

Letter by Reverend Father Étienne de Carheil to
Monsieur Louis Hector de Callières, governor.

At MICHILIMAKINA,
the 30th of august, 1702.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Could I have Believed that my going down below would have been of any greater use to you than have been all the letters that I have Written to you continually, during fifteen Entire years,—for the purpose of informing you exactly, as in God's sight, according to Truth, according to my Conscience, of all That was absolutely necessary for the advancement of our missions and for the welfare of the Colony,—I would not have failed to go down; and I would have made it my duty to go to explain to you verbally what I might not have sufficiently made known in my letters. But, as I have omitted nothing that I Considered myself obliged to let you Know, and as I do not see what could have been added to so many letters, I am fully Convinced that my going down could only have been useless to you, after all the Information that has been conveyed to you respecting the condition in which we have been up to the present, and in which we still are to-day.

But, even if I had Never Written to you, It was only necessary to have seen all That is to be seen every day at Montreal, and That you yourself have only too often seen, to enable you to carry back to france enough to give Information to his majesty,

and to constrain him to succor our missions. These are reduced to such an extremity that we can no longer maintain them against an infinite multitude of evil acts—acts of brutality and violence; of injustice and impiety; of lewd and shameless conduct; of contempt and insults. To such acts the infamous and baleful trade in brandy gives rise everywhere, among all the nations up here,—where it is carried on by going from village to village, and by roving over the lakes with a prodigious quantity of brandy in barrels, without any restraint. Had his majesty but once seen What passes, both here and at mont-real, during the whole time while This wretched traffic goes on, I am sure that he would not for a moment hesitate, at the very first sight of it, to forbid it forever under the severest penalties.

In our despair there is no other step to take than to leave our missions and abandon them to the brandy traders, so that they may establish therein the domain of their trade, of drunkenness, and of immorality. That is What we shall propose to our Superiors in Canada and in france, being Compelled thereto by the state of uselessness and inability to which we have been reduced by the permission given to carry on That deplorable trade—a permission that has been obtained from his majesty only by means of a pretext apparently Reasonable, but known to be false; a permission that he would not grant if They upon whom he relies for ascertaining the truth really made it Known to him As they themselves, and the whole of Canada with them, Know it; a permission, in fine, that is at once the climax and the source of all the evils that are now occurring in the country. Especially does it cause the wrecks, of which we

never heard before it was given, but which we now hear of as occurring almost every year—while the Ships are either Coming from or returning to France. This results from a just punishment by God, who causes the destruction by water of what had been wickedly gained by brandy; and these wrecks should have prevented the transportation of the liquor, in order to avoid the evil use that would be made of it. If That permission be not revoked by a prohibition to the Contrary, we no longer have occasion to remain in any of our missions up here, to waste the remainder of our lives and all our efforts in purely useless labor, under the dominion of Continual drunkenness and of universal immorality—which are no less permitted to the traders in brandy than is the trade itself, of which they are both the accompaniment and the sequel.

If his majesty desire to save our missions and to support the Establishment of Religion, as we have no Doubt he does, we beg him most humbly to Believe What is most true, namely: that there is no other means of doing so than to abolish completely the two Infamous sorts of Commerce which have brought the missions to the brink of destruction, and which will not long delay in destroying these if they be not abolished as soon as possible by his orders, and be prevented from ever being restored. The first is the Commerce in brandy; the second is the Commerce of the savage women with the French. Both are carried on in an equally public manner, without our being able to remedy the evil, because we are not supported by the Commandants. They—far from attempting, when we undertake to remonstrate with them, to check these trades—themselves carry them on with greater freedom than do their

Subordinates; and so sanction them by their example that, on witnessing it, a general permission and an assurance of impunity are assumed, that cause them to become Common to all the french who come here to trade. So much is this the case that all the villages of our savages are now only Taverns, as regards drunkenness; and sodoms, as regards immorality—from which we must withdraw, and which we must abandon to the just Anger and vengeance of God.

You see by this that, in whatever manner the french Trade is Established among our savages, if it be desired to still retain us among them, and to keep and support us there in the capacity of missionaries,—in the free Exercise of our functions, with the hope of obtaining some result,—we must be delivered from the Commandants and from their garrisons. These, far from being necessary, are, on the contrary, so pernicious that we can truly say that they are the greatest scourge of our missions; for they serve but to injure both the ordinary trade of the voyageurs and the advancement of the faith. Since they have come up here we have observed but one universal Corruption, which by their scandalous mode of living they have spread in the minds of all These nations, who are now infected by it. All the pretended service which it is sought to make people believe that they Render to the King is reduced to 4 chief occupations, of which we earnestly beg you to Inform His majesty.

The first consists in keeping a public Tavern for the sale of brandy, wherein they trade it Continually to the savages, who do not Cease to become intoxicated, notwithstanding all our efforts to prevent it. In vain do we speak to them, to try to stop them;

we gain nothing but the accusation of opposing the King's service, by endeavoring to prevent a trade that he has permitted.

