exportation of Coal in order that the factories throughout the Provinces may continue business and avoid ruin? And before Cartier enters upon his official duties in the new Ministry he is in the hottest kind of water. I dont know whether the government of Canada holds the power or not, nor do I care. The agitation will show the people their interest which they have in keeping up friendly relations with the United States and is gradually severing the bonds that bind them to Old England, and hastening the day of their independence.

Love to all
Affectionately
JOSHUA R GIDDINGS

PROPOSALS TO TRANSFER THE FRENCH POPULATION OF CANADA TO LOUISIANA

Several memoirs in the French archives reveal an important and hitherto little noticed proposal in regard to Canada and Louisiana near the end of the Seven Years’ War. They suggest the emigration of the French population of Canada to the Ohio Valley and the retention by France of all the territory west of the Appalachians. The memoirs are anonymous, but Choiseul’s known advocacy of the plan in the autumn of 1761 renders them worthy of consideration.

The first of these documents, dated February, 1759, is a ministerial report on the proposed emigration. Three years were to be allowed for the transfer, the Canadians to move in four groups. The first contingent was to establish itself from Fort aux Boeufs to the Ohio and the territory around Fort Duquesne, the second between the Ohio and the Wabash, a city to be constructed at the union of these two rivers. The final migration was to be in two groups, one to stop at the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi, the other to go by water to New Orleans and from there to Manchac, where a new capital for Louisiana would be built.

The ministry gave these suggestions a cool reception. Canada was held to be a check on England and worthy of retention. Furthermore, its cession would render the valuable Ohio country practically inaccessible, as it could be reached only by going up the Mississippi. It was argued that Louisiana could not prosper without slaves, but that a large servile population would reduce the opportunities for white settlers. Finally, Louisiana could not replace Canada as a counterpoise against the English colonies.

Plans for the emigration were set forth in far greater detail in an undated memoir of the same period by an author who stated that he had previously urged the abandonment of Canada. Here one finds all the meticulous care and detail so characteristic of the ancien régime. The people were to be settled in the new country by villages, just as they had lived in Canada. Those on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, who were to go first, were to be divided into two groups, the workers going ahead in May with the livestock, tools, and seed. Troops and Indians would precede them in April to clear the way and make a road for the carts. The other party would follow after the harvest. The following year the inhabitants of Montreal, Quebec, and Three Rivers would leave Canada, these likewise emigrating to the new country in two groups. The Montreal people were to settle at the union of the Ohio and the Ohio, those from Three Rivers at the union of the Cumberland and the Ohio, and those from Quebec at the union of the Ohio and the Mississippi.

An extensive programme of government aid was proposed. The Illinois country, already inhabited, could furnish grain. The authorities should buy seed there and send out a thousand men to plant a big crop, a third of this harvest to be saved for planting. The newly grown grain could be sent by river to the three sites where cities were to be constructed. To each of these places there should go an engineer to plan the city, a hundred workmen, including carpenters, sawyers, millers, smiths, brick-makers, bakers, ropemakers, tailors, and potters. Each city was to have a sawmill, two water mills, several grind-stones, medicines, iron, nails, forges, etc. Detached magazines for powder and grain were to be constructed. Three boats of a combination sail- and-oar type should be built in France and sent dismantled to Louisiana for the use of each city.

Great inducements were to be held out to the emigrants, including tax exemption in perpetuity by the king and half again

1Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, États-Unis, supplement VI, folios 39-48 (photostats in the library of congress).
2Arthur S. Aiton, “The diplomacy of the Louisiana cession” (American historical review, XXXVI, 1931, 705). I am also indebted to Professor Aiton for certain notes which he generously placed at my disposal.
3États-Unis, supplement VI, folios 39-48: “Examen du projet de faire passer les habitants du Canada à la Louisiane”.

