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THE PANIS

AN HISTORICAL OUTLINE

OF

CANADIAN INDIAN SLAVERY

IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

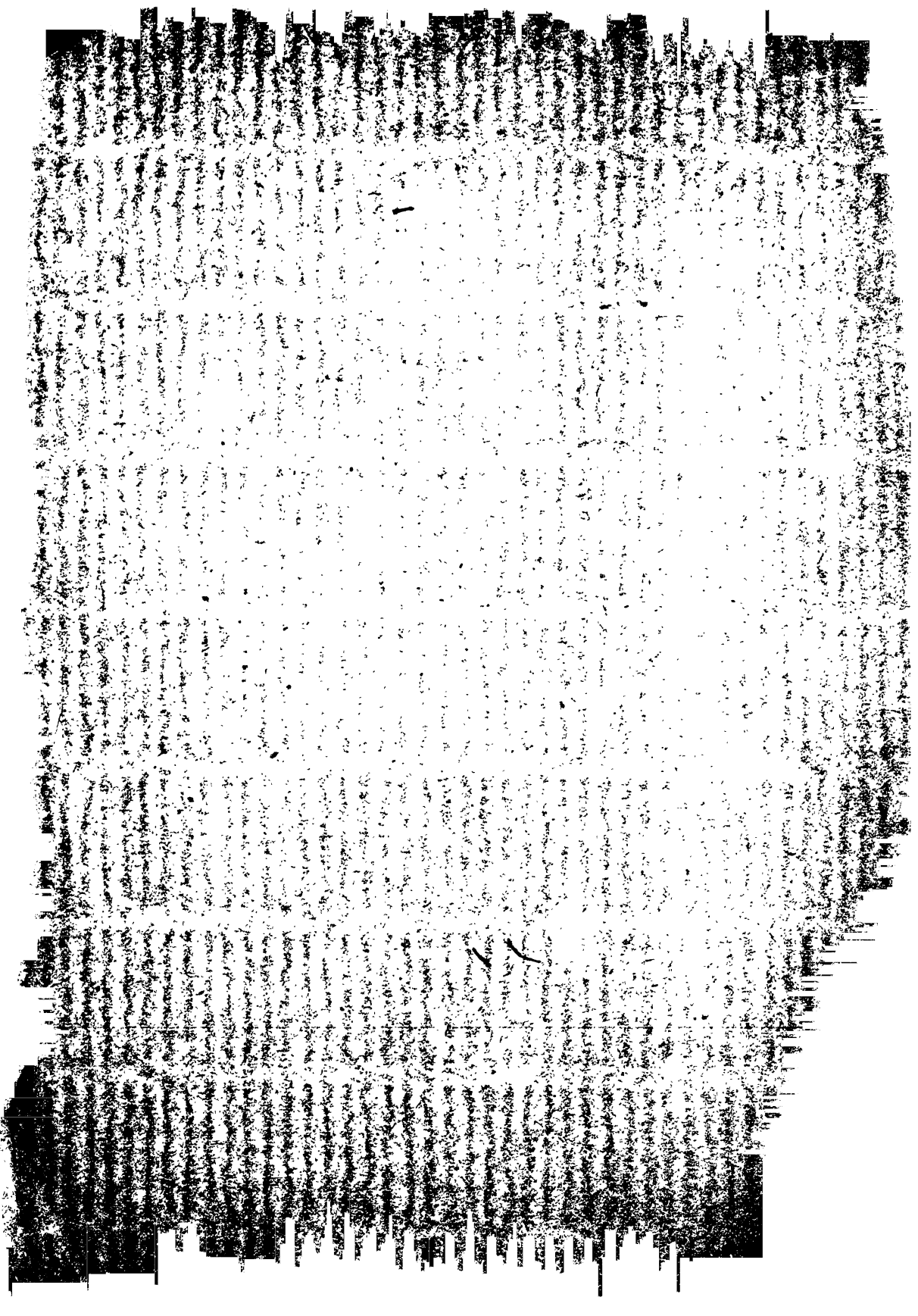
BY

JAMES CLELAND HAMILTON



From Proceedings of the Canadian Institute,
N.S.—Vol. I, Part I, No. 1, 1897.