The second occupation of the soldiers consists in being sent from one post to another by the Commandants in order to carry their wares and their brandy thither, after having made arrangements together; and none of them have any other object than That of mutually assisting one another in their Traffic. And, in order that This may be more easily done on both Sides according to their wishes, the Commandants must close their eyes, that they may be able to Connive at and not observe the Misconduct of their soldiers,—however visible, public, and scandalous it may be; the soldiers must, in turn, besides trafficking in their own wares, become traffickers in Those of their Commandants, who frequently compel the soldiers to buy merchandise from them, in order to gain permission to go where they please.

Their third occupation consists in making of their fort a place that I am ashamed to call by its proper name, where the women have found out that their bodies might serve in lieu of merchandise and would be still better received than Beaver-skins; accordingly, that is now the most usual and most Continual Commerce, and that which is most extensively carried on. Whatever efforts the missionaries may make to denounce and abolish it, this traffic increases, instead of diminishing, and grows daily more and more. All the soldiers keep open house in their dwellings for all the women of their acquaintance. From morning to night, they pass entire Days there, one after another—sitting by their fire, and often on their beds, engaged in conversations and actions

proper to their commerce. This generally ends only at night, because the crowd is too great during the day to allow of their concluding it then — although they frequently arrange among themselves to leave a house empty, so as not to defer the conclusion until night.

The 4th occupation of the soldiers is gambling, which at the times when the traders assemble sometimes proceeds to such excess that they are not satisfied with passing the whole day, but they also spend the whole night in this pursuit. And it happens but too frequently that, in the ardor of their game, they forget — or, if they do remember, they scorn to observe — the feast-days. But What makes their misconduct on This score still worse is, that so persistent an attachment to the game is hardly ever unaccompanied by the general Intoxication of all the players; and drunkenness is nearly always followed by quarrels that arise among them. When these occur publicly before the eyes of the savages, they Give rise to three grave scandals: the first at seeing them intoxicated; the second, at witnessing them fighting furiously with one another, — sometimes to the extent of seizing their guns in order to kill each other; the third, at observing that the missionaries cannot Remedy these evils.

Such, monseigneur, are the 4 sole occupations of the garrisons, which they have followed here during so many years. If occupations of This kind can be called the king's service, I admit that they have always actually rendered him one of Those four services. But I have observed none other than Those four; and consequently, if such services be not considered necessary to the King, there has never been Hitherto any necessity for keeping them here; and,

after they are recalled, there is no necessity of sending any back. However, As This pretended need of garrisons is the sole pretext that is made use of to send commandants here, we beg you, Monseigneur, to be fully convinced of the falseness of That pretext, so that under Those specious appearances of the King's service it may not be considered obligatory to Send us any garrisons. For, in reality, the Commandants come here solely for the purpose of trading, in Concert with their soldiers, without troubling themselves about anything Else. They have no intercourse with the missionaries, except with regard to Matters wherein they Consider the latter useful for the furtherance of their own temporal affairs; and beyond that they are hostile to the fathers as soon as these undertake to oppose the misconduct which, being in accord neither with the service of God nor with the service of the King, is nevertheless advantageous to the trade of the Commandants, who sacrifice everything to it. That is the sole Cause of the disorder in our missions, which has so desolated them—through the ascendancy that the Commandants have obtained over the missionaries, by assuming all authority over both the french and the savages—that we now have no other power than That of laboring in vain under their domination. This has Gone so far as to make Civil crimes, and grounds for pretended juridical accusations, out of the performance of the very functions of our Ministry and of our duty. This was always done by Monsieur de la Motte, who would not even allow us to use the word " Misconduct," and who even brought a suit against the father prior for having used it!⁸⁶

Before there were any Commandants here, the

missionaries Were always Listened to by the traders because they were afraid to give them any grounds for making complaints respecting their Conduct, which might compel the authorities to recall them, and to refuse to grant them any further Permission. But, since the commandants have been Sent here, all the misconduct that is needed for carrying on the trade, as these men wish to carry it on, no longer passes for misconduct; and no complaints can be made of it, because it is the best means toward the end that they have in view, and because they are all Equally in accord on That point. The Commandants do not complain of the traders, whatever they may do, because they engage nearly all of them to assist them in their trade; and as the traders are sure, on account of Such Engagements, that no complaints will be made against them, and that, on the Contrary, the Commandants will make it their interest to Support them, they take every kind of Liberty, without having any Fear of the Missionaries. Far from Fearing them, it sometimes happens even that the Commandants and all the traders conspire together, with a Common Accord, to complain of the missionaries to the higher authorities, and to denounce them as much as possible, so as to make them odious to all the people,—hoping that thereby the charges that the missionaries might bring against their misconduct will not be Listened to. And in fact they are not; the missionaries are reduced to Silence, to inaction, to impotence, and to general deprivation of all authority.

And if, On Some occasions, the Commandants are obliged to do something Contrary to the usual freedom of the voyageurs' Trade, then those officers—to

divert the hatred and estrangement of minds to which Such obligations might Give rise, and to remove the odium thereof from themselves to the missionaries—display a certain cleverness, of which we would never have had the slightest suspicion had not some persons who are well aware of it informed us thereof. What they do on Such occasions is to affect to come to see us more frequently than usual; to speak to us; to converse with us, and submit to us What they should do, As if they needed our advice on the Subject; and afterward—through Those appearances of visits, conversations, and Consultations,—they make the traders believe that It is owing to our remonstrances and solicitations that they are Compelled to act in that manner, although they would prefer not to do so. Is not this Strange conduct for Commandants toward persons of our Character, whom they should sustain in their duty and support with their authority?

