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# ***"For Defense of Country and the Glory of Arms": Army Officers in Spanish Louisiana, 1766-1803***

By GILBERT C. DIN\*

From 1766 to 1803, the Spanish government posted army officers and soldiers in Louisiana to proclaim its ownership of the colony and for defense.<sup>1</sup> Although few at first, the officers increased in number as Spain's military presence grew from a company (1766-1769), to a battalion (1769-1782), and finally to a regiment, first with two battalions (1782-1785) and then with three (1785-1803).<sup>2</sup> Many of the army officers stationed in the province bore scant resemblance to their counterparts in the

\*The author, professor emeritus at Fort Lewis College, presently resides in Maryland, where he continues to write about colonial Louisiana.

<sup>1</sup>Discussion of army officers here is limited to the Louisiana Company, Fixed Louisiana Infantry Battalion, and Fixed Louisiana Infantry Regiment. It does not include officers assigned or attached to these units but who never served in them, militia officers, or officers in Cuban and Mexican battalions posted in Louisiana.

<sup>2</sup>After 1769, dates for the formation of military units are approximations since it often took several years. The Spanish military in Louisiana has attracted little attention aside from the wartime exploits of Bernardo de Gálvez and sketches of some of the officers. Jack D. L. Holmes's *Honor and Fidelity: The Louisiana Infantry Regiment and the Louisiana Militia Companies, 1766-1821* (Birmingham, Ala., 1965), remains the only work of its kind. It, however, contains many weaknesses. Three book-length studies on officers in Spanish Louisiana are John W. Caughey, *Bernardo de Galvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783* (Berkeley, 1934), which, despite its military focus, contains nothing on Gálvez as the battalion's colonel; Caroline Maude Burson, *The Stewardship of Don Esteban Miró* (New Orleans, 1940), which emphasizes Miró's governorship; and Gilbert C. Din, *Francisco Boulogny: A Bow-bon Soldier in Spanish Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1993), which has much information on the Spanish military. See also David H. White, *Vicente Folch: Governor in Spanish West Florida, 1787-1811* (Washington, D. C., 1981).

mother country as, indeed, Louisiana differed from Spain and the other Spanish American colonies. Both officers and colony were more cosmopolitan, containing numerous "foreigners." The officer corps included not only French and French Creoles, but also persons from many parts of Europe. By the end of the Spanish regime in Louisiana, only a minority of all officers claimed Spanish birth.<sup>3</sup>

Growth of the military in Louisiana was not unique. Spain acquired the colony at the same time that King Carlos III sought to bolster the army throughout his Spanish American dominions. He acted defensively, induced by Spain's humiliating defeat in the Seven Years' War, and it diverted attention from Louisiana's military needs.<sup>4</sup> Expenditures and manpower for the colony first started growing under Minister of the Indies José de Gálvez (1776-1787). And while King Carlos IV lavished money on Louisiana in the early 1790s, thereafter, under the guidance of First Secretary of State Manuel Godoy, funds declined until Spain surrendered the colony in 1803. To a large degree, troops in Louisiana served a police function since they were insufficient to defend the gigantic province adequately against a major foreign attack.<sup>5</sup> Spain had both inveterate and potential rivals (Great Britain, France, and the United States) that at different times, singly or in concert, menaced Spanish control of the Mississippi Valley.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Despite officers coming from different regions, they shared Roman Catholicism, which was Spain's official religion.

<sup>4</sup>Among works that discuss Spanish military reforms and build up after the Seven Years' War are Christon I. Archer, *The Army in Bourbon Mexico, 1760-1810* (Albuquerque, 1977); Leon G. Campbell, *The Military and Society in Colonial Peru, 1750-1810* (Philadelphia, 1978); Juan Marchena Fernández, *La institución militar en Cartagena de Indias, 1700-1810* (Seville, 1982), and *Oficiales y soldados en el ejército de América* (Seville, 1982); Alan J. Kuethe, *Cuba, 1753-1815: Crown, Military, and Society* (Gainesville, Fla., 1978); and Lyle McAlister, "The Reorganization of the Army of New Spain, 1763-1767," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 33 (1953): 1-32.

<sup>5</sup>Alejandro O'Reilly to the Marqués de Grimaldi, Madrid, September 30, 1770, in Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1764-1794*, 3 Pts. (Washington D.C., 1949), 1:183-86; Antonio María Bucareli to Grimaldi, Havana, August 17, 1770, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo (hereafter abbreviated as AGI, SD, leg.) 2543. Spending on the military in Louisiana roughly paralleled the diplomatic view of the colony. As long as Spain regarded the colony as vital, spending continued.