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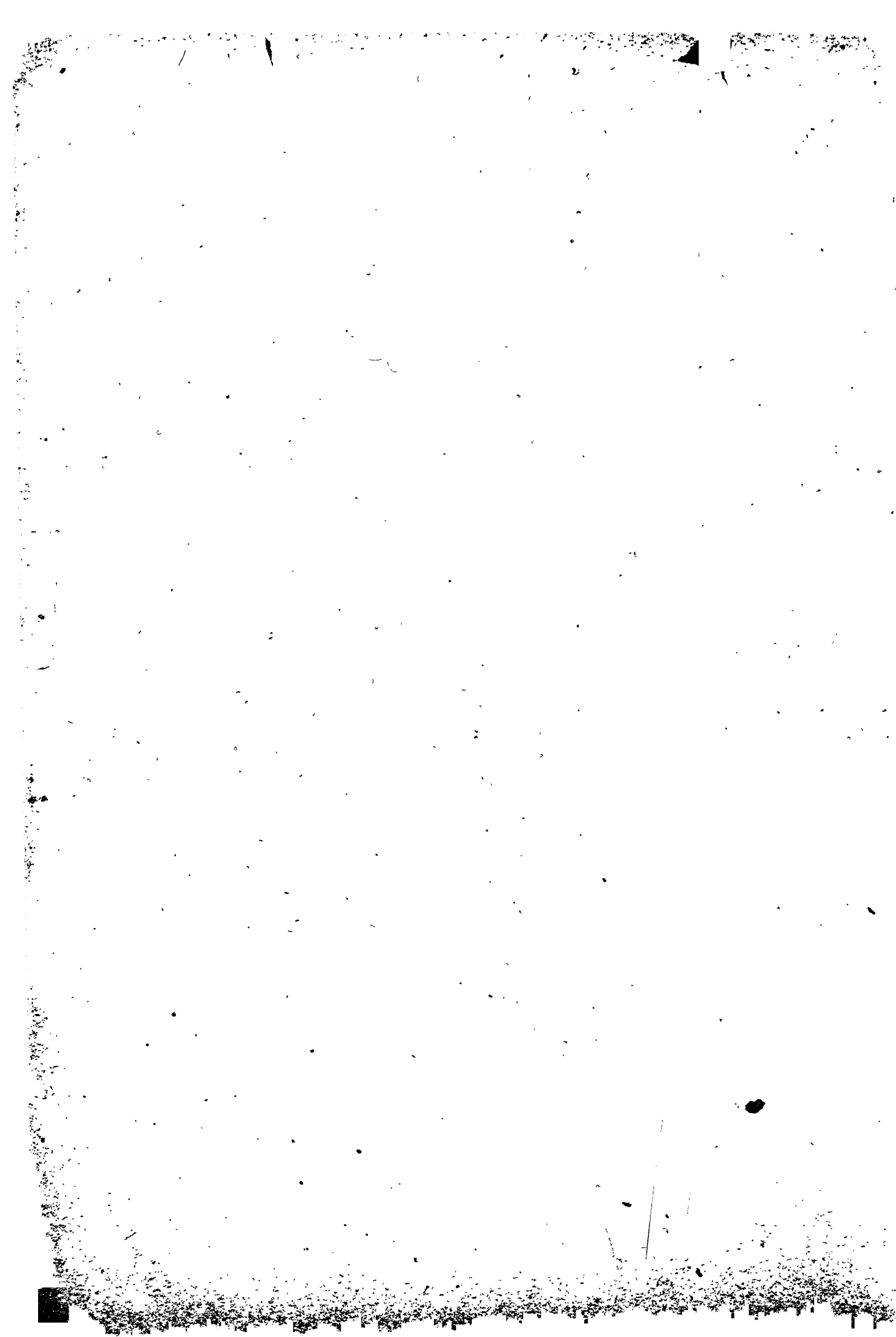
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THE PANIS—AN HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF CANADIAN INDIAN SLAVERY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. BY JAMES CLELAND HAMILTON, M.A., LL.B.

(Read December 12, 1896.)

- I. Examples of early American slavery among the Portuguese, Spaniards, and New Englanders. Story of Inkle and Yarico. Reference to panis in writings of Hennepin, Charlevoix, Colonel Landmann, and Captain Knox. Dr. D. G. Brinton, J. G. Shea, and Horatio Hale as to the Pawnees, and Pani stock and their habitat. The New York and other early Colonial documents referred to.
- II. The Lower Canada records as to panis in cities of Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal, and elsewhere. The punishment of slaves, the pillory, carcan and the rack. Panis in Montreal Hospital, in the seigniories.
- III. Legal position of Canadian slaves: The statutes, ordinances, and edicts as to them.
- IV. Panis in Upper Canada, at Niagara and Amherstberg. The Huron Treaty of 1764. The last pani.

I. The Portuguese in 1500 sent out an expedition to North America under Gaspar Cortereal, which entered Hudson's Straits. They brought away fifty-seven natives, to be sold as slaves and used as laborers.

The supposed excellent quality of these kidnapped natives, and the large supply which the country was likely to furnish, caused it, as our author alleges, to be called Terra Laborador, or the land of laborers, whence its present name (1). This seems to have been the beginning of the subjugation of aborigines on the North American Continent to slavery by Europeans and their descendants.

