HISTORIC TABLET ON MOBILE CITY HALL
Unveiled May 26th, 1911.

/

BI-CENTENNIAL
CELEBRATION
MAY 26-28, 1911

OF

THE FOUNDING OF MOBILE

By JEAN BAPTISTE DE BIENVILLE
1711

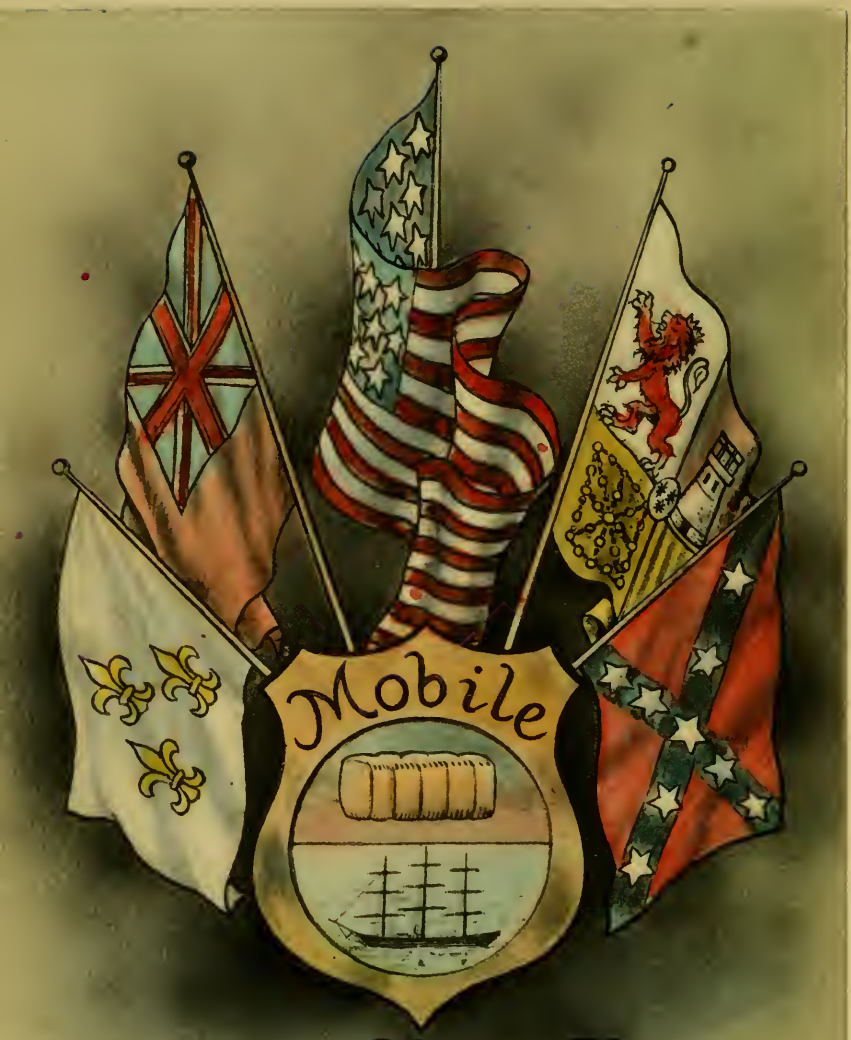
Mobile
Commercial Printing Company
1912

PREFATORY NOTE.

The plan of putting the account of the Mobile Bi-centennial proceedings in pamphlet form was adopted shortly after the celebration, but the assembling of the material, the speeches and photographs, etc., has consumed much time.

The work was carried out by a sub-committee of the Joint Committee, consisting of Messrs. Hamilton, Craighead, and Wilson. The narrative is based largely on the account given in the public prints. It would have been pleasant to tell more than is here told about the celebration, particularly the work of the sub-committees; but selection would seem invidious, and to give every detail would in effect swell the pamphlet into a book. It is hoped that enough has been told to present a general review of a very interesting event in the history of Bienville's city.

CONTENTS.



Under Five Flags

French 1702 - 1711.
British 1763, Spanish 1781.
American 1813, Confederate 1861-5

ILLUSTRATIONS.

N. B.—The booklet, The Founding of Mobile, has a separate paging. As a frontispiece to it will be found a portrait of Bienville, and at the end a map of Mobile in 1711, with the commemorative stones of 1911 indicated in black.

I.—STORY OF THE MOVEMENT.

The Bi-centennial Celebration of 1911 grew out of that of 1902. Mobile was founded by Bienville at Twenty-Seven Mile Bluff in 1702 and removed to its permanent site in 1711, and so the two dates really make up parts of one event. At the Bi-Centennial in 1902 a commemorative tablet was placed on the Court House at Mobile on May 22nd, with appropriate ceremonies, and a monument erected at Twenty-Seven Mile Bluff the next day with French and English addresses. Louis deV. Chaudron (since deceased) wrote the tablet, which reads as follows:

1902.
To the glory of God
and in honor of
The illustrious brothers
Le Moyne D'Iberville
and
Le Moyne de Bienville
who founded
Mobile
The first capital of Louisiana
1702.

A full account of the proceedings is found in the Alabama Historical Society Publications for 1902, and a fine appreciation by Grace King is in the Outlook for Feb. 15, 1902. The earlier celebration, although smaller, was a fitting introduction to the later one of 1911.

The idea of celebrating the 200th anniversary of the City of Mobile was taken up as matter of discussion by the Iberville Historical Society in 1907, at which time a committee on celebration was appointed, with Erwin Craighead as chairman, with instructions to try to interest Mobilians in the getting up of some ceremony to mark the date of the anniversary. The first step taken was to invite all organizations, including the city and county governments, to a conference on the subject and such conference was held February 7, 1909, in the Auditorium of the Battle House, Mr. Craighead presiding and outlining what would be needed to make a successful celebration. Represented in this meeting were the Iberville Historical Society, the city executive, the city council, the county Revenue Board, the Commercial Club, the Chamber of Commerce, the Cotton Exchange, the School Board, the State Executive, the railroads, the hotels and the foreign consuls. A committee on ways and means, with Mr. Francis J. Inge as chairman, was appointed, after a considerable discussion of what would be proper to do. A resolution favorable to the holding of a celebration was adopted without objection.

March 1, 1909, the committee reported to another meeting, held in the Auditorium, and a six-day programme submitted, which was adopted. The motion was made that the organization be incorporated, the various organizations represented in the meeting to appoint representatives to serve on the several committees named in the report.

Although thus ushered in by two well attended meetings there did not develope that interest in

MAYOR PAT J. LYONS

the movement that gave promise of success; and the projectors had finally to recognize that if anything were to be accomplished it would have to be upon a much more modest scale than was first proposed; and that the Iberville Historical Society would have to do it, getting what aid it could from other sources as the work proceeded.

Not until the fall of 1910, however, was the actual work brought forward, Mr. Peter Joseph Hamilton making the first call, which was attended by four other faithful Ibervillians, Messrs. Cary W. Butt, W. K. P. Wilson, A. G. Moses and Erwin Craighead. These, with F. G. Bromberg, became the Iberville committee having the matter in charge.

The question of finance is always an important one and the Iberville Historical Society met it by inducing the city authorities to make the occasion a municipal celebration. The memorial to Mayor P. J. Lyons dated January 12, 1911, was cordially received and was brought to the attention of the City Council in a special message. The council appointed a committee of Mayor Lyons, G. J. Flournoy, F. J. Inge, F. K. Hale, John Craft and W. C. Carrell to arrange details with the Iberville Committee and shortly after made an appropriation of $500 for expenses. This was ultimately increased to $1,000 and assured the success of the celebration. The joint committee from society and city organized in April by electing P. J. Hamilton general chairman, and W. K. P. Wilson secretary. The joint committee adopted the plan of Mr. Hamilton calling for invitation of distinguished men, striking a medal, erection of an ap-

propriate bronze tablet on the City Hall, a parade about the original French limits, and marking different points of historical interest in the city.

The celebration was soon blocked out and the creation of sub-committees having charge of the various details provided for. Decidedly the most important of these was the selection of Michael J. McDermott and his finance committee. Mr. McDermott and his associates were indefatigable, spending day after day in raising subscriptions, and meeting as a rule with a cordial reception. The newspapers greatly aided the canvass by keeping the matter before the public in almost daily stirring appeals. Two great steps towards raising the necessary funds were taken when the joint committee called upon the County Commissioners and secured an appropriation of $500 and later secured an appropriation from the School Board of $300. The public and private subscriptions ultimately exceeded the sum of $7,000, which proved adequate for the celebration which followed.

The chairman of the sub-committees as appointed were made members of the general committee and worked with zeal and enthusiasm. At the weekly meeting of the General Committee, held at the City Hall, their reports were always encouraging.

Hon. F. J. Inge of the City Council proposed that fleets of the nations which had controlled Mobile be represented and the matter was taken up with the State Department by the Alabama delegation in Congress. The time was too short to arrange this satisfactorily, but the presence of the American squadron in the Gulf made possible a representation

M. J. McDERMOTT

of American sailors. A temporary hitch occurred in connection with the assignment to Mobile of three war vessels which the admiral did not think it wise to bring across the bar. Interviews followed, which resulted in sending a strong detachment of officers and men by rail. The revenue cutter Winona was in port and participated.

The idea of having the president of the United States press a button to open the ceremonies was suggested by T. C. DeLeon in the public prints and adopted by the committee. The Western Union Telegraph Co. made all arraugements free of charge.

One of the chief elements of success of the celebration was the work of the Budget Committee, of which Mr. Erwin Craighead was originator and chairman. By holding a firm hand on the appropriations for all committees, everything was kept in harmony and within the limits of the money in the treasury. Every committee, however, had its full share of work and the different chairmen should be held in lasting remembrance. They were as follows:

Budget, Erwin Craighead; Reception, J. W. Whiting; Parade, Thomas J. Yeend; Decoration and Lights, Mat Mahorner; Orations at the Theatre, Francis J. Inge; Night Parade, Harry T. Hartwell; Stands and Barriers, Cary W. Butt; Carriages, W. C. Carrell; Banquet, Murray Wheeler; Sailors and Soldiers, John F. Powers; Transportation, J. A. Joullian; Music, J. L. Taylor, and Grand Marshal, John D. Hagan.

Mr. Wright Smith, the city engineer, and his assistant, John R. Peavey, determined the old city

limits by surveys which were embodied in a map of Mobile in 1711. The lines to the south of Fort Louis had previously been somewhat uncertain. This map was exhibited in Zadek's window and attracted much attention. A copy is found at the end of this volume.

A tentative programme was arranged at an early date, but some features were taken out and others added from time to time, until the definite arrangements were finally made.

II.—OFFICIAL RECOGNITION.

The importance of the celebration was first recognized by the Legislature of Alabama in a joint resolution which was approved April 6th, 1911, as follows:

No. 241. JOINT RESOLUTION. S. J. R. 52

Whereas this year, 1911, is the two hundredth anniversary of the foundation and settlement of the City of Mobile, first capital of La Province de la Louisiane in 1711; and,

Whereas the City of Mobile and her people are making preparations for celebrating the event:

Therefore, be it Resolved by the Senate of Alabama, the House of Representatives concurring, That the Legislature of Alabama does hereby request the senators and representatives in Congress from the State of Alabama to bring the said anniversary celebration to the attention of Congress and the several departments of the United States Government and the representatives at Washington of foreign powers.

ERWIN CRAIGHEAD, LL.D.

Acting on this request a joint resolution was introduced by Congressman Geo. W. Taylor and passed the House of Representatives. It then passed the Senate at the instance of Senator Johnston, in both cases with flattering addresses. This resolution was as follows:

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States acknowledges with pleasure the receipt of said resolution (of the Legislature of Alabama), and appreciates the courtesy of the notice extended of that important event in the Nation's history.

Resolved, further, That we commend the action of the city of Mobile in making preparations for this celebration. We regard that territory as one of the most valuable acquisitions of the Government, and congratulate Alabama and the people of Mobile upon her growth as a city and extend our best wishes for a successful celebration and a large attendance of patriotic American citizens.

Resolved, further, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the mayor of the city of Mobile in evidence of our appreciation of the work that will be done on May twenty-sixth, nineteen hundred and eleven, in commemoration of the founding and settlement of our beautiful and progressive city on the Gulf.

In keeping with the French nature of the celebration Mayor P. J. Lyons issued a proclamation, following the style of those of Louis XIV, which was scattered broadcast and generally observed. It was as follows:

MAYOR'S PROCLAMATION.

State of Alabama,
City of Mobile.

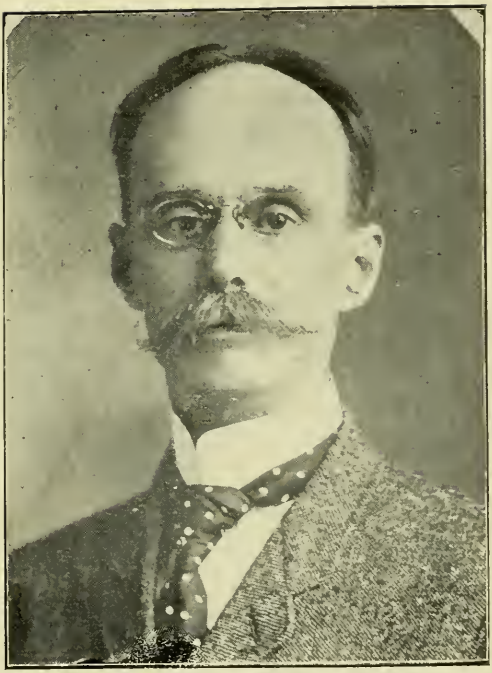
Pat J. Lyons, Mayor of Mobile, to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Our good City of Mobile having attained the age of two hundred years, it has appeared proper to our Honorable City Council to celebrate this event on May 26, 1911, and we do hereby issue this proclamation and call upon our good citizens to observe said day as a holiday and time of rejoicing, decorate their houses by day and illuminate them by night and welcome and entertain the visitors and strangers within our gates.

For the better observance of said celebration we hereby direct that the offices in the City Hall be closed and request that all citizens close their places of business on said day and join in the exercises as follows:

At 9 a. m. they will repair to Duncan Place, take their places in their several societies, guilds and organizations and at 10 o'clock on a signal given by Hon. William H. Taft president of the United States, proceed in a parade of all civic, political, military, ecclesiastical, social, business, educational and other organizations, mark the limits of Mobile as they were in 1711, and finally assemble on Royal street to participate in the unveiling of a tablet on the City Hall as a lasting memorial of the Bi-centenary of Mobile.

On the evening of the same day our good citizens will assemble in the Mobile Theatre to hear orations by Hon. Emmet O'Neal, governor of Alabama, and Dr. Alcee Fortier, representing the governor of Louisiana, in commemoration of said event. For such is our pleasure.



W. K. P. WILSON

In witness whereof we have hereto set our hand and caused the great seal of the City of Mobile to be affixed all this 12th day of May, the year of grace, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Eleven, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-fifth.

(Seal) Pat J. Lyons, Mayor.

De par le Mayor.

Attest:

R. H. Inge, City Clerk.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

Upon the first day of the celebration, May 26, immediately after giving the signal which opened the ceremonies, President Taft sent a message, which was read by Mr. Craighead from the platform as part of the exercises.

Bi-Centennial Celebration, Mobile, Ala.:

Having survived the failure of four flags, may Mobile continue to prosper and grow more beautiful under the present one.

William H. Taft.

The Alabama delegation at Washington, particularly Representatives Taylor and Hobson and Senator Johnston, took great interest in the celebration and were active in securing official action there and as to representation of foreign nations at Mobile.

III.—PROGRAMME.

1711—MOBILE BI-CENTENNIAL—1911

May 25, 26 and 27.

PROGRAMME.

Thursday, May 25th, 1911.

AFTERNOON—Reception of Governors and Officers by the Reception Committee.

8:00 P. M.—Parade of Red Men, and Mystic Parade representing foundation of Mobile.

9:00 P. M.—Reception at Athelstan and Manassas Clubs to City's invited guests.

9:30 P. M.—Bi-centennial Maskers, Temperance Hall.

Night—Illuminations.

Friday, May 26th.

10:00 A. M.—Signal by Pres. Taft for organizations, soldiers, seamen, etc., to assemble at Duncan Place.

10:30 A. M.—Organization of Parade.

11:00 A. M. to 12 M.—Movement of procession around old French limits, the mayor and schools dedicating corner stones.

12:00 M.—Presentation by P. J. Hamilton, A.M., LL.D., and unveiling by school girls of Tablet on the City Hall, in Place Royale. Response by Mayor Pat J. Lyons and congratulations by Governors of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, etc.

Afternoon—Indian Encampment in Bienville Square, Concert, etc.

Night—Illuminations.

7:30 P. M.—Addresses at the Mobile Theatre by Gov. Emmet O'Neal of Alabama and Dr. Alcee Fortier of Tulane University.

9:30 P. M.—Banquet to Governors and other invited guests of the City.

Saturday, May 27th.

10:00 A. M.—Automobile rides.

Morning—Concert.

MAT MAHORNER

Afternoon—Visiting Cutters and shipping.

8:00 P. M.—Reception at the Yacht Club to City's invited guests.

Sunday, May 28th.

11:00 A. M.—Special services in all the churches.

IV.—DECORATIONS.

The official decorations were confined to the old French limits and were especially effective on Royal, Government and Dauphin streets, and about Bienville Square and the Place Royale. This place was Royal street between Government and Church streets, being so named and set apart by columns for the occasion. A five flag trophy, designed by Mr. Charles Hess, was generally used, and with fine effect, while at night the illuminations carried out by Capt. John Mahon evoked great admiration.

Of the private decorations the Register of the day said:—"Among the most artistically and elaborately decorated and brilliantly illuminated buildings are the Battle House, the Bank of Mobile building, the building of the Mobile Electric Company, the old Odd Fellows' building, now occupied by the Loyal Order of Moose, Knights of Pythias Castle Hall and others on Dauphin and Royal streets.

Battle House.

"From the center window of the roof garden to the north and south ends of the Royal street side of the Battle House is a festoon of electric lights in the shape of an inverted V. From the apex of the inverted letter the tricolor of the Bi-Centennial, red, white and blue, are draped in graceful folds,

while arches of this cloth hang gracefully over the entrance to the gallery on the second floor of the building. In full view, with the Stars and Stripes most prominent, the shield of the United States, partly concealed by the silken folds of an American flag, is in the center of the gallery with the flags of France, Spain, Great Britain and the Confederacy artistically intertwined and draped around.

K. of P. Castle Hall.

"The gallery of Castle Hall, Knights of Pythias, is probably the most elaborately decorated and brilliantly illuminated of any building facing on Bienville Square. The flags of the five nations which have ruled Mobile and the colors of the Bi-Centennial are hung to the rail around the edge of the gallery, and hundreds of twinkling red, white and blue electric lights carry out the color scheme of Mobile's celebration.

"The flags of the United States and the Confederacy and the tri-color are most in evidence in the decoration of the hall of the Loyal Order of Moose, northwest corner of St. Michael and Royal streets. One American flag, with a flag of either France, Spain, Great Britain or the Confederacy, is crossed over every window on the second floor, while around the edge of the gallery the flags of all five nations are unfurled to the breeze. Over the entrance to the gallery are draped 'Old Glory' and the tricolor.

Bank of Mobile.

"The Bank of Mobile building, northeast corner of St. Michael and Royal streets, is another of

H. T. HARTWELL

the many effectively decorated buildings. Over the space between the windows on the outer walls of the building are draped the five flags which have floated over Mobile.

"Last evening Bienville Square was the center of activity, the effectiveness of the illuminations and the gorgeousness of the decorations luring visitors and townspeople alike. Spanning all entrances to Bienville Square are arches brilliantly illuminated draped with the flags of the five nations and the tri-color of the Bi-Centennial. The band stand, with its gorgeous decorations and illumination, slightly mellowed by the soft drapery, was filled with children. Extending over the center of the walks are long strings of lights, which form into a spider web of brilliancy, suspended over the fountain in the center of the square."

V.—MYSTIC PARADE.

Mobile's Bi-centennial Celebration of the planting of the banner of France on the shores of the Gulf began May 25 at 8 o'clock p. m. with a historical parade, preceded by the Red Men, who turned out over one hundred strong. The Red Men had an encampment in Bienville Square, and during the whole Bi-centennial kept open tent there and added much to the interest of the celebration.

The night parade formed at the corner of Beauregard and St. Joseph streets and moved south on St. Joseph to Dauphin, thence west to Conception, north to St. Francis, east on St. Francis to Royal, south on Royal to Government, west

to Broad, countermarched east on Government to Cedar, thence north on Cedar to Dauphin, east to St. Joseph and thence to the Knights of Columbus Hall, where a masquerade ball added to the enjoyment of the occasion.

Crowds Along Line.

Crowds began to form along the line of march fully an hour before the procession started from the point of formation, and by 8 o'clock both sides of the streets included in the route of the procession were packed and jammed with a congested mass of restless humanity, the largest gathering being at Bienville Square.

Leading the procession were dusky Indian scouts, the inevitable vanguard of an Indian cavalcade. Following the scouts came two braves carrying the totem pole of the tribe; then a long straggling line of braves afoot, with bows and arrows and torches, which lighted the way. They were followed by other braves on Indian ponies. Roman candles, sending crimson balls of fire into the starry night, in the hands of the Red Men were a feature of the parade.

Founding of Mobile.

The Red Men were following by Drago's Band, which headed the Historical Parade. First came the title float, "The Founding of Mobile," then in regular order, "Bienville Leaving Quebec," "The Court of Louis XIV," "The Hall of Sciences," "Iberville Landing at Massacre Island," "Fame Crowning Bienville," "Fort Louis De La Mobile," and lastly, "Historical Mobile and Its Five Flags."

The floats were those used by the Infant Mys-

GEN. J. W. WHITING

ties in their well remembered parade on Mardi Gras, 1911.

Iberville Leaving Quebec.

Clothed in velvet and satin and wearing the hat of the cavalier with its flowing plume, Iberville stood by the mast of the frail little vessel that was to carry him down the St. Lawrence river and across the Atlantic to the court of Louis XIV. Lapping at the bowsprit of the little vessel, the waves of the St. Lawrence appeared to break, and fresh ones take their place. The reflected light from the torches cast their weird light over the float and gave it the appearance of sunset. Standing on the steep cliffs of the heights of Abraham was the commander of the garrison in knightly attire bidding the vessel farewell and Godspeed. On the cliffs were the native fir trees which added to the general scheme of green and red.

Court of Louis XIV.

In his costly court at Versailles, which called for the expenditure of a vast amount of money, Louis XIV, the most extravagant monarch of any age, viewed his loyal courtiers and ladies promenading in the gardens. His throne was on a solid marble base and was decorated with the most precious gems, scintillating points of radiance. Gold leaf skillfully applied to the throne gave it the appearance of being of solid gold. Louis' court was a brilliant creation of color and light. The costly costumes of the courtiers and ladies recalled the extravagance of the period.

At Massacre Island.

Standing in the bow of the frigate Badine was

Iberville, who had been sent from the court of Louis to explore the New World. Through the bulwarks the muzzles of cannon protruded and from the stern of the vessel hung the red battle lantern. Stamped on the faces of the explorers standing near him was the expression of determination and purpose and at the same time that of joy at reaching an apparently fertile shore. Upon landing on the island the explorers found the beach strewn with human bones, bleached and dried in the sun. Here they erected a block house and planted the banner of France.

Fort Louis de la Mobile.

Realistic in its portrayal of the forts in the new world of that period, and showing the first colonization of Mobile, "Fort Louis de la Mobile" was loudly cheered. Putting off from the shore was an Indian paddling a canoe. Leaning on his carbine, was one of the garrison standing guard at the gate. Through the walls of the log fort could be seen the muzzle of a cannon.

Hall of Science.

Revolving on its axis, the earth was being viewed by four scientists, who though laughed at in that period, and scorned by many, steadily attained prestige and respect. Standing on a platform at the top of the sphere was the symbol of science, showing the victory of science over the world. Profusely decorated with silver and gold leaf and many splotches of gorgeous color, the "Hall of Science" was a masterpiece. The flickering lights from the torches lent aid to the general color scheme and effect.

Fame Crowning Bienville.

Bienville, after enduring many hardships and

T. A. YEEND

keeping the colony together, was crowned by Fame. He occupied a throne in the center of the float and Fame, standing above, weighed out his portion of her wares.

Mobile Under Five Flags.

Five miniature capitols, representing five flags which have been waved over Mobile, draped with the flags and colors of the different nations, were occupied by characters dressed in the style of each period. Columbia, dressed in the flowing draperies of red, white and blue, occupied the center of the float with the characters of the other countries on her right and left. Ringing cheers greeted "Historical Mobile," over which the spectators were more enthusiastic than any other float.

VI.—MARKING THE CITY LIMITS OF 1711.

On May 26, 1911, at 10 o'clock a. m., the formal ceremonies were inaugurated upon a signal from Washington, where the President of the United States touched a key which rang the gong in every fire house in the City of Mobile, released the horses, which jumped into position, and a few seconds later the department was ready for its part in the grand celebration. Two minutes afterwards the telgram of congratulations from President Taft was received. Marshal John D. Hagan placed the organizations in five divisions as they arrived, and at 11 a. m. the parade was ready.

Procession.

The procession was over ten blocks in length. Leading was a squad of mounted officers, followed

by Drago's Band and a platoon of police on foot under command of Sergeant Farmer. Behind the police were twenty-four open carriages, the first occupied by Mayor Lyons, Chairman Peter J. Hamilton, Hon. E. C. McMahon of Montreal, Canada, and Mr. Andre Lafargue, representing His Honor, Mayor Martin Behrman of New Orleans, and the others by Rear Admirals Aaron Ward and Lucien Young and staffs of officers, city and county officials, representatives and invited guests of the city, amongst whom was Emile S. Ecuyer, present on behalf of five French societies of New Orleans. Three companies of blue jackets, led by a magnificent band of over sixty pieces, followed the carriages. These men from the battleships Minnesota, Mississippi and Vermont presented a spectacle worthy of the uniform they wore and which stirred patriotism and enthusiasm to the highest. Then came the jackies from the revenue cutter Winona.

The detachment from the fleet was followed by three companies of the First Regiment, Alabama National Guard, commanded by Captain Grove. The militiamen were enthusiastically received and made a fine appearance.

Sponsors of the Nations.

The entire student body of Spring Hill College, led by the Spring Hill Military Band, brought up the rear of the martial array and they in turn were followed by cavaliers in full court dress, escorting the sponsor, Miss Carlotta Hamilton. Miss Hamilton was prettily and daintily clad in white, with white stockings and shoes and white satin ribbon in her

MISS FRANCES HUNTER

MISS MABEL MOORE

hair. Her dress was bespangled with the golden fleur de lis. She represented old France.

Miss Mabel Moore, clad in costume of yellow, with black trimmings, black slippers and hose, represented the regime of Spain and was escorted by several Spanish courtiers.

Following the representation of the regime of Spain was Miss Frances Hunter, a very pretty blonde of the true Saxon type, with wavy flaxen hair, auburn tinged. Miss Hunter was dressed in white with a red shirt, the St. Andrew's Cross draped over the left shoulder and under the right arm.

Miss Willie Carmelia Carrell represented the Confederacy. Her chair was profusely decorated with the Confederate colors and she was escorted by grizzled veterans of the Civil War. Miss Carrell's chair was carried between single files of the veterans who followed a tattered battle flag.

