

out prejudices. The wild flowers are democratic, and the fairest of them often grow in the most unlikely looking places. An upturned tree-root, a decaying stump, a scrubby thicket, a rough gully, a marshy spot, or a stone heap, will usually well reward exploration.

The true lover of flowers is best content to watch them where they grow, without plucking them. I know of one such, of so gentle a mind that he will walk out of the city week after week to gaze upon some favourite plot—or perhaps a single wild rose bush—as one would go to see his friends, and he will never carry away with him a single blossom. He cannot bear, he says, to destroy so much beauty and so rare a life before its time. He knows, too, that the simple loveliness of the wild flowers would be lost apart from their natural surroundings. It is perhaps a pardonable fault in so many people of the city that they do not seem fully to enjoy an outing in the woods unless they pluck and carry off a large bouquet of the most beautiful flowers they find growing there. They wish to take with them some portion of the freshness and beauty of nature to relieve the monotony of artificial living. Yet nothing is surer than the total disappearance of the finest wild flowers in the neighbourhood of our cities if this process of destruction continues.

In the middle of May the violets, blue, yellow, and white, and the trillium, are still in full bloom; but the anemone and the hepatica are disappearing, and the trailing arbutus, the spring beauty, and the adder-tongue are altogether gone. And now the red columbine is just drooping, its first fair flowers over the dry roadside and on sandy or gravelly banks, and the wet places are all aglow with the gorgeous yellow of the marsh marigold. Most of the wild fruits are also in blossom about this time, as the wild strawberry, the red currant, and the June berry; and the branches of the wild plum and cherry are covered white and thick with fruitful snows. June comes in with daisies and buttercups, soon to be followed by blue bells and roses and lilies, and all the beauty and delight of a new summer.

A. STEVENSON.

SLAVERY IN CANADA.

AN appendix to the third volume of Abbé Tanguay's *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes* sheds light on a subject which has given rise to considerable controversy—the existence of slavery in Canada both before and after the Conquest. The learned and laborious genealogist has had exceptional opportunities for obtaining accurate information on this vexed question, and his testimony, backed as it is by indisputable evidence, may be accepted as its final settlement. "It is impossible to deny," he writes, "that slavery existed in Canada before and after the cession of the Colony. It existed, not only in fact, as is proved by the subjoined list, but also by right, or rather, by law, as indeed Commander Jacques Viger clearly demonstrated in his memoir, published by the Historical Society of Montreal."

The three documents which, according to M. Tanguay, prove that slavery prevailed in Canada, are the Ordinance of Randot, of April 13, 1709; the Hocquart Ordinance of September 1, 1736, and the judgment of the King's Council of State, of July 23, 1745. The first of these documents orders that, under the King's good pleasure, all the Panis and negroes who have been, or may subsequently be purchased, shall belong in the fullest sense to those who have acquired them in the quality of slaves. By the second, that of Intendant Hocquart, all emancipation of slaves is declared null and void which has not been registered before notaries, of which registration, moreover, a minute must be entered in the office of the royal jurisdiction. The royal judgment of 1745 declares that negroes escaping to the French Colonies, with whatever effects they may have, shall belong to the most Christian King. We have here, as Abbé Tanguay points out, evidence of three phases, or stages, of slavery. The Randot Ordinance legalises what was previously an irregularity or abuse; that of Hocquart recognises slavery as an order of things already established, and which cannot be proceeded against except by the observance of the most solemn forms, while the judgment of 1745 is complementary to its predecessors. It is worthy of notice, in connection with the documents to which M. Tanguay directs attention, that in the *Collection de Manuscrits* published by order of the Quebec Legislature, vol. iii. page 21, there occurs a letter from M. de Vaudreuil to the Minister, dated October 14, 1716, in which, after complaining of the extreme scarcity of labourers, the Governor-General urges the home authorities to imitate the Dutch and New England Colonies by introducing negro slaves. Such a policy, M. de Vaudreuil maintains, would tend to increase the prosperity of New France, and to enlarge its commerce. The farms could then be easily and profitably cultivated, and the mines could be worked to advantage. This letter certainly implies that if there were negro slaves in Canada, they were very few. And, in fact, Garneau informs us that, when the request was made in 1688 to the Government of Louis XIV. for negroes to be sent to Canada, the reply was not favourable. It would seem that, notwithstanding the refusal, or rather the withholding of coöperation on the part of the Minister, the people of Canada took the matter into their own hands and, not obtaining negroes, enslaved certain of the Indian tribes, especially the Panis, or Pawnees. It was probably in view of this proceeding on the part of the Canadians, that Intendant Randot issued the Ordinance of 1709, thus preventing breaches of law by adapting the law to the people's needs and wishes. Abbé Ferland, in his *Cours d'Histoire*, mentions an incident which shows that negro slaves occasionally made their way from Albany, or Boston, to Montreal, or Quebec. Toward the close of the summer of 1732, he writes, three Englishmen, furnished with passports from the Government at Albany, came to Montreal to demand the surrender of a negro slave who had fled from his master and sought refuge in Quebec.