Before this the Spaniards had been active in Hayti and Jamaica in reducing the natives there to servitude, working them in the mines, and exporting many to the home slave market. In 1498 Christopher Columbus sent 600 of the natives to Spain and wrote as to them in impious blasphemy: "In the name of the Holy Trinity there can be sent as many slaves as sale can be found for in Spain, and they tell me 4,000 can be sold." He is said to have repented of his cruelty after being in turn sent to Spain in chains by Bovadilla. Tennyson makes him thus bemoan his fate, and theirs:—

" Ah God, the harmless people whom we found
In Hispaniola's island paradise—
Who took us for the very gods from heaven,
And we have sent them very fiends from hell.
And I, myself, myself not blameless, I
Could sometimes wish I had never led the way."

The Spaniards' cruelty in the Antilles was only paralleled by their conduct toward the natives of Mexico. The enslavement of red, as well as of black men,

(1) History of Nova Scotia and other British Provinces, by James S. Buckingham, p. 168. Other derivations have been given, but the above seems appropriate and well founded.

was not unfamiliar to even the Puritan Colonists. In 1675 many towns, villages, and farmsteads in Massachusetts and Rhode Island were destroyed by the Wampanoags, under the famous King Philip.

There were few families in the region attacked who did not mourn some of their members. When Philip had fallen, his chiefs, sachems and bravest men were put to death; the remainder were sold as slaves.

The son of Philip, whose only crime was his relationship to this great chief, was among the prisoners, and was sent as a slave to Bermuda, whence he never returned. An attempt to supply such labor for the New England home market led to speedy repentance.

A New Hampshire Provincial Law of 1714 recited that notorious crimes and enormities had of late been committed by Indians and other slaves within Her Majesty's plantations, and forbade the importation of any Indians to be used as slaves.

Washington Irving was among the first who criticized the stern and cruel features of the Puritans. They, he cried, trained the Indians for Heaven and then sent them there (2).

The story of Inkle and Yarico, as told by Steele, and familiar to all readers of *The Spectator*, illustrates the cruel practice of Europeans of the seventeenth century in treating all persons of darker complexions than themselves as proper subjects for barter.

Young Inkle, an English merchant adventurer, wanders from his ship on the American main, is found and saved by Yarico, an Indian girl, with whom he lived in tender correspondence for some months, when both escaped on a passing ship bound for Barbados. Here, as each vessel arrived, there was an immediate market of the Indian and other slaves, as with us of horses and oxen. The prudent and frugal young Englishman sold his companion to a Barbadian merchant. Had Yarico been carried to the old Province of Quebec she would have been called a *pani* (3).

From these instances of native American slavery beyond our immediate borders, we pass to consider how far such a system obtained in Canada.

Canadian negro slavery has been before described, (4) and reference is now made to the enforced servitude of red men in the French Province of Quebec, and the later Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada.

The Recollet Father, Louis Hennepin, was with LaSalle in 1679, and, writing at Niagara, says: "The Iroquois made excursions beyond Virginia and New Sweden * * * from whence they brought a great many slaves." (5)

A vessel, called "the Griffin," was built on Lake Erie, and in this these early adventurers crossed through that lake, the River St. Clair, and Lake Huron to Mackinac, where LaSalle parted from Hennepin, the vessel having been, meantime, lost in Lake Huron. Hennepin professes to have gone down the Mississippi, and to have been the hero of many wonderful adventures. This part of the story is questioned by Mr. Shea and others, but such details as Hennepin did not personally witness are, no doubt, taken from LaSalle's Journal, and are substantially correct.

As the Pawnee nation had its habitat on, and west of, the Missouri, we do not find them or their relations, the Caddoes, Wichitas and Huecos, mentioned in this interesting volume. It is stated that the Illinois Indians were accustomed to make

(2) As to Indian Slavery in the United States see Kent's Commentaries, part vi., lec. 61. and the authorities there cited. Winthrop's History of New England, vol. 1, pp. 192 to 237. In Carolina hostilities were fomented among the tribes in order to purchase or kidnap captives and sell them as slaves to the West Indies. The sale and slavery of Indians was deemed lawful and the exile and bondage of captives in war, of all conditions, was sanctioned by the sternest Puritans. Bancroft's History, 1, pp. 41-182. The war with the Pequots in 1637, and the confederacy of Indian nations in 1675 by Metacom, Sachem of the Wampanoags, commonly called King Philip, would seem to have been formed for protection and through patriotic views. Chalmers' Political Annals, p. 291. Indian Slavery ceased in Virginia only in 1705. Magazine of American History, vol. 21, p. 62.

(3) *The Spectator*, No. 11, March 13, 1710.

(4) *Transactions of Canadian Institute*, 1890, vol. 1, p. 102.

(5) Louis Hennepin's "Discovery of America," cap. 18, pp. 19-37.

excursions far to the westward, and bring slaves from thence, which they bartered with other nations.

The southwestern Indians raided by the Illinoisans may be inferred to have been Pawnees. From their captors they passed to the white settlers in French Louisiana and Quebec.

Forty years after La Salle's time, intercourse between Louisiana and Quebec became comparatively common, and families coming up by the Mississippi, brought their negro and pani slaves with them.