The United States was represented by Miss Alice L. McDermott, who was dressed in a waist and skirt of red, white and blue, with stars set in a background of blue. Draped over her head and shoulders were the colors of the Union.

These five maidens were carried in Sedan chairs beautifully draped and divided the immense procession into five parts, containing organizations connected with the French, British, Spanish, American or Confederate period. Each division was preceded by the flag of its period and carried appropriate badges and colors.

Corners of Old City.

At the first commemorative stone, corner of Royal and St. Michael streets, the children of the Clark and

Oakdale schools, dressed in full Indian costume, represented the Indian era before 1540. Here Mayor Lyons dedicated the stone in the name of Mobile.

Proceeding north on Royal to St. Louis, the procession turned west to a stone between St. Louis and St. Michael streets on Conception street. Here ceremonies commemorating DeSoto's march across Alabama were conducted and this stone dedicated to history in the presence of the girls of the parochial schools.

The procession then moved south to the corner of Conception and Government streets, where the landing of the French under Bienville in 1711 was celebrated. This corner was held by the girls of the Knox and Baker schools.

The next marking stone was dedicated at the corner of Government and Joachim streets, the exercises, in the presence of the Yerby school, celebrating the ceding of Louisiana to the British in 1763.

At Monroe and Joachim streets the capture of Mobile in 1813 under claim of the Louisiana Purchase by the United States was celebrated by children of the E. L. Russell and E. L. Marechal schools. There over Joachim street was erected an imposing arch with a platform at the top. The platform and the arch were decorated with the Stars and Stripes and the tricolor of the Bi-centennial. Mounted on the steps were forty-eight pupils, while on the platform were Leo Williams, representing Uncle Sam, and Miss Lula Norville, as Columbia. As the procession hove in sight, the national anthems of the United States, "Star Spangled Banner," and "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," were sung. Descending from the

MISS ALICE McDERMOTT

MISS WILLIE CARRELL

platform, Miss Norville placed a beautiful wreath of roses and other flowers over the marking stone, and delivered an appropriate address.

The historic feature celebrated at the next marking stone, corner of Monroe and Conception streets, was the rule of the Confederacy. Chronologically this should have been the second Spanish corner, but the Spaniards exchanged with the Confederates so as to save the old veterans the longer march back to the reviewing stand at the City Hall. The girls here were from the High school and Raphael Semmes school.

At Canal and Conception the second Spanish period of 1780 to 1813 was commemorated by school children from the Leinkauf school, while at Royal and Canal the boys of the parochial schools celebrated the reunion of the States.

At each of the eight corners the children were clad in costume or colors of the respective countries and welcomed the parade with the appropriate national air and the waving of flags. The singing was the fruit of excellent training by Mrs. Maude Truwit. Each marking stone was covered with the appropriate flag and this was removed by Mayor Lyons as he pronounced the words, "In the name of the people of Mobile, I dedicate this tablet to history." The ceremony was simple but impressive and the bright faces and costumes of the eager children made up a scene not to be forgotten.

With tens of thousands banked on either side of the streets along the line of march, standing in carriages, on wagons, in automobiles, crowding galleries and balconies to capacity, standing room was

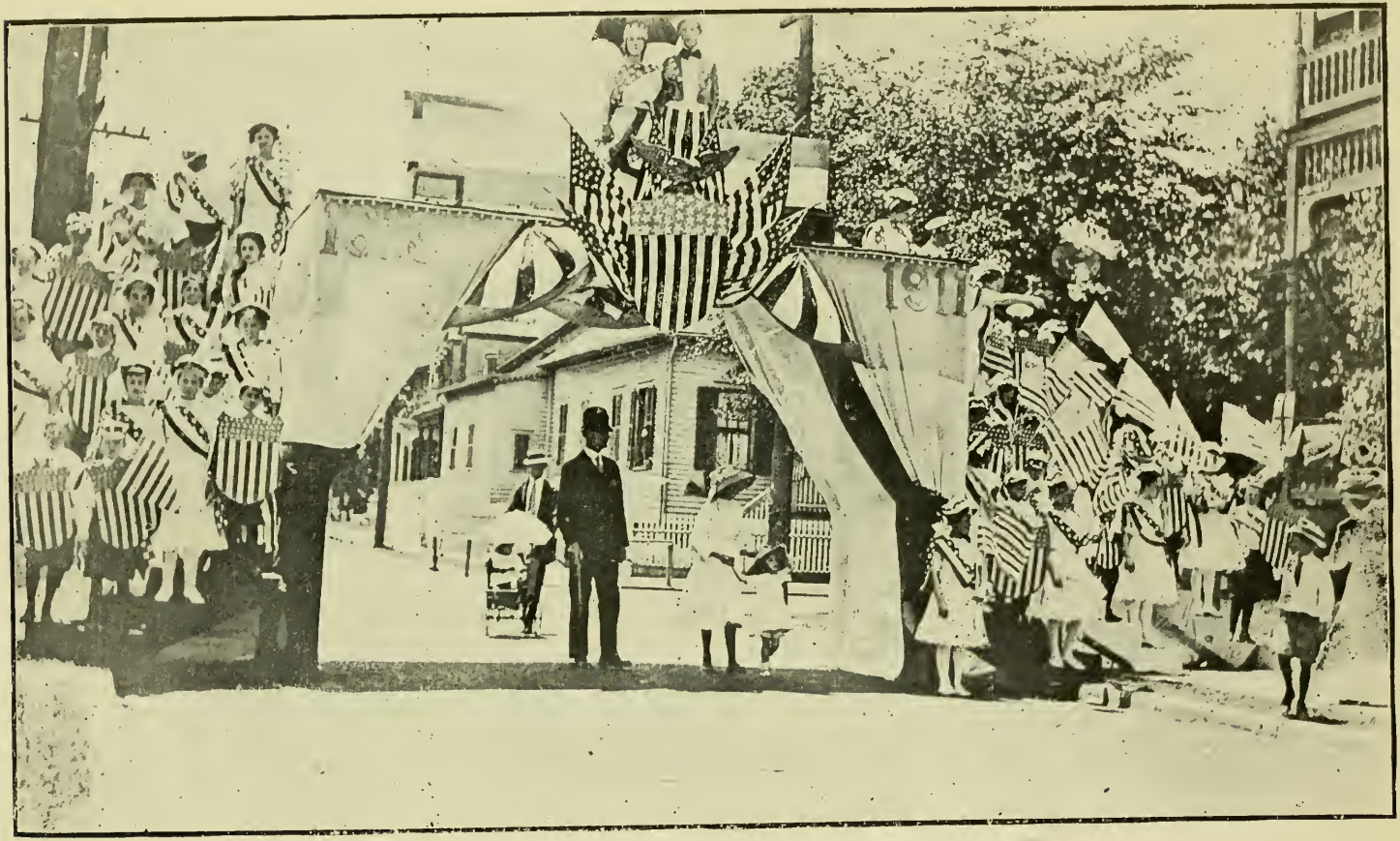
at a premium and those behind, in their eagerness to view the spectacular military feature, pushed the people in front out into the streets, to be forced back again by mounted officers and policemen stationed at regular intervals along the route of the procession. Stirred by the strains of martial music and the clear, thrilling notes of the bugle, audible ripples of admiration passed through the assembled throngs, followed by cheers and enthusiastic and patriotic applause, as the Boys in Blue marched by in perfect alignment, or the Veterans in Gray passed with bent forms but bright, alert eyes.

When all eight cornerstones had been dedicated the procession turned north on Royal street and proceeded to the City Hall.

VII.—DEDICATION OF THE TABLET ON THE CITY HALL.

The procession had started at 11 o'clock and it was about 1 o'clock when the officials and invited guests ascended the reviewing stand erected in the Place Royale in front of the City Hall. From there they reviewed the procession as it passed and formed for the presentation exercises.

At one end of this stand or rostrum there had been placed upon the wall of the City Hall a commemorative tablet, at first covered with flags, and about this centered the chief ceremonies of the day. The stand was covered by a canopy and elaborately decorated with flags of the five nations which had once possessed Mobile. Occupied by distinguished visitors, it presented an inspiring sight to the thou-



ARCH OVER JOACHIM STREET AT MONROE

sands of onlookers crowding the street in front and the windows and balustrades of the county building opposite.

When all of the seats on the platform had been filled, Dr. Craighead, master of ceremonies, arose, and calling the gathering to order, read the telegram from President Taft congratulating Mobile upon the celebration of the Bi-centennial. The exercises were opened with the invocation by Right Rev. Bishop Edward P. Allen of the diocese of Mobile, after which General Chairman Hamilton delivered the address of presentation to the city.

PRESENTATION BY PETER J. HAMILTON.

Mr. Mayor, Honored Visitors, and Fellow Mobilians:

We have come back from our pilgrimage around the French boundaries of Mobile and have piously dedicated to history stones marking each of the eight corners of the old town. It only remains on the spot when Mobile was founded to dedicate a tablet to the memory of our founder. Were Bienville here this warm May day he would spend the time in active work, but now that Providence has accomplished his mission it is fitting for us to stop our usual occupations and for a day recall what he accomplished.

Two hundred years ago all here was forest and the riverside covered also with undergrowth; but men were here and it was the scene of animation quite different from the present. Down on the river bank, at our Water street, Chateaugue, the sailor brother of Bienville, was superintending the breaking up of cedar rafts, Apalache Indians were bringing the logs up to where we stand, and Bienville

with a few French soldiers was having these sharpened and placed in the ground to make a palisade fort. On this high ground other Indians were clearing away the forest, and French soldiers were going hither and thither on errands for the commandant. A few heads of families were, under the direction of Engineer Paillou, seeking the location of the lots which had been assigned them. With them were some children, one of whom was Francois Le Camp, —the first Creole or native born child of the colony. For Bienville, unlike so many other pioneers, was not building a fortification for protection against the Indians, but with the Indians was building less a fort than a city. The boundaries of the palisade extended from a little to the west of our Royal street to a little to the east of Water street, as now marked by marble **fleurs de lis,** and north and south they ran from Theatre to the north of Church street.

We have every reason to suppose that the esplanade reserved about the fort was called Place Royale, as we have named it for today, and that our Royal street was named from it. To the north were laid out six blocks, extending two blocks deep from the river, except at one point where it was deeper, and south of the fort were also two tiers of six blocks each.

But what did this mean—ti[illegible] of a French city, without a wall, on the banks of [illegible]r-ican river? It meant several things. For one it was the removal of an old established settlement from a place subject to overflow down to a place which was free from all such danger. And yet it was done in time of distress, when the home country

PETER J. HAMILTON, LL.D.

could furnish little and the inhabitants suffered from want of all kinds. Even the port of Dauphine Island had just been sacked by the hated British.

It meant also that while Louis XIV, the greatest king of modern times, was hemmed in by British armies on the east and by the British fleet on the west and could do little for the colony, he had a colonial organizer of the first rank in Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville. The energy, which, in Champlain had founded a Canadian city, in La Salle had explored thousands of miles of the Mississippi Basin, had in Bienville become a great colonizing force. The conditions of the new world had made of the old Norman blood a new world force.

It meant that French colonization had abandoned attempts in South America and on the Florida coast, had even branched away from the frozen North, and that, as she had her Marseilles on the Mediterranean, France was building another port upon the Mediterranean of the New World. And it was more than a mere port. It was the point of French influence among the four greatest Indian tribes of America,—Choctaws, Chickasaws, Muscogees and Cherokees,—an influence which was to make the southern half of what is now the United States the French province of Louisiana. corresponding to Canada in the north.

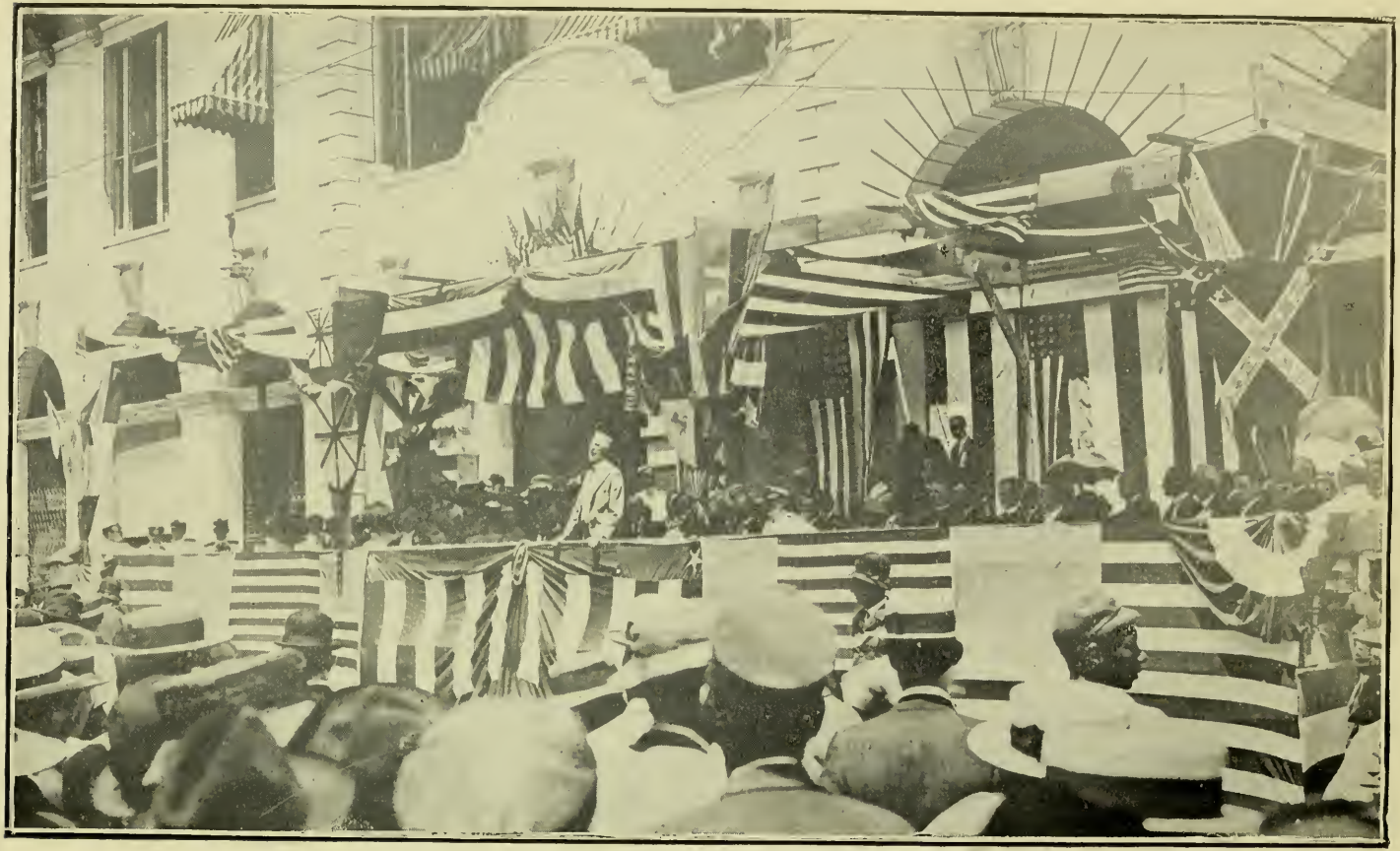
It meant still more. The omnivorous Briton had appropriated the coast line of the Atlantic Ocean from Florida up to Canada and was extending his power up the Atlantic rivers. The time was not yet, but soon to come, foreseen by the French Iberville rather than by the English themselves.

when they would seek the more fertile lands of the Mississippi Basin. The port on the Gulf of Mexico was to be supplemented by interior forts throughout that basin up to the Great Lakes and make of Canada and Louisiana a vaster New France which should build until it could crush the English colonies and drive them back into the ocean whence they came.

No less than this was the meaning of the meeting of Frenchmen and Indians, of women and children, upon this site two hundred years ago. To history it means all this, and to us of Mobile it means even more, for then and there was built our own mother city, the home that we love so well.

This celebration is unlike those in the Atlantic States where men gather to glorify their own ancestors. There is a personal tie that adds zest to such celebrations. Here there is no such interest. Probably not more of us than can be counted on one hand trace their descent back to the French of 1711. Almost all of us are of British extraction, and nothing would have delighted Bienville more than to know that our ancestors were driven out of America.

So that this celebration is more than personal; it marks a patriotism broader than is usual. It is the tribute of enemies to a great man, the homage of Americans to one of the makers of America, to one who foresaw the greatness of the South West and planted here a city which was for the Mississippi Valley and Gulf Coast what Jamestown was for the Atlantic. Providence has developed history in a different way from Bienville's plan, but he was an instrument of Providence in founding civilization here, as we who have entered into the Frenchman's



CITY HALL DURING THE CEREMONIES

rest are instruments to perpetuate it. 1711 and 1911 are far apart, but the period between is continuous and the future is but its further continuance. A hundred years hence men and women will stand here again and add their tribute to the man who founded Mobile and to those who have been worthy to rank as his successors. Possibly none of us will be remembered then, but let us so do our part as citizens that Mobile and America will reach a higher rank and nobler usefulness even though we individually be forgotten. All we can ask—and it is enough—is that we may do work good enough to outlast ourselves.

Mr. Mayor, the central fact of this celebration is the placing on the walls of the City Hall a tablet commemorating the foundation of Mobile. As in geology, we go down stratum by stratum to reach bed rock, so here we remove the flags—or shall I say veils—that cover up our history. First these girls will take off our own American Flag and show the Confederate banner. Below that is another American emblem, and next we find the Spanish flag wth all its proud associations. Take that away and then comes in view the Union Jack of Great Britain, the mother of so many of us. Below this we come to the Fleur de Lis of the country which under that emblem as under the later Tricolor has been the leader of modern civilization,—France, La Belle France. And beneath all is the TABLET in honor of Bienville, our founder.

To me as president of the historical society named for his brother Iberville has fallen the honor of presenting it. There it is, protected by Mobile's

five flags. Some of us have seen this tablet cast here in Mobile and erected by Mobilians. Into the crucible were cast metals and coins of the countries which have ruled here, and most of all there went in thoughts of honor to Bienville, of love for the Mobile of to-day, and prayers for the Mobile of to-morrow. It will be unveiled by Mobile school girls, and I deliver it to you and your successors, to be preserved forever as a memorial of this Bicentenary.

THE TABLET.

After a prayer of dedication by Rev. D. A. Planck of the Central Presbyterian Church, the tablet was unveiled in a unique manner. Miss Carlotta Hamilton, representing Old France, removed in front of the tablet the five successive flags, as if she were removing the five successive historical strata mentioned in her father's address. She handed to each of the other four maidens the flag representing the corresponding country, until she took off last of all a white banner with golden fleurs de lis.

This act revealed the tablet, whose wording is by Erwin Craighead, and reads as follows:

The City His Monument.

To

Jean Baptiste Le Moyne
Sieur de Bienville
1680—1768
Who on this spot began building
Fort Louis de la Mobile,
The First Capital
of the
Province of Louisiana,
May A. D. 1711.
Erected by the City of Mobile
May 26, 1911.

MISS ANNA CARLOTTA HAMILTON

All stood in respect while the artillery fired a salute.

In accepting the tablet, Mayor Pat J. Lyons said:

ACCEPTANCE BY THE MAYOR.

In accepting on behalf of the city this tablet commemorating the rounding out of two hundred years of civic life, I desire first to thank our guests for the honor they have conferred upon us by their presence and to express our appreciation of the zealous and untiring efforts of the public-spirited citizens who have helped to bring to a successful culmination the Bicentennial celebration, particularly Mr. Peter Joseph Hamilton, our writer and historian. As the river and our harbor were the direct cause of our birth, so on them must depend our future. I believe it will be only a matter of years when the character of vessels, say 4,000 tons or less, that now come here, will have been driven from the seas by vessels of larger carrying capacity, and if in the next four or five years Mobile is not prepared to accommoderate the vessels of the world, our natural advantages will avail us nothing. We of to-day are the guardians of the future; on our efforts now will depend the degree of greatness that will have been attained by our dear old city, the first capital of Louisiana, when the tri-centennial of its foundation will be celebrated one hundred years hence. Now that we have a brighter prospect before us, let us work for Mobile, spurred on by success that we have been able to attain in the past.

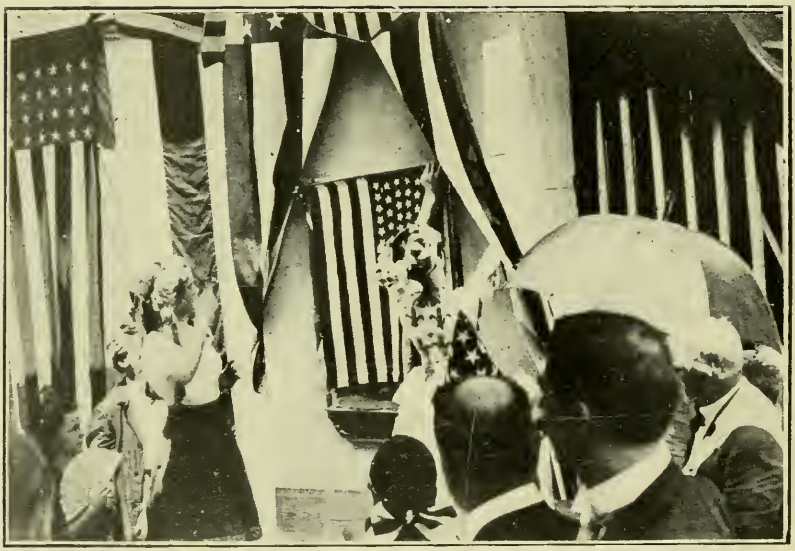
GOVERNOR O'NEAL.

Introduced by Dr. Craighead, master of cere-

monies, Governor Emmet O'Neal was greeted with loud and enthusiastic applause. Governor O'Neal said that he was in Mobile to extend the warmest congratulations to the city upon the celebration of its two hundredth birthday. He said that it was his firm belief and his cherished hope that Mobile would realize the expectations and surpass the fondest dreams of its founders and become the gateway of America, the commercial emporium of the States of the South; that he believed that Mobile was on the eve of a new industrial era. The speaker said that he hoped that the tablet to Bienville would always remain dear to the hearts of all true Mobilians and Alabamians, and that the people of today would display the same courage displayed by the Indians, who fought against the inroads of the French, should America or Alabama be invaded by a foreign country; that he believed that there would be found in Mobile harbor the argosies of the nation and that this port would become the rival of the Eastern centers of trade and commerce upon the completion of the Panama Canal..

DR. ALCEE FORTIER.

Dr. Alcee Fortier, of Tulane University, representing Louisiana, said that in the name of his excellency, Governor Sanders, of that State, it gave him great pleasure to congratulate Mobilians and Alabamians on the Bi-centennial celebration, for it was an important event in the history of the nation. He said none were more interested in Mobile than Louisianians and that the representatives of the people of Louisiana were glad to be in Mobile upon this oc-



UNVEILING THE TABLET.

casion. He said that Mobile had enjoyed many years of prosperity, and God grant that Mobile may enjoy many more years of even greater progress.

On behalf of the French government, Consul General Francastel, of New Orleans, in French extended hearty and cordial congratulations to Mobile.

Lord Eustace Percy, when introduced by the master of ceremonies, said that he regretted the absence of his chief, British Ambassador Bryce. He congratulated Mobile and Alabama on behalf of Great Britain, however, and said that he liked to believe that the prosperity, progress and growth of Mobile were largely due to the British regime.

ANDRE LAFARGUE, ESQ.,

of Louisiana, next spoke as follows:

I am here the bearer of a special message from the Chief Executive and the inhabitants of the city of New Orleans to the Chief Executive and the inhabitants of the City of Mobile, on this its 200th anniversary. Mayor Behrman of New Orleans has requested me to tell you all how much he regretted being unable to attend your festivities. It would be superfluous to tell you why. Everything connected with the history and development of a Southern city is of great interest to the mayor of the metropolis of the South; much more so when the city in question is one whose origin and foundation are as closely linked to those of the Crescent City as those of Mobile are.

His honor, Martin Behrman, has asked me to convey to his brother mayor and to the gallant inhabitants of Mobile his best and sincerest wishes for their welfare, civil development and future pros-

perity. While not bodily present at your festival, knowing him as I do and being aware of the keen interest which he takes in your anniversary celebration, I have no hesitancy in stating that he is one of us today in spirit.

The people of the city of New Orleans have likewise requested me to tell the people of Mobile that they were taking special pride and special interest in their celebration. They are not forgetful of the fact that Mobile was founded by Iberville, the brother of that great and gallant explorer Bienville, who himself in turn laid the foundation of New Orleans. Historically speaking, as well as from many other standpoints, we are brothers and I can assure you that the New Orleanians so identify themselves with your celebration, that they feel, as it were, that this anniversary of yours is somewhat an anniversary of theirs, just as they expect you all to feel when we celebrate our 200th civic birthday. Two cities, two Southern marts, founded by two brothers, cannot but take a lively and kindly interest in the development and progress of each other, and to its elder sister on Mobile Bay, the city founded by Bienville on the banks of the great Mississippi River sends today its warmest greetings and its most ardent wishes for a future commensurate with its past. May the city of Mobile attain that development and that commercial pre-eminence which it is entitled to by reason of its history, of its age, of its geographical situation, and above all, by reason of the civic pride and energy, truly characteristic of its people. Mobile has done well, and mighty well, in the past, and we of New Orleans know and feel that it will do

CARY W. BUTT

better in the future, and on this occasion extend to our brother Southerners a friendly and congratulatory grasp.

HON. E. C. M'MAHON.

Hon. E. C. McMahon, of Montreal, representing the Canadian province of Quebec, delivered a forceful, eloquent and masterly address. He told how Montreal had constructed a canal from the St. Lawrence river and by so doing had outgrown Quebec, the rival city of the province; urged support of all city, county and State officials and pointed out how much greater a city would be under these circumstances. He said that the people should demand a thirty-five foot depth over the outer bar and repeat those demands until congress granted them. He congratulated Mobile on behalf of Canada.

The ceremonies were concluded by distribution of the beautiful commemorative medal at the hands of the five sponsors, and the meeting was dismissed with a benediction by Rabbi A. G. Moses.

VIII.—HISTORICAL ADDRESSES OF GOV. O'NEAL AND DR. FORTIER.

An historical meeting at the Mobile Theatre at night, consisting of two enthusiastic addresses by Gov. Emmet O'Neal and Dr. Alcee Fortier of Tulane University, of New Orleans, was the third number on Friday's programme. The theatre, which was generously tendered for the occasion by Manager Jacob Tannenbaum, was well filled and the balconies, columns, boxes and stage were decorated profusely and artistically with the colors

of five great nations, France, Spain, Great Britain, the Confederacy and the United States, which have waved over Mobile, the Stars and Stripes, Stars and Bars and the Tricolor of the Bicentennial, pre-eminent. With red border lights throwing their mellow radience over those assembled on the stage, and to the strains of "Dixie" and "Maryland," the curtain rose at 8 o'clock. The scene which greeted the audience, an array of gentlemen in evening dress seated in a semi-circle across the stage, "Old Glory" in evidence on all sides, and the gorgeousness of these colors broken only by green palms, was received with enthusiastic applause.

Mr. F. J. Inge presided over the meeting. Governor O'Neal was introduced in a few well chosen remarks, and when he rose to speak his voice was drowned by thunderous applause, and he had to wait until the burst of enthusiasm had lulled.

THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—To be with you on this day, to offer my congratulations on the achievement of the past and to express my confidence and pride in the promise of the future, is a privilege which I count myself fortunate to possess and a pleasure the enjoyment of which I would not willingly forego.

