

REPORT

OF

THE AGENT

OF THE

COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

OF THE

STATE OF INDIANA,

IN REPLY TO A RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE.

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INDIANAPOLIS:

AUSTIN H. BROWN, STATE PRINTER.

1855.

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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,

SOLON TURMAN, .

*Secretary of Senate.*

Rev. J. MITCHELL, *Agent Am. Col. Society in the West.*

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 thereto.

Yours with much respect,

J. MITCHELL,

*Agent Colonization Society.*

INDIANAPOLIS, January 9, 1855.

# REPORT.

COLONIZATION 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 secretaryship thereof, which took effect at the above date, and on 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 unsalaried 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 officers 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 action 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 laws, 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, &c., of the emigrants from Indiana sent out by him, as the disbursing and

transporting agent of the State Board." We have been thus particular 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 placed it in the hands of the treasurer of the American Colonization Society, to be expended according to the terms of our laws, viz: by the appropriation of \$50 to meet the expense of outfit and transportation of each emigrant, properly accredited as from Indiana. We refer you to the 15th and 22d. pages of said report for the proper exhibit of the condition of our account up to the given date.

Through the kindness of your predecessors, I have been permitted to shape the appropriation bills for colonization—and being anxious 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 discretion with the Board or its officers in the application of the funds—and to render the disbursements more economical, and report thereof more reliable, the Board adopted the following order:

*Resolved*, That all moneys 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 mulattos, 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 due notice from the Agent or Secretary of this 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 at all times rely.

But whilst we were thus careful to guard the credit of our enterprise, the Board found itself much embarrassed, from the want of a contingent fund to meet necessary expenses, connected with movements and measures, that from time to time arise in the history of every undertaking of a benevolent character. The most embarrassing 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 25 of our emigrants. The Board allowed him \$350 as salary and traveling expenses for the trip; but having no contingent fund on which to draw, I have been obliged to borrow the money necessary to meet \$265 of the above sum. McKey's visit to Liberia has been a successful one. He remained in Africa from the 19th of December, 1853, to the 11th of last March, visiting most of the important places in the republic. He shipped for New York at the English settlement of Sierra Leone. On his return he made a report to the Board, which has been published by their order, for your consideration. It contains, in addition to his report, a further correspondence with the government of Liberia, and other papers of some interest.

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 our friends requesting aid—this application failed, arising from the opinion that has become current, 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 claim. However, in response to my call I received the following sums—of M. Helmer, Esq., \$10; William Traylor, Esq., \$5; N. I. Throckmorton, Esq., \$2; Messrs. W. W. Cotton, and M. McPhetredge, each, \$1; in all \$19, 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 in 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 Mound—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 praiseworthy 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 shadow 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

our opinion, merit naught but that silent contempt, which acts and speaks as though such a press had no existence.

We submit the whole of the report as published, because of its statistical value, and because of the character of the members of the committee from which it came. Mr. Clayton, who is a member of that committee, we regard as one of the best informed statesmen in Congress, not only on our foreign policy in general, but on all questions relating to Africa, and the slave trade. The fact that he agreed to this report precludes the idea of his lending his name to such an atrocity, as the renewal of the slave trade, and we thus refer to him because he is in the opposition to the majority on the committee.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, June 21.

The following is the Report submitted to the Senate in secret session on the proposal to abrogate the Treaty with Great Britain in regard to the suppression of the slave trade on the coast of Africa:

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

*Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, (of the Senate,) on a resolution relative to the abrogation of the eighth Article of the Treaty with Great Britain of the 9th August, 1842, providing for maintaining a Naval force on the coast of Africa, &c.*

