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THE
FOUNDING
OF MOBILE

1702-1718



PETER J.
HAMILTON
L.L.D.

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

PETER J. HAMILTON, L.L.D.

AUTHOR OF
"COLONIAL MOBILE," ETC.



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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."

Mobile, 1911.



P. J. HAMILTON.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I. FORT LOUIS.

	Page.
I.—French Colonization	5
II.—Vieux Fort	8
III.—First Directory	12
IV.—Bienville's Coat of Arms	17
V.—Religion	21
VI.—The Social Side	24
VII.—A Colonial Menu	28
VIII.—The Mosquito Fleet	31

II. MOBILE.

IX.—The removal as Told by the Removers....	35
X.—New Mobile	44
XI.—The Great Hat Question	50
XII.—A Chateau on the Bay	54
XIII.—Infant Industries	57
XIV.—Colonial Homes	62
XV.—Place Names that Survive	65

III. CROZAT AND AFTER.

XVI.—Colonial Government	69
XVII.—Expansion	74
XVIII.—The First Law Book	78
XIX.—The Soldiers	83
XX.—First Shipping List	88
XXI.—Cradle and the Grave	92
XXII.—Indian Trade	98
XXIII.—Conclusion	102
(Map showing relation of French town to modern city at end.)	



I.

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 Portuguese, 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 or 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 sea-coast. 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 Muscogeas, 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 north-west 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 resort (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 Ruesavel, Chateauguay. Next west of that was Bouteville, St. Joseph, de Tonti, Beancour, 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. Francois 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 Boulet & ses gens, Tallement, Boutin, Jesuits, Lamery, Francoeur, Trepagnier, Claude, Minet, St. Marie, LeSueur, Le Vasseur, Boisbrillant, Place Royale, La Loir, Gerard, Sa varie, 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 Larciois, Rouffain, Charle Regnault, Jean Alexandre, Beeceanonr, Laforce, La Fleur, Duhaut Meni, Juchero, Pierre Isogui, Antoine Prian, Francois Marie bourne, St. Denis, St. Marin, Alexie Gry, Birott, Andre Pene-gau 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, Condit and Louis Dore.

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

Dardine, Francois Hainelle, Potie, Berichon and Daroeque. On Boisbrillant were LeGascon, Courtois and Le Nantois. On Serignie street were five, as follows: Charle Miret, Pierre Ardonin, 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 Bon-
oist 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 Manehac, 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. Emmanuel. 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 abbreviation of *seigneur*; for except in a military way, Bienville seems to have had

no title. He had, so far as we know, no individual coat 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 bells, 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 Nassitoché girls on Lake Pontchartrain the minuet and other dances familiar among the French at Mobile. Penicaut's best girl, by the way, was a Nassitoché. 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 Charlevoix 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 *biscaiienne*, *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. *Brunlot* 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; but what 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 Beaucourt 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 dated 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 batissent tous a present). 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 (enceinte) 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 eedre), 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 Chaetas 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 Chaetas, while on a bear hunt, was met in the woods by a party of Alibamons, their enemies. The chief of the Chaetas, 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 Chaetas 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 *Renommée*, 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 commemorative 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 (établissement)." 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 habitants, 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, habitants 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 Aker 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 canonnier*), 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. Emmanuel, 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 Paillon, 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 coiffures 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 English 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 Cadillac 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 sarcocolla 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 Penicant 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 *porté 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 English. 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 Chuefey 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 autoeracy 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 non-compliance 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'Artaquiette'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 Cadillae 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 search 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 Coutume 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 famous 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 became 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 seigniorial 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 (*hypothèque*). 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 rather 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 earriages, 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 equalet 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 occupied 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 habitants. Indeed the two classes tended more and more to become one.

These habitants 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 warfare of the South called for scouting much oftener than it did for manœuvres. 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 *ehaloupe*, 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'Andeehe.

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 figure, 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 France 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 supercedes 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 communieation 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 Atlantic, 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.