The two hundred years which have elapsed since the seat of French power, first established on the shores of this bay, was removed to the site of and became the germ of this great city, constitutes in historical perspective only a brief period, but during its passage the Spirit of History has brooded over this

FRANCIS J. INGE

region, and on its narrow theatre great nations have not only played a part, but the genius of an indomitable people has evidenced those splendid qualities which despite flood and storm, pestilence and war, have steadily wrought to this triumphant stage.

Though Bienville was not to reap where he sowed, though the Lilies of France were not long to float over the new domain he had given to Louis, though Briton was to snatch from Gaul and Spaniard from Briton the prize of his adventurous cruise, the dream of the great Frenchman has materialized, and in the Mobile of to-day there stands its solid and enduring realization.

The American occupation occurred at so early a period of its history that I may justly claim its development into an important city as an achievement of our own.

The difficulties which have beset this city, which have impeded its growth and proved the fortitude of its people have been many and varied and of no small magnitude. In its earlier years the difficulty of interior communication, the lack of railroads, the undesirable character of the public highways, which still in great measure exists, but which I ardently hope and firmly believe will be at no distant day overcome, combined with the thinness of the population, furnished but meagre materials with which to build. Hardly had the city attained to a position of commercial importance before the panic of 1837 laid its paralyzing hand upon it; and, though so substantially had the foundations of its business interests been laid that the Bank of Mobile was one of the four United States banks which did not sus-

pend, the effect was necessarily to retard and seriously hinder the advancement of its interests.

Scarcely recovered from this blow, under which the whole country reeled, it was in 1839, only two years later, nearly destroyed by fire and wasted by the more dreadful scourge of yellow fever. Reduced in population and staggering under the double misfortune, the energy and fortitude of its people rose superior to calamity, rebuilt its burned blocks and with unfaltering faith continued its steady progress.

In 1852 it again suffered by both flood and fever, and again in the courage and enterprise of its people there lay a redeeming spirit that walking with them through the fiery furnace of their afflictions brought them to a re-establishment of themselves in property and in business progress.

The history of ill fortune was not yet completely written. The Civil War laid the South in dust and ashes, and Mobile was not exempt from the ruin which accompanied it. Its port was closed, its trade demoralized, and it shared in the general prostration into which the overwhelming catastrophe of war had brought the whole South.

With its homes in mourning and its business disorganized, its people, animated by the noble spirit which sustained our country through those black days, having laid aside the weapon of war, resumed the pursuits of peace, and rebuilt upon the shattered remnants of their former fortunes the more splendid and enduring structure to which the passing years have brought new growth, new power and new promise for the future.

The city in which we stand this day, greatly

though it has labored and greatly though it has overcome, is but at the beginning of its progress.

The marvelous science of this wonderful age has swept away forever the fear of the pestilence before which Mobile twice bowed in the dust; before an advancing civilization which heralds the reign of mind and of reason and the calm judgments of an international court for the foolish and wicked arbitrament of the sword the spectre of war has almost vanished from the apprehensive ayes of modern nations, not again to reappear in bloody horror, and we must rest content in the firm assurance that none of these disasters within the control of man will again bar the path of this people in their destined and certain advance to greatness and to power.

Though there now streams through your port the vast riches of our exports, the productive capacity of the South has not been realized; as the factories come to the cotton fields and the mineral riches of Alabama, as scientific agriculture trebles the wealth of its fertile fields, your present commerce beside the volume which a few years will pour in an increasing tide will seem but a feeble trickle, and with the opening of the canal the rich argosies, whose voyages will begin and end at your wharves, will cover the seas of the East and of the West.

The future of this city is indeed filled with promise, and thrills the heart with pride. In prophetic imagination I can see it grown opulent and powerful beyond any dream that ever filled the brain of its founders, exercising a mighty influence far beyond its borders and rich in all those attributes and qualities which stand to make a people great and strong.

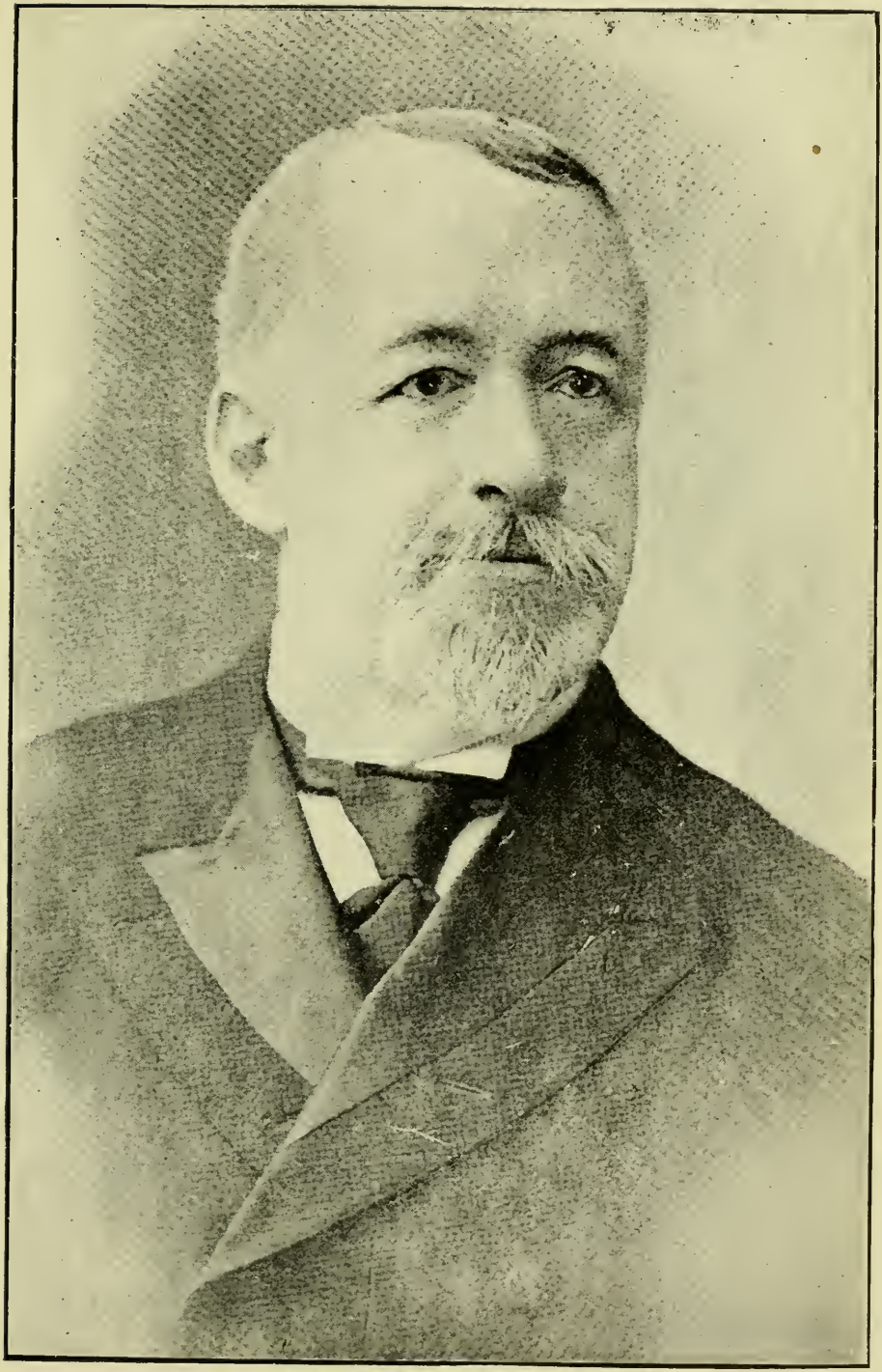
ADDRESS OF DR. ALCEE FORTIER.

Mr. Inge then introduced Dr. Alcee Fortier, of Tulane University, a descendant of L'Anglois who lived at Mobile in 1711, and the silvery voice and graceful delivery of the historian of Louisiana charmed everyone. Dr. Fortier said:

Ladies and Gentlemen:—I feel greatly honored at having been invited to deliver an address in this sister city to New Orleans on this interesting occasion. I feel, however, that I cannot teach this audience anything new, for you have living among you Mr. Peter J. Hamilton, the distinguished historian, the author of "Colonial Mobile,"—one of the best pieces of historical work ever done in this country.

The foundation of Mobile, two hundred years ago, is an important event in the history of the United States, as it marks the period of the permanent settlement of Louisiana by the French and the introduction into that region of the admirable civilization of seventeenth century France. The small establishment made at Old Biloxi by Iberville in 1699 can hardly be called a town, and the foundation of Mobile, and later of New Orleans, consolidated the colony.

To understand the period of colonization in our history one should know the history of Europe at that time. The Spain of Charles V explains DeSoto's expedition and his discovery of the Mississippi River in 1541, and let me say here that I do not believe that Pineda discovered our great river in 1519. That honor must be given to the conquistador Hernando DeSoto. To understand LaSalle and Iberville one must know Louis XIV and his times. One



DR. ALCEE FORTIER

must go to Versailles and see the magnificence of the court of the Grand Monarque, who, always laborious, firm and majestic, was the highest personification of royalty that the world has seen. His high-heeled shoes echoed only on the stairs of his palace, but his fingers moved soldiers and colonists like chessmen over the world board. The name of Louis XVI was given by La Salle to the immense country explored by him, and we are glad of it, for the King of France was a grand personage, in spite of his defects.

It is well known that La Salle was murdered in 1687 in a vain endeavor to colonize Louisiana. Shortly afterwards Louis XIV was at war with William of Orange, whom Marshal Luxembourg defeated so often that this King of England could never certify that the French general was a hunchback, since, said Luxembourg, "The Prince has never seen my back, and I have seen his very often."

After the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, France was again ready to attempt to colonize Louisiana, and Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville was chosen by the Phelypeaux, Pontchartrain and Maurepas to be successor of the heroic and unfortunate La Salle. Iberville was a brave Canadian sailor and soldier who proved to be a capable settler. He left Brest on October 24, 1698, with two little ships, the "Badine" and the "Marin," whose names are almost as important in our history as those of the ships of Columbus, the "Santa Maria," the "Pinta" and the "Nina." Columbus discovered the New World, and Iberville, by his successful settlements, gave to France, and indirectly to the United States, an immense province, the acquisition of which by our country has made

the American Union the great power that it is to-day.

In February, 1699, Iberville and Bienville landed on the coast of the Bay of Biloxi and Fort Maurepas was built near where now is Ocean Springs. In 1702 Iberville ordered his brother Bienville to found a town on the Mobile River, and he himself went to lay the foundations of the first Fort Louis de la Mobile, which Bienville transferred in 1711 to the present site of your interesting and handsome city.

We are glad, ladies and gentlemen, that, as we have done in New Orleans, you have kept the French names of the streets of Mobile. We are glad to see here "la Rue Royale," "la Rue St. Louis," "la Rue Dauphin" and "la Rue Conti," and I hope that neither you or we shall ever forget our colonial story. It was the foundation of our glorious American history. Mobile was under the flags of France, Spain and of England in colonial days, and was always worthy. Under the flag of America she has grown and prospered. May she continue to prosper, as long as God will grant her life, is the sincere wish of New Orleans, her younger sister.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your kind attention.

IX.—BANQUET AT THE BATTLE HOUSE.

Official guests of Mobile, representatives of the nations which once ruled the Gulf City and prominent citizens to the number of one hundred participated in the Bi-centennial Banquet at the Battle House auditorium at 9 p. m., May 26. The beautiful room was magnificently decorated for the oc-

MURRAY WHEELER

casion, the flags of the different nations represented in the Bicentenary ceremonies being intertwined upon the pillars, with large flags of France, Spain, Great Britain, the United States and the Confederacy hanging from the balcony and draped over the stage. Banks of palms were tastefully arranged at the entrance and the orchestra discoursed patriotic music from behind a screen of greenery on the stage. The tables were decorated with cut flowers and ferns. The menu, prepared under the personal supervision of Manager Monahan, was as follows:

Caviar on Toast.
Celery.
Olives.
Salted Almonds.
Essence of Fowl in Cups.
Broiled Spanish Mackerel, Maitre d'Hotel.
Potatoes—Pommes.
Broiled Spring Milk-fed Chicken.
Asparagus Tips.
New Potatoes.
Bicentennial Ice Cream.
Assorted Cakes.
Roquefort Cheese.
Bents Crackers
Cafe Noir.

After the menu had been discussed, the toastmaster, Mr. Murray Wheeler, opened the programme of speeches with a few well-chosen remarks, stating at the outset that the gathering was Mobile's birthday party, and, as usual upon such occasions, everybody was expected to say something of a congratu-

latory nature. He referred pleasantly to the representatives of the different nations who were present and to the progress and prosperity of the city founded by Bienville

CONSUL GENERAL FRANCASTEL.

Mr. Wheeler first called upon the representative of France, Mr. H. Francastel, stating that it was his intention to call upon the speakers in the order in which the different flags floated over the city.

Mr. Francastel said:

L'Ambassadeur de la Republique Francaise aurait ete heureux d'assister en personne a ces fetes ou la premiere ville etablie dans le Sud par les colons francais celebre le bi-centenaire de sa fondation. Monsieur Jusserand s'est malheueeusement trouve dans l'impossibilite de se rendre a cette solennite memorable et m'a charge, non pas de le remplacer, mais de ne pas laisser vide la place qui lui etait reservee.

Plus de cent cinquante ans se sont ecoules depuis que Louis XV. a cede aux couronnes d'Angleterre et d'Espagne les vastes territoires qui etaient autrefois compris sous le nom de Louisiane. Et cependant le voyaguer qui parcourt aujourd-hui cette immense etendue de pays y rencontre a chaque pas des lacs, des fleuves, des villes et dans ces villes, des places et des rues qui portent toujours les noms dont les baptiserent les anciens colons francais. Dans quelques cantons, c'est la langue de ces pionniers de la premiere heure qui frappe ses oreilles; et meme, si ce voyaguer est francais, il constate avec

M. HENRI FRANCASTEL

une emotion profonde que les descendants des colons de sa race gardent encore un culte touchant au pays de leurs ancetres. Les creoles sont des citoyens americains loyaux entre tous, mais il semble qui'ils aient vraiment deux patries: les Etats Unis et la France.

Ces sentiments font honneur aux deux nations. La France peutetre fiere d'avoir jadis donne naissance a des enfants dont la descendance lui est si fidele. Quant aux Etats Unis, en respectant des sentiments aussi respectables, ils ont attire sur eux les benedictions de tous les vaincus et de tous les opprimes de ce monde et merite la reconnaissance des amis de la liberte. Puis cette attitude leur a rapidement conquis le coeur des colons englobes dans l'Union. Ceux-ci se seraient, d'ailleurs, montres bien difficiles s'ils n'avaient adhere de bonne grace a un regime qui n'etait rien de moins que le regime republicain. C'etait la carte forcee sans doute, mais la carte etait bonne.

J'ai dit tout a l'heure que le francais etait encore en usage dans certaines parties de la Louisiane; ce n'est point dans ce seul Etat qu'on le goute aux Etats Unis: les centres de haute cultureen en font foi. Ce sont meme souvent les Americains de souche non francaise qui se montrent le plus curieux d'apprendre notre langue. Il semble donc au premier abord, qu'il faille uniquement chercher la cause de cette curiosite dans la pure beaute de nos chefs-d'oeuvre classiques et dans l'agrement et la variete de notre production litteraire acuelle. Je ne le pense pas: je vois a cette tendance une autre raison, toute sentimentale celle-la. La langue qui aida les Americains

a conquerir l'independance a pour eux, j'en suis convaincu, un attrait tout particuler.

Ce phenomene social n'est du reste qu'un des nombreux signes par ou se manifeste la sympathie des Americains pour la France. Du Nord au Sud, de l'Est a l'Ouest, partout sur le sol de l'Union, on honore les La Fayette et les Rochambeau. Dans le Sud, on joint au culte de ces heros celui d'hommes d'une illustration moins eclatante, mais qui ont du moins, pour les habitants de ces regions, le merite d'y avoir fait les premiers sentir les bienfaits d'une action civilisatrice. Je fais tout specialement allusion ici, chacun le devine, aux freres Iberville et Bienville, les creatuers de l'ancienne Louisiane.

Il serait deplorable que de semblables traditions se perdissent. Quand bien meme un interet de haute politique ne le commanderait pas, il faudrait encore perpetuer ces traditions, seulement pour la beaute du cas. Il est si rare de voir deux peuples unis par une amitie dont un siecle et demi bientot de changements gouvernementaux et economiques n'a pu ebranler la solidite.

Je termine ici ce trop long discours et je leve mon verre en l'honneur de ces drapeaux que raproche ici une ingenieuse conception et je fais des voeux pour que les quatre nations dont ils sont les emblemes marchent toujours de concert sour leurs plis glorieux dans le chemin du progres social et de la civilisation.

At the conclusion of his remarks the orchestra played "Marceillaise," all present standing to drink a toast to France, which Mr. Francastel gracefully acknowledged.

LORD EUSTACE PERCY

Lord Percy spoke for the English flag as follows:

In my inexperience as a speaker I have at least one consolation, namely, that if my speech should prove dull, it would be entirely suitable to my subject. For, coming after the gentleman who has just spoken on behalf of the French government, I represent the passing of Mobile from France to England, and that, I fear, is the change from a romantic period to a prosaic one. Englishman though I am, I confess that the achievements of France in the New World have always had a far greater fascination for me than those of my own country, and I could almost wish that it was my duty here tonight to trace the history of New France from its early beginnings in the struggling settlements round Quebec and Montreal to the days when, through the efforts of the most adventurous explorers and most heroic missionaries that the world has seen, it gradually pushed its outposts westwards and southwards—to Machillimackinac and Saulte Ste. Marie, to Starved Rock and Fort Crevecoeur—until at last, groping its way through the wilderness, it emerged to lay upon the Gulf of Mexico the foundations of an empire greater and more rich in promise than either New England or New Spain.

But this is not my part of the story. This empire passed from the hands of its founders, and England entered into their labors. The change is in many ways a sad one; it is the transition from poetry to prose; from the splendid dreams of Champlain and his successors to the pettiness and drudgery of

English rule; from men like Tonty and Bienville to the English governors and military commanders. These men, honest though they were, had been bred in the stiff school of English officialism; they could not understand the needs or desires of this half-formed, growing, struggling country which they were called suddenly to rule; the Indians, whom the French had understood so perfectly, were to them a complete enigma.

And yet, though I say this, I have not, believe me, any desire to apologize for British rule in America. That rule has been subjected to much criticism, but it had many features of which I can never find it in my heart to be ashamed. I suppose that if there is one thing of which an Englishman may justly be proud it is the English civil service, and I think these English governors and their subordinates represented much of what is best in the traditions of that service. They did not fully realize what this country needed, yet they earnestly desired to serve her; they were unselfish even where they were unwise, true to their lights even where their lights were dim; their ideal was an ideal of justice even where they did not understand what justice was. And while what was mistaken in their policy has passed away, the good has remained. For, as from France America had learnt what it is to dream of expansion, to conceive vast schemes and work for far-off ends, so from England she learnt something at least as valuable—the lesson that government and empire are no easy things; that they are burdens only to be borne by those who are ready for great sacrifices, for patient, plodding toil, for the work of a life time,

J. A. JOULLIAN

blindly spent for an end they cannot see; that lofty aims and visions of empire are of no avail unless they are wrought to their fulfulment in the sweat of the brow and by the work of the hands of common men. In one word, you will not think that I claim too much when I say that it was from England that America learnt self-government.

Probably no country has learnt that lesson better or profited by it more nobly than have these Southern States. No country has been called upon to suffer so much, from the early days of your Indian wars to that great storm which swept over you and made you desolate fifty years ago. Yet in spite of all in these last fifty years you have rebuilt that empire which France founded here 200 years ago, and today with your expanding commerce, your growing cities, your great industries and flourishing agriculture, you stand amongst the foremost States of the Union and may well hope to win a position yet more splendid when the opening of the Panama Canal shall bring the ships of all nations to your ports.

In all this I like to think that England has some part, that the work of those old governors was not in vain. But what is the part which my country can justly claim? Americans and Englishmen alike sometimes refer to England as the "mother country." It is a name which implies no patronage on either side. That name sometimes brings to my mind the thought of a man, old in years yet still vigorous and strong, who in his youth has dreamt high dreams and who in his life's work has done much, and still is doing much, to realize them; yet who knows how

far short his work has fallen of that which he had hoped, and who looks above all things to see it brought to full accomplishment by the sons who have grown up around him. This is England's attitude towards you. We have seen the vision of true greatness and good government, and all that we have accomplished towards those ends has taught us how far we have fallen short of them—has taught us and made us see what good government in its highest sense might really mean for mankind. And thus, seeing your prosperity, we ask no material share in it; however great the future reserved for you may be, we covet you nothing. But we look to you to fulfil to the uttermost all the dreams which we dreamt in our days of youth.

"God Save the King" was played by the orchestra at the conclusion of the address, all standing to drink the toast to England.

ACTING CONSUL J. L. MARTY.

Acting Spanish Consul Marty, responding to the toast, "The Spanish Flag," spoke eloquently of the greatness of Spain in the early days of navigation, referring to the voyage of Columbus in search of new worlds and to the subsequent explorations of the Spaniards, from the time of DeSoto to the date of the cession of Florida to the United States. Mr. Marty paid the highest compliments to all other nations, and was especially patriotic in his reference to the Spanish flag, his eloquence as he pointed to the banner of his country drawing forth enthusiastic applause.

WAITING

HON. GEORGE W. TAYLOR.

Congressman Taylor was cheered as he arose, and, after being introduced by the toastmaster as representing the United States, began his remarks by paying a tribute to all the nations represented, extending eloquent compliments to each of the representatives of foreign powers. Mr. Taylor devoted a considerable portion of his address to the State of Alabama, which he characterized as the greatest in the Union, and spoke with especial fervor relative to the great work that sons of Alabama were doing upon the Isthmus of Panama, both in engineering and sanitation, referring feelingly to Major William C. Gorgas, an Alabamian, and to Major Seibert, in charge of the work at the great Gatun dam. Mr. Taylor said that all nations had a hand in the progress of Mobile and that the Mobile spirit was a mixture of the blood of England with that of France for a starter, the high temper coming from the Irish; some help coming from the Dutch, and, in the city of Mobile as well as throughout the country, a goodly portion of the spirit coming from the most ancient of them all, the Hebrews. The "Star Spangled Banner" was played at the conclusion of the address, all standing.

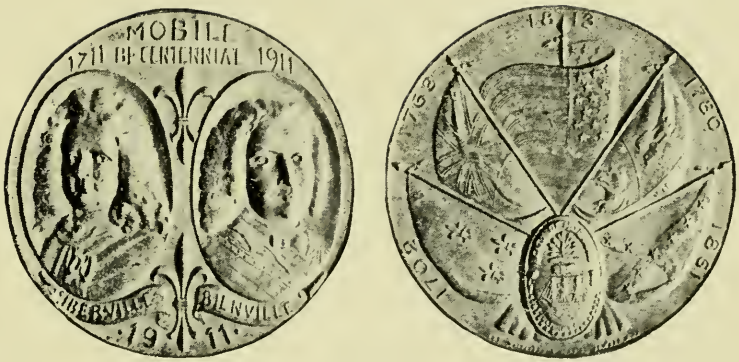
FATHER DE LA MORINIERE.

"The flag of the Confederacy" was responded to by Rev. Father E. C. De La Moriniere in a most eloquent manner after opening his address by a graceful tribute to the ladies, a number having taken seats in the balcony after the speeches began. The two words, "Liberty and Justice," which the banner

of the Confederacy bore, he said, were the inspiration which led the brave followers of the Lost Cause to give their blood and their lives rather than suffer dishonor. He spoke of the mothers of the Southland who, like the Spartan mothers of old, conjured their husbands and sons to go forth to battle, and these gave more than life itself to a cause which they held sacred. A glorious tribute was paid to General Robert E. Lee, and no less glowing tribute to the men behind the guns, who, he said, were after all, the main dependence in time of struggle. Deafening applause interrupted the speaker several times, and the cheers being almost deafening, and at the conclusion of his address, when he drank the toast to the flag of the South, the orchestra playing "Dixie," the speaker received an ovation.

The State of Alabama was responded to by Governor O'Neal in an eloquent address, and he was followed by Hon. Alcee Fortier, representative of the Governor of Louisiana, who responded to the "State of Louisiana." Brief addresses were delivered by Rear Admiral Aaron Ward, in command of the battleship fleet, and by Rear Admiral Lucien Young, commandant of the Pensacola navy yard, in response to the toast "The United States Navy," and Hon. P. J. Lyons to "Mobile of To-day."

The banquet throughout was one of the finest affairs of the kind ever held in Mobile, and did not come to a close until 1:30 o'clock a. m.



THE BICENTENNIAL MEDAL

X.—THE MEDAL AND SOUVENIRS.

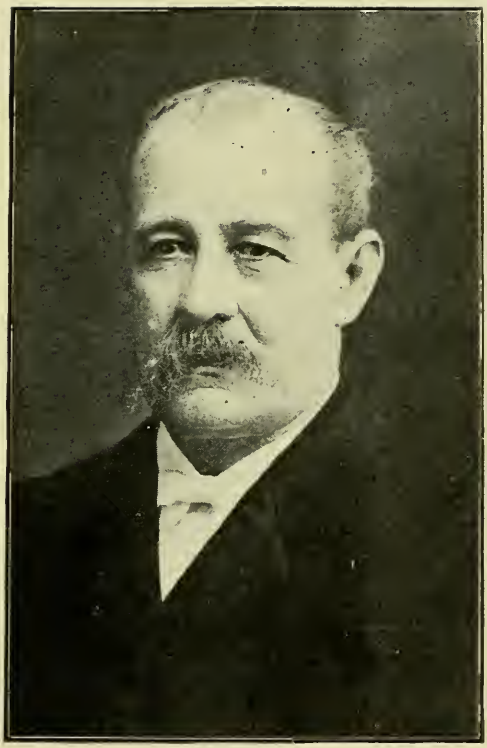
The official colors of the celebration were the white and gold of the Bourbon flag, and also the red, white and blue of the tricolor of modern France. The official flower was the fleur de lis, and it was generally used. It occurred in white upon the blue banner on the official badge, where the Bourbon banner was worn by a chevalier who might have been D'Artagnan of a Dumas romance. To distinguish officials from others, the badge used by them was red. But the special souvenir of the occasion was the commemorative medal struck by the city in bronze and silver. The few silver ones were reserved mainly for the officials, while the bronze medal, of the same design, was more largely distributed. It was struck by Whitehead & Hoag, of Trenton, N. J. On the obverse side were portraits of Iberville and Bienville, with date and names underneath, and above were the words "Mobile Bicentennial 1711-1911." On the reverse was a trophy made up of Mobile's five flags grouped above a shield representing the seal of the city. Beginning from the left the flags were French, with the fleur de lis (1702), and the British (1763). On the right beginning from the top was the Spanish, with castle and lion (1780), and the Confederate battle flag (1861). At the top between the others was the American, with the date 1813. The American flag thus received special treatment not only because it belonged to two different periods, but because it is the national flag. The medal was praised in the American Numismatist as historic in design and beautiful in execution.