The committee on Foreign relations, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by Mr. SLIDELL, on the 29th May, 1854, "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 this Government and Great Britain, of the 9th of August, 1842, should be abrogated; and that should the President of the United States concur in this opinion, he be 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, 1852, commonly known as the Ashburton Treaty, "the parties mutually stipulate that each shall prepare, equip, and maintain in service, on the Coast of Africa, a sufficient and adequate squadron, or naval force of vessels, of suitable numbers and descriptions, to carry in all not less than 80 guns, to enforce separately and respectively the laws, rights, and obligations of each of the two countries, for the suppression of the Slave; the said squadrons to be independent of each other, but the Governments stipulating nevertheless, to give such orders to the commanders of their respective forces, as shall enable them mutually to act in concert and co-operation, upon mutual consultation, in all emergencies may arise, for the attainment of the true object

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

By the 11th 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 abrogate it. It was then supposed that the most efficient mode of suppressing the Slave trade, was to employ numerous cruizers on the coast of Africa, and the very caption of the treaty indicates the results that were expected to be obtained by it. It is entitled "A treaty to settle and define the boundaries between the territories of the United States and the possession of Her British 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 British 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 life and destruction of the health of the officers and men employed in that noxious climate. And what has been the result? Let the record show. The British squadron comprises several steamers, counting in all 27 vessels, carrying about 300 guns, and 3,000 men. The annual expense of the squadron, £706,450—about \$3,500,000. 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 £300,000 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 1845 alone, the number of deaths of officers and men was 259, and of officers and men invalided, 271.

The United States have four vessels and 80 guns on the coast of Africa, being about one-eighth of our whole naval force afloat; and, as 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 \$8,351,171, 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 sanitary measures adopted by the officers of the squadron.

France at one time obligated 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 on which the expenditure of France can be established, but estimating it by the proportion of vessels employed, say 12 to 26, it would be about \$1,600,000. The annual joint expenditure of England, France, and the United States, thus appears to be \$7,400,000.

Mr. HURT, the chairman of the select committee of the House of Commons appointed to investigate this question, stated on the 19th of March, 1850, "that the number of slaves exported from Africa had sunk down in 1842, the very year of the negotiation of the Ashburton Treaty, to very nearly 30,000. In 1843 it rose to 55,000; in 1846 it was 76,000; in 1847 it was 84,000, and was then in a state of unusual activity." Sir CHARLES HOLTHAM, 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 queries 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 is in your opinion calculated to give to the slave trade a permanent check?"

"No."

"Do you consider that the slave trade has been generally regulated by the strength and efficiency of the British squadron on the coast, or 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 proven the present system to be futile."

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 this hemisphere, the remaining colonies of Spain, Cuba

and Porto Rico, are its only marts. Your committee think that, if the American flag be still employed in this nefarious traffic now prohibited by every christian nation, and surreptitiously tolerated by Spain alone, the abuse can be more efficiently corrected 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, in commending the adoption of the resolution under consideration, they repudiate the most remote intention of relaxing in any degree the stringency of our legislation on the subject of the African slave trade. Its continuance, while it is so justly odious on moral grounds, is in every way prejudicial to our commercial and agricultural interests.

The abrogation of the 8th article of the Ashburton Treaty does not necessarily imply the purpose of withdrawing our squadron from the coast of Africa. A portion of it, indeed, must 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 use in the language of the article, "our best endeavors to promote the desirable object of the entire abolition of the slave trade." And none can doubt that it will continue to be faithfully observed, as it has heretofore been, in letter and spirit.

Your committee recommend the adoption of the resolution.

This report was agreed to by Messrs. MASON, SLIDELL, CLAYTON, DOUGLAS and WELLER.

It was with pleasure we saw such a move, in such a quarter, for we hoped to see it take the direction we have long desired, and for years advocated, viz: that of combining with the armed blockade of the coast, a system of colonization, or settlement of the coast with communities of American negroes. With these views we communicated to the Washington papers several articles on the subject. This was followed up by the introduction of a proposition into the Senate, by Senator Pettit, proposing to give the American Colonization Society \$250,000 to enable her to establish a line of steam-ships, between this country and Africa, and likewise proposing to form a more efficient preventive system than that now existing under the treaty stipulations with England.