4Ibid., folios 49-50.
as much land as they had in Canada. Métayers were to be attached to their former masters for five years. Masters would receive free supplies for their households from the state magazines. Free trade with the Indians was to be extended to all inhabitants, and there were to be no export taxes on products sent from the colony. The farmers general would buy all the tobacco of good quality. Natives of Languedoc were to be sent out with a view to introducing silk culture, and Provençals were to initiate the growing of olives.

The minutest directions were given for fortifying the country from the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico. These fortresses were to have outer and inner walls of brick, between which were to be placed solid wood and dirt. The three cities placed at river junctures would naturally have water on three sides, and a canal could be cut across the peninsulas to give water protection on the fourth side. It was planned to build a fort and a city at the juncture of the Alabama and Mobile Rivers. There the soldiers and settlers would be encouraged to intermarry with the Choctaws who were represented as being devoted to the French.

Soon after the fall of Louisbourg another memoir urged the transplanting of the Canadians.

It was argued that Canada contributed nothing to the wealth of the mother country and that there was no reason to keep it. The sixty thousand people then in Canada would grow rich in the fertile Louisiana country. However, Newfoundland, St. Lucia, or Tobago must be exacted in exchange for Canada.

Another author of the same period speaks with greater eloquence:

The loss of Canada is nothing, but the loss of its inhabitants is irreparable . . . In peopling Louisiana France will reap riches and place an insurmountable barrier to the ambition of the English. This colony will sustain the other French possessions and carry on trade with the Spaniards. A navy will be established there which will take from the English the superiority they enjoy in these waters, make them tremble for Jamaica, and destroy the commerce this island carries on in the Gulf of Mexico.

The writer also felt that the development of Louisiana would be a guarantee of the safety of St. Domingo. This suggestion of using Louisiana as a base of supplies for the French colonies in the West Indies is very interesting, for this was one of the reasons why Napoleon wished to recover the Mississippi Valley in 1800.

By the summer of 1761 the plan to move the Canadians was considered more seriously than before. It was now obvious that Canada would have to be ceded if Great Britain demanded it, but the ministry still hoped to save the Ohio and the Mississippi Valleys. It was proposed that the boundary between Canada and Louisiana be a line from the mouth of the Perdido River to the western end of Lake Erie, then by the eastern end of Lake Huron to the side of Hudson Bay toward Lake Abitibi.

A memoir composed in June estimated that there were forty thousand people in Canada and that these would create such a flourishing colony along the Mississippi that France would not regret the loss of her other North American possessions, save for the injury to the fishing trade. Ten thousand people in Louisiana would mean more to the metropole than fifty thousand in Canada. This memoir, like the one of February, 1759, urged the government to hold out inducements to the Canadians. It was felt that their natural antipathy to the English would not be sufficient to lead them to emigrate unless they were given material assistance. The settlers would be allowed a third or a fourth more land than they formerly held, tax exemption for twenty years, and free food and shelter for the first year. Skilled artisans would be sent from France, and negro slaves would be introduced at government expense, their purchasers being allowed five years to pay for them. By September 15 of each year those who wished to go the following spring should declare themselves, and France would secure the right of maintaining commissioners at Quebec and Montreal until the emigration could be completed. The suggested route for the journey was overland via the lakes and the Ohio, but those who preferred might go by sea from Quebec.

Choiseul's plans for Canada and Louisiana underwent several changes after 1759, but in the autumn of 1761 he seriously considered the emigration of the Canadians. Earlier in the summer he had proposed a cession of Louisiana to Spain in return for an early entrance into the war against England, or in return for a loan, but by autumn it seemed that Spain could not be hurried and that no large sum of money was available. Choiseul then thought of relinquishing Canada and retaining Louisiana as the nucleus of a new colonial development in North America.
December 15, he wrote as follows to the Marquis d'Ossun, the French ambassador at Madrid:

It is certain that this colony merits a closer attention than has been accorded it up to the present. I am informed as to its fertility, and the mildness and healthfulness of the climate, and when circumstances permit, I shall neglect none of the advantages that a colony so useful can produce. We have already thought of emigration from Canada to Louisiana, but the Canadian settlers do not take place until after the peace. You will appreciate all the reasons for political and economic for this. You are informed that we intend to send aid to Louisiana. It is ready to leave and will be there certainly in the month of January.11

As early as September, Choiseul in agreeing to the cession of Canada had proposed that an eighteen-month period be allowed for the emigration and for the sale of the settlers' property in Canada.12 But in a few months he had agreed to cede Canada and eastern Louisiana to England, and French interest in North America was sacrificed for West Indian possessions and peace in Europe. The rest of Louisiana was soon given to Spain.

With the Peace of Paris, of course, the plan to transplant the Canadians to the Ohio and the Mississippi came to an end. Yet the proposal was practical, and its execution did not offer insuperable difficulties. Had the migration occurred, the history of the United States and Canada would have been affected profoundly. Who can say what the two countries would be like to-day if there were no French element in Canada, or if some three million French-speaking people lived along the Ohio and the Mississippi? Before these possibilities one's imagination runs riot. That such an emigration was contemplated cannot fail to be of interest to every student of North American history.

E. Wilson Lyon

GRADUATE THESSES IN CANADIAN HISTORY, ECONOMICS, AND LAW

We present herewith our ninth annual list of graduate theses which have reference to Canadian history, economics, imperial relations, and law which are in course of preparation or have recently been completed. In the compilation of this list we have received the co-operation of over a hundred universities throughout the British Commonwealth, the United States, France, Germany, and Canada, and we wish to express our appreciation of their generous interest and support. Although the information which we present cannot be complete, we feel that it serves a useful purpose in indicating the scope and type of graduate research which is being done in Canadian history and allied subjects. We should be glad to have any mistakes or omissions drawn to our attention.

ALISON EWART

THESSES FOR THE DOCTOR'S DEGREE


JOSEPH BENOIT. L'âme franco-américaine. Université de Paris. 


J. D. BRIESE, A. B. Wyoming 1922; A. M. Chicago 1924. The attitude of the European states toward emigration to the American colonies. 


F. W. BURTON, B. A. Toronto 1930; A. M. Harvard 1933. The grain trade of Canada, 1783 onward, especially the technology and geography of production. 


BRYN MAUR. 


PAUL OMEGA CARR, S. B. Kirksville 1923; A. M. Iowa 1927; Ph. D. 1932. The defense of the frontier, 1760-1775. 

JOHN KNIGHT COCHRAN, A. B. Wisconsin 1931; A. M. Wisconsin 1932; Sir Arthur Gordon, first Lord Stanmore, as colonial governor. 


J. I. COOPER, M. A. Western Ontario 1933. French-Canadian Conservatism in principle and practice, 1873-1890. 

ALBERT B. CORLEY, B. A. Acadia 1922; M. A. 1923; A. M. Harvard 1923; Ph. D. Clark 1934. Relations of Canada with the United States from 1830-1842. 

J. T. CULP, B. A. Saskatchewan 1926; M. A. McGill 1927. Land settlement in western Canada. 

F. O. DARVALL, B. A. London 1926; B. A. Reading 1928. Public opinion and war, with special reference to the War of 1812. 

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

J. R. DAVIES, M. A. London 1926; B. A. Reading 1928, Public opinion and war, with special reference to the War of 1812. 

C. W. CROWELL, A. B. River Falls Teachers College 1930; A. M. Iowa 1933. Edward Randolph, a royal official in the colonial service 1767-1793. 

J. T. CULP, B. A. Saskatchewan 1926; M. A. McGill 1927. Land settlement in western Canada. 

F. O. DARVALL, B. A. London 1926; B. A. Reading 1928. Public opinion and war, with special reference to the War of 1812. 

COLUMBIA.