The five flag idea was carried out in a stick pin from the same source. It represented the reverse of the medal, with the addition that the projecting staffs of the flags were more prominent and resembled beams radiating from the shield like rays of sun, which was the emblem of Louis XIV. These pins were used with the badges and were also distributed by Mayor Lyons to each group of school children guarding the corner stones at the time that the procession moved about the old limits. There were also unofficial souvenirs in the shape of post cards, and one of these deserves special mention. It represented the five flag trophy in colors and was much admired. These souvenirs were duly used, especially at the social functions connected with the celebration, such as the banquet, and the beautiful receptions given by the Athelstan, Manassas, Elks, and Yacht Clubs. The medal was sent in the name of Mobile to Montreal, Quebec, St. Louis, New York, Philadelphia, New Orleans and other cities connected in history with Mobile. Those to Montreal and New Orleans were of silver and the others bronze. All were cordially acknowledged.

XI.—HISTORIC SITES.

The celebration of the Mobile Bicentenary had some features of lasting value.

There are three classes of these reminders,—granite stones mark the old French boundaries, as well as the two French wharves; white marble stones showing a carved fleur de lis perpetuate the four corners of Fort Louis, which was built by Bienville in



JOHN F. POWERS

1711; and substantial placards of galvanized iron are upon houses and other places important in subsequent history. All these were determined by City Engineer W. Smith from actual survey based on old French maps and plans.

FRENCH LIMITS.

In the sidewalks are granite blocks bearing the inscription "City Limits 1711." Of these there are two on Royal street, one being near the corner of St. Michael, and the other at the corner of Canal street, Royal having been the front street under the French. Conception was the western street at that time, although it had some other name, and so there are similar stones near the intersections of St. Michael and Conception and Canal and Conception. Fort Louis, however, took up a great deal of space,—extending from our Government street down to Theatre,—and to compensate for this Bienville ran his city one block further west in the centre. This addition of one block deep runs from Government down to Monroe, and so at the corners where Government intersects Conception and Joachim are found two of these granite markers, and two others at the intersections of Monroe with Joachim and Conception again. These are placed in the sidewalks, flush with the pavement, and will mark forever the town as it was built by Bienville in 1711.

The town which was built was a port, and therefore the wharf is also marked. The first was made of cedar and extended from near the Semmes statue on Government street southeastwardly to Commerce street. Its two ends are now marked by granite

stones bearing the words "First Wharf 1711." The cedar piling and beams of this wharf still exist far under the street pavement, but were revealed in part when the city cut the big storm sewer down Government street. When the fort was drawn in and reconstructed of brick in 1717 it was deemed advisible to put the wharf in front of the fort, and in this way the earlier embarquadere fell into decay and a second was built extending between Church and Theatre streets out to what is now Commerce. As Water street was within the old river line, what is now Commerce street then gave sufficient depth of water for the small vessels of the day. The two ends of this wharf are marked by similar pieces of granite bearing the words "King's Wharf 1717."

FORT LOUIS.

The beginning of Mobile was when Bienville began erecting Fort Louis de la Mobile, and the spot is marked by the memorial tablet on the Royal street side of the City Hall. Near there the Apalache Indians began placing the cedar palisades of the northwest bastion of Fort Louis. The extreme corners of the four bastions are marked by marble posts in the ground, showing on the surface a fleur de lis. The northwest corner is in or near the Mobile county building on Royal street; the northeast corner on Church street just east of Water. The other two are on Theatre street east of Water and west of Royal. The fleur de lis, like the inscriptions on the street boundary stones, are so placed as to be looked at from within the limits.

The fort was rebuilt of brick in 1717 somewhat further west, where placards mark the corners. It was then named Fort Conde, but under the British, Spanish and Americans called Fort Charlotte until its destruction in 1821.

HISTORIC MARKS.

There are, moreover, about two dozen permanent placards upon buildings to mark historic spots. Most of these are down town, but a few are further out. For instance, on Government street the home of Mrs. Wilson has the words, "Home of Augusta Evans Wilson, the Authoress." St. Mary's church is marked as "The Home of Father Ryan, the Poet Priest," for he claimed this as his home as well as his field of duty. Another Mobile writer is similarly honored, where the home of Elizabeth W. Bellamy is marked over by Washington Square.

In the part of old Mobile north of Government street will be found several placards. The furthest north is the site of the old Slave Market,—now a part of the Electric Lighting Company's plant on Royal. On the Register office is one of the signs showing that Lafayette stayed there during his visit to Mobile in 1826, when he was royally entertained by the City of Mobile. On the Glennon Building is a bronze tablet showing that it occupies a part of the site of the great Indian trading house of John Forbes & Co., who under the Spaniards directed the Indian policy of the South. A little to the west is a sign on the building at the southwest corner of Conception and St. Michael streets, the house where the great actor Joseph Jefferson spent his boyhood. Mr. Jef-

ferson never failed to visit this place when he came to Mobile. The exact house is the south half of the building. On northwest Conti and Royal streets is a card showing that there lived under the French Chateaugue, the sailor brother of Bienville. Here was the first two-story house in Mobile, and there was great excitement when a new governor named Cadillac turned him out to make room for his own large family. In Spanish times the church and parsonage occupied the adjacent lot on Royal.

The columns of the Pollock Theatre Building on the east side of Royal street are marked as the eastern limit of the Great Fires of 1839,—possibly the most disastrous in Mobile history. Here was the Mansion House, a magnificent new hotel, and the conflagration extended as far west as where the Cathedral now stands. A sign on the corner of Dauphin and Franklin commemorates the western limits of these great fires. They burned out the business heart and most of the rest of the little city, and the disaster was all the greater because at the same time came a disastrous epidemic of yellow fever. Those who passed through it cannot speak of 1839 without a shudder.

The Kirkbride walls on Theatre street mark the first jail, a bastion of Fort Charlotte, and the house at the northwest corner of Royal and Theatre is where Ludlow built the first theatre in Mobile in 1823, and thus gave the name to the street.

On another part of the Fort Esplanade we find also some signs. Thus the residence of Dr. Acker, on St. Emanuel and Government, is marked as the home of Octavia Walton LeVert, the famous au-

thoress, whose Souvenirs of Travel in the fifties made a literary epoch. This place was also the scene of her brilliant salons. Across the street Scheible's drug store stands where the British commandant, Maj. Farmar, lived; and there after him lived the Spanish commandants of Mobile.

St. Emanuel street contains other historic spots. Christ Church bears a sign showing that it was the site of the first Protestant Church,—a frame building with a square tower in front. There all Protestants worshipped together in the twenties, and from it went out first the Methodists and then the Presbyterians in the thirties. This Union Church was built about the same time as the theatre not far away. Across Church street, at the southwest corner of St. Emanuel, another of the signs tells of much earlier times, as on that corner,—of course in a different house,—lived the celebrated St. Denis, who was one of the most romantic characters in Louisiana history. He was a military free lance, and went overland to Mexico on the most famous commercial and love-making expedition of Bienville's day.

In the part of Mobile south of the old fort limits we find a sign on Royal and Monroe streets showing where Bienville himself lived in 1711. The present house of course is later, but he owned a whole square and lived there. On the block next south a sign tells us there lived in Spanish times Don Miguel Eslava, a most influential man. Among his titles was Royal Treasurer.

In the early American times Conti street was a more famous highway than it is now, and on it were

several places which bear these historic placards. At the southeast corner of Conception was the Indian Council House, around which were encamped the many Indian tribes which visited Bienville in his day and the English and Spanish rulers afterwards. It was a long shed covered with bark, and the scene of many grave discussions. The fate of the colony was decided there more than once. Further down Conti street, at the corner of St. Emanuel, the German Relief Building and the city prison mark the site of the Government House of British times. There under the early Americans the Spanish Royal Bakery, famous as a landmark, gave way to the first Mayoralty or Municipal Building.

Continuing down Conti we pass Chateaugue's house already described, and on the Adam Glass warehouse east of Royal we find it noted that this was the Court House of troubled Reconstruction days. Much happened there that is now forgotten,—and perhaps it is just as well.

OLD GRAVE YARD.

The Old Grave Yard on Church street has many ancient memorials of its own, the earliest being a cross bearing the date of 1818, but hardly anything more interesting and tragic happened there than is noted in a placard on the north wall. Near it is buried Charles S. Boyington, indicted, condemned and executed for the murder of his friend, Charles Frost, also a printer, in the year 1835, on evidence circumstantial, but strong. Boyington was a man of education and refinement, although of bad habits at that time, and his case excited general interest. Al-

though bound, he tried to escape from the scaffold but was recaptured and forcibly hanged. It was said that after the Civil War some negro was executed in Georgia for an offense, and before dying confessed that he had murdered Frost in Mobile. This may be mere rumor, but lends a sad interest to the northwest corner of the Old Grave Yard, where the murder was committed and where Boyington was buried. The case is reported in 2nd Porter Supreme Court Reports, page 100.

THE OLD CANNON.

While not placed in connection with the Bicentennial, the cannon in the public places are part of Mobile's history.

Possibly the oldest is a long raking piece near the northeast corner of Bienville Square. It is French and is possibly the only piece surviving from the French times. Like most of the others it came from Fort Charlotte when demolished in 1818 and protected the street curbs at St. Michael and Water streets until the Iberville Historical Society placed it in the Square when street improvement made the moving of it necessary. Also in the Square is a large British piece of ordnance having the broad arrow and the entertwined G. R.,—for Georgius Rex. This was in Fort Charlotte in British times, 1763 to 1780.

In Duncan Place is a large Spanish piece also from Fort Charlotte, and dating between 1780 and 1813. This last is handsomely mounted by the generosity of William Butler Duncan of New York, for whom the lower end of Government street was renamed. Further east on Government is a large Con-

federate cannon brought up from Fort Morgan and mounted by Mr. Duncan.

In Washington Square are two old cannon, and on Government pointing down Michigan avenue is a 24-pounder which was on the H. M. S. "Hermes" during the first attack on Fort Bowyer in August, 1814. The Hermes was sent on fire by the American cannonade and abandoned by the British. After the enemy left, the Americans took out this and probably other cannon and used them on the British during the second battle of Fort Bowyer in February, 1815. The defense was unsuccessful, however. The cannon, therefore, fought on both sides—and lost each time. After Fort Morgan was built the piece was used as a base or lever for moving other cannon, being buried and ropes passed through the ring at the breech end. On the reconstruction of the fort during the Spanish-American War the carronade was dug up and subsequently removed to Mobile for permanent preservation.

XII.—CONCLUSION.

The celebration was concluded with rides and other social courtesies to the invited guests. On Saturday, May 27th, Lord Eustace Percy, M. Francastel and others went in autos as far as Spring Hill College, where they were cordially received. On Sunday morning there were special services in almost all churches, recalling the religious history of the city or of the particular congregations.

The lesson of the celebration cannot be better summed up than in the words of Saturday's editorial in the Mobile Register:

THE BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

Mobilians received many congrelations yesterday for the excellent manner of their celebration of the Bicentennial of the founding of the city. The night parade of the Red Men and the Mystics, with the illumination of the square and the principal streets, gave the affair a good start Thursday. Yesterday's ceremonies, the imposing parade that "bounded" the ancient limits of Mobile, the handsome display made by the jackies from the warships, the volunteer soldiery of Mobile, the boys of the military school, the students of Spring Hill College, with their find band of music, the United Confederate Veterans, the Spanish Benevolent Society and the other benevolent organizations, the beautiful little ladies who impersonated the five flags that waved over Mobile, all elicited applause from beginning to end of the line, while the patriotic exercises by the schools at the corner marks were features of lively interest. The unveiling ceremonies, too, were well carried out, notwithstanding the glare of the almost-summer sun, all having part therein acquitting themselves to the entire satisfaction of the enormous gathering of people in the Place of Five Flags, opposite the City Hall. The historic orations at the Mobile Theatre, delivered at night by the Governor of Alabama and by Dr. Alcee Fortier of New Orleans, representing the Governor of Louisiana, crowned the public exercises in a manner most admirable. Then followed the civic banquet, in the handsome auditorium of the Battle House, whereat gathered and feasted the city's guests, the representatives of the Federal and State Governments, and the navy, of

the State of Louisiana, of Canada, of France, of Great Britain, of New Orleans and Montreal. It was a brilliant affair, more so than any of the same order ever given in Mobile.

Taken altogether it was a celebration worthy of the city that has the honor of being the first capital of Louisiana, and worthy of a people who take pride in the history of their city and in what has been accomplished here in civic development.

There is no record of any celebration of the first centennial anniversary. Indeed, it has been said that Mobile had little in 1811 to celebrate, being hardly greater then than at a period one hundred years earlier. The growth of Mobile has been the result of American influence and enterprise, the joining of this territory to the United States being the signal for commercial and industrial development, which has reached its highest point in our own day. Not the highest yet to be reached, however; for from this as the beginning, we expect the third century of Mobile to far eclipse the second, and that our descendants, one hundred years from now, will celebrate in what will be known as a world-city. Everything is possible for Mobile with her geopraphical position, the resources behind her and the world opening in front. The Canal across the isthmus will make the Gulf the Mediterranean of this continent, and Mobile should become the new Venice, the mistres of the Western seas.

We of 1911 send our greeting up the line of years to Mobilians of 2011, wishing them success and honor in the repetition of the ceremony that it was our pleasure to participate in yesterday, the twenty-sixth of May.

BIENVILLE (After MARGRY)

b. 1680 — d. 1768

PRINTED FOR THE BIENVILLE
MONUMENT FUND, MOBILE.
From "Colonial Mobile."

THE FOUNDING *of* MOBILE

1702-1718

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST CAPITAL OF THE PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA, WITH MAP SHOWING ITS RELATION TO THE PRESENT CITY

PETER J. HAMILTON, L.L.D.
AUTHOR OF
"COLONIAL MOBILE," ETC.

MOBILE
Commercial Printing Company
1911

PREFATORY NOTE.

These studies were made in connection with the celebration in May, 1911, of the Bicentenary of the founding of Mobile and in their original form were published in the Mobile Register. They have now been revised and it is hoped improved.

The map at the end was drawn under the supervision of Wright Smith, the City Engineer of Mobile, and shows the French town relative to the existing American city. The route of the bicentennial parade around the French limits is also indicated. At the turning corners granite posts are placed in the sidewalk.

These studies are perhaps disconnected, but centre about the institutions of the time when Mobile was the First Creole Capital. They are based upon manuscript and early sources and are in a large measure independent and supplementary to my "Colonial Mobile."

P. J. HAMILTON.

Mobile, 1911.

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FORT LOUIS.

I.—FRENCH COLONIZATION.

Of all the movements of races, those following the discovery of America are the most interesting. They brought our ancestors to America, dispossessed the aboriginal tribes, and changed the current of the world's history. Being within historical times, the facts can be easily traced. The settlement of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico has features of local importance, but cannot be understood except as a part of a world movement, a readjustment of population.

Colonization in all ages has had several motifs, and it so happened that Spain, who was first in the field, chose one of only temporary value. Columbus had stumbled on America on his way to India, but the Spaniards found so much gold and silver in South America and Mexico that they were willing enough to leave India to be fought for by the Portugese, French and English. Even in North America, Spain, through DeSoto and others, explored rather than colonized. The idea of developing colonies for the benefit of the colonists was left for our day, but that of developing products to be manufactured for the home market was to dawn upon the French and English, although it did not upon the Spaniards. Possibly that country will win in the long run as a colonizer which has the most surplus population. Spain had none to spare, but it so happened that an

economic readjustment in England, followed by religious persecutions, drove many yoemen to a seafaring life. This brought knowledge of the new world and supplied it with colonists. How far this was true of France remained to be seen, but certainly its gradually centralizing government was able to use for any purpose, at home of abroad, whatever means that country afforded.

The two nations settled Virginia and Canada in almost the same year, French Quebec in 1606 being only one year ahead of English Jamestown. It was to lead to a long and interesting rivalry in colonization. Over a century and a half were to pass before the result was decided. It is true that the French had made earlier attempts. Both Brazil and Carolina were colonized under Huguenot auspices, and so short-lived was Coligny's power that both were unsuccessful. In North America characteristically Virginia was a commercial venture. Massachusetts a few years later was a religious experiment, while Canada was not a popular but a royal effort. England took her third colonial step in colonizing on the old French ground of Carolina, just as the French LaSalle made his famous prise de possession at the mouth of the Mississippi River in 1682. English colonization was confined to the Atlantic coast, and expanded in a gradual advance as county or township was settled; the French colonization lay in the occupation of the St. Lawrence basin by a nobility, who settled their lands with retainers, but allied to this was the exploration by coureurs de bois,—woodsmen,—and voyageurs, who carried French influence everywhere.

Quebec and Montreal had been settled upon the

great northern French River. The Mississippi, however, ran not through Laurentian rocks, but through an alluvial country which furnished no good resting place for a capital. The St. Lawrence was wide, and a sailing vessel of the day could ascend it as easily as it could go anywhere at sea. The Mississippi was not such an arm of the sea. It was wide, to be sure, but deep and winding. Sailing vessels could make little headway against its current and along its tortuous course. For that reason no permanent settlement was made near its mouth. La-Salle had such a plan, but the practical Iberville thought a small earthwork sufficient to hold possession there, while his capital was to be on the seacoast. Temporarily he might have his headquarters at Biloxi, but he explored for a more fertile seat for his colony.

Wherever it might be, it would be another seat of empire. The British began with their two types, Cavalier Jamestown and Puritan Plymouth. The French had Quebec in the north, and now in the south were to establish another capital. Two features stand out. With the French there was greater leadership. Champlain in the north and Iberville in the south were greater names than the British colonizers furnished. Again, the French penetrated further and acquired a greater hegemony over the natives than did the English yeomen, who hugged the coast and stayed close together. Perhaps the national characteristics of brilliancy and pluck were pitted against each other, and it would be interesting to see how they worked out the future before them. The British had the advantage in numbers and in foci; for there were when Mobile was

founded, not only Boston and Williamsburg, which had succeeded Plymouth and Jamestown, but conquered New Amsterdam and pacific Philadelphia between, and the new Charleston was becoming a strong centre of influence. Against those could be opposed by the French only Quebec and Montreal in the north and Mobile in the south; but they controlled the greatest river basins in America, were united in spirit, and were wielded by the greatest king of modern times.

The rivalry was not unequal and the building of the southern capital was carrying out the plan to make a greater New France. There was little to choose between the qualities of the two races. There might be a choice between their institutions, but new conditions would equalize these. If France could spare as many people as England, and the colonies of both races multiplied equally, there would be a New England on the Atlantic, and a New France occupying the much greater St. Lawrence and Mississippi Valleys. In the working out of this lies the import of the story of Louisiana and her first capital in the time of Iberville and his brothers.

II.—VIEUX FORT.

It seems that the original condition of mankind was that of families and clans, either as wandering herdsmen or settled agriculturists. The town or city was a gradual evolution, which reached its perfection among the Romans. When the Romans sent out colonists, however, they made the town the basis of their colonization, and the European nations followed suit in their efforts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was an inversion of the

natural process, and yet probably a necessity of the case. The colony must have a centre, a capital, both for communication with the home country and for influence among the natives. For this reason the story of the capital is of importance. In fact, to some extent the capital was the colony.

When it becomes necessary, therefore, to select a site for his colony, Iberville made a careful inspection of all the Gulf coast west of Pensacola. The Mississippi current was too strong, and the lands near its mouth too marshy to admit of settlement. The post at Biloxi was never intended for a capital, but merely as a temporary settlement.

The four great Indian tribes of the south were the numerous Choctaws about Mobile and Tombigbee Rivers, the warlike Chickasaws between the sources of the Tombigbee and the Mississippi, the Muscogees, whom the French called the Alibamons from the lowest subdivision on their river, and the Cherokees in the mountains behind the English settlements on the Atlantic. There were many other tribes, but even on the Mississippi each was few in numbers. Strange to say, the presence of a small tribe on Mobile River had much to do with the selection of the site, for the Mobilians there were not only thought to be the influential Movila whom De-Soto had all but exterminated in 1540, but theirs was the trade jargon or international language understood from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Some still flourished, among the Alibamons near modern Claiborne. Both to watch the English and and influence the natives, therefore, a site on the Mobile River, which was made up of the Alabama and the

Tombigbee, was appropriate. On the other hand, Mobile Bay offered great advantages. At its mouth was Dauphine Island, which was found to have an admirable harbor at the east end, which was named Port Dauphin. There was also an eastern entrance to the bay, but that by Port Dauphin was thought more available. Ships could unload at Port Dauphin and have their cargoes transferred by traversiers and other boats to the river settlement. The river bluff and island port, therefore, could make up a capital, and this was what the fertile mind of Iberville determined.

On his second voyage, while lying sick in Pensacola Bay, he directed Sauvole and Bienville to move everything from Biloxi to Massacre Island with a view of making a permanent establishment upon the river sixteen leagues from the Gulf.

The new town was founded on January 16, 1702, and work continued incessantly. On March 19, La-Salle, who performed the functions of commissaire de marine, arrived and found the streets aligned, the magasin completed, and the palisaded fort of four bastions ready for use. The settlement was reached from a landing, where a small creek makes into the river, and one ascended the hill to the south by the main highway along the river bluff. At intervals were cross streets, named for residents, and the southern extremity of the town was Fort Louis, sometimes called de la Mobile and sometimes de la Louisiane. In front of it on the river bank was the powder magazine, and west of the town was a ravine, and beyond a slight outpost. The fort was on a bend and overlooked the river in both directions, while across were the marshy islands of the

delta, which were to afford some rich agricultural grounds.

The town gradually grew. In 1704 a church was built near the fort by the liberality of Gervaise, a pious priest who was unable to come out, and northwest on the sources of the creek was the Seminaire, where the Seminary priests lived. The west side of the fort was taken up by the chapel, a large building which served also as church for the settlement. As the town was built southwards, a well was dug a block or two inwards from the fort, and about it was the Marche, the assembly and playground of Mobile. There was also a kind of resort on the banks of the creek, and in the woods behind the town the little cemetery, which was, like all graveyards, to grow in size. From the yellow fever epidemic in 1704 it was a populous spot.

In 1702 Iberville brought over four families, and, despite occasional want,—as in 1706 acutely,— all learned to love the place. When D'Artaguette came in 1708 to investigate the complaints of the priest and of the commissaire he found that all had been done which could be expected, and the colonists unanimously declared themselves satisfied with their surroundings. All they wanted was horses to help cultivate the soil.

A traversier was built and plied regularly to Port Dauphin, and gradually all along the river, and even on the bay shore, French settlements arose, sometimes villages, but generally habitans with their little farms.

The settlement was double in character, it is looked towards France and towards the interior. It was the seat of trade and diplomacy with the three

great tribes up the rivers, and even with the Cherokees beyond, and as a result the influence of the English was soon broken. They had traded to the Mississippi River, but this great wedge soon all but shut them out. The Choctaws became firm allies of the French, and the French contended on equal terms with the British for influence among the upper tribes.

The new settlement marked a distinct advance in town building in America. All others founded before it, from Jamestown and Quebec to Charleston, were within walls and fortifications. Even the land of pacific Philadelphia had been bought from the natives. French influence, however, was such that no cession was needed from the Indians for the settlement on the Mobile, and no walls or fortifications were built about it. It was open to the world. It is true that in its centre was a fort, but this was more for protection against Europeans than against the natives. In none of the correspondence or state papers of the day is there expressed the slightest fear of the Indians. Mobile from its foundation to the end of the French regime was the centre of the Indian trade and diplomacy, and only at one time was it in any danger from the natives, and that was long after it ceased to be the capital.

III.—FIRST DIRECTORY OF MOBILE.

Fort Louis de la Mobile at Twenty-seven Mile Bluff was established in 1702 and despite wars in Europe soon became a flourishing town. A map was made the year of the foundation, and one marked "un peu avant 1711" not only shows a place of double the size, but indicates its growth to have been southwardly.

The first thing which attracts attention on this map is the fort, which seems to be looked at from above,—as if there was an aeroplane in use. Fort Louis is square, with bastions at each corner. From the northeast bastion on the river floats the white flag of France, and the west side of the fort is wholly taken up by a large church with steeple, surmounted by the predecessor of M. Rostand's Chantecler. The parapets are all covered, the roofs being plainly visible. The fort is near the river and on the north, west and south sides of it lies the large "Place Royale",—doubtless the drill ground of that day.

As at first built the town sloped up to the left from a little stream falling into the river, just as with the village of Longueuil on the St. Lawrence.

In 1702 the town extended from the creek (ruisseau) about three blocks down to the fort. On the new map as much of a town as previously existed is shown to have grown up west of the fort, and another section almost as large southwest of the fort about the market place. While houses are not indicated, we are told that they were there in abundance, and the names of the residents are given in detail. Many are the same as found on the map of 1702, but there are a number of names peculiar to this second map.

The town might be said to be in three or four districts. The old settlement was that on the creek to the north of the fort. On the creek itself was the brickyard near the river and what may be a pleasure report (Beau sejour) further up stream, while north of the creek was nothing but the woods. Higher up the creek was the Seminaire, residence of the priests

from Quebec, with their garden adjacent. Near it was the place of greatest interest,—the "simitiere," where, without doubt, the great explorer Tonty lies buried with his iron hand. A branch from the creek heads up by the cemetery.

What we may call the second district of the town lay on three streets running west from Place Royale. This section was thickly settled.

The south district of the town was growing up about the market place, "le Marche", with the brick well in the centre. The king reserved some land immediately south of the Place Royale, and Bienville, with an eye to the future, secured a tract south of this, perhaps, with a view of making Bienville's First Addition when the town grew.

The highway running along the river is not named, nor are those bounding the city on the west and on the south. The other streets are very much named; for the same street will change its name every block or so, quite as in the Paris of that day. Parallel with the river and running through the west side of the Place Royale was the street which bore the name St. Francois at its northern extremity and further south the names of Ste. Marie, de Ruessavel, Chateauguay. Next west of that was Bouteville, St. Joseph, de Tonti, Becancour, Juchero, and St. Denis. Next west was the last street with a name, called Seminaire where it begins opposite the Seminary, and then Pontchartrain further south.

The highways running east and west change names in a somewhat similar manner. The first was near the river called Charpentie, and further west Marais (marsh). Next down the river was the street of the Jesuits, bearing also the name LaSalle

and St. Anne. Streets running west from the corners of the Place Royale were called respectively for Yberville and Serignie, his brother. One between was named for the distinguished soldier Boisbrillant, but towards the west bore also the name of Gue,—which is difficult to understand, unless the ford (gue) ran across the marsh which existed west of the town. The last street towards the south was called for Bienville.

Among the prominent residents were Yberville, Bienville, St. Denis, LaSalle and Boisbrillant, and that most remarkable of all liars in the history of the world,—Matheiu Sagean, who pretended to have explored the whole interior of North America.

Some one has said that a dictionary is interesting reading, but changes the subject quite often. Despite a corresponding defect, the first directory of Mobile given by streets will be found of interest. Some of the names were familiar for many years afterwards.

On the unnamed front street beginning at the north and going south were Pouarie, La Loir, Le Conte, Saucie, Jesuits, LaSalle, and D'Yberville. In the same way on St. Fransois was a long list, although at the Place Royale, the street had but one side. On it were Dame Dieu, L'Esperance, La Fontaine, Goulard, Jaque Boullet & ses gens, Tallement, Boutin, Jesuits, Lamery, Francoeur, Trepagnier, Claude, Minet, St. Marie, LeSueur, Le Vasseur, Boisbriliant, Place Royale, La Loir, Gerard, Savarie, Boyer, Le Moine, Louis Le Dieu, Sabastien Le Breton, Alexandre, LaFleur, L'Assure. What sort of people were M. Dieu and Dame Dieu?