M. de Beauharnois replied that, if the man wished to return, he would not be detained; but if not, the right of asylum would not be denied to him. M. Ferland argues from this that slavery in Canada was of a restricted nature. The whole question, he thinks, is involved in a good deal of doubt, but one point is plain, that the Canadians made slaves of some of the wilder Indian nations, such as the Renards. In such cases, the captives were carefully instructed by their masters and mistresses in the truths of religion, and, when willing and qualified, were baptised. Abbé Ferland also tells a tragic story of a negress who belonged to a Madame de Francheville. The unfortunate woman was accused of having caused a terrible conflagration which devastated Montreal in 1734, and in order to make her confess the crime, she was submitted to the question, ordinary and extraordinary. "Nevertheless," adds M. Ferland, "it is evident that there were but few slaves in Canada, and that their servitude was much less severe than that which prevailed in the British Colonies." The negress in question was, it appears, a native of Portugal, and had been purchased by M. de Francheville in New England.

M. Tanguay gives a list of about one hundred and fifty slaves, male and female, whose names he found in the registers in the course of his investigations. A good many were stationed at Michilimackinac. One, named Jean François Regis, had been given to the mission there by the Chevalier de la Verendrye, in 1749, on his return from his exploration in the far West. Some of them are the children of married slaves. Only a small number appeared to be negroes—the majority being evidently Indians. One, belonging to Madame D'Auteuil, is set down as having been born in 1699 and having died in 1799. Several others died, and, it is to be inferred, as slaves, after the Cession.

In the 46th article of the capitulation of Quebec, signed by General Amherst and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, it is stipulated that the negroes and Panis of both sexes shall remain, in their quality of slaves, in possession of the French and Canadians, to whom they belong, who are to have the liberty of retaining them in their service or of selling them—in the former case being also authorised to bring them up as Roman Catholics.

Such are the main facts regarding the reign of slavery in Canada under the old régime. That the transfer to the British Crown caused no sudden change in the condition of those held in slavery is not only implied by the article of capitulation just quoted, but is clearly demonstrated by advertisements in the newspapers of the different Provinces. In his "Toronto of Old" the Rev. Dr. Scadding gives several instances of such advertisements in Upper Canadian papers, even after 1793. The Act then passed at Newark or Niagara "forbade the further introduction of slaves, and ordered that all slave children, born after the 9th of July in that year, should be free on attaining the age of twenty-five." At that time, as Dr. Scadding tells us, most gentlemen, from the Administrator of the Government downwards, possessed slaves. A slave of Solicitor-General Gray, named John Baker, manumitted by his master's will, bearing date August 27, 1803, survived until January, 1871, when he died at Cornwall, at the alleged age of one hundred and five. In connection with the Gray *família* it may be mentioned that, in May, 1866, Mr. Douglas Brymner, Archivist at Ottawa, published in a communication to the *Montreal Gazette*, a letter dated Kingston, February, 1804, in which Major Gray, formerly of the King's Royal Regiment, gives Mrs. Valentine, then residing at Joseph Anderson's, Cornwall, Eastern District, an account of an interview with "Lavine, mother of Dorin," doubtless "the faithful, black woman-servant, Dorinda," of the will quoted by Dr. Scadding. At Quebec, also, a Bill was introduced in 1793 to deal with slavery, but it did not become law. In 1799 a petition was laid before the Assembly by certain citizens of Montreal complaining of the lack of provision in the law for the punishment of disobedient slaves, and asking for redress. In the following year another petition was presented, asking for the passage of an Act affirming the legal existence of slavery, under certain restrictions, and defining negroes and Panis in servitude to be property. A committee having taken charge of those petitions, a Bill was introduced to regulate the condition of slaves, to limit the term of slavery, and prohibit the further importation of slaves into the Province. Not till January, 1801, was the Bill read a first time, the second reading followed in a few days, and then the Bill was discussed in Committee of the Whole. Though it was brought up again in 1803, it never reached the final stage. It was not until 1833 that slavery was formally abolished in Lower Canada. Practically, however, it had ceased to be a recognised feature of the social life of the Province long before that date. The last slave sale within its limits took place in 1797, and it was afterwards annulled through defective title. After the close of the eighteenth century enlightened public opinion proved stronger than legislative enterprise or courage, and the enactment, which made slave-holding illegal, had been anticipated by a whole generation.

In the Maritime Provinces the early newspapers contained advertisements of slaves, fugitive and vendible. In 1800 the legality of slavery was tested in the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, and the judges were equally divided on the question. Before that date, however, events had taken place which made the colonists more eager to part with than to retain the sons of Ham. In 1794, Col. Morse, R.E., as we learn from the Archives Report for 1885, made a return of the disbanded troops and loyalists settling in Nova Scotia. He gave the coloured population as about 3,000. The old British inhabitants he estimated at 14,000, the Acadian French at 400, and the new-comers (negroes included) at 28,347. Under the category of servants he reckons 1,232 persons. It is evident, therefore, that some of the coloured people were in the enjoyment of freedom. Before the close of the year, New Brunswick was constituted a separate province, and, from the test case just alluded to, it would seem