This proposition, although probably not quite perfect in form and terms, contained true merit, and might have been perfected by a little consideration; and would have furnished all that colonizationists desire just now—and in our opinion had friends enough in Congress to carry it through both houses; but just at this juncture, some of the managers of our enterprise, became alarmed, least this move should be associated with the proposition of a Charleston paper to renew the African slave trade, and thereby implicate us in that villainous scheme. This, as might have been expected, so divided the

sentiment of the members of Congress friendly to our appropriation, that 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 State Society of Illinois the best 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 abrogation of the 8th article of the Asburton treaty, which report is nearly as follows:

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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 colonies, while at the same time we cannot but concur in the opinion there expressed, that the existing plan for the suppression of the African slave trade is manifestly defective, and believing that the existence 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 80 guns, is not attended with results such as should justify this outlay, and believing that small swift armed steamers or vessels, having half the 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 with colonies similar to Liberia. Therefore,

*Resolved*, That we recommend to the consideration of our senators and representatives in Congress, the following outline of a measure that we believe will render general satisfaction:

*Let it be enacted*, That the secretary of the navy shall cause to be fitted out — steamers, each bearing — guns, making in all a squadron of — guns, to be employed on the African coast, as our 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 not 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 each make three trips within the year, and as near as possible, at regular intervals, alternately between the ports of New York, Baltimore, Norfolk, Savannah and New Orleans, to the west coast of Africa, touching at such places as said society shall direct.

*And be it further enacted*, The government of the United States

shall have the privilege of transporting on said steamers to and from west 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 dissolve 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 press, 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 an armed blockade, or the abrogation of the treaty stipulations 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 futile, and further, we regard the maintenance of her vast squadron, on the African coast, as having a two-fold end 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 blockade, which resulted in showing its inefficiency, we must believe that "the ministry" have not only the preventive scheme in view, for which we give them all credit; but likewise they are thus enabled to present to the people of England a popular pretext 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 pretext the Commons might grumble at apparently unnecessary taxation.

But to return to the question of the abrogation; we do not think it possible to enlist our southern statesmen generally, 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 own part we can see no sound objection to presenting 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 broached the renewal of that trade, is no reason why we should abandon our ground on this question. Indeed, those men in the extreme south are not the exponents of the sentiment of the south on this 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, magnified them to a power of monstrous proportions, and manufactured 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, one of the best

informed men of the south to the New York Evangelist, dated Sept. 21, 1854, in which he says:

"The south is now, as it ever has been since the trade became unlawful, **UTTERLY OPPOSED TO ITS REVIVAL**. No doubt, sir, it would afford you much pleasure if the facts would permit you to say as much for the north. Excuse me, sir, it seems surprising that you should entertain a doubt with regard to southern sentiment on this subject. With a coast extending from Maryland to Texas, every facility abundant and at hand, what is there *now*, or has there been heretofore, to prevent the south carrying on this trade, had it been so disposed? And if disinclined to the *direct* trade with Africa, what is there *now*, or has there been heretofore, to prevent *indirect* trade by way of Cuba?"

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 of prohibiting the African slave trade is in the Federal Constitution, but an *implicit* power—powers of this kind lie dormant until they are put into exercise by legislation. Congress passed an act, in 1807, prohibiting this trade after the first day of January, 1808. **TEN YEARS** before this period, that is, 1798, Georgia included in her constitution 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 purpose of carrying fully into effect the provisions of her constitution and the act of Congress of 1807, thirty-seven years ago, only one year after the organization of the Colonization Society, provision was made for turning over to said society any African slaves which might be introduced into the State. There occurs in the last mentioned act this remarkable clause: "His Excellency the Governor is authorized and requested to aid in promoting the benevolent views of said society, in such manner as he may deem expedient." So stands, this day the constitution 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 apprehended that an examination will show efficient legislation on the part of each of them as is that of Georgia; for a common purpose would necessarily suggest common action."

There is not one leading, or influential paper in the south, which advocates the opening of the slave trade, with the exception of the Charleston *Mercury*. The southern papers, generally commend the 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 thus 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 of

colonization, is considered *a wise and important position*, which will not be without its influence on them.

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

Respectfully submitted,

J. MITCHELL.