On St. Joseph street were in the first place Beau

Sejour, which may be conjectured to be a pleasure resort,—at least for mosquitoes there by the creek,—and then follow on both sides of the street the longest list of all,—La Chenesgaulle, Charle Dumont, Marais, Dumont cadet, Jardin du Seminaire, Jean le can, Magdeleine Poulard, Jacque La Pointe, Denis Durbois, Chavier & Brother, Dominique, Francois Montreuil, Ayote, De Tonti, Charleville, Pierie, Lafolett, Jacque La Barre, Lezie Larcois, Rouffain, Charle Regnault, Jean Alexandre, Beccancour, Laforce, La Fleur, Duhaut Meni, Juchero, Pierre Isogui, Antoine Priau, Francois Marie bourne, St. Denis, St. Marin, Alexie Gry, Birott, Andre Penegau and Robillard.

On Seminaire was the "Simitiere" and then the following: Pierre Le Sueur, Roy, De Launy, Neveu, Neveu L'aine, LaLiberte, Des List, Nicolas Laberge, Francois Trado, Le Boeuf, La Valle, Le Source, Manuelle du hautmeny, Chauvin L'aine, La Frenniere.

On the unnamed west boundry street, all on the east side, were the following: Rochon, Charli, Legat, Antoine Rinard, Martin Moquin, Zacare Drapeau, and Langlois.

This does not quite exhaust the list, for there were some residents on the cross streets who were not on corners, and thus not also on the north and south streets. In order to complete the list and make one feel at home in walking about these early streets, they are subjoined as follows: On Charpentie street were Jean Partie, Condits and Louis Dore.

On Jesuit street were Le Vetias, Regnault and Alain. On the north side of the Place Royalle was Poudrie. On Yberville street was Joseph La Pointe,

Dardine, Fransois Hainelle, Potie, Berichon and Darocque. On Boisbrillant were LeGascon, Courtois and Le Nantois. On Serignie street were five, as follows: Charle Miret, Pierre Ardouin, Jean Francois Levasseur, St. Lambert de haut Meni, and Michel Philippe. Last of all on Bienville street came the famous Matieu Sajan and Jean Saucie.

Many of the leaders were Canadians and not a few of the habitans. Trudant was a carpenter from Longueuil, as were Lapointe and Poudrie, and Bonoist soon came also. Montreal was the mother of Mobile.

IV.—BIENVILLE'S COAT OF ARMS.

In the flourishing city of Montreal they have not only kept the names of the old streets—one named for Charles Le Moyne—and marked with bronze tablets the prominent historical spots, but some of the colonial buildings have been preserved intact. The Chateau de Ramezay, the residence of the colonial governors, is now the home of historical society, and its wall, gardens and rooms have been restored as nearly as possible to their original condition. In the hall containing portraits of famous Canadians stand several of the Le Moyne family, including Charles, the immigrant from Normandy, and several of his distinguished sons. Amongst these is Jean Baptiste, whom the father named de Bienville, from a spot dear to him in the old country.

Charles le Moyne was one of the early settlers of Ville Marie, or Montreal, and in recognition of distinguished colonial services received several grants of land. One was Longueuil, granted in 1657 on

the south side of the St. Lawrence, almost opposite Montreal. After a while he seems to have built a chateau over there and lived in Longueuil during the summer. He was seigneur of this concession and of others.

Among Canadian scholars it is agreed that the seigneurial system was the making of Canada. It was based upon land grants, having a front on the St. Lawrence river and extending back in depth several times the front, subdivided by the seigneur among his own tenants. A common road was required to be made along the river from one seigneurie to another, but the most interesting features were those within each concession. The seigneur had a manor house surrounded by his own grounds, generally on some commanding knoll, while the fields of his tenants stretched far and wide. As far as possible each one was given a front on the St. Lawrence, but this was not always feasible. They may still be traced in the long, narrow fields. The profits of the seigneur consisted of his rents, perhaps in produce, later generally commuted into a small money payment, and in the rights and banalities which the tenants were bound to respect. If the seigneur had a mill, the tenant must grind his wheat there for a certain consideration. Perhaps even more important was the right of holding court, —with high, low or middle justice,—varying according to the extent of his jurisdiction, and incidentally bringing in fees and fines. The Seigneurie of Longueuil was two leagues on the river by almost double in depth. It had its mill, landing place and lighthouse. And a delightful place of residence it is, stretching now as a village along a rambling street

overlooking the St. Lawrence, faced by old-fashioned story and a half houses, with their galleries, the ancestor of our own, and a beautiful church guarding it all.

Here Bienville spent much of his childhood, and he naturally desired to introduce the same system into Louisiana. Originally the feudal system was based on the idea, common even now, of renting one's land for services rendered, but in time it had hardened into very oppressive services. Although it worked well in Canada, for some reason Louis XIV and his successors felt that the seigneurial plan was not applicable on the Gulf. From the first the king steadfastly declined to erect seigneuries in that province, and when at last he did it was only on a part of the Mississippi River below Manchac, and the system seems to have had little influence upon the development of the colony. Bienville, therefore, never rose to the dignity of a seigneur, although the shape of the grants about Mobile was based on the seigneuries of Canada.

Bienville obtained Horn Island, but not by a seigneurial tenure. He owned a whole block of land on the south of both Mobiles, one bounded on the west by St. Charles street,—now our St. Emanuel. This seems to be a reminder of Montreal. St. Charles street there was named for the patron saint of the elder Le Moyne, and the existence of a St. Charles street in Mobile and of one in New Orleans,—both cities founded by Bienville,—seems to point back to a memory of childhood.

Bienville was called Sieur, but that is complimentary and not an abbrevation of seigneur; for except in a military way, Bienville seems to have had

no title. He had, so far as we know, no individual coast of arms, but the family were proud of that of his father, Charles Le Moyne, used at Longueuil, and preserved in the Chateau de Ramezay.

As with all others, it consists of a large shield surmounted by a crest, the helmet itself surmounted by a man standing, with an arrow, in a log fort. Underneath is the motto, "Labor et Concordia." On each side is a standing Indian, a man and woman holding an arrow. The main thing, however, is the shield and its ornaments. The upper third is red, and on it are two gold stars, five pointed, with a gold crescent between them. The lower two-thirds of the shield has a blue ground, and on it are found, placed in a triangle, three gold stars, also five pointed, and each with a gold rose in its centre. It is odd that two such antipodal men as Martin Luther and Charles Le Moyne should have the rose as an emblem. To Catholic and Lutheran it smelt as sweet.

The meaning of the different devices would take us far back into heraldry, for each means something; but at least Bienville lived up to the family motto of "Labor and Concord." These arms, be it noted, were not those of the barony of Longueuil, as such; for this was not created until 1700, in the hands of Charles Le Moyne, Jr., Bienville's oldest brother, while Bienville was in Louisiana. The arms were granted their father in 1668, before Bienville's birth, and were in some sense shared by all those eleven Le Moyne children who made the name famous throughout the world. It was not the fashion then to have an engraved crest for a letterhead; but seals were more used than they are now, and Bienville was a good correspondent when occasion

offered. So we may suppose that just as he affixed an official seal to his dispatches, he sealed his private letters,—as one a year later to this much loved brother Charles,—with the Le Moyne star, rose and crescent. Mobile has her own seal, showing ship and cotton bale, "Agriculture and Commerce;" but may be even in our day Bienville's motto of "Labor and Concord" would not be wholly amiss.

V.—RELIGION.

The ancients, from Babylon to Rome, founded no colony without sacrifices to the deity, and in modern times one of the objects alleged for colonization was the spread of Christianity. The French were no exception. The priest voyaged ahead even of the voyageur. When the Le Moynes came to the Gulf missionaries from the Seminary of Quebec were found among the Indians of the Mississippi. DeSoto's Dominican friars were paralleled by the Jesuit Douge and his colleagues under Iberville. One of the earliest and best loved of the Seminary priests was Davion, who sometimes left his lonely Mississippi vigil (where the Americans were afterwards to build Fort Adams) to mingle with his genial countrymen at Biloxi and Mobile.

The first entry in the venerable church registers of this post is by Davion, noting that he had baptized a little Indian boy, an Apalache, on September 6, 1704. Douge seems not to have obeyed the royal ordinance of 1667 as to keeping a baptismal register, —possibly he needed none; for, as far as is known, the first child was baptized October 4, 1704.

If there had been any doubt, it was finally settled that Louisiana was within the spiritual jurisdiction

of the Bishop of Quebec, at that time the celebrated St. Vallier, and in July, 1704, he constituted Fort Louis a separate parish. It was without a regular pastor until September 28, 1704, when it fell to Davion's lot to induct La Vente with ceremonies recorded on a piece of paper made the first page of the register. We read:

"I, the undersigned priest and missionary apostolic, declare to all whom it may concern, that, the 28th of September in the year of Salvation 1704, in virtue of letters of provision and collation granted and sealed July 20 of last year, by which Monseigneur, the most illustrious and reverend Bishop of Quebec, erects a parochial church in the place called Fort Louis of Louisiane, and of which he gives the cure and care to M. Henri Roulleaux De la Vente, missionary apostolic of the diocese of Bayeux, I have placed the said priest in actual and corporal possession of the said parochial church and of all the rights belonging to it, after having observed the usual and requisite ceremonies, to-wit, by entrance into the church, sprinkling of holy water, kissing the high altar, touching the mass book, visiting the most sacred sacrament of the altar, and ringing the bills, which possession I certify that no one has opposed.

"Given in the church of Fort Louis the day of month and year above, in the presence of Jean Baptiste de Bienville, lieutenant of the king and commandant at the said fort, Pierre du Q. de Boisbriant, major, Nicolas de la Salle, clerk and performing function of commissaire of the marine.

La Vente soon ran counter to Bienville and their unedifying quarrels lasted until La Vente returned

to France 1710 in a dying condition. His successor was Le Maire, who was friendly with the governor. He came as a representative of the good Gervaise, whose means built the first church and parsonage.

The church records are invaluable as giving names, occupations and sidelights on the colony. The test of religion, however, is the inspiration it affords for good living, and in Louisiana religious influences were largely neutralized by the roving life of many of the colonists and the whiskey trade among the Indians. However, Mobile was no worse than the average pioneer settlement.

Louis XIV had banished the Protestants from France and would not even permit them to settle in Louisiana. His minister announced that the king had not chased the Huguenots out of France to let them found a republic in America. Difference in religion was to have no little to do with the enmity between the British and the French colonies, and, so far as religion was concerned, they were to grow up independently and afford an instructive contrast. There was little difference, however, in the woods. The British woodranger was not more moral and not less artful than the French coureur de bois. Whatever might be the merits of a religion which approached God through the old church and imposing forms as contrasted with a faith which discarded forms and sought in Macaulay's words "to gaze full upon the intolerable brightness of the deity," it was not to appear when they came in contact with the natives. But on the other hand in self-denial the Jesuits of the Northwest were to be equalled by the fewer missionaries sent out from New England.

We generally think of the Jesuits as the pioneer Catholics of America, but, although they came down the Mississippi, the Bishop of Quebec soon substituted the missionaries of his own Seminary, and the Jesuits were not active in the South. This seems strange when we remember how influential they were with Louis XIV. They were really the keepers of his conscience, but the Duke of Orleans was of a different mould. In the time of Law's Company the Mobile district was given over to the Carmelites, but in point of fact few of this small order ever came to America, and Jesuits are found on the headwaters of the Tombigbee and the Alabama.

At Mobile there was a separate cure for the Apalaches as well as for Dauphine Island, and with perhaps better judgment the priests did not follow the plan of the Spanish padres. They civilized rather than domesticated the Indians.

On the whole the church did its duty by Louisiana, whether we look at the natives or at the colonists.

VI.—THE SOCIAL SIDE.

In early Mobile the houses were built close together, partly as a reminder of the walled towns in France, and partly because of the sociable nature of the people. They would talk from window to window, and often across the narrow streets, while the little front gallery was in some sense what Dr. Brinton would call the basis of social relations. Woman was here, as elsewhere, the centre of all social life, and woman has among the French always occupied an influential place. The two social foci were Woman and the Church. The age of the ency-

clopedists had not quite come, and the French colonists were devout Catholics.

If we stop to think of it, marriage, birth, sickness and death directly or indirectly make up a large part of all human life. The holy days, too—Christmas, Easter and different Saint's Days—were observed and tended to bring families and friends together. One of the favorite holidays was St. Louis Day, July 24, and it is odd that this should conform so closely to the two great modern holidays—Bastille Day and the American Fourth of July. Merry Mardi Gras also can be found observed from the times of Old Fort Louis at Twenty-seven Mile Bluff.

Among the French the bride brought a dowry, which remained her own, but in Louisiana there was such a scarcity of women that dowry is not often mentioned. The king undertook to supply the colonists with wives, and among the oddest cargoes ever shipped were those every few years of marriageable girls. There was a famous consignment of twenty-three by the Pelican in 1704, and the first after the removal was probably that of 1712. The Pelican girls have been remembered for their revolt against cornbread, which was new to them, but they should be remembered as the women whose husbands and children founded Mobile. That their names may be honored, they are given: Francoise Marie Anne de Boisrenaud, Jeanne Catherine de Beranhard, Jeanne Elizabeth Le Pinteux, Marie Noel de Mesnil, Gabrielle Savarit, Genevieve Burel, Marguerite Burel, Marie Therese Brochon, Angelique Broupn, Marie Briard, Marguerite Tavernier, Elizabeth Deshays, Catherine Christophle, Marie Philippe, Louise Marguerite Housseau, Marie Magdeleine

Duanet, Marie Dufresne, Marguerite Guichard, Renee Gilbert, Louise Francoise Lefevre, Gabrielle Bonet, Marie Jeanne Marbe and Catherine Tournant, although the "N. P. P." after her name seems to indicate that she did not come. Maybe that is the origin of the tradition that one did not marry. It is pleasant to know that whatever was the case after John Law undertook to boom Louisiana, the women brought while Mobile was the capital were uniformly of good character and founded honored families. There was no Manon L'Escaut among them, of dubious if romantic story, and the best people could look back with pride to their Mobile origin. The social morality of that day was high, for the Regency had not yet come, and the Court of Louis XIV had become sedate under Madame de Maintenon.

Education has assumed a much larger place with us than with these simple colonists, but it would be a mistake to think that there were no schools. Louis had subjected the church to the state, but within its limits the church exercised full jurisdiction not only over religion, but over education,—indeed education was a part of the duty of the priest or nun. The teaching Jesuits were not the official priests of Mobile, for these were missionaries of the Seminary of Quebec. Later came the Carmelites; but no matter who they were, the priests as a rule were men of culture and earnestness. We learn nothing of the books they read, or of the school books of the children. Not only was the printing press unknown, but literature did not form the staple of family entertainment. Nevertheless the church records show that very many people could write, although later

the cross was often the method of signature. One of Cadillac's daughters made a cross and she was fresh from the schools of Canada.

Cadillac was to bring with him quite a number of French "domestiques," but the usual servants of that day were little Indian slaves captured in war. There were not many negroes when Mobile was founded,—there were several at the Old Fort and only twenty in 1713. They began to be imported in numbers under John Law's Company. The slaves, Indian or African, were always baptized.

The original settlers were called habitans, as in Canada, but the second generation assumed the name of Creole. The word comes from the West Indies and mean indigenous. It is sometimes applied to animals and fruits as well as to people. It came to mean people of French or Spanish extraction who were born in Louisiana, old or new.

The first Creole was Francois Le Camp, born in old Mobile in 1704. Father Le Camp was a locksmith, a habitant from France or Canada. The little boy, however, being a native, was a Creole, the "First Creole," as he was affectionately called. This seems to have become a kind of title held successively by people afterwards.

It meant primarily persons of the purest white blood, and its use as applied to mulattoes is incorrect except in the sense that they, too, might be partly Latin in origin. Of Creoles in this sense of mixed blood we may have an instance in the modern Cajans near Mount Vernon. These are sometimes said to be descended from the gentle Acadians immortalized in Evangeline; but gentleness can hardly be said to be a Cajan trait. More certainty attaches to the

Chastangs of Chastang Station, who are said to have the blood of Dr. Jean Chastang. While he was in Mobile the doctor lived on Spira & Pincus' corner, but he afterwards moved to the bluff named for him. The Chastang patois is French, but much corrupted by African and English. The settlement is a very interesting one.

The habitans lived a contented rather than a strenuous life. Amusement then as now was one of the French arts, and music and dancing were common. We read of Picard taking his "violon" with him when Bienville dispersed the people among the Indians to avoid starvation, and Picard taught the dark Nassitoche girls on Lake Pontchartrain the minuet and other dances familiar among the French at Mobile. Penicaut's best girl, by the way, was a Nassitoche. Of course wine was used, but the evil side of liquor seems to have been largely confined to its sale to the Indians. The coureurs de bois were intemperate in every way, but the habitans learned to live a plain and healthy life.

VII.—A COLONIAL BILL OF FARE.

It was the time of Louis XIV, soon to be followed by the Regency, when extravagance in dress and at table was the order of the day. Of course, Mobile was not Versailles, but a Frenchman knows no home but France, and at first brought everything from France. Among the greatest distresses of the colonists was the infrequency of ships from home. This caused the absence of not only of Parisian fashions, but at first of French fare as well. So far as food was concerned this lack was limited mainly to flour, lard, wine and salted meat, for fresh meat and fruit,

of course was not brought across the water. There were French cooks in Mobile, however, and they gradually learned to dress the native products into appetizing dishes.

Only a little later than the founding of Mobile, the Spanish officers at St. Marks gave the Jesuit Clarlevoix a state dinner which made him think he was in Europe, and Penicaut even earlier tells of things which make one's mouth water.

The French breakfast has always been light, and the main meal has been dinner. While we cannot be certain of the order in which the menu was served, we know the name of a good many Mobile dishes. We may conjecture that soup,—the great national dish,—came first. It was so essential that it became the proverbial expression for a meal. Bienville, for instance, speaks of the priest, Le Maire, taking soup with him. Gumbo file goes back to colonial times, and indeed earlier, for it was ground up sassafras leaves as originally prepared by the Indians, while the oysters that go with it were so abundant as to give this name to what we call Cedar Point. Few kinds of fish are mentioned by the French, but they had the same sheephead, mackerel, trout and the like which are favorites with us. A stream over the bay was named Fish River. Meat was even more abundant. Bear and deer were familiar dishes, and much later a quarter of venison cost very little. Deer River, below Mobile, and Bear Ground, near the Old Fort, testify to the abundance of such game. Chickens, eggs and turkeys abound,—the latter being called Indian fowl, Coq d'Inde, and giving the name to our Coden. In fact, game of every kind was common. A great dish borrowed from the In-

dians was the sagamite, a kind of mush made from corn meal, and bread made of acorns or other nuts was not unknown. Vegetables became common, especially corn and beans, prepared separately or served together as the Indian succotash. Hominy is mentioned oftener on the Virginia border than in Louisiana, but corn bread of different kinds was used. Something fried (friture) was often a part of the meal, and pastry (patisserie) was seldom absent in well-to-do households.

Fruits were abundant. The peach, cherry and plum were native, and enjoyed by the Indians as well as the French. Oranges were introduced from the West Indies and the fig from Provence, but bananas are not named. Grapes were not much esteemed, as there was little besides the muscadine, which we know. The scuppernong does not seem to have been then introduced from the Atlantic coast. Strawberries, however, were much praised, and also watermelons, while mulberries were universal. These are summer fruits, but in the fall the nuts of this climate were gathered. Walnuts, chestnuts and chinquapins were frequent enough and much enjoyed. Pecans (pacanes) are mentioned as a common species of walnut (noyer).

Little native wine was made, although there is reason to think that some whiskey was; one of the greatest drawbacks connected with the infrequency of communication was the scarcity of wine. Penicaut did not much esteem the native cherries, but casually remarks that they go well with eau-de-vie. This corresponds to the brandied fruit of American times.

We generally wind up a dinner, as well as begin

a breakfast, with coffee. This drink was coming into use in France. D'Argenson mentions it as a common custom,—and somewhat later it is known in Louisiana,—but we cannot be certain that it was used at the time that Mobile was founded.

Of course, the rich lived better than the poor, but there were not many poor. All cultivated the soil and raised something. The freshness and quality of the vegetables, and the fact that so many people were hunters and fishers, made conditions more equal than in later days. Creole cooking became one of the colonial institutions. Creole dishes, often highly seasoned, become common. After the removal of Mobile it was to make little difference whether vessels came or not. But at its founding this was not so: for Mobile was a part of France and had no other aspiration than to be a far-away suburb of Paris.

VIII.—THE MOSQUITO FLEET.

It was only once or twice a season that the big ships came from France, but Mobile Bay saw other sails during the year. The coasts of France, whether on the Mediterranean, Atlantic or the Norman, developed a hardy sea-faring population, and not a few of these, as well as many Canadians, made up the early settlers. Dauphine Island,—Massacree as it was first called,—was well settled from the beginning, and gradually the shores of the bay received many settlers. These habitans and Creoles loved the water and there is hardly a cliff on the bay or a fishing stream reaching back into the interior that does not show evidence, in name or otherwise, of their occupation. People now-a-daays seeking locations in Mobile and Baldwin counties are

confronted by French names which many of them do not understand.

At first glance it would seem that the principal commerce would be the lonely trip of the traversier from the Island to the city,—carrying supplies from the incoming ships and exports for them to take back to France, besides some local traffic and exchange of goods. This was frequent enough, and even in 1702 a boat of sixty tons had to be built for this purpose, and still the commerce grew as port and town improved. But this was not all. During the war against England the Spanish ports were open and there was a large trade of every kind with Pensacola, besides traffic, only less in size, with Havana and Vera Cruz. In addition to this, moreover, there was always the export of goods from Mobile to the French islands, particularly to Leogane and other parts of San Domingo. Indeed, we miss much of the spirit of the time if we think of Mobile alone; for even Louisiana was only a part of a large French colonial empire, which in some respects had its earliest centre in San Domingo.

Nor is this coasting trade all that would build up shipping. The habitans were not only Frenchmen, but Catholics, and Catholicism incidentally meant a large fishing trade for Fridays and fast days. The people early began to raise cattle, but their proximity to the coast ever made fish one of the favorite articles of food. The fishermen lived principally near the mouth of the Bay, as indeed they have ever since, and, while the Bay of Bon Secours may have been a reminder of the Montreal church, it was also truly a haven of refuge for small craft. Perhaps the village above Daphne was later, but there grad-

ually came to be groups of dwellings on favored spots about the smiling bay.

Each civilization has to borrow much from that which went before, and we find reminders of Europe even in far away Louisiana. The French got much of their nautical speech from the Italians and Spaniards,—as these had earlier from the Romans and Moors,—and some of the boats which plied our bay are described in terms which would just as well fit the Mediterranean.

There are a number of small types of vessels mentioned, whose size is somewhat uncertain. We have seen that a traversier running between Mobile and Dauphine Island; but a traversier of forty tons also sometimes went to Havana, and two even came with Iberville across the ocean in 1698. The chaloupe,—a variation of the Dutch sloop,—was also seaworthy, for one hailed from St. Augustine. Other kinds of boats are biscaienne, balandre, and pinque, all sailing craft with some difference in size and character. We know one balandre came from Vera Cruz, and a pinque could carry six hundred sacks of flour. Felouque is sometimes used interchangeably with frigate, as in the case of L'Aigle. By rights the felouque is the long, two-masted fast sailer with two Lateen sails still so common on the Mediterranean. Brulot and flute,—La Dauphine is a flute,—seem to have been generic words, while the pirogue was rather a flat bottom boat than the dug-out, which, among the Americans, came to bear that title. Canoes are often mentioned, and generally as made of bark; butwhat kind of bark was available in our latitude? Oak and pine were the principal trees, and their bark was certainly not used. Birch and

willow generally served in the north, but were uncommon about Mobile. Doubtless some of these barks were secured from the upper rivers, but this was the reason that the dug-out was common even in Indian days. In point of fact it was hollowed by fire rather than by chiselling.

Iberville planned a great ship-yard on Dauphine Island,—he said there was no reason why boats of any size desired could not be built there. His death and the Spanish Succession War made great changes,—but maybe our day is to effect what he dreamed.

The boats were very useful where everyone lived on the water, and there were no roads beyond trading paths. Proportionally navigation was more important than now, for all trade and commerce were carried on by water. And apart from communication among the French on Mobile waters, the Indian trade up the rivers and commerce to France, we read much of trips to Pensacola and Vera Cruz. Starvation,—disette,—was a frequent visitor, especially at the old fort, and but for the coasting trade to the Spanish colonies, our French settlement might now share the fate of Raleigh's colony at Roanoke.

All honor, then, not only to Iberville and the armed Renommee but also to Chateaugue and Becancourt with their peaceful felouques and brigantines.

II.

MOBILE.

IX.—THE REMOVAL AS TOLD BY THE REMOVERS.

Mobile had been established with two outlooks,—the one towards the Indian tribes high up the river system, the other towards France and trade in the Gulf of Mexico. The latter was necessarily conducted from Port Dauphin at the east end of Dauphine Island, for there was the deep harbor. The other called for a river site, as the pirogues and other boats of the day could not venture on the rough bay. It might be a question whether Iberville had not selected a point too high up for his main settlement. There was no question of its convenience so far as the Indians were concerned, particularly the few but influential Mobilians, but just as the French had to experiment for several years to find what grain was suited to the country, so they were to learn by experience as to the best site for their capital.

High water had already threatened Fort Louis, but in March, 1711, came the floods which settled the question for all time. This, together with the surrounding circumstances, is told so fully in two dispatches dater shortly afterwards, on June 20, 1711, that we will give them as in the nature of what Prof. A. B. Hart would call history told by contemporaries. One was from Bienville himself at Mas-

sacre Island to Pontchartrain, the minister of the marine, and is as follows, after discussing his Spanish neighbors:

"We have arrived at that period when we could not bear our own misery. It is so great that I dare not describe it to your highness. We are not able to sustain ourselves any longer against the flood of presents which the British make to the Indians and which they offer them for abandoning our side, and if we have sustained ourselves up to the present, I protest that it is not without much management and care. It is two years since we have given the Indians anything, and during that time we have kept them hoping from month to month. I have no ammunition,—I dare not tell you further of our condition; I am seeking some from Martinique, but they will do as they have done, that is to say, pay no attention to our representation. As the opportunity of this boat is not sure on account of the latitude where it must go, we are trying to see if we can find a suitable boat here to send direct to France to render account of all I cannot put on paper.

"The waters have risen so greatly this spring that the habitans of this town (bourg) have asked me to change the location and put it at the entrance of the river, eight leagues lower, where there is a splendid place (bel endroit), and this I have accorded them. They are all building there at present (il y batisse tous a presant). This fort is all rotten, so that it will not cost more to build another one at the mouth of the river, where we will be in position to aid Massacre Island. I will cause a village of Indians to descend to the site which we are abandoning. I will also make the more laborious and expert of these

natives come down to the new establishment. I have already commenced to have work done and to have made cedar piling (pieux de sedre) for the enclosure (encinte) of this new fort. If I had any goods suitable for pay to the Indians I could have the new fort built cheap, but having none, I will do nothing that I do not know how to pay for."

The other dispatch possibly carried more weight; for it was written by D'Artaguiette, who had been sent over to investigate colonial conditions. He also addresses Monseigneur Pontchartrain, and writes as follows:

"The waters rose so considerably this spring and with so much impetuosity that the greater part of the houses of this town (bourg) have been covered (noyez) up to the comb (fet) of the roof in five or six days. This lasted more than a month; the inhabitants have all asked to change down the river, which one could not refuse them; the fort is all rotten. M. de Bienville, who sees like myself, the impossibility of aiding the port (Dauphine Island) from so far, and that four years ago the same accident happened, joined to the assurance which all the Indians give us that the waters rise even higher, all these reasons have made us take the resolution of changing; the commandant has had people working with much diligence in making cedar piling (pieux de cedre), which lasts much longer than other wood, for the enclosure (enceinte) of the fort and its bastions. This wood is found in places difficult of access, but its hardness makes the trouble worth while. The Apalache Indians, who have been working on this piling, are looking after their crops, and it is not possible for them to work further until after

their harvest. Meantime they ask to be paid, and there is nothing to pay them with. We are so deprived of everything that dying of misery would not be worse. We have asked aid of San Domingo, Martinique and everywhere, without anyone's deigning to give attention to our complaints. They have written us from Vera Cruz that an armanent is being made up at Jamaica (British) to come here and capture us, and that the Renommee (French) destined for here has been captured. Finally, I cannot tell you our present condition, it is beyond expression; one cannot change the fort and the garrison until the arrival of the help which you will send this colony. It will be necessary to send an engineer to construct this fort and to build one little battery or several batteries at the Port of Massacre, with a detachment of marines to guard it. This place since its fire has been rebuilt by the energy of the inhabitants, who like to live there much better than they did before, so that they do not deserve to be exposed to the insult of foreign vessels."

We have also an account by Penicaut, who was one of the habitans. We thus have the removal from the public and the private point of view, together with an account of the new neighborhood.

"At the beginning of this year," says he, "the fort of Mobile and the establishment of the habitans in the neighborhood of the fort were inundated by an overflow of the river to such an extent that only the high elevatins were not damaged.

"MM. D'Artaguiette and Bienville, seeing that, according to the report of the Indians, we should be often exposed to these inundations, resolved to change the fort of Mobile. They chose a place where

we had put the Chactas upon a bend of Mobile bay, to the right. We gave them whom we displaced another site for their homes two leagues further down, to our right in descending to the sea, on the bank of Dog River.

"M. Paillou, aide-major, went with our officers to the place where we had planned to build the new fort. He laid out the outside lines, then the esplanade, which ought to be left vacant around the fort, and marked also further out the location for each family, giving each one a lot twelve toises wide by twenty-five long. He marked out at the same time place for the barracks for the soldiers; the residence of the priests was to the left of the fort, facing the sea. We worked the whole year on this establishment.

"This year a party of fifteen Chactas, while on a bear hunt, was met in the woods by a party of Alibamons, their enemies. The chief of the Chactas, named Dos Grille, a brave man, was not dismayed by the number of the Alibamons, and, although hit by a gunshot from afar, and the ball had pierced his cheek, he took out the bullet, which had staid in his mouth, put it in his gun, and killed the man who had wounded him. He immediately reassembled his fifteen men on an elevated spot, and from there, each one being posted behind a tree, they killed more than thirty Alibamons. The Alibamons did not dare resist any longer, and took to flight, abandoning their dead and wounded.

"The Chactas had only three men killed and three or four slightly wounded. They brought to our fort to MM. D'Artaguiette and Bienville the thirty scalps and the skins of two deers which they had killed

while coming. We made them presents of merchandise and gave them considerable powder and ball in recognition of their bravery. The chief of these Chactas had killed eight himself, though wounded, as I have said, by a ball in his mouth.

"Several habitans of Mobile this year went and established themselves on the seashore at the place called Miragouin, about five leagues from Mobile going towards Dauphine Island, one league beyond Fowl River.

"The rest of the year was spent in completing the new fort which we built on the seashore; we erected two batteries outside, each of twelve guns, which commanded the sea.

"The new fort of Mobile on the seashore being completed and the houses finished, we transported all household goods and merchandise in canoes, and made rafts upon which we put cannon and in general all munitions and effects which had been at the old fort. The habitans carried their effects at the same time to the respective habitations which had been given them near the new fort and we entirely abandoned the old.

"Some days after we had been established at the new place on the seashore there arrived a vessel which anchored in the roads of Dauphine Island; it was the frigate named the Renommee, commanded by M. de Remonville, who was captain.

"The sieur de Valigny, an officer who since a boy had been fort major, came in this vessel with twenty-five Frenchmen, whom he had brought over to reinforce the garrison.

"We disembarked the munitions of war and supplies and put them in the magazines of the fort on

Dauphine Island with troops to guard them."

Their old acquaintance, disette,—famine,—followed the French and they had to seek adventures among the Indians as they had at the old fort. In this way they learned to know the new neighborhood.

"M. Blondel, lieutenant of infantry, went with 30 soldiers to live among the Chactas. Sieur de la Valigny went with twenty-five soldiers across Mobile Bay to the neighborhood of Fish River. He took with him eight Apalache Indians who were excellent hunters. These Apalaches, whose village had been destroyed by the Alibamons, had come, as I have told, and been established between the Mobilians and the Tomes in a place which M. Bienville had given them, with grain to plant their lands the first year; but the year that we quit the site of the first fort of Mobile they followed us and MM. D'Artaguiette and Bienville assigned them a district on the banks of the river St. Martin (Three Mile Creek) a league above us, counting from the bay. The Taouachas were also placed on the river so as to be a league above the Apalaches. They, too, had left the Spaniards because of war with the Alibamons; they are not Christians like the Apalaches, who are the single Christian nation which came from Spanish territory.

"The Apalaches have divine service like the Catholics in France. Their great feast is the Day of St. Louis; they come in the evening before to invite the officers of the fort to the feast at their village, and on that day they give good cheer to all who come, and especially the French.

"The priests of our fort go there to say high mass,

which the Indians hear with a great deal of devotion, chanting the Psalms in Latin as we do in France, and after dinner the vespers and the benediction of the Holy Sacrament. Both men and women are on this day well dressed. The men have a kind of cloth overcoat (surtout) and the women wear cloaks (manteaux) with petticoats (jupes) of silk a la Francoise; but they have no headdress (coeffure), the head being bare; their hair, long and very black, is plaited and hangs down in one or two plaits, like the Spanish women. Those who have hair too long plait it down to the middle of the back and then tie it up with ribbon.

"They have a church, where one of the French priests goes to say mass every Sunday and feast day; and also a baptismal font to baptize their children, and cemetery (cimetiere) alongside the church, in which there is a cross; there they bury their dead.

"On St. Louis Day, after service is finished, towards evening they mask, men, women and children; they dance the rest of the day with the French who happen to be there and other Indians who come that day to the village; they have any quantity of cooked meat at refresh them. They love the French very much, and it must be confessed that there is nothing savage about them except their language, which is a mixture of Spanish and Alibamon."

The centre of the Mobile settlement was the new fort. This was built of palisades very close to the edge of the water, and in fact it must have needed some filling to reclaim the front part of it from the marshy bank. It was apparently begun some day in May, on the site now marked by a commeromative tablet. Like Rome, Mobile was not built in a day.

We know from the later dispatch from Bienville that even in October of this year there were still a few houses occupied at Old Fort Louis. But official life centred at New Fort Louis and the old site was forgotten in the life and activity of the new.

The port on Dauphine Island remained unchanged except that it became more popular. Penicaut says this occurred at the same time New Fort Louis was built.

"During this time," says he, "M. Lavigne-Voisin, a captain from Saint Malo, made land at Dauphine Island, where he anchored, and thereupon went to Mobile to see MM. D. Artaguiette and Bienville, and, after having stayed there several days, he asked permission to build a fort on Dauphine Island, which pleased them very much. He did not fail to commence work as soon as he got back; he made embrasures in his fort for cannon, which protected the entrance of the port for all vessels which come to land there.

"He at the same time had built a very handsome church in the district where the habitans of the island lived. The front of the church faced the port where the vessels were, so that those who were on board could come in a moment to hear mass, which caused many habitans of the environs of Mobile to establish themselves upon Dauphine Island." And this, he adds, was even more marked after Remonville's arrival in the fall, and soon the port became a little town itself.

X.—NEW MOBILE.

Bienville selected for the new site of his colony a plateau near the mouth of the river. A slight slope back from the river reached a wide level space ten feet above ordinary water on which a large city could be built. The river bank was marshy, but it was only about a hundred yards wide. To the south was Choctaw Point swamp, to the north the low ground of the mouth of the bayou he called Marmotte (and Americans One Mile Creek), but it would be a long time before the town could extend so far. The long, low bluff overlooking the river afforded a good place for a front street, and a cape or projection where the river made a bend to the west presented an admirable place for a fort to command the approach from the sea in the one direction and from the Indian country in the other. On the location he selected grew up the city of Mobile, to flourish and grow under five flags.

The boundaries of Bienville's Mobile were approximately St. Michael street on the north, Conception street on the west, and Canal street on the south. The eastern street was Royal, running along the high land. The slope to the east was often muddy and overflowed and no houses were built on the east side of Royal, except that the fort extended almost to the river. West of the fort, too, there were two blocks running out to Joachim street, and bounded on three sides by the woods. The principal street was Royal.

The plat gives a detailed description of the fort itself as follows:

"Fort Louis is fortified with an exterior length from one point of bastion to another of 540 feet.

"The fort is constructed of cedar pilings 13 feet high, of which 2 1-2 are in the ground, and 14 inches square planted close together. These stakes end on top in points like palisades. On the inside along the piling runs a kind of banquette in good slope, two feet high and one and a half wide.

"There is in the fort only the governor's house, the magasin where are the king's effects, and a guard-house. The officers, soldiers, and habitans have their abode outside the fort, being placed in such manner that the streets are six toises wide and parallel. The blocks are 300 feet square, except those opposite the fort.

"The houses are constructed of cedar and pine upon a foundation of wooden stakes which project out of the ground a foot, because this soil is inundated in certain localities in time of rain. Some people use to support their houses a kind of turf (tufle), very soft, and would be admirable for fine buildings. This stone is found 18 leagues above the new settlement along the bank of the Mobile River. The houses are 18, 20 to 25 feet high or more, some lower, constructed of a kind of plaster (mortie) made of earth and lime. This lime is made of oyster shell found at the mouth of the river on little islands which are called Shell Islands.

"They give every one who wishes to settle in this place a lot 75 feet front on a street by 150 feet deep.

"The stone to support the houses is scarce and not much used for lack of means of water transportation, such as flatboats, for there are none, and people do not care to go to the expense of building

them. This stone would be a great aid, for those whose houses rest only on wooden piles are obliged to renew them every three or four years, because they decay in the ground.''

We have ''the names of officers and principal habitans who occupy the lots (emplacements) of this new colony (establisement).'' Proceeding north-northward on present Royal street from the fort the block up to the present Conti we find occupied by only two places. There is some confusion as to the southern one, but there can be little doubt that this was the site of the parish church (Leglize et paroisse), for the other place, that on the corner of Conti, was occupied by the priests of the Seminary of Quebec,—who had a large lot called the Seminaire at Old Mobile. From Conti to Dauphin were only two people of note, on the southern corner being M. de Chateaugue, the great sailor brother of Bienville, and next north of him, Sieur Poirrier, the commissary (garde magasin). The magasin itself was, as shown in the description, within the fort, on its western side. The lots facing on Royal were generally four to a block, and the other two of this square, now Van Antwerp's, as well as almost all of the two blocks to the north, were occupied by habitans and voyageurs. Between Dauphin and St. Francis, however, were even in those days lots occupied by people in the employ of the government,—somewhat as now, for this was the site of the Custom House; and next north of the present Glennon building was M. de St. Helesne.

The land behind these Royal street lots were occupied mainly by soldiers, but also in two instances by ''several women.'' Across the present St. Emanuel

street from them were mainly soldiers, employees and habitans, except that at the northwest corner of St. Emanuel and Government streets was M. Des Laurier, who occupied the important position of surgeon (chirurgien major), and at the southwest corner of St. Emanuel and St. Francis, and thus in the present Bienville Square, was the well known soldier, M. Blondel. Most of the lots on Conception street are unmarked, except that the present square was occupied by soldiers, habitans and employees, and that Gayfer's and the Goodman stores next east were taken up by the grounds of the hospital.

No one lived further west, except that there are two blocks set off for soldiers on the west side of Conception from Government to Monroe streets. East of these and immediately west of the fort were two blocks which were occupied. The cemetery lay at the southeast corner of Conception and Government streets, taking up the site of the Fidelia Club and adjacent property. On the St. Emanuel street front of these two blocks, and facing the trees of the fort esplanade, were some well known people. Thus about the Acker place was M. de Boisbrillant, a distinguished officer whose romantic affair with a gray nun Bienville interrupted. Next south of him was M. de Grandville, and next on the corner of Church street, on the site of Christ Church, was M. Valligny, a prominent soldier. On the southwest corner of St. Emanuel and Church streets was M. de St. Denis, one of the most distinguished explorers of old Louisiana. His name and Bienville's are the only names also found on the map of Old Mobile. He did not live at Mobile very long, for he soon made his headquarters at what is now Ocean Springs,

but he came back to Mobile every now and then. Next south of him was Jean Louis, master cannoneer (maitre cainonier), and then after some unnamed habitant we find on a corner near modern Theatre street M. Du Clos, the ordonnateur, corresponding almost to the position of civil governor.

South of the fort four blocks are laid out from our Monroe to Canal, but they contain very few people. Most of them are filled by soldiers, habitans, employees and "plusieurs femmes" again, but there are two or three notable exceptions. The front square immediately south of the fort, somewhat as at Old Mobile, belonged to Bienville, for he had a whole block to himself. At the southwest corner of Madison and Royal was the residence (logement) of the priests, probably Jesuits. These were entirely independent of the Seminary of Quebec, and not always friendly with it. Immediately west of the priests, and thus on the south side of Madison midway between Royal and St. Emanuel, was M. Mandeville, the first of a name always distinguished in Louisiana. The Mandeville Tract at Mobile was called for him, and after the founding of New Orleans the family were prominent there, even down into American times. On the corner opposite the priests was the engineer, M. de Paillou, who laid off Mobile, Fort Toulouse, and later Fort Rosalie at Natchez.

There was but one wharf in French times, the King's Wharf. Bienville originally built it north of the fort, and its cedar logs still remain, buried under the soil. Afterwards it was rebuilt in a more substantial manner in front of the fort. Over this passed all imports and exports. The exports were

mainly hides, in winter furs and beaver skins, besides naval stores and some timber. The imports were everything needed for the colony and for the presents annually made to the Indian tribes to keep them in good humor. Canary wine was sometimes brought in Spanish boats, for Spanish wine as yet was even more famous than French. The different French soldiers, by dispensation from a royal decree to the contrary, had space reserved on incoming ships to bring over furniture, wine, or anything else which they needed. Supplies did not all go to the royal magasin, for we know that there were many marchands, or shopkeepers, at Mobile, and when the magasin ran low the governor did not hesitate to press their goods for public purposes.

The plans of Old Mobile at Twenty-seven Mile Bluff gave names of streets and people, while that of New Mobile in 1711 omits both. The word habitant was domesticated at Mobile just as it was at Montreal, but no names of habitans are given on our map. Some habitans are known to have moved to Mobile, but their residences are unknown, for this map gives only the officials. There were many habitans, voyageurs, employees, whose names we do not know, as is true of the soldiers also; but if we miss the godly family named Dieu on the plan of the old city, at least we also miss in the new Mathieu Sagean, who, if he had been named Cook, would have been a chef. La Pointe lived at Scranton, and Alexandre on Dauphine Island, but were probably at first in Mobile.

A remarkable feature of the new settlement is that none of the streets, with the possible exception of St. Francis, bears the name which we saw in the

town at Twenty-seven Mile Bluff. There is no reason to suppose that there has been any change since 1711 in the name of streets north of Government. Those extending from the present Government to Theatre street, and all east and west streets further south were to be laid out anew by the Americans. One or two hit the old lines, but unless we were to guess that Theatre street bore the name of Bienville and Government street the name of Iberville as up the river, we have no clue to the nomenclature.

The esplanade up the river was called Place Royale, and probably this was true at New Mobile. To this it may be due that the front street of French times has ever since been called Royal. The next street west was St. Charles, now St. Emanuel, but what the third street, renamed Conception by the Spaniards, was under the French we do not know. At all events, the habit of calling streets from the people who live on them, a custom of small towns, was left behind, and the streets of the new settlement were at an early date named for prominent people or institutions. Conti was called for the great family of that name, and Dauphin commemorates the remarkable change which death wrought now in the royal family. Dauphine Island relates to the same occurrence.

The new settlement was at first smaller than the old, but it enjoyed a better site and unlike the old was to prove permanent.

XI.—THE GREAT HAT QUESTION.

While Bienville was acting on his own responsibility in Louisiana in moving the capital from Twenty-seven Mile Bluff to the present site of Mobile, im-

portant events were occurring in France. Bienville did not know it, but in the very April, 1711, in which he was arranging for his change of base, the Dauphin died and the whole court of Louis XIV also made a change of base. Louis' grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, a pupil of Fenelon, became Dauphin, and his wife, the charming Duchess, became the Dauphine, for whom our Dauphine Island was to be named. The Duke of St. Simon was now in his glory and was prosecuting The Great Hat Question.

This was whether the president of the great French court called the Parlement should or should not take off his hat when the Dukes of France attended as members.

There was also a Great Hat Question in Louisiana, for ships arrived very seldom. The ladies made up for hats by the use of feathers, ribbons, and it must be confessed by rats also; for the coifures of that day were among the most marvelous inventions of history. Of course, those of Versailles were not quite reproduced in Louisiana, but Mobile was a piece of France, an extraterritorial city, so to speak, and as such followed, as nearly as possible, the French fashions. The dependence of the official class,—and they made up a large part of the Mobile population,—upon Versailles was something which has not been often paralleled, and if Marlborough could dispute the military supremacy of France, at least no one, as a recent writer expressed it, has from the time of Louis XIV disputed the milinery supremacy of Paris. We do not know that the Mobiliennes imitated the extravagance of their French sisters, but the pictures which Paul LaCroix gives of headdresses imitating ships might well have been

designed in Mobile; for longing for a ship from France was the only thing in which all agreed.

Of armor we know something, but that was rare, and of Indian dress more; but we are not told a great deal about the colonial costume of the day, for we are met with the lack of private letters and journals which even later has troubled Southern historians, French or English. The Yankees are much more given to writing on private affairs than the habitans of Louisiana or Canada. Bienville and the other officials hardly ever discussed such matters. The skirts—jupes—of the ladies receive an occasional mention, however, and we may well imagine that some of these assumed the great balloon shape which was so common in France. The Andrienne is spoken of as a kind of flowing drapery,—possibly we have in it some reminder of the pleat which the painter Watteau was making fashionable by his pictures. Robe was the generic for women's costumes then, as it is now, but details are wanting. Penticaut is our chief authority, and he was at this time a bachelor and could know little of the subject, even at what he could learn from the clothes lines of the "plusieurs femmes" in the suburbs.

When we come to the men we know more, but our knowledge is mainly negative; for there is constant complaint that they did not have enough clothes. Bienville every now and then acknowledges the arrival of coats and shirts for the men, but says that socks have not come, and as for hat, it is seldom mentioned. The Indians, we are told, wore a "braguet," but we have little information as to the habitans. Perhaps in the nature of the case they sometimes anticipated the French Revolution and

were Sansculottes. They occasionally had very severe weather at Mobile in winter, but this was easily met by the skins and furs which came for export to France. There was not much trouble about shoes, for tanneries were set up in the colony, and in this respect the people were independent of France.

No doubt much of the clothing was made up in Mobile, but there were no manufactories. The Engglish government was industrious in preventing the erection of manufactories in their colonies, but the French had no such trouble. The absolute government of Louis XIV made everyone dependent on the court at home and every colony dependent upon France, and indeed many of the articles were made up there. As to material, cotton was becoming more common, its habitat being still in Mexico and other southern countries, but wool had not yet been deposed from its pre-eminence. It came mainly from England, and made Flanders the manufacturing centre of the world. Taffeta is mentioned, but the principal goods brought to America were Limbourg, Mazamet, Rouen, and they were largely used in the Indian trade. Every ship brought a consignment of these materials.

It would have been well if the French government had encouraged the manufacture of cloth and other articles in Louisiana, but the factories of France were languishing and desired every market possible. St. Simon tells us that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes twenty-six years before had now become severely felt. The expulsion of the Huguenots had affected every industry, particularly in South France, and not only so, but the exiles carried their knowledge and skill to Holland, Germany and Eng-

land to build up rivals in trade. This and the war were the two reasons the supplies from France were infrequent and unsatisfactory.

A native linen made from the fibre of the mulberry bark is sometimes mentioned, but silk played little part at Mobile, except in the dress of a few ladies. It must be remembered that not only was Bienville not married, but the other officers were there for short times and did not always bring their families with them. This was not true from 1712, however, for the new governor was to bring his large family,—several of them young ladies,—and from that time there was a kind of court at Mobile; for Cadilac was to prove very punctilious.

The Great Hat Question of France related to whether nobles or the lawyers should take off their hats. In Mobile, the Great Hat Question in 1711 was how to get any hats at all.

XII.—A CHATEAU ON THE BAY.

Iberville had been disappointed in getting the lands about Mobile Bay ceded to him as a fief, but the practical Bienville built a chateau on what we call Garrow's Bend for a summer residence. Perhaps a nobleman of France would have laughed at a chateau built of lumber sawed on the spot and with open gallery looking out over the blue waters; but it was more comfortable than a stone castle would have been. The furniture was ample, consisting of armoire, tables, chairs and bed, all brought from France and in the style which Louis XIV had made the vogue. There Bienville spent his summers when not called off on duty. From his gallery he could follow the movements of the shipping, great and

small, and from the end of his spider-legged pier, jutting out to deep water, he could bathe and fish at will. Hunting and fresh water fishing were also near at hand, for a tramp of a mile or two through the woods would bring him to Dog River, famous then and since.

All around grew the stately magnolia and the pecan, the evergreen live oak and the black and other oaks of this climate. The persimmon—which the French called plaquemine from the Choctaw word—the walnut, the cherry, the long-leaved tulip, and the locust or acacia were not far away, and the funereal cypress could be seen in a swamp near by.

Bienville was not a botanist, although the system of Tournefort was popularized in Europe, soon to be succeeded by Linnaeus. But he took interest in his garden, where were flowers as well as vegetables. Lilies were native and the fences were overhung with Cherokee roses, but the cultivated roses of our day were not yet introduced from France. Jessamine, begonia, smilax and aster were native to the soil and needed no cultivation. It was in his vegetables, however, that the practical Bienville, looking out for his colonists, took most interest. The potato, not yet called Irish because it was really American, of course took the leading place, but turnips and the other bulbous plants were not generally cultivated outside of industrious Holland. Peas, beans and especially Indian corn came down from the Indians themselves, and formed the staple dishes of the table. Bienville hardly had space upon his town lot to have a garden, and he therefore devoted more attention to this suburban place. He realized from the beginning that agriculture must be the

basis of the colony, although it was hard to get the habitans away from the more lucrative Indian and Spanish trade.

Whether Bienville went further and experimented with cotton and indigo, which were soon to be so prominent, we do not know. At this early date they form no item in the exports. He was much interested in tobacco, and if he did not experiment at Mobile, he certainly did at Natchez and other parts of the colony. This was ultimately to be one of the great Louisiana products. Grapes were missing except the muscadine, and wine came from Spain or France.

The pleasant Charlevoix seems never to have come to Mobile, but Bienville met him some ten years later, and in after years was to know something of the book which the father wrote upon his travels in North America. Half of the fourth volume was to be taken up with the description of the flora. It is very likely that Bienville in his tramps abroad would pay no attention to the wild plants, but the learned Jesuit was, like many of his day, interested in the materia medica which the New World opened to the Old. The candle myrtle was rather useful for commerce than medicine, but the plant which the French called ipecacuanha, and the English the May apple, was to prove a valuable discovery. The sunflower was to furnish aconite, and even the lowly sarracenia was a specific in its way. Gensing was useful from Canada to the Gulf, and sassafras not only supplied a tea, but its ground leaves were to originate the famous Creole gumbo. The cassine or youpon furnished the black drink which the Indians took before going on the war-path, and its medicinal

properties were also to be valued by the habitans.

While Charlevoix was on the lookout for medicinal knowledge, he did not despise flowers which were merely grateful to the eye. He pictures for us fully the jack-in-the-pulpit, known to him as the Virgin's Slipper (sabot), and he tells also of the sweet shrub, together with many other pleasant things.

The fauna of the country was familiar to Bienville, for he was a thorough woodsman; but the animals need not detain us, since, with the exception of the buffalo, they remain with us until now. The French even introduced some new ones. Horses were still rare, but cows, although the French strain had not been improved, were common enough. The business of herding was becoming almost as important under the French as among the Spaniards further south. Some of the early explorers found chickens on the lower Mississippi, but these came from some Spanish shipwreck. The poultry of Bienville's day was imported by himself and soon assumed great importance.

Bienville's chateau was truly French and life there was pleasant in every way. His friends were entertained with music, cards, and to some extent with books; but after all the unique feature consisted of the beautiful view over the bay and the "bel jardin" to which Penicaut so lovingly refers.

XIII.—INFANT INDUSTRIES.

It is only since Lord Durham's report in 1830 that any nation has begun to recognize colonies as existing for themselves. All colonial empires have been founded on the idea that colonists were merely

hands for the home country, designed to extract from the New whatever would be useful to the Old World. This was the notion held by France in the time of Louis XIV, and the main question as to industries was what would best supply France.

Columbus' discovery was a mere accident, and when the matter of colonization was taken up Spain sought for gold and silver, and other nations followed only to seek also for precious metals. Mining is one of the extractive industries and is of somewhat the same nature as the fur trade, cattle raising and even the logging business. They are all pioneer industries, and sometimes rather injure a country than built it up. Productive rather than extractive is agriculture, for in the first place it supplies the colonial market and may afford a surplus for export which gradually builds up capital. Perhaps most remunerative of all industries are manufactures, because the labor expended produces finer articles and secures greater returns. Necessary for any and all of these industries, however, is what is called trade in retail and commerce in its wholesale branches. Which of all these occupations predominated in early Louisiana?

It was soon discovered that there was little in the way of mines on the Gulf of Mexico, although Le Sueur and afterwards Cadillac found minerals, particularly copper, near the sources of the Mississippi. This, however, went more readily through Canada than Mobile. It was still thought a possibility in Crozat's time, and even later, for the sources of the Red River were supposed to be in the country from which the Spaniards drew some of the precious

metals of Mexico; but, although the king reserved one-fifth as his share, there was little realized.

Of furs and peltry there is a different tale to tell. Much was anticipated from the hair of the buffalo, but this was found too coarse and was soon abandoned. Beaver skins were found in abundance, but the best were from the Northwest, and Canadian influence soon prevented their reaching the sea via Louisiana. Furs and skins of other wild animals, however, always formed a large part of the exports. Domestic animals were never grown in sufficient quantity for export. Iberville tried to introduce the Spanish sheep, but the attempt was soon given up, and the Spanish colonists retained their monopoly of cattle raising. Hogs flourished, and these despised animals here as in the rest of the world formed the main staple for home consumption. Horses were valuable for agricultural purposes, and, although introduced by the Spaniards and the breed improved by Iberville, practically none existed in the colony when D'Artaguiette made his Domesday survey in 1708.