Charlevoix, who visited Canada in 1721, refers to a nation settled on the banks of the Missouri, from whom persons taken captive were made slaves. He remarks: "The Arkansas River comes, it is said, from the country of certain Indians, who are called Panis Noirs—I have a slave of this nation with me (6)."

Next in date, refer to the story of the adventures of Alexander Henry, the fur trader at Michilimacinae in 1763, when that outpost of Canada was taken and the garrison massacred by the Chippewas and Sacs, he was led to a hiding-place by a faithful pani slave woman, and ultimately escaped. Her owner was Charles Langlade, a French halfbreed merchant and interpreter, and afterwards one of the early settlers in Wisconsin, but her name is not given. The Sacs and Chippewas were then at enmity with the Pawnee nation, and made slaves of such of them as they captured (7).

Colonel Landmann relatés that, in 1800, when journeying from Amherstburg to St. Joseph's Island, he found a large Indian camp in busy preparation for the burning of a female prisoner, with a child at her breast. The usual horrors of torture had begun, and death was threatened, but the woman, in stoicism only expected from the other sex, was apparently indifferent to all. The Colonel negotiated for the purchase of both mother and child, and secured them, in consideration of six bottles of rum, "that is," writes the careful chronicler "two of rum, mixed with four of water." The woman showed no apparent feeling, nor did she express thanks for her delivery from a terrible fate. This was but a part of the stoic manner of her race. She told all to her people, and before the young officer left St. Joseph's Island, a number of the woman's relations came and, to show their gratitude, made a considerable present of the finest skins they had been able at the instant to collect. The woman and child so saved were Pawnee captives (8). The Capitulation at Montreal had taken place on the 8th of September, 1760, and we find the word pani used in its 47th section, which provides that the negroes and panis of both sexes should remain in their condition of slavery, and belong to their French and Canadian masters, under British rule, as they had been before under the French régime, and that the masters were to be at liberty to retain them or to sell them, and to train them in the Catholic religion, except those who had been made prisoners of war.

Captain Knox visited Canada soon after this, and, commenting loosely on this section of the treaty, states his belief that panis imply convicts condemned to slavery (9). He gives no authority, and is entirely mistaken. This is the more to be regretted as others, assuming to write Canadian history, have copied his remark, traducing the character of the humble, early servant of the old Canadian homesteads. It is also remarkable that the part occupied by them in the social fabric has not been introduced into books of fiction and other writings descriptive of the seigniorial times.

May we not have a gentle Yarico, taking the place of Briseis or Helen, in an epic of the old régime; or even the story of a devoted Friday?

The stately mansion of Belmont, overlooking the St. Charles, home of the

(6) Charlevoix' Journal, vol. 3, pp. 212 and 410.

(7) Henry's Travels, part 1, cap. 10. Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac, vol. 1, cap. 18.

(8) Adventures and Recollections of Col. Landmann, vol. 2, cap. 6.

(9) Historical Journal, vol. 2, p. 428.

brave bourgeois, Philibert; the manor house of Tilly on the shores of the St. Lawrence; the Chateau of Beaumanoir, famous for the bacchanalian revels of the intendant Bigot; the castle of St. Louis, and other "Seats of the Mighty" in New France, have often been described, but who has pictured the little huts in their courtyards, of the negro and pani?

Dr. Daniel G. Brinton says that the Pani stock was scattered irregularly from the Middle Missouri River to the Gulf of Mexico. The Pawnees proper occupied the territory from the Niobrara River south to the Arkansas. The Niobrara River courses in an easterly direction through the northerly part of the State of Nebraska, and falls into the Missouri. The territory indicated embraces now the States of Nebraska and Kansas, and parts of Iowa and Missouri. It includes many cities and towns, among them being Des Moines, St. Louis, Topeka, and Omaha. The Arikari and Skidi branches of the nation separated at an early date and went north, while the Wichitas, Caddoes, and Huecos roamed over Eastern Louisiana and Western Texas.

The Pani stock, as a rule, had an excellent physique, being tall and robust, with well-proportioned features, the lips and eyes small. Their marriage customs were lax; agriculture was more in favor with them than generally on the plains. Their religion somewhat resembled that of the Mexicans, and indicates a southern origin. One of their divinities was Opirikut, who represented the deity of fertility and agriculture. At the time of corn planting, a young girl, usually a captive, was sacrificed to this divinity. The victim was bound to a stake and partly burned, her breast was cut open, her heart was torn out, and flung into the flames. Her flesh was then divided into small pieces and buried in the corn field, to secure an abundant crop. In Mr. Grinnell's book this divinity appears under the name of Ti-ra-wa, and this sacrifice seems to have been most used by that portion of the nation known as the Skidi, whose home was on the Platte and Loup Rivers in Nebraska.