<sup>6</sup>The British acquired the eastern portion of French Louisiana (the left bank of the Mississippi down to Bayou Manchac) in 1763. Their presence posed a threat to Spanish Louisiana down to 1779, when Spain began the conquest of British West Florida during the American Revolution. A new British threat arose in 1796, when

The government initially assigned only four officers to the infantry company authorized in 1765. They were Company Commander Capt. Francisco Ríu y Morales, Lt. Pedro Piernas, and Sublts. Fernando Gómez and José Orieta. Soldiers numbered slightly more than one hundred, many of them poorly disciplined.<sup>7</sup> They all arrived in Louisiana with Spanish governor Antonio de Ulloa in March 1766. The Madrid government expected French troops to join the Spanish army. They, however, largely refused to do so, and their action prevented Ulloa from taking direct command of the colony with the few men under his control. Acting French governor Capt. Charles-Philippe Aubry consequently remained overtly in charge of the province to keep the French troops at their posts. In important areas, however, Ulloa exercised power.<sup>8</sup>

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Spain and Great Britain went to war again. An invasion from Canada seemed possible through the late 1790s. Francisco Luis Héctor, Barón de Carondelet, to the Conde de Santa Clara, No. 30, New Orleans, March 28, 1797, AGI, Papeles Procedentes de la Isla de Cuba (hereafter abbreviated as PC), leg. 1550; and Abraham P. Nasatir, "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in the Iowa Country, 1797-1798," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 28 (1930): 337-89, and "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 16 (1929): 507-28). Between 1793 and 1795, revolutionary France fought conservative Spain and threatened Louisiana with an invasion from the Mississippi's mouth and from the western United States. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Origin of Genêt's Projected Attack on Louisiana and the Floridas," *American Historical Review*, 3 (1898): 650-71. Finally, the separate treaties Great Britain negotiated with Spain and the United States in 1783 created conflict. Despite Spain's conquest of West Florida, Great Britain gave the United States territory it no longer possessed, which the latter nation demanded from Spain. In 1795, with a potential American attack on Louisiana looming, Spain surrendered the territory to purchase good will. Among diplomatic works on Spanish Louisiana and almost all with a United States bias, see Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Spanish American Frontier, 1783-1795: The Westward Movement and the Spanish Retreat in the Mississippi Valley* (1927; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass., 1962), and *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803: A Study in Trade, Politics, and Diplomacy* (1949; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass., 1962); Samuel Flagg Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty: America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800* (1960; reprint ed., Bloomington, Ind., 1975); Alexander DeConde, *This Affair of Louisiana* (New York, 1976). See also Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York, 1964), 59-63, 83-90.

<sup>7</sup>On the first Spanish officers and soldiers in Louisiana, see Gilbert C. Din, "Captain Francisco Ríu y Morales and the Beginnings of Spanish Rule in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, 94 (2000): 121-45. Spanish lieutenants and sublieutenants were equivalent to first and second lieutenants in the U.S. Army.

<sup>8</sup>John Preston Moore, *Revolt in Louisiana: The Spanish Occupation, 1766-1770* (Baton Rouge, 1976), 42-59. Ulloa took to Louisiana thirty blank commissions for French officers who took service with the Spaniards, but he used only some of

In 1767, Ulloa asked the Spanish government for 1,200 soldiers, enough troops for a two-battalion regiment. It opted for one battalion of about five hundred men and soon began sending them from Spain to Havana. These troops were to remain in the Cuban city until the battalion was formed and then sail en masse to New Orleans. Their arrival would permit the colony's formal transfer to Spain. As a result, Ríu and his three subalterns represented the Spanish-born officers in the colony for nearly two and a half years.<sup>9</sup>

Ríu, however, soon revealed his inability to impose order. Many of his soldiers frequently misbehaved and deserted, and the two sublieutenants only selectively obeyed orders. During their first year in Louisiana, the Spanish troops did little of note, but that changed in 1767, when Great Britain stationed soldiers on the Mississippi's east bank. Ulloa responded by sending three expeditions to establish small garrisons at San Gabriel de Manchac, Spanish Natchez, and on the Missouri River. He assigned the four Spanish officers to these posts with most of the soldiers.<sup>10</sup>

Ríu received almost half the Spanish soldiers for the two forts on the Missouri that he was to build and defend. His maladroit leadership, however, alienated many of the already insubordinate troops and the sailors who rowed overloaded boats against the Mississippi's current; they staged a rebellion at Spanish Natchez. The revolt forced Ríu to capitulate to their demands for food and liquor, but dissent continued after their arrival in St. Louis. The

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them. Gilbert C. Din, "Protecting the 'Barrera': Spain's Defenses in Louisiana, 1763-1779," *Louisiana History*, 29 (1978): 184 n3.