In agriculture we must distinguish the gardens from the plantations. There were always vegetables, even on sandy Dauphine Island, but much time was lost experimenting with seeds from France, and it was some years before it was found that even wheat would not flourish in the Gulf country. The same resulted from the spasmodic attempts to introduce silk, and ultimately attention was concentrated on plantations for tobacco and indigo. These proved to be successful and led ultimately to a large export trade. It was doubtless agriculture that caused the introduction of slavery, first of Indians and after-

wards of negroes. The negroes at first came from the French West Indies, but Crozat, and afterwards Law's Company, were obliged to bring them annually from Guinea. During the Mobile period, however, it cannot be said that agriculture had assumed the position which one would expect. Few farmers were brought out among the immigrants, and agriculture in France was at this time at a low ebb, and famine frequently prevailed. The peasants were despised socially, although in the long run it was they who not only supported the court, but paid the big war budget of that time.

Of manufacturing there was little, for, except for silk in the South of France, woollen goods in the Northeast, and fancy articles about Paris, manufactures had not survived the wreck of Colbert's plans by the wars of Louis XIV. Manufacture still meant hand-made, for machinery was in its infancy and the factory system unknown. If we can count sawmills under this head, there was something to show about Mobile. In 1718 Law's Company directed the new governor to investigate carefully the mill of M. Mean, situated on a stream about a league from Mobile, but tradition has lost the site of this first flourishing sawmill. Bricks were also made in the vicinity and a great deal of lime came from the oyster shells, although naturally these products were mainly for home consumption. Much was expected and something realized from naval stores. The first time Iberville went to Mobile he got a mast for the Palmier, and tar was made in quantity. Of finer manufactures there is little or nothing said.

The trade of that day was both internal and external,—with the Indians and with France and the

Spanish colonies. Both Crozat's and Law's exploitations were based largely upon commerce. Even during wartime, when there were few merchant vessels, the king relaxed his law against carrying merchandise so far as to make his ships bring whatever was offered as freight. In Mobile there were shopkeepers at least from 1707, and they are frequently mentioned afterwards. Their name, "marchand," is generic and is applied equally to such men as the twenty-five voyageurs engaged in the trade among the Illinois and to the resident shopmen. It would be interesting to see one of these little shops. It would doubtless be the front room of the colonial home, with wares displayed in the window, and the business conducted as often by the wife as by the husband. The wares would embrace everything from a plow to a wooden shoe, and we may be sure that even the ribbons, silks and millinery of France would not be lacking. The time had not yet come for shops having one line of goods. Each contained what now would be called general merchandise.

Mechanics and artisans were well known. Iberville insisted upon them from the beginning. He sent over four families of artisans in the Pelican, and next year we have the name of a carpenter. The mediaeval guilds still influenced nomenclature, although they hardly existed otherwise in Mobile. The carpenter is master carpenter, and the same is true even of such military employments as armorer and cannoneer.

On the whole, therefore, Mobile was quite a flourishing little town, and the centre of Indian and domestic trade for a large territory, but its chief industries were trading and in raw materials.

XIV.—COLONIAL HOMES.

John Fiske never wrote more charming pages than those in which he ascribes the different social characteristics of the North and South to the differing locations of the chimney in the houses. In New England, he says, the chimney is in the centre of the house, thus giving a fireplace in each room, no matter how small the number of rooms. This was necessary in order to warm the houses in that severe climate, and made the hearthstone the rallying point of the family. Down South, on the other hand, the type was the log cabin, consisting of two end rooms separated by an open passageway through the centre, each room having a separate chimney on the outside. There was less need of heat and the social centre was rather the open dining room in this hall. Fiske's idea is that the Northerner lived indoors in winter and the Southerner in summer, reversing customs with the climate. In any event, climate affects dwellings as well as clothing and customs.

Mr. Fiske, however, did not notice that an important addition in the lower South was the porch, covering the front of this hallway. In Virginia it becomes the stately portico that we find in General Lee's old home at Arlington, and in Charleston it is the long, wide piazza which always faces the sea. Up in New York there is only a little Dutch stoop, and in New England a cover over the door.

When one reaches the Southwest, at Mobile and beyond, this piazza has assumed a different form and is known as the front gallery. It may be, as on the Atlantic, an extension of the central hall, or it

may open directly upon rooms which join each other without halls; but a house without a gallery is a rarity and is undesirable in this warmer climate. Here the Creole gallery has conquered the Eastern porch and practically driven out the word. All these words are foreign and show a South European origin.

Maurice Thompson dubs this gallery a Creole institution; and it surely is. It was brought here by the Canadians, however, and its primitive form is still found along the St. Lawrence. It is there a projection from the house and does not rest upon pillars as with us. It is called galerie, the French form, as with the Southern Creoles. But from what part of France did the Canadians get it? If one travels through France, or if one looks at the illustrations under the word House in the new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, he will find nothing corresponding to our gallery. In that thickly settled country, the assembly place, so far as the weather permitted, was the porte cochere within the house, or the court and garden into which this opened. The origin of our gallery is therefore unsolved.

We have no illustrations of the Mobile house of 1711, but we have pictures of Dauphine Island places a few years later. These show one-story houses with the chimney at one end, but, with perhaps two exceptions, no galleries or even sheds in front. They give us one striking feature, however, of Creole architecture,—the roof sloping to the front and to the rear. The American pioneer's cabin uniformly slopes also to the front, but the house is generally longer and the slope therefore is proportionately less than with the old Creole houses. These, like

those of the habitans along the St. Lawrence, have a curving slope so as partially to project over the front gallery. Tiles and even shingles were rare, and thatch, often of palmetto, was common. Some examples of early roofs are left in Mobile, but more are preserved in the French quarter of the daughter city, New Orleans.

One singular feature was that, although there was plenty of land, the houses were built near the street, and, instead of having front yards as with the Engglish. Flowers as well as vegetables were grown in a garden or court behind the house. Glass for windows was rare even in France, and solid shutters were the rule.

There were few public buildings, and they differed from the residences in size rather than otherwise. It was not yet the age of stone, hardly even of brick except for cellars and the like. Even two-story houses were rare. Visitors to and from Mexico,—New Spain,—were not unknown, but there was not here any use of its adobe houses, gradually approaching over the narrow streets. The principal public buildings of 1711 were inside the fort, and they were not of a permanent character until the reconstruction of that stronghold of brick. Most of the buildings were frame, or wooden frames filled in with oyster shell plaster. Whitewash was used, and the streets were probably shelled, so far as anything was done to them at all. Vines and trees abounded, and the little city perched on the bluff marked by Royal street, dominated by the ramparts of Fort Louis, was a picturesque sight to any visitor. There was little imposing, perhaps, but there was much comfort and the savoir vivre which has marked Mobile from the beginning.

XV.—ANCIENT PLACE NAMES THAT SURVIVE.

The name Mobile comes from the Indians once met by DeSoto somewhere below Selma, and whose remnants were known by Iberville near Mt. Vernon. The influence of this tribe was far out of proportion to its numbers. The French do not tell us the meaning of the name. Tradition had no doubt long since lost it, and it has been left for modern scholars to find that the word probably means Paddlers,—marking connection of navigation with even the primitive Mobilians. The French settlement was not originally called Mobile, but Fort Louis, the words de la Mobile being added to distinguish it from other settlements of the same name. The name Mobile, however, belonged to the bay and river as well as to the Indian tribe, and even from the first many of the colonists called their new settlement La Mobile. It was named for Louis XIV and was not one of the many St. Louis settlements. It was analogous to the great Port Louis which the king sought to build on the west coast of France. The official term Fort Louis gradually faded out and La Mobile became the name of the town.

Place names are among the most lasting of human things, as we see all over America in the Indian names of rivers and mountains. Some aboriginal names survive Mobile, such as Chocolochee and Chucfey Bays, and that most interesting name Chickasabogue,—which points back to some time when the Chickasaws were not confined to Northern Mississippi as in historic days. "Bogue" was the Choctaw word "bok," softened by the French into

"bayou," meaning the slow, sluggish creek of our Gulf regions. But the Indian names immediately about Mobile are few, indicating that there was not a large native population and that there was an extensive French settlement. Some of the Indian names are given by the French. So Choctaw Point was called for the Indians whom Bienville placed there, and the same is true of Tensaw and Apalache Rivers further east.

The dispatches of Bienville do not give many local details, but the contemporary notes of Penicaut have a great deal of local color. He tells us that he was with Iberville on the first explorations of the Mobile country in 1699 and afterwards. He notes that our Dauphine Island was named Massacre from a large pile of human bones found near its west end, that Deer and Fowl Rivers were named for their game, and Dog River for a dog lost there.

The place names immediately about Mobile are generally French. Thus One Mile Creek is a description only; the name is Bayou Marmotte,—so called from a small animal of that name. Similarly, Three Mile Creek is really Bayou Chateaugue, commemorating Bienville's sailor brother, one of the most interesting characters in colonial history. On Dauphine Island are many French names,—one recalling Chateaugue and another merchant Graveline,—and on the opposite coast are Coden, La Batre (Battrie) and others. Bon Secours Bay, which supplies our oysters, was possibly called for the church at Montreal, Notre Dame de Bon Secours, so dear to all sailors. High up on Bayou Chateaugue, near the present bridge to Toulminville, is a shallow place called The Portage, in early American times the

northwest boundary of the city. This ford was on the Indian trade route from Mobile to the Choctaw Nation. One of the sources of Dog River is Bayou Durand, commemorating a somewhat later French family, and the district between these streams and Mobile River was in French times well settled by colonists. Preferably they faced the rivers and bayous, for the purpose of hunting, fishing and transportation.

Chickasabogue was apparently known to the French as St. Louis River, and the magnificent expanse of land which we call St. Louis Tract was called for this stream. It was an early French grant, like the Mandeville Tract on the bay below the city, although not dating back to the foundation of the city in 1711. This St. Louis Tract was originally granted to D'Artaguiette after the Apalache Indians were moved over to the east side of the Mobile delta, about the middle of the century, and mark a genuine extension of the Mobile colony. There was another grant made somewhat later to Madame DeLusser, the widow of a distinguished officer who fell in the Chickasaw war, which was within the present city limits and marked the decadence of the city. It extended from the river near Theatre street westwardly to the present Protestant Orphan Asylum, making a puzzle to modern abstractors of title. Madame DeLusser placed her slaves there for the purpose of cultivation, and this shows how the town must have shrunk towards the end of the French period; for it takes up what in 1711 and later was a well occupied part of the river front.

The streets all had French names, but only Royal, Dauphin and possibly St. Louis have retained them.

A dozen or more French names disappeared under the later Spanish rule which furnishes so many of the present names.

The St. Louis, Mandeville and DeLusser Tracts, and Mon Louis Island,—this last a grant by Cadillac, —are probably the only French grants that survive. The population, however, was to remain French during the succeeding British and Spanish periods and even far down into American times.

III.

UNDER CROZAT AND AFTER.

XVI.—COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

Colonial administration implies two elements,—the part played by the home government and that by the local officials. France was so centralized that the first was much greater than in English colonization, and at first this was a source of strength. Under Louis XIV the king was supreme, but he had many agents. Originally the royal council, made up of the dukes and other nobles, was, with the king, the head of the State; but Louis gradually raised bourgeois, like Colbert and Louvois, to high places, making them all but prime ministers. This disgusted St. Simon and the old nobles, but turned out well. The minister of the marine, or navy, were the Pontchartrains, father and then son. For America, colonial control centred at Rochefort, which had an intendant, commissaire ordonnateur, controleur and treasurer, who made this place for France somewhat what the Casa de Contratacion had made Seville for Spain. Le Rochelle, nearby, was one of the great entrepots of France.

After the death of Louis XIV, St. Simon succeeded in having the ministers superseded by committees of the council, made up of noblemen. The controlling mind of the navy council was Toulouse, a natural son of Louis XIV and a man of ability. But the Regent found these committees cumbersome and gradually drifted back again to ministers of the marine and other departments. During both periods

there was little change at Rochefort. Even colonial money was struck there when that came in 1721, although the nature of the colonial government had then varied again and centred in John Law and his company.

The local machinery in Louisiana knew three distinct periods. The first, that of settlement, extending through the removal to present Mobile, was royal and military. The second was from 1712, when Crozat was granted the colony as a trade venture, like the French and English East India Companies. The third,—beyond our present investigation,—was when the Crozat experiment had been improved on in 1717 by founding the Mississippi Company. What of these methods of government?

Mr. Roosevelt is evidently delighted when, in his "Winning of the West," he comes to tell how American settlers got together under a tree at Watauga and set up a form of government. And justly so, for here were frontiersmen illustrating in modern times Aristotle's maxim that man is a political animal. There is a government wherever people group themselves together in a settled community. It is found even among children. It can be illustrated in the early history of Louisiana as well as at Watauga. It is true there was a different race of men, and they went about it in a different manner. Louis XIV sent over a ready-made government, just as now-a-days we get a ready-made cottage from the manufacturers. But in both cases it was what the people were used to and it was satisfactory to them. Louis' government represented public opinion at Mobile as much as that in France.

Under Iberville and afterwards under Bienville the royal commandant was supreme. There was a garde magasin, afterwards a commissaire in charge of royal property, but the most that he could do was to spy on his superior and trust to reports working to his prejudice in France. So long as the governor was in Louisiana the commissaire had to submit. We find him criticized by the commissaire La Salle from the beginning, and as a result D'Artaguiette was sent over in 1708 to investigate, and he returned four years later and was succeeded by Duclos. Both of these men were friends of Bienville. There was not then even in France the division which seems obvious to us between legislative, judicial and executive departments.—for the king, and in Louisiana his representative, was all three. The governor was even notary also and witnessed papers.

Iberville was in 1703 appointed commandant in chief, but was not in Louisiana afterwards and did not establish a system. Bienville was practically in command until 1713, for although in 1707 he was removed, his successor died before reaching America and Bienville held over. A check on him was intended in D'Artaguiette, but D'Artaguiette approved Bienville's policy. Cadillac succeeded in 1713, but was not Bienville's equal as an administrator, and had to make use of Bienville even against his will. Bienville was the controlling spirit in Louisiana as long as he was in it, no matter who was governor.

We need not think that autocracy was peculiar to the French. Even a third of a century later the English government of George II pursued the same plan, and General Oglethorpe also was a kind of

Poo Bah in Georgia for a number of years. It is probably essential at the beginning of colonial government.

In Georgia the trustees came first and only afterwards was there royal government, while in Louisiana the process was reversed. In the English colonies, whatever the form of government, it was really but a shield for popular institutions. In Louisiana the question was between royalty and a trading company and there was no growth of a democracy. There were no popular meetings or town councils. Such was the genius of the two races. The exhaustion of France in the War of the Spanish Succession led Louis XIV to farm out his new province nominally to Antoine Crozat, but Crozat represented a syndicate. It was after all only a partial abdication by the king, for he, while granting a trade monopoly, retained power over the army, navy and forts. The governor was appointed before Crozat's grant, but he retained the same man, Cadillac, who had founded Detroit about the same time that Mobile came into existence. The king says in the patent that he had been prevented from building up the trade of Louisiana by constant war, and that Crozat was such a successful merchant that it was hoped he would build up the American trade also. Somewhat as Queen Elizabeth had done in the case of her explorers, the king required that Crozat should turn over to him one-fifth of all gold, silver and precious stones discovered, and one-tenth of all other minerals. The monopoly of trade was for fifteen years, but the property rights were to be in perpetuity, subject to "reunion" in the case of noncompliance with the grant. This patent was duly

registered by the Parlement of Paris, which was much more than a record office. Some years later it refused to register the grant to John Law.

The governmental relations of Louisiana were now changed under Crozat. The province became nominally connected with Canada, but practically it remained independent. Both had the Coutume de Paris as their civil law, but in Louisiana land was held in full ownership and not under a seigneur. In Canada they had a governor and an intendant, somewhat as in each province of France, but there is no separate intendant as yet for Louisiana. D'Artaguiette's coming in 1708 marked a change, but this commissaire ordonnateur and his successors at this time had not all the powers of an intendant. The two provinces were made similar, however, by granting to Louisiana in 1712 a Superior Council, such as had long existed in the older colonies. This was a civil body composed of the governor, first councillor, royal lieutenant, two other councillors, attorney-general and clerk (greffier.) It had not only executive, but had legislative, or at least administrative powers, and was a court besides. It heard cases, civil and criminal; from it there was no appeal, but there could be a review from above (cassation). This was the germ of the judicial system of Louisiana, and was the closest approach to popular government that the colony was to show. It was not elective but would have been fairly representative in any other hands than Cadillac's.

Crozat managed the trade of Louisiana through directors whom he sent out. They were more in touch with the actual life of the colony than were the royal officers; but neither this nor the similar

administration later under John Law was strictly the government. That rested still with the Regent and was exercised through his ministry of the marine. Ultimately the king resumed the colony, and, after the manner of Canada, established an intendant for civil justice and police over against the military governor; but that was in the thirties.

XVII.—EXPANSION.

The strong personality of the Le Moyne brothers dominates the founding of Louisiana and the brilliant exploitation by John Law occupies a later stage before it settles down to stagnation under royal governors again. Between the founding and the Mississippi Bubble Crozat and his ill-liked representative Cadillac have been almost forgotten. And yet the five or six years under Crozat were those of first real growth, and were those in which Louisiana received its greatest expansion. Under the royal government which succeeded Law, the story crystallized around the lower Mississippi, but, with the exception of the foundation of the trading post of St. Louis by Chouteau and of Vincennes up the Ouabache, and they were mere outposts, Louisiana did not grow in size after Crozat. It is true he did not formally acquire the Illinois as Law did, but it was within his sphere of influence.

The earlier period might be thought of as one of exploration rather than real settlement, except in regard to the capital at Mobile. The Le Moyne brothers and Le Sueur spent the first few years exploring the Mississippi and its tributaries, but the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe prevented anything further. While it was found better to es-

tablish the capital on the coast, and not on the great river itself, one of the first acts of the French was to build a fort called La Boulaye on the lower Mississippi. This was under St. Denis and Bienville, but after colonial affairs were concentrated at Mobile even this fort was abandoned.

The explorations were not merely for geographical reasons. It was, as all these efforts were, somewhat in the nature of a quest for the Golden Fleece. It turned out that there was no gold to be found, and even copper was far away at the sources of the Mississippi; but profitable fleece there was after all in the nature of furs and skins of wild animals. Even beaver skins were brought down the Mississippi in abundance until the Canadian protest caused this to be stopped. With the Indian trade, however, we are not at present concerned. Although this was the original inducement for the settlements, these settlements can be considered for their own sakes. And it must not be forgotten that, in addition to the interests of geography and Indian trade, there was a third inspiration, both towards exploration and settlement. The English colonies bounded Louisiana on the east and the Spaniards of Mexico bounded it on the southwest. In this way from the very first there was a desire not only to define the limits, but to push French occupation as far into the interior as could be held. The voyageurs and afterwards the coureurs de bois afforded excellent agents for this work, and it may be doubted whether the priests, particularly the Jesuits in the North West, who came first, did not help more than the others. There is no doubt that they were devout men and taught religion and incidentally civilization, but they were

also Frenchmen, and could not, if they had wished, avoid attaching the Indians to the French interest.

Cadillac's chief interest was in trade, and he made vigorous commercial attempts towards Mexico, both by land and sea; but all he could accomplish was a little in the way of smuggling. Towards Pensacola he was more successful, for the Pensacola garrison was cut off from all Spanish countries and was often in need. Pensacola could exchange Mexican gold and silver for flour and other supplies, while Mobile gave obligations redeemable in kind when the ships came from France.

Cadillac's term was marked by several great steps of expansion. The Natchez in the West, were reduced to subjection and Fort Rosalie (named for Mme. Pontchartrain) built there on the Mississippi, while in the East among the Alibamons, near our Wetumpka, was established Fort Toulouse, called for the king's natural son, which was to play a great part in international politics. Rosalie's Indian trade was not encouraged by Cadillac, but the fort kept the river communication open with Canada; Toulouse kept the four branches of the Muscogees free from English dominance, and even affected the Cherokees in the rear of Carolina. It was to be a sore thorn in the side of the English of Carolina and the future Georgia.

Bienville was efficient in command, but there is reason to think that he was not a good subordinate. He had been the actual instrument for founding Fort Toulouse and was also the one who founded Fort Rosalie shortly afterwards. It was perhaps a stroke of policy when Crozat gave him an independent command of the Mississippi and its tributaries

in 1716. This afforded Bienville the opportunity which he need for influence among all the tribes of the Mississippi Valley, and upon it directly or indirectly rests much of his claim to be one of the makers of America. In the West, Natchitoches was occupied the next year, and a garrison stationed there, nominally to guard against the Spaniards, but practically to be a means of an overland smuggling trade with Mexico. St. Denis and then La Harpe were in command at this point for a number of years and did much towards opening the Red River country.

In the other direction there was always close intimacy between Mobile and Pensacola, despite the official dispute as to the boundary, and even before the short war with Spain there came in 1718 the little known incident of the French occupation of St. Joseph far to the east. This act, which made Pensacola an enclave in French territory, was actually in John Law's time, but before he had taken any steps towards his project of colonizing the Mississippi. The western movement, however, was to cause the abandonment of St. Joseph the next year, and the Spaniards occupied it themselves.

French exploration was marked by maps of value, leading ultimately to the great work of Delisle in the thirties. Probably no small part of the credit for the coast charts should be given to Bienville's brother Serigny, who came in 1719 in command of a squadron and sounded and explored much of the Gulf coast. One cannot fail to marvel at this Le Moyne family. The death of Iberville in 1706 seemed only to draw out the strong qualities of the remaining brothers. Whether we look at Bienville,

Chateaugue or Serigny, the South has every cause to thank Montreal for her gift.

Attention was to be concentrated henceforth on the Mississippi. The country of the Illinois Indians had been French headquarters even before the founding of Mobile. All voyageurs touched there, as had LeSueur going to the Sioux, and Cadillac passed through on his early expedition in sarch of gold mines. Kaskaskia grew to be a village of some importance, and, while Fort Chartres was actually built by Boisbriant under the direction of Law's Company, this was merely recognizing what had come to be an established post of an earlier date. The only reason Crozat had not built it was because in his day it was nominally attached to Canada. It grew to be a bone of contention between Canada and Louisiana, but ultimately under Law became part of the Gulf colony.

The time of Crozat, therefore, is one well worth studying. In government, trade and external relations it marked a departure, we may say an advance, on what it succeeded, and its basis of operations was Mobile. Crozat copied the provisions of the trading companies of his day, of which the greatest was that of the Indies, and applied them to American conditions, and the much better known epoch of John Law, which began with Crozat's surrender in 1718, was in turn merely an expansion of the principles under which Crozat had acted.

XVIII.—THE FIRST LAW BOOK.

On the table lies a law book which might have been Bienville's and was certainly of the edition used by French governors of Louisiana. It comes

down through Alfred Hennen, and has New Orleans associations, but it was printed 1664 in the establishment of Guillaume de Luyne, law bookseller, at the end of the Hall of Merchants, by the statue of Justice in the Palace, in old Paris on the island. It is a quarto entitled Le Droict Francois et Coustume de la Prevoste & Vicomte de Paris, the text in large print being followed by a small print commentary, giving not only royal ordinances, but decisions of courts, other coutumes, and opinions of men learned in the law. This is the fmous book known as the Coutume de Paris, early made the law of Canada and other colonies, including Louisiana, by decrees of Louis XIV. This fourth edition is by Maistre Jean Troncon Avocat in Parlement and Seigneur of several districts.

The principal divisions of modern law are Political, Civil and Criminal, and of these Civil is that which most affects every-day life. This may be subdivided into the law of persons, property, contracts, torts and procedure. With these we exhaust the usual categories of law. But we find no such divisions in English law before Blackstone in the eighteenth century, and it would be vain to expect them in France. Nevertheless, the English Common Law and the French Coutumes ran parallel. This book gives French law before any Code Napoleon ever dreamed of, although the word "code," borrowed from the Romans, was not unusual on the Continent. The volume is really made up of the customs prevailing in the district around Paris, dating from the old Teutonic invaders and modified from time to time by new customs and slightly by royal decrees. There were a dozen or more collec-

tions of customary law throughout France, originating in the different districts in a similar way, and largely modified by the Roman Civil Law. They really made up the local law of France, and it was a question which, if any, would come to dominate the whole country as a Common Law. It is a curious thing, that, although the government came highly centralized under Louis XIV, each province retained its customary law. The administration was still with the provincial nobility and magistrates, superintended by the intendants sent by the king from Paris. The Custom of Paris, however, was gaining ground, and the king was making it supreme throughout all the colonies established by the French. In this way it became law for Louisiana.

It concerns itself principally with what we would call Civil Law, and in particular with the status of people and families and of the land which they occupy. The first title, therefore, naturally relates to fiefs, for feudalism was still supreme. It describes the rights of the seigneur, and the rights and duties of his tenants as to crops, dues, military and civil, inheritance, and the like. Land tenure is possibly the most fundamental of all public institutions and was to change very much in America from the feudalism of Europe as a part of the modern trend from community to individual control. But in France of that day feudalism, resting on service to a superior, prevailed with little change from the Middle Ages. The seigneur got some profit at every turn. The system existed in Canada, and seigneuries were said to be the basis of that colony; but the king seemed to feel instinctively that Louisiana colonists, who were to be in competition with the British of the Atlantic,

must have a freer ownership and greater liberties than the peasants of France. The general tenure, therefore, in Louisiana was roturier, if not franc aleu, corresponding closely to the fee simple ownership of England. This division of the Coutume also covers the seigneurs' courts, but these were replaced in America by the Superior Council and other courts. The second title relates to the seigneurial rents and rights (censives et droits), subjects of much the same character.

The third title relates to property, with its divisions into movables and immovables,—somewhat like our personal and real property. Title IV is confined to legal proceedings as to property, and Title V also relates to personal actions and also those growing out of mortgage (hypotheque). The sixth is on Prescription, and corresponds to the modern Statute of Limitations. This affected all kinds of property.

Title VII covers Retrait Lagnager, which is a feudal right. Title VIII is on suits, executions and some kinds of contracts, particularly those requiring seal. Herein figure especially the rights of the bourgeois, or inhabitants of a city,—and there were bourgeois for Mobile. Mobile was a bourg. Title IX is of Servitudes or Easements,—rights in another's property. With Title X we reach one of the most important characteristics of French law,—the community or joint ownership of goods between husband and wife. This is one of the longest titles and followed naturally by the subject of dower. Then come two short titles as to guardianship and gifts, and next Title XIV on Wills. XV on Successions or Administrations is, without doubt the longest of all.

The concluding Title XVI is on Criees, also of a feudal nature.

The book gives lists of seigneuries in which the Coutume de Paris prevails, and one of the most interesting things about it is the Proces Verbal showing how these customs got edited. The king would issue a proclamation calling together the Bishop of Paris, councillors and representatives of the many different places and institutions subject to this Coutume, and, after debate, it would be determined that certain old articles were not now conformable to the existing custom, and should be rewritten.

This was not thought of as legislation, law-making, but as declaratory of what the legal custom actually was. The revision in question was in the year 1580, and was made in the grand hall of the Seneschal of Paris. There the Customs were formally digested and revised under letters patent of the king, in proceedings occupying forty-nine quarto pages. It is to be noted that amongst the signatures and seals were those of Longueil, a name which was afterwards to be assumed by the Le Moynes in Canada.