In 1866 the Pawnee tribe had a population of 6,223, with nearly 2,000 warriors. The Caddoes were of the same stock, and were also numerous on the western plains. "Since the removal of these people to reserves, mostly in the Indian Territory, the evidences of their progress towards civilization are cheering; but their character has changed. In the old barbaric days they were light-hearted, merry, makers of jokes, keenly alive to the humorous side of life. Now they are serious, grave, little disposed to laugh. Then they were like children, without a care. Now they are like men, on whom the anxieties of life weigh heavily. Civilization, bringing with it some measure of material prosperity, has also brought care, responsibility, repression. No doubt it is best, and it is inevitable, but it is sad, too." Recent information as to the remnant of this nation is given by Mr. Geo. B. Grinnell, from whom we have just quoted. Many of the young men were embodied into companies of armed scouts, under Major North and other officers, during the construction of the Union Pacific Railway in 1863, to guard against the depredations of the Sioux and Arapahoes. They were brave and reliable soldiers, and it is to be regretted that the tribe of Pawnees proper is reduced to a few hundred souls, while the whole Caddoan or Pani stock does not probably exceed in number two thousand. (10)

The American Cyclopedia, article Pawnee, describes the tribe as warlike, long resident in Nebraska on the Platte River and its tributaries. The name Pawnee or Pani is from the Illinois language, and is said to be from Pariki, meaning a horn, referring to the peculiar scalp lock, dressed to stand erect and curve slightly back like a horn; the rest of the hair was shaven off. They were constantly at war with the Sioux and other nations, and, being considered irreclaimable savages, were permitted to be held as slaves in Canada, when bought from other tribes; wherefore,

(10) U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, Vol. 7, pp. 61, 62 and 113, date 1885-6. "The present number of the Caddoan stock is 2,259, settled in Fort Berthold Reservation, N. Dakota, and some on the Indian Territory, some on the Ponca, Pawnee, and Otae Reservations, and others on the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Reservations." They are now self-supporting.

any Indian held in bondage was called a panis. As to this our worthy and renowned Canadian ethnologist, Mr. Horatio Hale, writes me: "Panis and Pawnee are undoubtedly the same word, in different orthographies." He states that the article last quoted is from the pen of J. G. Shea, the distinguished ethnologist, and editor of *Charlevoix*: "All that he wrote on Indian matters is of the highest authority—what Mr. Brinton writes is also entirely trustworthy." "The Pawnees were true Ishmaelites. They had no friends upon the prairies, save those they had conquered and held by fear (11)." In addition to the Pawnees, there was certainly another tribe which contributed slaves to Canada (12). In 1712 the Renards, or Foxes, endeavored to capture and destroy Fort Detroit, but were defeated and compelled to surrender at discretion. Those found in arms were massacred, the rest were distributed as slaves among the victors.

There are a few references in the New York Colonial Documents to panis, or to Indians enslaved by whites. A narrative, presented to the Mayor's Court of New York City, 24th January, 1689, complaining of the violent acts of the Lieutenant-Governor, Jacob Leysler, states that an Indian slave of Philip French was, by him, dragged to Fort William on the 23rd of the previous December, and there imprisoned, but French was himself arrested by order of this bold Governor, and spent his Christmas in durance, for various matters of alleged contempt to His Honor. (Vol. 3, 676.)

Colonel Heathcote reports to Lord Townsend, British Colonial Secretary, July 16th, 1715, that the Indians complain that their children, who had been bound out for a limited time to be taught and instructed by the Christians, were transferred to other plantations and sold for slaves. He adds, "And I don't know but that there may be some truth in what they allege." (Vol. 5, 433.) M. La Galissoniere's *Journal of events in Canada*, under date Nov. 11, 1747, says: "The four negroes and a panis, who were captured by the English, would be put on board a small vessel bound for Martinico, to be there sold for the benefit of the proprietors." (Vol. 10, 138.) Colonel William Johnson writes to Governor Clinton, of New York, 22nd January, 1750: "I am very glad your Excellency has given orders to have the Indian children returned, who are kept by the traders as pawns or pledges, as they call it, but rather stolen from them, as the parents came at the appointed time to redeem them, but they sent them away before hand, and as they were children of our friends and allies, and if they are not returned next spring it will confirm what the French told the Six Nations, viz.: that they are looked upon as our slaves, or negroes, which affair gave me a great deal of trouble at that time to reconcile. I cannot find that Mr. Abeil, who has a Seneca child, or Vandrierson, who has got a Missisagey, are to deliver theirs, which I am apprehensive, will cause a great disturbance." (Vol. 6, 546.)