It is also important that you should be informed of an abuse that the Commandants have introduced with respect to the savages, which has produced among them only bad results. It is this, that—not Content with the Constant profit which they derive from the trade—They have found means to convince the Court that it is necessary to supply them with considerable funds for the purpose of making presents to the savages—either to interest them in our concerns, our designs, and our undertakings, or to reward them when they render services that may be deemed worthy of recompense. This is truly a fine pretext, which has something very plausible in appearance; but it is Certain that never was anything less needed with regard to the savages than to have

Recourse to presents to induce them to act. That is what they Never thought of, and which no one should have thought of any more than they did. Formerly they acted of their own accord, from a purely voluntary impulse—or, at most, on the invitation conveyed by means of a Branch of porcelain, or of a collar that was presented to them,—without their having any other idea than what was natural to them, and in accordance with their Customs. Nothing further was needed to make them do What we wished, than to follow their ways. But the desire of having a fund that could be disposed of As one wished, with the Savings of a great profit obtained, has led to an attempt being made to persuade the Court that it Was necessary that the Commandants should have the wherewithal to give presents to the savages. The sole effect which This has produced upon the savages has been, to teach them to be exacting in requiring that they be solicited; to make it necessary that all their actions and all their emotions be purchased by dint of presents; and, finally, that they do nothing that they should do voluntarily, except in return for something which is given them and which they exact.

But the most vexatious part of Such Conduct is that not only has it taught them to be hardly Ever willing to do anything that is asked of them without a present to induce them, but it has also taught them to make use of an infinite number of ruses, of stratagems, and of intrigues among themselves; to imagine a thousand projects of pretended undertakings, of warlike movements, of ruptures of peace, of embassies To the enemies, and negotiations with them; of Commercial intercourse with the english,

and Similar Matters. They pretend to have resolved upon the performance of these, in order thereby to lead the Commandants to Consider themselves obliged to buy them with gifts. Such are the effects that This new Custom has produced on the minds of the savages, so that at present their sole Business and occupation, as regards the Commandants, consists in helping each other to deceive and cheat the latter, by making them give them presents under the false pretenses that I have just Mentioned.

But with all This, all the presents that are given them are almost nothing in Comparison with the fund supplied by the Court to the Commandants for that Purpose. The gifts are Reduced almost entirely to the single expenditure of tobacco—which is the most usual present, because the savages are passionately fond of it, and cannot refrain from continually smoking, so greatly accustomed are they to it from their youth. However, what remains of the fund is much greater and more Considerable than the amount spent in giving them presents, successively and gradually, on the occasions when it is Deemed necessary; and It is greatly to be Feared that the Commandants turn it to their own benefit and that by careful Economy They keep the best part of it for their own Use. Still, this is a matter respecting which we have nothing to see or to say; It is for those who are Established here for that purpose to see to it, and to prevent by their vigilance all the frauds that might be committed in connection therewith, and not to allow the King to be put to great and Needless expense under any false pretense of necessity.

To all that I have just said respecting the Commandants, I must add that—As there is no other

necessity of sending any among the savages than that of keeping garrisons there, which must be Commanded by some one—it is perfectly useless to Send any; because the garrisons themselves are quite unnecessary, except for the trade of the Commandants and their own trade. They are necessary only for those two trades; as regards all the Rest, they are of no use either to the savages or to the voyageurs, to whom the trade belongs, or to the missionaries. In the first place, they are of no use to the savages as regards war, either in their villages or outside them: in the villages they are Useless, because the method common to all these barbarous nations of carrying on warfare does not consist, Like ours, in going to assault one another's Villages, because they will never expose themselves to the danger of losing men Which is unavoidable in Such assaults. They carry on war only by surprises, by Ambushes, by Secret approaches, and by sudden and unforeseen discharges in the Fields, in the woods, while fishing and hunting, and everywhere else when they can discover one another outside their Villages. So, for That Reason, the garrisons are Useless to them as support; and are still more so outside the villages—where the garrisons not only would not follow them, but cannot do so. For the soldiers are Unable to perform the movements that the savages perform in the woods, and in all sorts of places that are impracticable to all but themselves and the animals; and the soldiers are far from being able to assist them. On the Contrary, the savages themselves would have to help extricate them from the difficulties in which they would be placed on expeditions As difficult as Those through The Thick

forests, which the practice of military art has never allowed them to learn. It is therefore Evident that the garrisons are of No use to the savages either within or without their villages; they are entirely useless for their Preservation or their defense.