<sup>9</sup>Din, "Protecting the 'Barrera'," 191-92. The Spanish government sought volunteers for the Louisiana battalion in the Guadalajara, Aragon, and Milan Infantry Regiments. Although a few French army officers worked for the Spanish government during Ulloa's stay in Louisiana, they occupied an anomalous position since they did not have authority in many areas. The government never clearly defined the size of the first battalion. In the 1780s, it was set at 689.

<sup>10</sup>Din, "Captain Francisco Ríu y Morales," 122-27. Ulloa did not support Ríu in dealing with insubordinate soldiers and, instead, spent months in virtual isolation at the mouth of the Mississippi. The expeditions left New Orleans on April 12, 1767, to establish forts at Spanish Manchac (opposite British Fort Bute on Bayou Manchac) under Orieta, at Spanish Natchez (on the Mississippi opposite Natchez) under Piernas, and two on the Missouri River under Ríu and Gómez to prevent the entry of British traders. On Spanish Manchac, see Gilbert C. Din, "Lieutenant Raimundo DuBreuil, Commandant of San Gabriel de Manchac, and Bernardo de Gálvez's 1779 Mississippi River Campaign," *Military History of the West*, 29 (1999): 1-30. The area of Spanish Natchez later became Concordia, and today is Vidalia, Louisiana.

soldiers refused to allow the captain to accompany them to the Missouri, where workers built a fort and a blockhouse and Gómez commanded. Following a drunken escapade in Ste. Genevieve, twenty-two disobedient soldiers, led by storekeeper Pablo Barreda, eventually fled downriver on a boat in late November 1767. In August 1768, after months of dismal reports, Ulloa ordered Lt. Pedro Piernas to replace Ríu in Spanish Illinois (Missouri).<sup>11</sup>

Unlike their own troops, French army officers eagerly entered Spanish service during Ulloa's governorship. Many possessed skills the Spaniards lacked, and all needed employment since they regarded themselves as residents of the colony. Among those hired, Guy (Guido) Dufossat designed the forts the Spaniards built in 1767, and he personally laid the foundations to those on the Missouri River. Other officers included François Demasillères, François Coulon de Villiers who commanded at Natchitoches, Guy Dutollant, Jean Baptiste L'Avaun, Jacobo DuBreüil, and Juan (Jean) de la Villebeuvre.<sup>12</sup>

The French Creole revolt, led by disgruntled merchants and planters in opposition to Spain's mercantile regulations, ended Ulloa's administration in October 1768. The revolt, however,

<sup>11</sup>Din, "Captain Francisco Ríu y Morales," 127-42. It was not the desertion of soldiers that finally persuaded Ulloa to remove Ríu, but the purchase by his subordinates of a large amount of rotten meat without inspection. Although Piernas's command in upper Louisiana in 1770 lasted only a few days, Gen. Alejandro O'Reilly appointed him lieutenant-governor of Spanish Illinois later that year. In early 1770, O'Reilly opened an investigation into Ríu's and Gómez's conduct in Spanish Illinois. It dragged on for months, forcing O'Reilly to take the two officers with him to Spain. Louisiana records do not reveal the outcome.