It will be observed, therefore, that the contents of this old book illustrate James Bryce's acute remark that the Roman Civil Law concerns itself mainly with the status of persons and property, including family and successions, while English Common Law concerns itself more especially with contracts and tort. The Civil Law is static, the Common Law dynamic. This is natural, as the English nation progressed earlier to commercial interests which depended on individual initiative.

XIX.—THE SOLDIERS.

The city plan of 1711 shows a square flag floating from a staff in the southeast bastion of Fort Louis. It seems to be white and has dots on it: is there anything to be known about it?

We have become so accustomed to speaking affectionately of Old Glory, Union Jack, and the like that it gives something of a shock to find that national flags are not an ancient institution. One wonders at this in the monarchy of Louis XIV, but in point of fact the centralization was about the monarch and not of the nation,—"L'etat, c'est moi." The nobility was exalted and attracted to Versailles, although the provinces retained much of their colonial peculiarities, but the royal banner was not erected into a national ensign. The royal flag contained golden fleurs de lis, often three in number, on either a blue or white ground, the difference depending on circumstances not very clear. Either was correct. On the Mobile plat the lilies seem to be arranged in a central square, which is unusual. The fleur de lis was the emblem of the Bourbon family, and it was not until the Great Revolution that the slumbering nationality of France awakened, and the tricolor became the national flag. Great Britain and even the United States had a true flag earlier than France. That containing the fleurs de lis was rather personal than national, and was used as representative of the king rther than as representative of the country.

Mobile was the only American city founded by Louis XIV and so it was appropriate that the royal banner, with gold lilies on a white ground, should

wave over it. The navy had a flag sooner than the army, and as naval officers governed Louisiana, the French flag was more prominent there than even in France.

There has always been more or less rivalry between the army and navy. Sometimes the navy has had to support the operations of the army, but in Louisiana we find the navy supreme. The country was necessarily discovered and settled by sea, and the government remained in the hands of the Ministry of Marine, corresponding to our Navy Department. Iberville, Bienville and others were naval officers, and for this reason we study the army under peculiar circumstances. The first garrison was of marines, but soon regular companies were raised in France to supply Louisiana. The French army under Louvois, Louis XIV's great war minister, reached a high pitch of development, but the modern army organization dates from a later time,—that of Frederick the Great. Even under Louvois the regiments, like the nobility, were called for the provinces. Companies were named for the officers who recruited them. Perhaps the earliest company in Mobile was the Polastron, and in 1704 a hundred men came by the Pelican to complete the Vaulezard and Chateaugue companies and superseded the Canadians.

The number of soldiers differed from time to time, but after the War of the Spanish Succession became serious in Europe few could be spared for America. In 1708 the total garrison was 122. Probably never more than four companies were quartered in early Mobile, and generally it was two. There were two in 1708 when 30 recruits were sent from France. For 1711 the expense was 25,000 livres, in

1715, 32,000 livres, when Mandeville's and Bajot's companies came over. Even in 1717 it was with an effort that four companies in addition to those in Louisiana were raised in France, and of these but three came at one time. And this was in the time of Crozat, when peace in Europe and colonial reorganization enabled the Regent to do more than had been possible under Louis XIV. Many soldiers were from Switzerland, for the Swiss, like the Italians of old, rented out their men. Not a few found their way to Mobile,—the famous Grondel for one.

In Louisiana we find only infantry and coast artillery; for the dashing cavalry of Europe would have little opportunity in the forests of America. Even the artillery was confined to forts on the water; for field artillery was as yet not much used and could not readily be moved in a country without roads, and Frederick had not yet popularized flying artillery. In 1718 there were thirty-five pieces at Mobile and Dauphine Island, with and without carriages, and the number was not greatly altered afterwards. Bienville planned to carry some up against the Chickasaws, but was not able to do much even in 1736. One of the French cannon can still be seen in the Public Square at Mobile. The infantry was the great arm of the service. It carried heavy flintlock muskets, four and a half feet long, and surmounted by "baionettes" in 1706,—instruments practically the invention of Vauban. They marked progress, for they abolished the old pikeman, but were themselves to be abandoned in America after some years as unsuited to the tangled thickets. Drums were common enough, but bands

came only later. The favorite song,—almost a national air, so far as they had one,—was a satire on Marlborough, and is preserved to us in "He's a Jolly Good Fellow." There was from 1703 a regular blue uniform for the royal household troops, but each regiment of the time had its own color, with a tendency to copy the buttons, prominent lining and pockets of Versailles. Three cornered hats, long coats and knee breeches were usual, but the eqaulet was not invented until the middle of the century.

The officers generally named under the commandant are major, captain, lieutenant and enseigne, who carried the spontoon or spear as well as a sword. Sometimes they are spoken of as "blue" officers, and some they are called "reformed". This sounds as if they might be Protestants, but in reality "reforme" means that they are on half pay. It is to be imagined, however, that during the many colonial wars they soon earned full pay, a per diem of thirty cents.

Louis XIV invented the barrack system instead of billeting his troops on the country as previously, and we find these casernes at Mobile. Most colonial towns were walled, but Mobile not only was without a wall, but only the garrison on duty occpied quarters within the fort. The soldiers as well as officers lived in houses about town, and this tended to make the military fraternize with the habitans. Indeed the two classes tended more and more to become one.

These habitans gave good account of themselves when the Spaniards attacked Dauphine Island, and they suffered badly when the English raided that settlement. The French garrison had severe treatment later when they attacked a British smuggling

ship from Jamaica, which had run in past Dauphine Island.

As in the colonial government, so among the armed forces the line was not sharply drawn between soldiers and sailors. In America, not a few sailors were freebooters,—filibustiers,—who had preyed upon the Spanish plate fleet from the Isthmus of Panama, or sacked ports on the Spanish Main. A whole colony of these volunteered to settle at Mobile, but Bienville wisely declined. One of the first pilots was the freebooter Le Grave from San Domingo, but soon the king maintained pilots for the bay as well as for the river.

There was constant need of the military. When St. Augustine was besieged by the British in 1702 it sent to Mobile for air. Two years later there was a well founded rumor of a squadron fitting out at Charleston for the capture of Mobile,—a compliment Iberville was planning to return just before his death. Perhaps the Spanish Succession War closed none too soon, for it was understood that the British at Charleston, recognizing the real seat of Latin power, were then planning the capture of Mobile. When there was peace in Europe the British and French colonies were often hostile. Their traders were always rivals among the Indian tribes. Even Spaniards were not always friendly, and during the short Spanish war Bienville captured Pensacola and held it for several years. There was, therefore, constant need of either offensive or defensive operations in the Mobile territory.

After all, the true defenders of Louisiana were the habitans. Although they were not organized as militia, they were all hunters and used to arms, even

where they did not, as coureurs and voyageurs, live a part of the time with the Indians in the woods. The soldiers themselves showed a power of adaptation to their new surroundings not found among the British. The principal use of soldiers from France was to drill the habitans, and at one time we find the habitans drilling the soldiers, for the border warfere of the South called for scouting much oftener than it did for maneuvres. The soldiers from France frequently settled in Louisiana after their terms had expired, and this tended to give the country a military tinge as well as to unify it. In this, perhaps, was the germ of that marked spirit of independence in Louisianians on which the governors commented a few years later.

XX.—THE EARLIEST SHIPPING LIST.

At the time Mobile was founded England had not the commanding position upon the sea which she afterwards assumed. This was to be the result of the Seven Years War, and in 1711 the issue was by no means certain. Colbert, one of the early ministers of Louis XIV, was a commercial genius seldom equalled in any country, and he had successfully bent his energies towards building up the French navy. Not only did he aim at ships for the purposes of war, but a merchant marine was even more in his mind.

Even during the war with England, there was seldom a season when the royal ships did not come from Rochefort or La Rochelle to Port Dauphin, the harbor of Mobile. They were all armed, or convoyed by naval vessels, and we are fortunate enough to have two different colonial narratives which give lists of

ships. The more detailed is the Journal Historique attributed to La Harpe, and this is supplemented by the Relation of Penicaut, which sometimes adds a few details.

In 1699, January 31, came the Badine of thirty guns, the Marin of thirty, the Francois of fifty, and in December La Gironde of forty-six guns, and La Renommee of fifty,—a year later she carried fifty-six. Iberville's first voyage was this on the Badine, and his second was that on the Renommee. All vessels seem to have staid two or three months in port. These visited Biloxi, new Ocean Springs.

In 1701, May 30, came L'Enflammee of twenty-six guns, and on December 18, La Renommee and Le Palmier, and it was from his sickbed on the Renommee that Iberville directed the foundation of Mobile. These were, therefore, the first vessels visiting the port of Mobile. Iberville procured a mast for the Palmier from the new settlement.

In August, 1703, came La Loire, one of the few vessels mentioned with nothing said about the number of guns. She may have been a merchant vessel, and in fact we are told that she was a chaloupe, a smaller kind of sailing vessel.

In July, 1704, there arrived the Pelican of fifty guns, one of the largest ships of the navy, but unfortunately bringing from her stop at San Domingo that first visitation of yellow fever, which proved so fatal. Iberville was to have come on her, but was detained in France by sickness. It so happened he never revisited his colony after the first three voyages, as he was employed on warlike expeditions in the West Indies, and in 1706 died of yellow fever at Havana.

No vessel is noted for 1705, but we are told that La Rosaire of forty-six guns was wrecked at Pensacola under Vice Admiral L'Andeche.

For June, 1706, is noted L'Aigle of thirty-six guns, convoying a brigantine with supplies; Chateaugue was in command. There was also a fifty gun vessel which came only to Pensacola and sent over supplies, —for one thing, curiously enough, "legune," vegetables! The next year the tables were turned, as the British Indians burned all Pensacola outside of the fort and Bienville assisted the garrison with food. La Harpe gives the Renommee as arriving in February, 1707.

It is this time that Penicaut assigns the tragical account of the St. Antoine. She was commanded by St. Maurice of St. Malo, and had under the bowsprit as her figurehead a wooden statue of St. Antoine. The irreverent sailors in some way dislodged the figrue, tied a stone around its neck, and threw it into the sea. Shipwreck immediately followed at the east end of Dauphine Island.

Then follows a blank for 1709 and 1710, except in brigantines for the coasting trade to the Spanish colonies and French Islands, and in fact down until 1711, covering the period of want at Old Mobile, and the removal to the present site. Public disasters and famine in Frence prevented the government from sending aid to the American colonies, and threw governmental responsibility on Bienville in Louisiana, and even supplies when they came were from a private source. In September of that year there came again the Renommee, with abundant supplies,—a vessel which Grace King says is truly "The Renowned" of our early history. This voyage

was a private venture, the monarch supplying the ship, and Remonville, ever friendly to the colony, the cargo.

For 1712 we are given the St. Avoie, a trading vessel and not a part of the king's navy. It came under the pious La Vigne Voisin, who built a church at his favorite Dauphine Island.

Peace was signed with England, and in May, 1713, the Baron de la Fosse, of forty guns, arrived with Cadillac, the new governor, Duclos, the new commissaire, and the whole slate of officers which superseded Bienville and his Canadians, besides 400,000 livres of merchandise. La Harpe also mentions the Louisiane of twenty guns for this year, and Penicaut the Dauphine.

For 1714 we have La Justice of two hundred tons, which sank in the old channel of the port on Dauphine Island. The Dauphine seems to have come back early in this year, and La Harpe mentions her as also returning in August, 1715. Crozat intended building a merchant marine of brigantines to ply from a central magasin on Dauphine Island; but with the peace the Spaniards closed their ports to their old allies, and nothing was left but smuggling. Crozat was not liberal himself. In this year a frigate from the great port of La Rochelle and a brigantine from Martinique were both turned away; for no ship could trade at Mobile except those of Crozat. He consented to the formation at Mobile of the first Southern syndicate,—St. Denis, Graveline, De Lery, La Freniere, Beaulieu and Derbanne,—and they made a brave attempt to trade overland to Mexico.

La Paix of twelve guns was sole arrival for 1716, but next year not only does Penicaut give La Dau-

phine, but he and La Harpe have a good deal to say about the Duclos and Paon, each of thirty guns, and La Paix. We even have pictures of these vessels, and the Paon had the remarkable experience of coming through a 21-foot channel into the port at Dauphine Island, only to have a storm fill the channel with sand behind her and imprison her. She was finally taken out by an inward passage after being lightened to ten feet.

In February, 1718, came John Law's first vessels, the Neptune, Dauphine and Vigilante, with commissions for his new officials. Shipping still frequented Dauphine Island, but mainly to bring colonists for the Mississippi concessions. From the island they proceeded in smaller boats to their destinations. In this way Dauphine Island was the great distributing point for the Mississippi Bubble. Biloxi now supersedes Mobile as the capital.

XXI.—THE CRADLE AND THE GRAVE.

It is a truth which we have learned from Malthus, that, while the population of a country may outrun the means of subsistence, nevertheless there is a smaller birth rate in times of distress than in other years. The colony of Louisiana during its first years offers a good field of observation as to this and other social laws. On account of the prevalence of war in Europe and the British predominance on the ocean, but few people came before the Peace of Utrecht, and so Louisiana presented something in the nature of the closed tube which physicists use in their experiments.

The settlement at Biloxi,—our Ocean Springs,—was only temporary and disastrous in itself. Not

only did Sauvole, the commandant, but not a few of the one hundred and fifty people noted as residents die in 1701. The coureurs de bois were by no means ideal colonists, but it is to be remembered that these Canadians, brave if rude, were the original nucleus of the colony, and when later anchored by marriage made good citizens. At the time of the removal to Fort Louis on Mobile River the colonists, although reinforced, were in all only one hundred and thirty. They were increased the next year by some eighteen passengers, most of whom probably remained, and in 1704 we have the first real census returns. This year, before the inroad of yellow fever in the fall, was probably the banner year for this up-river settlement. We are told that the town covered one hundred and ninety arpens,—an arpent being a little less than an acre,— and consisted of eighty one-story houses. In these lived twenty-seven families, including ten children,—three girls and seven boys.

The birth rate means more than immigration, especially if there is rivalry with another race, for it shows virility and contentment and has the promise and potency of a future nation. Even if numbers of immigrants and of birth were the same, immigrants might not all be desirable or might not assimilate, while the natural increase by what the Shorter Catechism calls ordinary generation makes up a homogeneous people. The church registers do not record the marriages until after the capital period, and it would not be fair to rely upon the incidental mention of couples, important as this is in tracing ancestry. Fortunately the Baptismal Register survives, even if it be not complete. The first two

years passed without any record and then October 4, 1704, comes the first birth, that of Francois, son of Jean de Can (properly given elsewhere as Le Camp) and Magdeleine Robert, his wife. Francois Le Camp, therefore, was the first Creole of the colony, a title which after his removal passed to another as a mark of honor. There was in 1704 also a LeMay child, which died, however, within a few days. Besides white families, there were eleven slaves, all Indian, and one hundred and eighty soldiers. These families were constituted in part of the twenty-three young women who came over in the Pelican that fall, and were married within one month. The next year came another birth, that of Jacques, son of maitre canonier Roy, but the church records entirely fail for 1706, despite the Pelican marriages. In 1706 we are told that there were nineteen families, and that the total population was eighty-two.

In the year 1707 (that in which there was the attempt to supersede Bienville by another governor), was socially not without significance as marking the birth of a child half negro, half Choctaw, but yet more as showing the rapid increase of white births to seven, of whom all but two were from October to November. Names of all kinds as well as trades and offices increase from this year, and in 1708 we find ten births, of whom all but three range from January 30 to June 18, and the remainder are in October and December. In 1709 were seven, of whom the majority were from February to May, and the others in August and October. The population at this time was made up of one hundred and twenty-two soldiers, seventy-seven habitans, and eighty In-

dian slaves, the habitans almost equally divided between men, women and children. It was in the year 1708 that the Renommee came with supplies after over a year of want. Shortly previous to this Chateaugue's traversier, which brought the goods from Dauphine Island, had been accidentally sunk, and, although this loss was supplied, there was a failure of crops and the curious entry of the bringing of vegetables out from France. The next year was disastrous on account of the overflow, and the removal of the town to the new site. Accordingly in sympathy with public distress the birth rate falls off; scattered through 1710 were three births and 1711 records none.

Even on the new site the recovery was slow, for there were no births until the second half of 1712, and of these two one was illegitimate. Indeed, Crozat's exploitation was not reflected in the birth register for several years. In the year 1713 we are told that the total population had become four hundred, including twenty negro and other slaves, but as this also embraces the garrison, generally amounting to one hundred and fifty soldiers, we can reckon the habitans as not over two hundred. In this year was the second consignment of marriageable young women, there being twenty-five girls brought from the Province of Brittany,—where perhaps even then resided the ancestors of Ernest Renan. 1714 shows two births, one of these of a Tensaw wife of a colonist. 1714 shows none at all of whites, and only two Indian. In January of this year a vessel arrived at Dauphine Island with supplies from France, but sank in the old channel, and the only relief was that Chateaugue obtained some

supplies from Vera Cruz. With 1715, however, peace and Crozat have at least twelve births to their credit, almost all in the winter and in the fall. This, however, was the best year, for 1716 and 1717 each show eight, the latter mainly in the fall, and 1718 only four.

1717 was the year marking the change of government from Crozat to John Law, and the population suddenly jumped to seven hundred because of the large immigration, but the births are stationary at eight, mainly in the fall, and the next year there were six. John Law sent over so many colonists that the registers now assume a different appearance, and Huve and the occasional Davion have their hands full of baptisms. Of the fifteen births in 1719 only three occur after June, while of the twenty-three of 1720 the majority are from August on, and the nineteen of 1721 are almost equally divided.

These about reached high-water mark, for the capital had now been removed to the Mississippi. Nevertheless, immigrants came and after a fall to twelve births in each of the years 1723 and 1724, the number twenty-three was reached again the next year, for, although relatively Mobile was less important, it continued to grow in actual size.

The situation of the colony, distressing as it was, at least permits an interesting study in one respect. The two periods of war and peace, of about ten years each, present somewhat different aspects, but each shows October as the month of most numerous births. On the whole, there were twenty-one for that month as against seventeen and sixteen for March and February, which rank next in order, while January and December rank next, each with

thirteen births. The least prolific month is July, with only three to its credit for the eighteen years of record. The physiological side of birth months is an interesting subject itself.

The general increase follows very closely those of the years of peace, but the troubled times preceding 1714 shows a somewhat different story. October is then the most proilfic, March being next also, but far behind, but not only did August equal February for the third place, but January and December had no place much better than the lowest, omitting September, which recorded no birth at all. The rate is perhaps one to every ten families each year. The population would double about every thirty years if nobody died.

It is unfortunate that we cannot supplement this study of the Baptismal Register by study of the death register, but the latter record was not begun until 1726. We know that in 1704 there was a visitation of what is supposed to be yellow fever and which was very destructive, sweeping off half the sailors of the Pelican and thirty of the newly arrived soldiers. At that time also the great explorer Tonty died, and a number of the colonists. Fever is common in newly settled countries, particularly where, as in this case, the settlement is in the lowlands. In order to better communication the inhabitants at first settled on the rivers and other streams and were thus exposed to malaria. The same trouble occurred in Virginia among the English, but in both provinces the colonists gradually became acclimatized, and we have less complaint in subsequent years. Quinine was not yet known in Louisiana, although it had been discovered by the Indians in Peru. We

do not hear as yet even of coffee, which was to prove something of a specific against malaria. As they learned to live on the sea coast, or on bluffs and away from the lowlands and bottoms, the Creoles came to be a longlived race.

XXII.—THE INDIAN TRADE.

The statement of William Garrett Brown that the fate of North America was decided by traders on the Gulf coast seems a paradox, and yet there is probably much truth in it. These men represented the two hostile civilizations of France and England, then dividing the world. The country in which they contended was the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin, extending east and west almost from the Mississippi River to waters draining to the Atlanic, and from the Gulf up to the Ohio Valley. The English of Virginia and afterwards of Carolina carried their wares from the ocean across the watershed to the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin, while on the other hand the French had a nearer port at Mobile and water communication the whole way into this interior.

To understand the situation it must be remembered that three of the greatest Indian tribes upon the American continent inhabited this Basin. The Chickasaws were at the sources of the Tombigbee and the Choctaws nearer its mouth, while the Muscogees in their four divisions lived on the upper Alabama, and the Cherokees, a fourth great tribe, occupied the mountains to the northeast. These tribes communicated also by land trails, indistinct to the white men, but well understood by the Indians. Some were made by prehistoric animals or by the buffaloes, and they were not only the aborigin-

la roads, but the routes of the first European explorers, of colonists, and sometimes even of our railways. There is no doubt that they served for the native trade long before Columbus' day. Just as French was the language of commercial development in the East, so in this Western territory the Mobilian tongue furnished the trade jargon from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. This seems to point back to a time, perhaps before DeSoto, when the Mobile tribe was the head of a great confederacy. A French map of 1733 shows "Old Mobilians" not far from our Claiborne, besides those near Mount Vernon on Mobile River.

The aboriginal commerce related mainly to weapons and ornaments, and arrow-heads and other instruments are found made of stone brought sometimes from a great distance. The trade after the white men came was in clothing and blankets, which simple enough, but superior to the old skins and furs, and also in liquor, and, curiously enough, tobacco and tools. The three implements which have most influenced civilization are the plow, the anvil and the saw, but in French times these were specialties even among the Europeans, and only the axe and mattock were much used by the natives. Among the English trade goods we also find hoes; but the Indian was rather a hunter than a farmer. At first the Spaniards and even the French would not supply arms to the savages, but very soon guns and ammunition became staples of trade.

The earliest explorers hunted for gold and silver, and even Cadillac did not give over the search; but they soon found, that, although there was little gold, the furs and skins which the Indians brought fur-

nished a basis of exchange. A deerskin became the standard of value by which everything else was measured. Twice a year, in spring and fall, the furs and skins were brought by canoe or packhorse to Mobile, or later to Fort Tombecbe on the one river and to Toulouse on the other, and thence shipped to Mobile for export. In return blue and red cotton goods, blankets, ribbons, guns and ammunition, brass kettles, axes and hatchets were taken back to the nation. The French called their cloth Mazamet and Limbourg, while the British had their strouds from Gloucestershire; but the proverb as to the rose has analogies in dry goods also.

The French trader was really a royal officer. If he went into the woods as a coureur it was as the agent of the commandant at the fort. On the other hand, the British trader was generally a Scotchman trading for himself.

Several stages in the history of the trade should be noted. Before Mobile was settled the British were supreme, and after Mobile was built the first years were of uncertainty; but the easy water communication soon gave the coast country to the French and confined the British to the Cherokees and Chickasaws. This result was largely accomplished by the energy of Bienville and was sealed by his building Fort Toulouse among the Alibamons in 1714. The time of Crozat was essentially a trade epoch, although so far as it was successful this was due to Bienville, whom the Indians loved for his fairness, and not to the governor Cadillac, who early offended them. Cadillac had been in charge of Detroit, where the beaver trade centred, and could not get used to the less valuable products of his South-

ern government. He almost lost the Choctaws. As late as 1715 English influence was so strong even among the friendly Choctaws that only two villages, —Tchicachae and Conchaque,—remained friendly to the French. Bienville's success in winning back the upper Choctaw villages was so complete that it has been forgotten. We are apt to think that what he effected had always been so; but it was a black day when he had to give refuge to these two villages and started the work of reclaiming the others. By 1718, however,—with Cadillac gone,—the tables were turned and the French traders from Toulouse had practically run the English out of the Alibamon territory.

The rivalry was between Mobile and Charleston. Mobile traders had establishments where Nashville now stands and shipped from Toulouse beyond modern Atlanta. The Charleston trade crossed the Savannah River near where Augusta was to be,—indeed the future Georgia city was largely a Charleston outpost,—and thence forked to the Cherokees on the north and to the Creeks on the west. The British trader crossed the rivers above the French forts and passed through the rough country of northern Alabama to the upper tribes of the Muscogees, Chickasaws, or even to the Choctaws. The first, called the Creeks by the British and the Alibamons by the French, were a bone of contention, while the Chickasaws at first favored the French but then went over wholly to the British. The Choctaws in later years were always in the French interest. Statistics are wanting, but it is clear that the Indian trade was very large and constituted the basis of European diplomacy in the South.

The French were more liberal in their presents. In 1711 they gave 4,000 livres, about what they spent on their fortifications. The more presents, the less fortifications necessary. An epitome of the case lies in the fact that Charleston was fortified, while Mobile, nearer the savages, never had a wall.

XXIII.—CONCLUSION.

Mobile was founded as the basis of French colonial effort on the Gulf of Mexico, and was the first capital of Louisiana. This province embraced the whole of the Mississippi Valley, with the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin added on the east and with indefinite claims to the Texan coast towards the west. We have seen the town on its first site at Twenty-seven Mile Bluff, and afterwards on the permanent location where Mobile River joints the Bay. We have seen it not only firmly established, but in Crozat's time reaching out in all directions towards the realization of its American empire.

Its story up to this removal is that of an earnest effort to found a French colonial capital in America, and, as a second generation was now coming to maturity, it could be called the First Creole Capital. Whether regarded from the point of view of its sites, from the political side of governmental experiments, from the economic attempt of Crozat to build up a monopoly, or in other ways, it was an essay full of interest, and not without a measure of success.

Its supremacy was imperilled by the formation of Law's Company to settle the Mississippi Valley itself, which led to the removal of the colonial offices. Mobile ceased to be the capital, but it never ceased

to be important, its historical importance was henceforth based on other grounds.

And while the main development left the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin for the greater Mississippi Valley, this was only an expansion of what had begun at Mobile, just as Law's Company was an expansion of Crozat's. The expansion was by men who had received their training at Mobile, now transplanted to a larger field to put in execution the lessons they had learned. And, moreover, the future history of the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin itself was to be no small one. It remained the bulwark of Louisiana against the English on the Atlantic as well as the centre of French Indian trade and policy throughout the entire South. If there must come a conflict between the French and English civilizations for the control of the Mississippi Valley, it would be fought out by traders and by soldiers on this Gulf coast or in the mountains between the Mobile and Georgia frontiers.

The foundation of Mobile was therefore one step in the long duel of Teuton and Latin which has prevailed since the days of Rome, which reached a crisis in the Anglo-French wars of the eighteenth century, and culminated in Napoleon's day. It took in the world from India to America. British colonies contended with Canada on the north and Louisiana on the west until the war ended with the Peace of Paris in 1763. Although Canada has attracted more attention, Louisiana was the greater prize,—and Louisiana became an accomplished fact with the settlement of Mobile in 1702 and its upbuilding on a new site in 1711-1718.

The masterful Teuton thinks that he is conquering the world, but the study of races seems to show, that, while he may have to create a ruling class, his civilization is made up of institutions which he adopts from the East or the South. Even his blood is less persistent than that of the darker races. The blonde type is yielding to the brunette. It may be that the historical contributions of the Franco-Spanish type in America are not yet closed. Already the old Creole has influenced the whole Mississippi Valley more than the American generally realizes.

Whatever the future, whatever the silent influences since the Treaty of Paris, the colonial period is becoming clearer as we study its records. The contest of the British and Latin civilizations for what is now the United States was in the South East, where Louisiana adjoined the British colonies. As the beginning of British institutions was at Jamestown and Plymouth Rock, the beginning of Louisiana was at the founding of Mobile.

1711 1911

THE MOBILE BICENTENNIAL

1. THE CELEBRATION
MAY 26-28, 1911

2. THE FOUNDING OF MOBILE
1702-1718

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