We find references of a similar character in the diary of David Zeisberger, the good Moravian missionary (13). He was loath to believe that such cruelty was practised, and ascribed the stories he heard to "lying rumours." Yet it is clear that these were well founded. Writing in 1795 at Fairfield-on-the-Thames, now known as Moraviantown, Ont., he says: "We had many lying rumours which the Indians hatch out, that the Indians here are entrapped by the white people, and will not be let go until they have all been sold as slaves. . . . The Chippewas have war with the North-western Indians. They have brought into Macinaw one hundred prisoners, a part of whom they sold to the whites. This is a nation with which they have waged war for many years." (14)

II. Next refer to the records in the old Province of Quebec relating to Panis. For these we are mainly indebted to the Abbe Tanguay's researches, made and

(11) "Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales," by Geo. B. Grinnell, 1889, p. 307.

(12) McMillen's *History of Canada*, p. 91.

(13) *Diary of David Zeisberger*, by Eugene F. Bliss, published by the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, 1885, Vol. II., pp. 411 and 491.

(14) *A Travers les Registres*, Montreal, 1886.

published in 1886 under the Quebec Government. In the church registers at the City of Quebec, under date 1718, it appears that "in the course of that year several Panis, being introduced from Louisiana, being slaves of Quebec families, were baptized."

In 1730 and following years the Church registers of Three Rivers contain records of baptisms and burials of several such slaves belonging to the principal families of the town.

November 4, 1756.—"Marie Judith, âgée de treize ans, a été baptisée," appears on the register of the parish church at Longue Pointe.

January 22, 1757.—A record shows that a panis slave called Constant, belonging to Madame de Saint Blain, was condemned to the punishment du carcan, and to be perpetually banished from Montreal. The mischievous character of this red woman was fully equalled by a negro slave of Madame de Francheville, who, in 1734, caused a great conflagration which destroyed part of Montreal. This negress was born in Portugal, and purchased by her mistress in New England. She was subjected to severe examination ("à la question, ordinaire et extraordinaire"), when, it is stated, she confessed her guilt. (15) These cases are mentioned together, as they seem to be the only instances on the published records of such slaves being punished through the courts of Quebec; nor do panis appear on the Civil Court records, though their darker companions' names are often to be found there.

The carcan was an iron collar, placed around the neck, and connected by a chain to a post or to a wall, so compelling the prisoner to stand for a stated time, often for long, weary hours, in a strained position, and subject to ridicule. It was similar to the English stocks.

"La question extraordinaire" was the French name for the rack. These modes of punishment were not abolished in France until 1832.

We will now look at the records of the Montreal General Hospital, and we find, in a table prepared by the Abbe Tanguay, of families possessing slaves of the nation of the Panis that seventy-nine such slaves died in that hospital between 1754 and 1799. The birth, age and time of death of each are here given, and we have a record full of interesting facts and suggestions. Each poor slave has his or her Christian name, and the names, were evidently given when the rite of baptism was performed. Mons. De la Verandrie had two, Joseph and Marie. Saint Luc la Corne had his Panis, Marie Joseph, who died in 1799, aged 100 years.

Among the masters were some gentlemen of aboriginal stock, or connected with Indian missions: M. Perthuis, interpreter of the Iroquois; De Quiensek, chief, and De la Garde, missionary to the Algonquins. (16)

Seigniorial, or well-known, families are represented in the masters, Deschambault, De Bleury, Chevalier de la Corne, De Veaudrevil, Benoit, Desriviers, Perigny, Reame, Decharme, Dames Deslignery and Monier, Messrs: De la Ronde, Delisle, De Longueil, La Coste, Leschelle, Senneville, De Barne and Chignanceur.

There is nothing in the record relating to the origin of these Panis except in regard to the last two, when we find that M. Gamelin had Jacque Cesar and M. Longueil had Marie both put down as Panis noirs, or black Indians of the plains, who were of darker hue than those in wooded lands. This being a distinctive term, places them as derived from the Pawnee nation proper, as designated by Charlevoix.

The Montreal newspapers of 100 years ago had occasional advertisements as to runaway slaves, and these were adorned with wood cuts representing the lost chattel. When a negro was wanted, he was shown running with naked body, save a cloth around the waist. The Panis was represented standing erect, with a feather head-

(15) Abbe Ferland's History of Canada, Cap. 29.

(16) Holding captives as slaves was, as is well known, common with the Indians. The Cherokees and Choctaws also had many negroes in bondage. There are some instances in Canada of red men holding blacks. The most notable of these was Colonel Brant Thayendinagea, who had several, among them being his body-servants, Patton and Gansville, referred to in the writings of travellers such as Colonel Landmann and the Duke de Liancourt.

dress standing upright and a feather waist-covering, the body tattoo-marked. This comical figure, whether by accident or design, coincides with Mr. Grinnell's description of Pawnee Picts, or tattooed Pawnees. Rollin Michael Barrin, Count de la Gallissoniere, above mentioned, was Governor of New France, and a gentleman of scholarly taste and refinement. He is one of the leading characters in Mr. Kirby's excellent story, "The Golden Dog," the opening scene being laid in Quebec in 1748. Among the masters of Panis is the name of De Veaudreuil, who succeeded as Governor, and of the Chevalier la Corne St. Luc, a gallant soldier, who remained after the capitulation, and became a loyal defender of British rule. Other names, such as Benoit De Longueil and La Coste, are familiar to all readers of Canadian history.