<sup>12</sup>Aubry to [Ulloa], New Orleans, January 29, 1767; Jacobo DuBreüil to [Ulloa], Fort St. Louis, February [no day], 1768; both in AGI, PC, leg. 187A. See in the same legajo, "Etat des Officiers Reformés le 15 7<sup>bre</sup> [September] 1763 Actuellement à la Louisiane," which lists as retired 13 captains, 15 lieutenants, 22 *enseignes en pied*, and 21 *enseignes en second*. "Reformed" (technically discharged) officers lost their employment because the French Crown downsized the army. By 1768 Ulloa selected five captains, five lieutenants, and five sublieutenants, for whom he sought government approval to employ in the army. Ulloa appointed Luis Andry as map maker (Marqués de Grimaldi to Juan Gregorio Muniain, Aranjuez, May 22, 1768, AGI, SD, leg. 2656). O'Reilly mistakenly appointed Balthazar de Villiers a company captain instead of François Coulon de Villiers. See Gilbert C. Din, "François Coulon de Villiers: More Light on an Illusive Historical Figure," in *Louisiana History*, 41 (2000): 345-57. His two sons, Marcos DeVilliers and Carlos Coulon de Villiers, became officers in the Spanish army, remaining in service at least until 1821 and possibly beyond. On French officers, see Carl A. Brasseaux, *France's Forgotten Legion: Service Records of French Military and Administrative Personnel Stationed in the Mississippi Valley and Gulf Coast Region, 1769-1769* (CD-Rom disk; Baton Rouge, 2000).

lacked universal support. The dissent sprang from some loyalist planters and virtually all the French army officers, who deplored the uprising and believed that Aubry had acted cowardly for not resisting. Despite such support, Ulloa declined to confront the insurrectionists. He ordered the evacuation of all Spanish officers and soldiers; personnel from upper Louisiana were the last to leave New Orleans, departing in July 1769.<sup>13</sup>

That same month, Lt. Gen. Alejandro O'Reilly crossed the Gulf of Mexico from Havana with a 2,000-man force to suppress the rebellion. The expedition included many of the officers and soldiers assigned to the Fixed Louisiana Infantry Battalion. After seizing control of the colony without opposition, O'Reilly formally created the battalion and appointed its officers in November.<sup>14</sup> Among the Spaniards named to the battalion were Piernas and Orieta, who received promotions to captain and lieutenant respectively.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Cadet José Varela rose to sublieutenant on June 4, 1768, but the promotion became effective only in late 1769 because of the revolt.<sup>16</sup> José Piernas, son of Captain Piernas, became a cadet in 1765, and a sublieutenant on July 3,

<sup>13</sup>Río to Antonio Bucareli, Havana, August 5, 1769, AGI, PC, leg. 1054, mentions the French army officers who were in opposition to the revolt and their abject opinion of Aubry. On the revolt, see Vicente Rodríguez Casado, *Primeros años de dominación española en Luisiana* (Madrid, 1942), 137-72, and Moore, *Revolt in Louisiana*, 143-64.

<sup>14</sup>O'Reilly to Julian Arriaga, New Orleans, November 9, 1769, Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), Sección de Manuscritos, "Colección de documentos sobre Luisiana, 1767 a 1792" (hereafter abbreviated as BN, CDL), MSS 19246-48, 3 vols., 1:1-9. O'Reilly reported that 179 soldiers of the Lisbon Regiment had volunteered to transfer to the Louisiana battalion, which was then complete. It held 412 Spaniards and 100 foreigners. O'Reilly authorized the captain general to reassign to other units the 130 soldiers of the battalion who remained in Cuba. Jack D. L. Holmes, in "Some French Engineers in Spanish Louisiana," in *The French in the Mississippi Valley*, ed. John Francis McDermott (Urbana, 1965), 123-42, sketches Gilberto Guillemard, Juan María Perchet, and Nicolas de Finiels, and briefly mentions Louis Bertucat, Jacobo DuBreüil, Guido Dufossat, Pedro Joseph Favrot, and Pedro Foucher.

<sup>15</sup>No study has yet appeared on Pedro Piernas. See a sketch on him in Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography*, 2 vols. (New Orleans, 1988), 2:650-51. Orieta died in June 1776, as commandant at Arkansas Post ([Luis de Unzaga] to [Sgt. Lucas Garcia], New Orleans, July 4, 1776, AGI, PC, leg. 189B). See also "Reglamento que explica todas las obligaciones de esta provincia," O'Reilly, New Orleans, February 23, 1770, AGI, PC, leg. 1055; O'Reilly to Arriaga, No. 12, November 10, 1769, BN, CDL, 1:28-29.

<sup>16</sup>At age twenty-four, José Varela became a cadet, and he served nearly five years as such before his promotion to sublieutenant. See his service sheet in AGI, SD, leg. 2662.

