sacrificed one human life, and perhaps much more. Mr. Buxton’s calculation is the following: First, the slaughter of the wars which supply the slaves, the ill-usage of the captives on their march, and their sufferings while detained on the coast, cause together a mortality of 100 per cent. Secondly, the disease and cruelty of the voyage, now worse than ever it was, carries off, at the very least, 25 per cent. Thirdly, the loss after landing in the colonies, and during what planters used to call the “ seasoning,” amounts to at least 20 per cent. Upon these assumptions, “ for every 1000 negroes alive at the end of a year after their deporta­tion, and available to the planter, we have a sacrifice of 1450. Of 150,000 negroes, landed annually in Cuba, Bra­zil, &c. 30,000 die in the seasoning, leaving 120,000 avail­able to the planter. If 150,000 were landed, there must have been embarked 37,500 more, who perish in the pas­sage ; and if 187,500 were embarked, 187,500 more must have been sacrificed in the seizure, march, and detention. It is impossible for any one to reach this result, without suspecting, as well as hoping, that it must be an exagger­ation ; and yet there are those who think that this is too low an estimate.” Putting these facts in another shape, we find, that the slave trade between Africa and America subjects annually to the miseries of permanent bondage, no fewer than 120,000 negroes ; whilst, during the same period, it destroys the lives of 255,000 more.

II. Slavery. But, leaving here the consideration of the slave trade, we pass to the history of those measures which, following up its abolition in our own colonies, have destroy­ed it effectually as to them, by cradicating slavery itself.

Immediately on the passing of the act 1807, there was formed by the abolitionists a new association, which they called “ The African Institution.” Besides objects connect­ed with the recent measure, and embracing the tasks of watching its execution, of prevailing on foreign powers to imitate our policy, and of aiding in the civilization of Africa, this body gradually began to bestow great attention on the state of slavery in our own colonies, having an especial view to its ultimate abolition, which was afterwards taken up by the Anti-Slavery Society ; for their hopes soon waxed very low as to that progressive amelioration in the treatment and even the enlightenment of the slaves, to which some among them had looked forward as one consequence to flow from the stoppage of the foreign supply. The abolitionists were speedily united in the great aim of emancipation; Clarkson renewed his agitation in the provinces; local societies were formed every where, and tracts and larger works were circu­lated ; while in Parliament, Wilberforce, the apostle of the cause, was now seconded by Messrs. Brougham, Mackin­tosh, Buxton, Lushington, William Smith, and others, in pressing vainly on the House of Commons the adoption of measures tending to prepare the slave for eventually obtain­ing freedom.

At length the trenches were opened in Parliament ; and in this new attack, as in the former, the van was led by the Quakers, whose petition for the extinction of slavery was presented by Mr. Wilberforce to the House of Commons in March 1823. Soon afterwards, a motion by Mr. Buxton, for a resolution declaring slavery repugnant both to Christianity and to the British constitution, was defeated by Mr. Can­ning on counter resolutions, recommending certain ne­cessary reforms. These and other improvements, it was asserted, might be safely left to the colonial legislatures; and the ministry at the same time intimated, that, if the West Indian Assemblies refused to do their duty, it would become necessary for the British Parliament determinedly to interfere.

That no effectual reforms could proceed from the plan­ters themselves, the abolitionists had been long convinced. The government and their supporters, said they, had for­gotten two of the prominent features of society in the West Indies; the management of estates by agents for absentee

proprietors, and that spirit of reckless adventure which was at once a cause and an effect of West Indian embarrassments. It might have been added, and some had the firmness to add it, that the planters, supposing them ever so well dis­posed, dared not to introduce any such mitigation of rigour as would afford sufficient protection against individual op­pression. The slavery of multitudes was never in any coun­try maintained but by the reign of terror; and, when an en­slaved population has reached a certain limit in strength and intelligence, society must inevitably undergo one or another of three changes;—inhumanly increased severity, or univer­sal emancipation, or universal revolution.

In 1824, Mr. Canning, who, though he had been a zealous abolitionist, acted in regard to the new question a part to­tally unworthy of him, defeated, by a ministerial majority, Mr. Brougham’s very guarded motion of censure on the au­thorities of Demerara for the infamous and cruel injustice which destroyed the missionary Smith. But the publicity which the debates in Parliament, in this case, gave to the atrocities which, although certainly not common in the co­lonies or any where upon earth, the colonial laws allowed, when they did occur, to pass with perfect impunity, did more than any thing ever yet had done to excite the indig­nation of the British people.

The question, in fact, was surprisingly narrowed. When, in 1788, the abolitionists attacked the outworks which flanked the edifice of slavery, the fortress itself was pronounced by its defenders to be absolutely impregnable. The good of the empire, the good of the slave, the principles of all go­vernments, the very Bible itself, were appealed to as autho­rising the property in human flesh. But now, for many years, no man had breathed any argument of the sort. It was plain that emancipation must come, and that speedily; the parties were only at issue as to the time and the manner. Even the more intelligent among the planters, who saw the negroes swarming around them in hundreds of thousands, and already beginning to think dangerously, (that is, justly,) seem scarcely to have extended their hopes farther than to obtaining liberal compensation for all their losses, present or prospective, certain or conjectural. But the attitude which they chose, almost universally, to assume, was that of defi­ance towards the mother-country; and, accordingly, the right of the Colonial Assemblies to legislate for their own is­lands, and the danger which would be incurred by irritating them, were urged alternately with those other topics, of the risk of revolution through hasty changes, the unfitness of the uninstructed negroes to act as freemen, and such other grounds, which now became the arguments of those who wished the British Parliament to decline interfering.

Down to the year 1830, how much had been done, either in the chartered colonies, or in those governed immediately by the crown, for carrying into effect the reforms embodied in the resolutions of 1823, and in the subsequent recommendations of the government?—1. For providing the means of educa­tion and religious instruction for the slaves, no one effectual measure had been taken in the colonies of either class. The consolidated slave law for the crown colonies, contained in an Order in Council, dated 8th February 1830, was held out as an improvement on the Trinidad Order in Council of 1824, and was proposed to the chartered colonies as a mo­del for their adoption. It contained no provision for this purpose. 2. The Sunday markets were abolished in the crown colonies by the order of 1830, and they were also abolished by Grenada and Tobago, two of the chartered islands. The other colonies of this class had expressly le­galised them. 3. Even this partial abolition was rendered useless, by the total omission of any allowance of equivalent time to the negroes in lieu of Sunday, for marketing or for cultivating their provision grounds. 4. The new order wise­ly made the evidence of slaves admissable in the crown co­lonies to the same extent as that of free persons, subject on-