Now if they be useless to the savages, they are still more so to the voyageurs who obtain Permission to come up here to trade, and who alone are entitled to do so, to the exclusion of all the others—who have no right to it, and who cannot trade without doing the voyageurs an Injustice. And yet such is the sole occupation of all the garrisons; Such is their unique employment—which is not only Unnecessary for the voyageurs, but is exceedingly hurtful to them, and does them damage to the extent of all the Beaver-skins and other furs that the soldiers collect. Finally, the garrisons are no more Useful to the missionaries than to the savages and the voyageurs. It should be the duty of the Commandant to employ them in behalf of the missionaries, on various occasions when the latter are frequently obliged to go to beg the officials to be pleased to repress the misconduct and public acts of Insolence of the dealers in brandy, and of the fugitive voyageurs—who go from one mission to another, making the savages drunk and seducing the women in all the Cabins where they lodge; or they go to visit them, entertain them, Caress them, solicit them, and purchase the enjoyment of their Bodies. The only answer to these prayers that we get from the Commandants is, that they have not enough men to allow of their doing so,—either because the garrisons are not sufficiently numerous; or, even if they were larger, they would not be of much more help to the

Commandants, because the voyageurs and the garrisons have an understanding together, to support one another against the missionaries both in their Common misconduct, and in Evading all the orders that the Commandants might give them, should the latter choose to take the Missionaries' part. But They do not choose to do so; and they themselves think of nothing but accommodating One another with regard to the trade. Since his Majesty has ordered that the Voyageurs and the Coureurs de bois be Recalled, and has granted them an amnesty to facilitate their return, That Recall has not pleased every one. Several persons in authority who maintained various trading Relations here, have not ceased to Continue the same by secretly sending every year to their fugitive Agents supplies for carrying on a new trade. But what is more surprising is, that Those very persons who were sent here under pretense of Coming to bring the amnesty came, in reality, solely to trade during the whole of That time — which they designedly prolonged as much as they could, the better to carry out their object by selling all their wares to those whom they came to recall; and to whom, by a Conduct entirely opposed to their duty, they supplied the means of carrying on the trade once more for their own benefit. That is why for so many years new amnesties are ever being asked for, because the previous ones are always rendered Useless in the manner that I have just Described.⁸⁷

You see, Monseigneur, that I have Dwelt to a great extent on the subject of Commandants and Garrisons, to make you Understand that all the misfortunes of our missions are due to them. It is the Commandants, It is the Garrisons, who, uniting

with the brandy traders, have completely desolated the missions by almost universal drunkenness and Lewdness—which have been Established therein through the Continual impunity for both vices; the Civil authorities not only tolerate but permit these, inasmuch as, while able to Prevent them, they do not. I have therefore no Hesitation in telling you that if trading Commandants and garrisons of trading soldiers be again stationed in our missions up here, we have no doubt that we shall be Compelled to abandon them, because we shall be unable to do anything for the salvation of souls. It is for you to inform his Majesty of the extremity to which we are reduced, and to ask him for our deliverance, so that we may be able to labor for the establishment of religion without the Hindrances that have Hitherto impeded it.

And if, touched by the remonstrances that you will convey to him, he should decide to send garrisons and Commandants up here no longer, and should afterward wish to Know what would be most advantageous for our missions and for the colony, you ask that we state our opinions to you; that we tell you whether it would be better to restore the 25 Permits, or to Establish posts which the Company itself would maintain by means of as many persons as it might Deem necessary, whom it would Select and send here to carry on its Trade.³⁸ I will tell you, in the first place, that your request takes for granted what would be very desirable not to suppose; it assumes that the Colony is to come up here to carry on its trade among our savages, as it has been accustomed to do for many years. But it would be very desirable that the Colony should not come to

the savages; that, on the Contrary, the savages should go to the Colony, and go down to Montreal for their trade—as they did at the Beginning, with a great profit to all the people who participated in it,—whom their going down Saved from all the trouble that is taken at present, and from all the dangers to which the young men expose themselves in Coming to the various nations up here.

In whatever light we may consider the Commerce carried on, as regards either the Common interest of Canada, or the advancement of Christianity, It would be Infinitely more advantageous for both if the savages themselves went down annually for that purpose to montreal, than it would be to send the french here to trade, in the way in which they come every Year. I do not Consider it necessary to give the Reasons, so Manifest are they. For It is evident that the latter method serves but to depopulate the country of all its young men; to reduce the number of people in the houses; to deprive wives of their husbands, fathers and mothers of the aid of their children, and sisters of that of their brothers; to expose Those who undertake such journeys to a thousand dangers for both their Bodies and their souls. It also causes them to incur very many expenses, partly necessary, partly Useless, and partly Criminal; it accustoms them not to work, but to lose all taste for work, and to live in Continual idleness; it renders them incapable of learning any trade, and thereby makes them Useless to themselves, to their families, and to the entire country, through having made themselves unfit for the occupations that are most Common and most useful to man. But It is not only for these Reasons, which

affect this Life,—it is still more on account of Those which concern the soul, that This Sending of the french among the savages must appear Infinitely harmful to them. It Takes them away from all the holy places; it separates them from all Ecclesiastical and religious persons; It abandons them to a total deprivation of all Instruction, both public and private, of all devotional Exercises, and, finally, of all the spiritual aids to Christianity. It sends them into savage countries and into Impassable places,—through a thousand dangers, both on land and on water,—to carry on in a low, servile, and shameful manner a Commerce that could be carried on much more advantageously at montreal, where the people would have a much larger share in it (as in justice they should) than they have, and than they will have so long as it is carried on here.

Therefore, what would be most desirable for delivering the Colony from all Those kinds of evil, both of body and soul, that are inseparably connected with the trade up here,—which, if viewed in the proper light, Causes more loss than profit to the country, because, at the same time when it acquires some Beaver-skins for the Colony, it deprives it forever of the labor of all the young men, by accustoming them to be unable and unwilling to do Any more work,—What would be most desirable, I say, would be to keep the young men in the country; to settle them therein as much as possible, in order to retain for it the fruit and enjoyment of their labor, because they would enrich it more by Constant and assiduous work than by the difficult, uncertain, and temporary acquisition of a few Beaver-skins. Accordingly, the surest and most efficacious of all means

to make the Colony prosper would be to secure for it the settlement within the country of all the young men, for the sake of their labor, and the descent to montreal for Trade of the nations up here; because then the labor of one and the Trade of the other would contribute to enrich the Colony.

So long as all the young men devote themselves to no other occupation than That of Coming here for Beaver, There can be no hope that the Colony will Ever become flourishing; it will always be poor, for it will always lose thereby What would most enrich it,—I mean the labor of all the young men. Such, Monseigneur, is what I consider the most important step for the Temporal and spiritual welfare of the Colony, and what should, in Conscience, be most strongly represented to his majesty, by making him thoroughly Understand its necessity,—so that he may give orders to seek for and to find every possible means of restoring the Trade with the savages, and of establishing it at montreal, so as to keep all the young men in the country, and accustom them to work from early youth. To This end, The Iroquois must be completely tamed and reduced to subjection; and we must take possession of his country, which is much better than Those of all the nations up here. He is the only Enemy whom we have to Dread, or who disputes with us the Trade of the savages, which he tries to attract to the english. What reason was there for not consenting to destroy him in the war that we had undertaken to wage Against him? Why was he Spared? What would we lose by destroying him, now that his nation is so small in numbers? His destruction and the possession of his country would secure for us the Trade of all the savage

nations up here. Nothing would remain to be done but to settle the boundaries of our Commerce and of That of the misissipy, so that one might not clash with the other. The Iroquois has been Spared in the present war solely on account of the trade of Catarakouy; and the trade of Cataracouy was only for Those who Preserved That fort and That enemy. Whence comes the Iroquois's Beaver but from the country up here, which he usurps from our savages, to whom all The Beavers belong? Should we lose the Iroquois's Beavers by his destruction? Would they not revert to our savages, and from them to the Colony?

But, after all, if it be impossible to establish the Trade of our savages at montreal,—and Consequently to retain the young frenchmen with their families, that they may Devote themselves to labor; if it be necessary, of absolute and insuperable necessity, that They should come up here to Trade with our savages,—you ask on That supposition, which I would wish to Be false, what would be best: to restore the 25 Permits without any posts, or to Establish posts without the 25 Permits. I frankly admit that I am very much embarrassed to answer you because I Know not very well to what kind of posts you are pleased to refer. Are they posts solely of Traders, without garrisons and without Commandants; or posts that would be occupied at the same time by persons employed in Trading, and by Commandants with their garrisons, who would watch over their *safety*? You express your opinion on that point. You Consider *that it would be necessary to Restore* the 25 Permits, for three men only to each Canoe; that private individuals should, previous to their departure, make a declaration of What they

took with them, and be Cautioned to return to the Colony within 18 months; that no post should be Established by officers and soldiers; that Each one should make use of His Canoe As he pleased; that the missionaries, Each in his mission, should Report on the Conduct of the voyageurs who might go there; that Those who should give brandy, or be Known as profligates and debauchees, should Never return there; finally, that, when the 25 Permits should be thus restored, There should be no other Establishments—either at detroit, or among the scioux, or among the Ilinois. Such is your opinion—respecting which, as you desire it, I must explain myself. I will therefore tell you that I Know too well the young men of Canada to whom the Permits would be granted, to be able to Consent to their restoration. They are young men who have become accustomed, by more than 15 years of Impunity, to the Commerce of brandy and to that with women. There can be no hope of their abstaining from either in future. I know well that the Commerce of brandy might be abolished in the manner of which, I Think, I have told you, if Those who govern the country chose to abolish it; but That is What they have Hitherto not been willing to do, and What, moreover, they do not at present wish to do. They are Content with merely saying that they forbid the misconduct caused by brandy, and the intoxication of the savages, without Ever saying that they prohibit the brandy trade,—As if That Infamous traffic were not the sole course of action by which the savages can be made Drunk. But even if They who govern the country should put an end to the Commerce in brandy, and Consequently to the Drunkenness of the

savages, could they prevent That with women— which is still more harmful, more pernicious, more fatal to our missions than That in brandy? I admit that, if the 25 Permits could be restored in the manner which you indicate, their restoration to the exclusion of all the posts, of the Commandants, and of the garrisons would be better for our missions; but such a Restoration seems to us to be possible only in theory — we cannot Believe that it can be carried out in practice, for a multitude of reasons which you can easily see, without its being necessary to give them in detail. What young men can be sent back into our missions, by restoring the 25 Permits, but Those who will be considered most Competent to turn them to advantage; who know the places, the customs, and the language of the savages; who are Acquainted with the persons; who have the most experience, skill, and strength in Managing Canoes? But are not These very young men the same who are most engaged in Those two infamous Commerces, in brandy and with women? Are not these young men the same who have ruined our missions, and who will complete their destruction if they be sent back there? So much will have to be done to Correct them that no one will take the trouble to do so. They have alleged various necessities for Establishing the Commerce with women, not Believing that we could reasonably oppose Such necessities; and, in fact, our opposition would not be just if they required only Certain outward and public services that can be rendered without any Fear of scandal, or any proximate danger or occasion of sin. But It is the very Bodies of the women that they desire; That is what their brutal passion makes their first

necessity, under the apparent decency of other needs. That is what we are obliged to oppose, and It is with reference to all These kinds of pretended necessities that rules must be made to prevent them from being, As they are, the Common sources of universal lewdness. It is impossible for us to apply a remedy for this evil, because they all Alike hide it under the decent pretext of their necessities—which, although Innocent in themselves, are not in their Case, because they serve them as a disposition and preparation for sin. It is necessary to point out these to you in detail, so that, when you Know them you may give the necessary warnings to the Court to apply an effective remedy in the Event of the 25 Permits being restored, which we trust will not happen.

Their first necessity consists in having women whom they Employ in pounding corn and doing their Cooking, and whom they detain under That pretext in their houses, when they wish and as long as they wish. The second consists in having some to Cut wood for them, and to carry it To their dwellings to Heat them. The third consists in having laundresses who, at the same time when, on the one Hand, they wash their linen, on the other defile their Bodies and blacken their souls by the most shameful brutishness. The 4th consists in having some women who make savage shoes, Garters [leggings?], and pouches, according to their fashion, and other similar articles. There are also some other necessities, less Common and less usual than Those 4 which are the chief ones, of which They make use to lure the women to their houses, and to give themselves a Pretext for going to theirs when It pleases them.

You see very well, Monseigneur, that even though

it be true that they may sometimes need the services of women for Those four sorts of necessities, Still It is also true, on the other hand, that these give them at the same time both an easy means of obtaining the Commerce of the women's Bodies, And an apparently decent pretext for making them enter and for receiving them in their houses. These also provide for the men an ever-ready excuse for exculpating themselves, and for Removing suspicions of evil from them when they are found there,—although, in reality, they entice and keep them there only with the intention of doing with them what is most immoral and most Criminal. Moreover, although it be not difficult to recognize the emptiness of Those false pretenses, or to prevent their evil consequences when one chooses, the officers nevertheless have not Hitherto chosen to Recognize the one or to prevent the other. Those pretended necessities have been allowed to introduce themselves gradually, and to become a Custom; and Custom has made them Insurmountable to the missionaries—who would Effectively oppose them, but whose opposition has had no other effect than that of being Useless.

To Restore the 25 Permits, all Those pretended necessities must be done away with, as well as all the abuses that I have pointed out, if the government would prevent them from Causing the Ruin of our missions. I grant that it may sometimes be necessary, for those to whom the Permits are accorded, to have to employ savage women, either to pound corn for them, to carry wood for them, to wash their clothes, to make shoes for them, or, finally, to render them any other kind of honest service,—although, to tell the truth, all These necessities are purely

Optional on the part of robust young men who are in good health, who have nothing to do, and who, for That Reason, should give themselves some occupation, unless they desire to live in perfect idleness for whole years,—but I insist that They must really be necessities. Nevertheless, for That purpose It is not necessary that The savage women should make a business of being their domestics, their servants, their housekeepers, their Cooks. It is enough that, after pounding their corn for them at their Homes, after Cutting wood for them in the forest, after washing their linen on the shore of the lake, after making shoes for them in their own Cabins, the women should carry all Those articles to The persons who have employed them, in order to receive payment therefor, and to withdraw at once, without remaining any longer in their houses. All else is but a proximate occasion for sin, the source of the most dangerous temptations; and it afterward leads but to misconduct, to licentiousness, to dissoluteness, to improper liberties, to Infamous and Criminal Commerce. Such, monseigneur, is What must be absolutely prevented by Rigorous prohibitions; and by the penalty of being deprived of the right to trade, in Case of Contravention. But do you Believe that it can be prevented, and that there is any desire to prevent it? If you Believe it; if you know the means of attaining that end, and suggest them to the Court; and if you so manage that it shall prevent those evils,—we consent to the restoration of the 25 Permits. But if you do not Believe that It is possible in places such as our missions,—which Are beyond the sight, beyond the influence, and beyond the scope of the authorities,—if you do not yourself

point out the means to the Court, and if you do not induce it to give effectual orders to That end, we cannot consent to the restoration of the 25 Permits, which otherwise would Infallibly ruin our missions. I would not Consider it sufficient to prohibit all Those who may have Permits from allowing women to enter their houses for a longer time than is needed for actual trading—which should Never be carried on with them except with open doors, and in such a manner that they can be seen within. But I also Think that it would be necessary to Ask the savages—and to obtain from them by means of a Collar, given to them publicly in open Council—not to allow their women and girls to Roam through the french houses; or to enter them, save only when necessary to trade some article, without stopping there any longer. Indeed, they should even Never go there alone, but they should always be accompanied by some other person, to prevent anything that might give occasion for evil or for scandal.

Moreover, lewdness has become Established not only through the liberty that the french have taken of admitting to their houses the savage women at all hours; but What has most Contributed to Establish it is the liberty, which they themselves have taken, of going to Seek those women in their villages. To such an extent is this carried that many of the most dissolute do not hesitate to leave the french houses, and to go to live with the women in their Cabins. This is, however, an evil that has Begun only since the departure of Monsieur de ladurantaye, whose successors have not been as Chaste as he was; as a result of this, one of them has more than one child in The village. This is, I say, still another

kind of misconduct that must be especially prohibited, in order to prevent its Beginning again.

When I came to This mission, if any voyageur Were obliged, through any extraordinary necessity, to lodge for any time in the village of the savages, He notified the Commandant and the missionary, so that he might be assigned to a Cabin about which there was no suspicion, that he might lodge there without scandal. But we no longer live in Such happy times. Unchaste Commandants and traders have obtained the upper hand, without paying any Heed to the just opposition of the Missionaries—who witness the scandal without being able to prevent it, because the Commandants support it.

Here is another evil in connection with This matter, which is all the greater because it is Made more visible by trying to Hide it. It is that there are several who are addicted to such excessive and Continual lewdness that, as they cannot bear to have any other Company than That of the women who are necessary to their passions, They build separate houses for themselves alone—where, Remaining solitary as regards the french, They are Never so as regards the women, at the times suitable for their Commerce. You see very well that This is not an evil that can be tolerated, so scandalous is it. Traders—who are associated together, and have Common interests—should not live thus, separated from one another, lest while dwelling alone, accidents might happen to them which they Fear not, but which they should Fear, and which every one should Dread for them. May we therefore be delivered forever from Those solitaires and their Solitudes.

Finally, the most scandalous Evil of all, and that

which needs to be most strenuously opposed, is that the traders have become so accustomed to have women for their Use in the trading-places, and these have become so necessary to them, that they cannot do without them even on their journeys. I do not refer to Those who are taken with their husbands, because there is nothing in This that is not decent; and, consequently, Those are not the ones whose company is generally desired. I refer to single women, women without husbands, women who are mistresses of their own Bodies, women who can dispose of them to these men, and whom the latter know to be willing to do so,—in a word, They are all the prostitutes of Montreal, who are alternately brought here and taken back; and They are all the prostitutes of this place, who are carried in the same way from here to montreal, and from montreal here. At present this is the usual manner in which their journeys are carried on; and voyages are no longer performed without a continual flow and Ebb of That tide of prostitutes,—whom we see ascending and descending, going and coming from one mission to another, without cessation,—to the most Heinous and loathsome scandal of the people. The pretext that they usually allege for taking women in preference to men on their journeys is, that women cost them less than men, and are satisfied with lower wages. They speak the truth; but the very Fact of their being Satisfied with less wages is a Manifest proof of their dissoluteness. If they Were wise would they not ask to be paid the same as men, since they perform the same services—and frequently do more, by Cutting wood for them and by Cooking their food, which the men will not do? Therefore that is

not their sole Reason for taking women; but the reason is that The women, Being depraved, want them as men; and they, on their part, want them as women, on all Their journeys,—after which If they quit one another, They separate from these only to Seek others.

I ask you here, Monseigneur, whether you Consider that all These evils, respecting which I have just submitted our complaints, can be abolished by restoring the 25 Permits. If they can be abolished, then restore the Permits; and assure us that the evils are abolished, by measures that will be Certain to produce their effect. But If, on the Contrary, you do not consider that they can be abolished, you should at the same time Consider that the 25 Permits must by no means be Restored, since their Restoration would Infallibly Cause That of lawlessness.

Now suppose that, for the Reasons given Above, neither the garrisons with their Commandants nor the 25 Permits are Reëstablished in our missions; and that the Trade of the savages cannot be Reëstablished or permanently fixed with certainty at montreal. There would remain, then, no other measure for the Company to adopt than to send and maintain in our missions up here Selected persons, sober and virtuous, Intelligent, and well versed in everything connected with That trade,—and, finally, such as would be fully disposed to live on terms of mutual Agreement with all the missionaries. These men should be sent, in whatever number the Company might Deem necessary and sufficient for carrying on its Trade, for attaching thereto the Savages, and for retaining them in it both by their presence and that of their wares; and by the sight, the transportation, and the Continual Sale of those wares among them. The French should be stationed in a

good fort, always well provisioned, and well supplied with arms for its defense and for successfully combating the savages in Case of necessity,—where Those who would have charge of the Trade would on Such occasions occupy the position of Commandants, while the others would take the place of the garrisons.