1773.<sup>17</sup> French officers placed in the army battalion or the militia included Capts. Alejandro Couso, Guido Dufossat, Balthazar de Villiers, Joseph Duplessis, Esteban Vaugine, and Alejandro De-Clouet; Lts. Jacobo DuBreüil, Juan de la Villebeuvre, Luis Andry, and Luis de Villars; and Sublts. Carlos Coudro and Esteban Trudeau.<sup>18</sup> Their knowledge of the province's geography, settlers, Indians, transportation, supplies, and time-tested practices greatly assisted the Spaniards.

Many of the battalion's newly appointed Spanish officers, who arrived with O'Reilly in 1769, received promotions. They included former lieutenants and now Capt. Fernando de Leyba,<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup>José Piernas service sheet, December 31, 1778, in *ibid.* Because of poor conduct, he resigned his commission in 1778, which the Crown accepted (Piernas petition, New Orleans, August 8, 1778, and royal patent, San Ildefonso, September 19, 1779, both in AGI, SD, leg. 2535). As late as August 19, 1799, Acting Gov. Francisco Boulogny advised Commandant Martín Duralde at Opelousas to instruct Piernas to cease his captious and entangling ways, pay his debts, and honor his deceased father's memory (Boulogny to Duralde, New Orleans, August 19, 1799, AGI, PC, leg. 134A). While Piernas's conduct did not improve, on occasion he helped the government. Gilbert C. Din, "Father Jean Delvaux and the Natchitoches Revolt of 1795," *Louisiana History*, 40 (1999): 18, 22-23, 25. See also Jack D. L. Holmes's articles, "Joseph Piernas and a Proposed Settlement on the Calcasieu River, 1795," *McNeese Review*, 13 (1962): 59-80; "Joseph Piernas and the Nascent Cattle Industry of Southwest Louisiana," *McNeese Review*, 17 (1966): 13-26; and "The Calcasieu Promoter: Joseph Piernas and his 1799 Proposal," *Louisiana History*, 9 (1968): 163-67.

<sup>18</sup>Grimaldi to Unzaga, El Pardo, February 24, 1770, AGI, PC, leg. 1054, contains the patents for the appointments O'Reilly made to the battalion. Other French officers received appointments as post commandants and in the militia. François Demasillières failed to become an army captain in 1769. Instead, he commanded posts at Pointe Coupée and Arkansas Post, earning less than an army captain. In 1773, when Francisco Boulogny received the fifth company upon Guido Dufossat's retirement, Demasillières claimed that seniority entitled him to the post. He did not get it (Din, *Francisco Boulogny*, 42-43).

On de la Villebeuvre, see Jack D. L. Holmes, "Juan de la Villebeuvre: Spain's Commandant of Natchez During the American Revolution," *Journal of Mississippi History*, 37 (1975): 97-126; and "Up the Tombigbee with the Spaniards: Juan de la Villebeuvre and the Treaty of Boucfouca (1793)," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, 40 (1978): 51-61. Indians killed Lt. Luis Andry, his oldest son, and most of his party as he mapped the Texas-Louisiana coast in 1778. Carondelet to Luis de Las Casas, No. 46, New Orleans, March 20, 1792, AGI, PC, leg. 1441; Robert S. Weddle, *Changing Tides: Twilight and Dawn in the Spanish Sea, 1763-1803* (College Station, 1995), 152-56.

<sup>19</sup>See John Francis McDermott, "The Myth of the 'Imbecile Governor': Captain Fernando de Leyba and the Defense of St. Louis in 1780," in John Francis McDermott, ed., *The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1762-1804* (Urbana, Ill., 1974), 314-91.



Capt. Francisco Cruzat,<sup>20</sup> and Brevet Capt. Francisco Bouligny who was assigned to the headquarters staff. Sgts. First Class Manuel Pérez and Antonio de Oro, distinguished soldier José López de la Peña, and Cadet Francisco Cartabona, a Genoese, all entered the battalion as sublieutenants.<sup>21</sup>