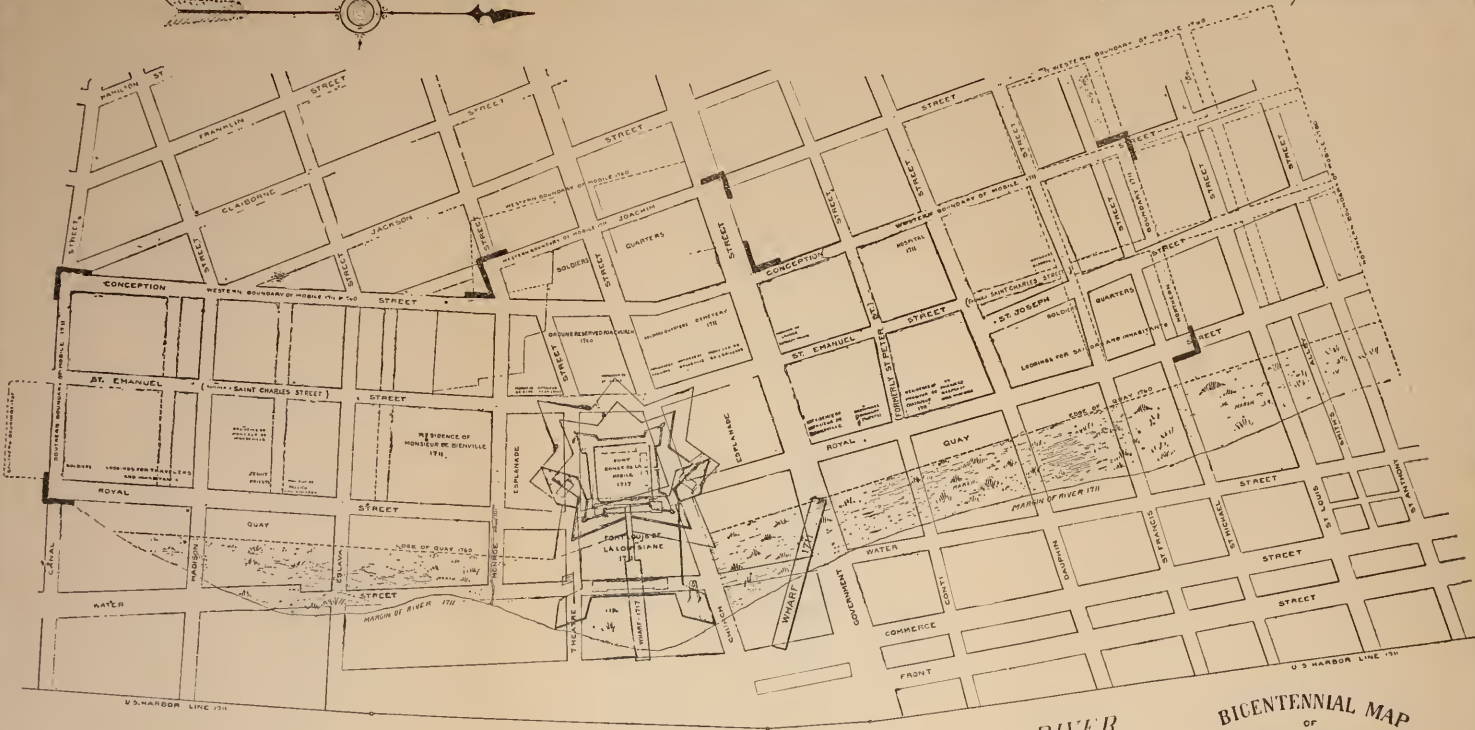
The foundation of Mobile was therefore one step in the long duel of Teuton and Latin which has prevailed since the days of Rome, which reached a crisis in the Anglo-French wars of the eighteenth century, and culminated in Napoleon's day. It took in the world from India to America. British colonies contended 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.

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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.





MOBILE

RIVER

BICENTENNIAL MAP
OF
MOBILE, ALA.

1711-1911

CITY ENGINEERS OFFICE - J. R. PEAY, JR., O.C.L.

SCALE 1" = 100' WRIGHT BIRTH CITY ENCL.



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