Some months ago a worthy member of the Canadian Institute, with a handful of ashes from an ancient kitchen-midden, by means of a microscope brought up the Huron inhabitants and their surroundings as they were when Champlain unfolded the fleur-de-lis on the Georgian Bay. Our attempt is now, with these disjointed historic fragments from the ashes of time, to produce for development some features of these humble persons, the domestic slaves, and of their surroundings in those grand old times, when slavery was a thing of course and the seigniorial tenure most flourished in the old regime. The Panis no doubt spoke in a patois of French and Illinoisan. His dress was a rude commingling of the styles of Quebec and the wild South. He had no taste for work at the tail of the plough, but supplied venison and fish, made bows and lacrosse sticks for the boys, and joined them in games and hunting. The squaws waited on table, were the ladies' maids, the children's ayahs, and fashioned moose-skin moccasins, adorned with bright-tinted quills of the bristling porcupine. Removed from his native wilds, the Panis doubtless followed, to some extent, the religion of his masters, with its rites and ceremonies. But when he gazed on the rising sun, away from the presence of the Black-robe, we may imagine him imploring the protection of the dread Opirikut, god of his fathers; and when, in the winter evenings, the aurora flashed across the vault above, he saw the spirits of his friends in flight from the far south land, and then his heart filled with longings for the banks of the Niobrara, where the ancestral tents were set and the buffalo shook the plains.

With such suggestions, names and facts as have been placed before us, it only needs the wand of imagination to raise the curtain of six-score years and show the home of the seigneur among his habitant friends and neighbours beside the St. Lawrence, the St. Francis or the Chaudiere. And when there comes that happiest hour of the day, when the work is done and the night as yet is young, they gather into the great room, beech logs blaze and cast their light on bronzed features as they enter, capotes are thrown back, waist-sashes loosened, and the snow is shaken from homespun coats and deerskin leggings. Pleasant greetings and kind enquiries pass around, and the news of the day is exchanged. The cure, the seigneur and the notary sit where all can see and hear. In and out flit on moccasined feet a dusky figure almost unnoticed, yet not unwelcome. He quiets barking dogs, brings a coal to light a pipe, or stirs the logs to a fresh blaze. He is the Indian slave, the panis.

III. The edict of Louis XIV. in 1688, authorizing the importation of slaves from Africa, referred only to negroes.

Some doubt seems to have existed as to the legal status of panis, and, to remove these, Jacques Raudot, Ninth Intendant, issued an ordinance at Quebec on April 13th, 1709, referring to negroes and the Indian people called Panis, and declaring, "We, therefore, under the good pleasure of His Majesty, order that all the panis and negroes who have been bought, and who shall be purchased hereafter, shall belong in full proprietorship to those who have purchased them as their slaves." Then followed an injunction, prohibiting the slaves from running away, and provisions for imposing on those who aided them in so doing a fine of 50 livres

Hocquart, Intendant under the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-General,

in 1756 issued an ordinance, declaring null all enfranchisements not made in compliance with certain regulations, and registered.

A declaration of the Paris Royal Council of 23rd July, 1745, declared that slaves who follow the enemy to the colonies of France, and their effects, should belong to His Most Christian Majesty.

This was a precedent of General Butler's famous order, made more than a century later, confiscating slaves coming into the Union ranks as "contrabands."

The Parliament of Great Britain was, when Canada was secured to the Empire, very favourable to the importation of slaves into the plantations, and had passed many Acts to aid that object.

Proceedings in the Montreal courts towards the end of last century tended to weaken the master's claims, and ultimately entirely broke them, with more regard to the rising public sentiment in England and France against slavery than to the actual state of the law, as has been shown in our previous paper. (17)

A census taken in 1784 states the number of slaves in Lower Canada at 304, of whom 212 were in the District of Montreal, 88 in that of Quebec, and 4 in Three Rivers. No distinction is there made between negroes and panis. An attempt was made in the first Parliament of Lower Canada, in 1793, to obtain an Act similar to that passed in the Upper Canada House at Niagara, which would have declared all slaves then held, to be in bondage for life, and only given freedom gradually to their offspring; but this proposal, though warmly debated, was not successful. In 1799, and again in 1800, Mr. Papineau presented petitions from many inhabitants of Montreal referring to the ordinances of Intendants Raudot and Hocquart, also to the Quebec Act, maintaining the former laws and usages to the people of Canada, and also to an Act of George III., under cover of which the petitioners allege a number of slaves, panis and negroes, were imported (18). Bills brought in on these petitions were much discussed, but sentiment was against their object; the declaration of the rights of slave-holders, and they failed to pass into law—thus slavery disappeared from Lower Canada. (19) It practically ceased at this time in Nova Scotia also and New Brunswick. The Upper Province had no such judicial and legislative experience as Lower Canada in regard to domestic slavery. When separated from the Mother Province in 1791, civil rights, including the law and customs as to slaves, still held in force. The Upper Canada Act of 1793 passed without difficulty, and there was no enactment here between that and the Imperial Act, which freed the few remaining slaves in 1834. While slavery existed, its character was modified, and personal cruelty guarded against by the code noir and provincial ordinances. As for the Indian slaves, there was also sympathy through the fact that not a few of the inhabitants were connected with the tribes by marriage. Mr. Parkman says with much truth: "Spanish civilization crushed the Indian, English civilization neglected him, French civilization embraced and cherished him." (20)