Ríu, the first of seven men to serve as commandant of the Spanish military in Louisiana, failed to become battalion head in 1769 because of his deplorable leadership. Instead, the government appointed Lt. Col. Francisco Estachería and promoted him to colonel. Estachería served between 1771 and 1774, leaving for Spain because of an alleged illness.<sup>22</sup> The post remained vacant until O'Reilly named Bernardo de Gálvez colonel in May 1776. His assignment as battalion commandant has generally been overlooked because he was concurrently governor. He gave up command of the battalion about 1780, but it was not until two years later that Esteban Miró assumed it as well as the province's acting governorship. In reality, however, Lt. Col. Pedro Piernas served as regimental commandant on a pro-tem basis. On becoming viceroy of Mexico in 1785, Gálvez relinquished the governorship of Louisiana, and Miró and Piernas became the proprietary holders of their respective commands. When Colonel Piernas died on March 28, 1791, Francisco Bouligny, the lieutenant colonel, advanced to regimental commandant. He held the post until his own demise on November 25, 1800. Carlos Howard, the lieutenant colonel, became the last commandant in Louisiana, and he

<sup>20</sup>Francisco Cruzat died on July 5, 1789, as lieutenant colonel and commandant of the third Louisiana battalion in Pensacola. Jacobo DuBreüil to Miró, Pensacola, July 5, 1789, AGI, PC, leg. 15B. Earlier, Cruzat had twice served as lieutenant governor in St. Louis in the 1770s and 1780s. See Gilbert C. Din and A. P. Nasatir, *The Imperial Osages: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley* (Norman, 1983), 96-116, 131-82, for discussion of Cruzat's relations with the Indians, and p. 96, note 22, for a sketch of his life.

<sup>21</sup>Service sheets of Manuel Pérez, Antonio de Oro, José López de la Peña, and Francisco Cartabona, December 31, 1778, all in AGI, SD, leg. 2662.

<sup>22</sup>The Crown had promoted Ríu to lieutenant colonel and named him head of the Louisiana battalion. O'Reilly, however, withheld the patents when soldiers accused Ríu of mistreatment in Spanish Illinois (Arriaga to Unzaga, No. 65, Aranjuez, June 22, 1771, AGI, PC, leg. 174A). Estachería showed no signs of illness in Spain; he soon assisted O'Reilly in planning the 1775 expedition to Algiers, for which he was later promoted to brigadier. See a sketch of Estachería in Din, *Francisco Bouligny*, 43-44, n16.

retained the office for several years in West Florida after Spain ceded Louisiana.<sup>23</sup>

Upon its formation in 1769, the Louisiana battalion consisted of one grenadier company, which was the most important, and seven fusilier companies. Subsequent battalions generally retained the same composition. Each company held one captain, one lieutenant, and one sublieutenant.<sup>24</sup> Grenadier officers and soldiers received more pay than their fusilier counterparts, and assignment as a grenadier was considered a promotion.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, service in the grenadier company conveyed greater prestige, but it was not necessarily a step in promotion to a higher rank.

On creating the second battalion, the government sold officer posts to buyers, many of whom were cadets, junior officers, and former French army officers. For example, Sublt. Carlos de Vilemont purchased a captaincy for 4,000 pesos—a small fortune—as did Antonio de St. Maxent. The latter's younger brothers, Francisco Maximiliano and Honorato, bought lieutenantcies for 2,000 pesos each. Other purchasers of captaincies were Juan Destréhan, Elías Beauregard, Tomás Ugarte, and Manuel Estrada. Meanwhile, Francisco Montreuil, and Francisco Deverges (a dis-

<sup>23</sup>Information on commandants is in Din, *Francisco Boulogny*, passim, and "Captain Francisco Riu y Morales," 121-45. Miró's appointment as proprietary governor, dated July 24, 1785, is mentioned in his November 8, 1785, letters to post commandants (AGI, PC, leg. 198A). Following Spain's loss of Louisiana, the Fixed Louisiana Infantry Regiment transferred to West Florida but kept its name. See documents in AGI, PC, leg. 161AB, on Howard in West Florida.

<sup>24</sup>Army companies in Louisiana never stayed intact since often some company officers and soldiers were scattered at different posts throughout the province. The remnant of each company, however, continued together in New Orleans.

<sup>25</sup>"Reglamento que explica todas las obligaciones de esta Provincia que se deberán satisfacer por cuenta de la Real Hacienda," O'Reilly, [New Orleans], February 23, 1770, AGI, PC, leg. 1055. The monthly pay schedule O'Reilly set up for grenadier officers was captain 70 pesos fuertes, lieutenant 44, sublieutenant 34; pay in the fusilier companies was captain 62 pesos, lieutenant 40, and sublieutenant 32. For the headquarters staff, the lieutenant colonel received 146 pesos monthly, the adjutant major whose rank was a lieutenant 51, and two flag sublieutenants 30 pesos each. See also Brian E. