

"I thought so."

"Were your views carried out by the officers under your command to entire satisfaction?"

"Entirely so."

"What was the result of your operations; did you succeed in stopping the slave trade?"

"No." "Did you cripple it to such an extent as in your opinion enabled to give to the slave trade a permanent check?"

"In some degree." "Do you consider that the slave trade has been generally regulated by the strength and efficiency of the British squadron on the coast by the commercial demand for slaves?"

"I consider that it is entirely dependent upon the commercial demand for slaves, and has little or no connection with the squadron." "You think that the present system is open to many grave objections on other accounts, and that it will not succeed?"

"Experience has proved the present system to be feasible.

The total result of the operations of our squadron, during the twelve years, has been the capture of 14 vessels. The African slave trade has, it is believed, been entirely suppressed in Brazil, and in the hemisphere, the remaining colonies of Spain, Colô..."
Your committee think that, if the American flag be still employed in this infamous traffic now prohibited by every Christian nation, and conscientiously practiced by some states, the prize can be more efficiently prevented by the employment of our cruisers in the vicinity of those islands.

It would seem superfluous on the part of your committee to say that is animating the adoption of the resolution under consideration they exemplify the most remote intention of relaxing in any degree the stringency of our legislation on the subject of the African slave trade. No continuation, while it is so justly odious on our grounds, is in any way prejudicial to our commercial and equalitarian interests.

The adoption of the 8th article of the Adams-Trent Treaty does necessarily imply the purpose of withdrawing our squadron from the coast of Africa. A portion of it has, of course necessarily be retained there to protect our commerce. Its only effect will be to enable the Executive to employ the force stationed there at any other point where its services may be more useful. We would still be bound by the article of the Treaty of Ghent, to see the language of the article, "our best endeavors to promote the general interest of the entire abolition of the slave trade." And none can doubt that it will continue to be faithfully observed, as it has hereunto been, in letter and spirit.

Your committee recommend the adoption of the resolution.

This report is agreed to by Messrs. MASON, SANDERS, CAVANAY, BURR, AND WAXBEDE.

It is with pleasure we saw such a move, in such a quarter, for we hoped to see it taken a step at a time. The attempts we have long desired, and for years advocated, that of combining with the armed blockade of the coast, a system of colonization, or settlement of the coast with colonies of American negroes. With these views we concurred in the Washington papers several articles on the subject.

The war followed up by the introduction of a proposition into the Senate by Senator Potts, proposing to give the American Colonization Society 500,000 acres to establish a line of stations, between this country and Africa, and likewise proposing to create a more efficient preventive system than that now existing under the treaty stipulations with England.

The proposition, although probably not quite perfect in form and terms contained true merits, and might have been perfected by a little consideration; and would have furnished all that colonizers desired just now—and in our opinion had friends enough in Congress, etc., by which means, some of the misgivings of our enterprise, become alarmed, and this move should be associated with the proposition of a Charlotten paper to remove the African slave trade, and thereby influence so as to that enormous scheme. This, we might have been expected to divide the
sentiment of the members of Congress friendly to our appropriations, which we considered it politic not to press the question at that time.

Some effort has been made to obtain the outline of a proposition on which to unite the sentiments of colonizationists, and we think the following put forward by the Senate of Illinois last week we have seen:

"WHEREAS, The committee on foreign relations, in the U. S. Senate, has lately submitted a report to that body, favorable to the abandonment of the 8th article of the Abolition treaty, which report is nearly as follows:

And whereas, we deem the agitation of the subject introduced in the above report of great importance, from the consideration that the absolute withdrawal of the squadron would be impolitic at this time, and highly prejudicial to the interests of our young republic, while at the same time we cannot but concede in the opinion that it expressed, that the existing plans for the suppression of the African slave trade is manifestly defective, and believing that the success of treaty stipulations there is a reflection upon the American government, implying a want of spontaneous benevolence, while the expenditure of $1,000,000 per annum upon our squadron of 50 guns is not attended with results such as should justify the outlay, and inferring that small swift armed steamers or vessels, having but a number of guns, and maintained at half the expense of our African squadron, could be successfully employed on the African coast in that service.

And whereas, sound policy and humanity suggest that a portion of said annual appropriation for the suppression of the slave trade, should be devoted to the work of settling the African coast colonies similar to Liberia. Therefore,

Resolved, That we recommitted to the consideration of our constituents and representatives in Congress, the following clause of a measure that we believe will render general and universal:

Let it be enacted, That the necessity of the money shall cause it to be fitted out—steamers, each bearing guns, making it a squadron of—guns, to be employed on the African coast, as an African squadron, for the suppression of the slave trade.

And be it further enacted, That the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars be and is hereby appropriated to be paid annually, out of any money in the treasury and otherwise appropriated, to the order of the board of directors of the American Colonization Society, for the purpose of enabling said society to establish a line of steam vessels, consisting of two steamers—said steamers shall sail and arrive three trips within the year, and we are to receive, at regular intervals, alternately between the ports of New York, Baltimore, New Orleans, Savannah and New Orleans, to the west coast of Africa, landing at such places as said society shall direct.