IV. There are few instances of panis in Western Canada. That of Mr. Langlade, who saved the life of Henry, the trader, at Mackinac, has been referred to. By the second article of a treaty of peace and amity, made by Sir W. Johnson with the Hurons 18th July, 1764 (21), it is provided that "any English who may be prisoners or deserters, any negroes, panis, or other slaves amongst the Hurons, who are British property, shall be delivered up within one month to the commandment of the Detroit." It may be concluded that there were a considerable number of panis in this western region then.

(17) "De Lesclavage en Canada," by Sir L. H. Lafontaine, *Proceedings of Societe Historique de Montreal*, 1858, and "Slavery in Canada," by J. C. Hamilton, *Transactions of Canadian Institute*, 1890 Vol. I., p. 102.

(18) 14 Geo. III., cap. 83; 30 Geo. III., cap. 27.

(19) *Journal* of 1799, p. 123, and of 1800, p. 51.

(20) "The Jesuits in North America," p. 44.

(21) Mr. S. White has the original treaty, but for copy see N.Y. Colonial Documents Vol. VII., p. 650.

In The Niagara Herald of 25th August, 1802, Charles Field forbids all persons harbouring his Indian slave, "Sall." Old residents of Essex County remember a pani who lived at Amherstburg fifty years ago.

Mr. Solomon White, lately member of the Legislative Assembly for Essex, is one of those who speak of him. When a child Mr. White saw "a little yellow man" at church, and he asked his mother who he was. "That is Mr. Caldwell's pani, Alexander," she answered. Though set free in 1834, he continued generally to reside at the old homestead, near the banks of the beautiful Detroit river. Here he was content to stay, passing an humble, happy existence.

There were many coloured people formerly slaves in the neighbourhood, and not far away was a settlement of the Hurons, but he preferred to look on the face and follow the footsteps of his old master, the late Mr. John Caldwell, enjoying the same civilization and religion. He died when on a visit to Detroit. His faith was that of his white protector, and his hope was, not to go to any happy hunting ground of his savage ancestors, but to participate in the white man's future. With him passed from Canada the last of the panis.

(22) As to Indian slavery in the south-west, see Mr. Lucien Carr's "Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," Smithsonian Report, 1891, p. 532, quoting "Narrative of Father Marquette," p. 32, and "Memoir of the Sieur de Tonti," pp. 56-71. "The Saukie warriors generally employ every summer in making excursions into the territories of the Illinois and Pawnees, from whence they return with a great number of slaves." As to sun-worship among these Indians, Mr. Carr states, p. 549, "According to Charlevoix the Indians claimed to have received the calumet from the Panis, to whom it had been given by the sun. . . . In trade, when an exchange has been agreed on, a calumet is smoked in order to bind the bargain, and this makes it in some manner sacred. . . . The Indians, in making those smoke the calumet with whom they wish to trade or treat, intend to call upon the sun as a witness, and in some fashion as a guarantee of their treaties, for they never fail to blow the smoke towards that star." The Sieur de Tonti describes temples dedicated to sun-worship, met in the course of his trip with La Salle down the Mississippi, A.D. 1682, one such temple was like the cabin of the chief, except that on top of it there were the figures of three eagles which looked toward the rising sun. It was forty feet square, and the walls ten feet high and one foot thick, were made of earth and straw mixed. The roof was dome-shaped, about fifteen feet high. Around this temple were strong mud walls, in which were fixed spikes, and on these were placed the heads of their enemies whom they sacrificed to the sun. These temples were found from Arkansas to the southern extremity of Florida, and in point of time they cover the 180 years between the expedition of De Soto and the visit of Charlevoix in A.D. 1721. When the Illinois came to meet Marquette on his voyage, the first ever made by a white man on the Lower Mississippi, they marched slowly, lifting their pipes to the sun, as if offering them to him to smoke.

(23) In P. Campbell's "Travels in North America in Years 1791-92," at p. 236, an account is given of adventures among the Ottawas. Campbell killed two Indians who had attacked him in his tent at night. He was soon after this made a prisoner, and said to his captors that he supposed they would avenge on him the death of the two Indians. He was answered that they cared little for what he had done, "that the men killed were not Ibawas but Pannees (sic), i.e., prisoner-slaves taken from other nations."