Such, monseigneur, is What we Consider the best that can be done for our missions, and the best that can be done in the Interest of the Company—which, by That means, would be sure to obtain exclusive possession of all the Beaver-skins. For there would no longer be either Commandants or garrisons—who, in spite of all the precautions that may be taken, nevertheless succeed in obtaining a considerable portion of the peltries, by an Infinite number of hidden ways and by secret intelligence with the savages. The Company would also be assured thereby that, as the 25 Permits would no longer be Available, the goods would not be wasted in a thousand unnecessary expenses by all the Libertines among a Dissolute youth. It is your duty to consider, after That, in the presence of God and in the very depths of your Conscience, What you should represent to the Court as the most expedient and the most necessary measures,—I Mean not only for the Good of our Missions and of Religion, or only for the Good of the Trade, but for the welfare of both. I desire the good of both religion and the Trade, which you are obliged to keep in accord one with the other, without Ever separating one from the other,—so that Trade may Never interfere with Religion, which must ever be the foremost and most essential of all our Interests.

As Regards the detroit Establishment, I have nothing to tell you about it of my own knowledge;

for I have no Information concerning it, except through the reports of the french and the savages who talk with us here about it. Judging from their reports, It does not seem to them to be an advantageous Establishment. They are not Satisfied with it, for various very Important reasons — which I have pointed out to the Reverend father superior, in What I Write for my Justification against the charges brought by Monsieur de la Motte, who Continues to persecute me.

I would not now be in This trouble, had I deserved to obtain from you the favor that I had asked from you, that of sending to the Court the letter Containing our complaints in 13 articles, to be presented to His majesty, — begging him to do us justice against the Calumnies and violence of Monsieur de la Motte, and to protect us Against his threats of ruining our missions, which he was then publicly uttering in the presence of the french, who listened to him with Astonishment. I foresaw very well that he Was a man capable of carrying his evil designs before the Court, As he has already done by Calumnies, and As he has quite recently done Against father Vaillant. I Thought that I would forestall him, in order to prevent the effect of his threats; and I would certainly have prevented it, had our complaints — which I had reduced to 13 articles, and which I had addressed to you — been laid before his majesty, as I had begged you, in the name of all our fathers, to do. But it was my misfortune not to deserve That favor from you, however necessary it might have been for all of us Missionaries. He thereby derived all the advantage that he desired, in order to be the first to accuse us before the Court. You will have learned His recent charges against me, respecting my pretended opposition to his

Establishment of detroit; and you may see it in my letter of justification written to the Reverend father Superior, who will not fail to Communicate it to You. Although my innocence prevents my dreading his false accusations, It is however necessary for my protection that you should do now what has not been done in the past. Although you have not sent my letter of complaint to the Court, I cannot persuade myself that you should have deemed it so little worthy of consideration As not to wish at least to Keep it, so that you might use it in future to do us Justice in Case of need. Therefore, having no doubt that you have kept it, I beg you to be good enough to place it in the hands of the Reverend Father superior, to whom I have Written to ask you for it on my behalf. It is the last favor and the only necessary request that I can ask from you before your departure from This country. I would myself have gone in person to ask you for it, on the kind invitation that you and Madame have been good enough to send me to Go down below, in order to give myself the Consolation of paying my respects to you, of seeing you, and of conversing with both of you previous to your Return to france—whither his majesty recalls you, to occupy the position of Intendant of Havre and of all its Coasts. But the actual condition of my divided mission, which I must Reunite, does not permit me to leave It while it is divided, in order to give myself such Consolation as That.

The assurance which you convey to me, in the most obliging manner in the world, that you will always Continue to grant me the honor of your friendship to the Extent of wishing me still to Write to you, in spite of the Distance that there will be between us, about all That shall occur in Our Mis-

sions, and to inform you of all the Need that we may have of your assistance,— with the same Confidence as that with which I have informed you of them during the 15 years while Canada has enjoyed the happiness of your presence,— such an assurance, I say, was needed by me to mitigate the sorrow that your departure was to Cause me, and to make it more endurable to me. Therefore you will still bear with my letters, and, if the extent and multitude of your occupations allow you a few moments leisure to enable you to honor me with your answers, such an honor will surely Cause me more pleasure than I deserve. The whole of your family—yourself, Madame, Messieurs your Children, and, above all, our little missionary—will ever be Dear to me. I shall Never forget What I owe to you; and, if I can render you no other services, I can at least assure you of That of my prayers, and of the sacrifices that I shall offer to God on the Altar for your Preservation, for your prosperity, and for the happy administration of your Intendance, with all the success that you can Desire. I remain with all the esteem and all the Respect that you deserve,

Monseigneur,

your very humble and

very obedient servant,

signed, ETIENNE DE CARHEIL,
of the Society of Jesus.

In speaking of the detroit Establishment, I forgot to tell you that, during the whole time while the war lasted, the savages desired That Establishment at detroit; because They always supposed that the destruction of the Iroquois was desired, and that by his Destruction They would peaceably enjoy all the

lands in his Country. But since they have found that, far from wishing to destroy him, we thought only of sparing and Preserving him; of befriending him, by giving him land in what they considered As their own country; and by Restoring the fort of Cataracouy for his benefit,—They have completely Changed their minds, and no longer look upon Detroit in any other light than That of an Enemy's country, where they can have no Wish to dwell, and where there can be no security for them. And assuredly they cannot think or judge otherwise; so that Those of the huron nation who remain Here, and who do not wish to go to detroit, mistrust Those who have gone to Settle there, and Think that they intend to go there in order to Surrender to the Iroquois, so as to join in the Trade with the English.