And be it further enacted, That the government of the United State..."
shall have the privilege of transporting as said steamer to and from east Africa, the government mails, and likewise — tons of government stores, each trip.

And be it further enacted, That so soon as the foregoing arrangements are effected, as a substitute for the existing plan of suppressing the slave trade, the president shall take the necessary steps to disperse the agreement now existing between this government and that of Great Britain, found in the 8th article of the Ashburton and Webster treaty.

This proposition is a modification of the Indiana proposition, and provides against the objection that may be advanced by the abolition men, in regard to the abrogation of the treaty.

It has been considered of doubtful expediency, by some of the advocates of colonization, to now agitate a change of our national policy in regard to the African slave trade—or to propose an examination of the system of armed blockade, or the abrogation of the treaty stipulation thereon. Now, with all respect to those who differ from us on this point, we must agree with the Senate report, and regard the English policy of the blockade, as fatal, and further, we regard the maintenance of her vast squadron, on the African coast, as having a two-fold end and to answer, for after the searching investigation which took place a few years ago, in both houses of Parliament, in regard to the utility of this bloated, which resulted in discrediting its inefficiency, we must believe that "the ministry" have not only the preventive scheme in view, for which we give them credit, but likewise they are thus enabled to present to the people England's popular protest for sustaining an expensive navy, and naval list, during a time of peace, so as to be prepared for a time of war, without which protest the Commons might grumble at apparently unnecessary taxation.

But in return to the question of the abrogation; we do not think it possible to unite our own views harmoniously, in the work of African colonization by the general government, only as a substitute for some system already recognized, if this can be done it should be done, but if not, for our part we can see no sound objection to restoring it to them as a means of effecting the suppression of the slave trade. The fact that a few unprincipled men in the south have hoodwinked the run out of that trade, is no reason why we should shun our ground on this question. Indeed, these men in the extreme south are not the extremes of the sentiment of the south on the question. The Charleston Mercury and its sympathizers are too contemptible at home, to be the subject of serious consideration by their neighbors, but our northern press, quoting them as authority, regard them to a power of monstrous proposition, and manufacturer's out of them political capital to serve political ends.

In place of the Charleston Mercury being the exponent of southern sentiment on this subject, we submit a few extracts from a communication of Gov. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, on the best
informed men of the south to the New York Evangelist, then Sep.
31, 1834, in which he says:

"The south is now, as it ever has been since the trade began un
happy, utterly opposed to its renewal. No doubt, sir, it would
afford you much pleasure if the facts would permit you to say
much for the north. Except not, sir, it seems surprising that you
should entertain a doubt with regard to southern sentiment on the
subject. With a coast extending from Maryland to Texas, very
facility abundant and at hand, what is there now, or has there been hitherto, to prevent the south carrying on this trade, but it has so disposed? And if it is inclined to the direct trade with Africa, what is there now, or has there been institution, to prevent indirect trade by way of Cola?"

Mr. Cobb further says:

"On this subject, with regard to my native State, (Georgia,) I can
be very explicit—positive. You will perceive that the power in
prohibiting the African slave trade is in the Federal Constitution, as
an implicit power—powers of this kind I esteem dormant until they
are put into use: rise by legislation. Congress passed act in 1797,
prohibiting this trade after the first day of January, 1808. Ten
years before this period, that is, in 1788, Georgia invested in her con
stitution this article: "There shall be no importation of slaves into this State from Africa, or any foreign place, after the first day of October next." For the purposes of carrying fully into effect the provisions of her constitution and the act of Congress of 1808, the thirty-seven years ago, only one year after the organization of the Colonization Society, provision was made for turning over to the society any African slaves which might be introduced into the State. This occurred in the last mentioned act and the remarkable clause:

"The Excellency the Governor is authorized and required to aid in promoting the benevolent views of said society, in such a
manner as he may deem expedient." So stands, this day the con
stitution and law of Georgia. I regret that I am not prepared to make an investigation of this subject, as respects the southern States; but I apprehend that an examination will show efficient legislation on the part of each of them as is that of G. org for a common pur
pose would necessarily suggest common action."

Thus on one leading, or influential paper in the south, when
advances the opening of the slave trade, with the exception of the Charleston Mercury. The southern papers generally commend a letter of Gov. Cobb, in which the above sentiments were expressed.

As this whole subject is one of growing importance, around which additional interest is gathering yearly, I have ventured to throw open it up for your consideration and reflection; and it gives me great pleasure to inform you that in visiting the adjoining States we find that the position of Indiana in regard to the question o
The position is considered of a wise and important position, which will be without its influence on them.

I have refrained from speaking of the doings of the board during the few months last passed; knowing that it is the intention of Mr. John to cover that ground.

Respectfully submitted,

J. MITCHELL.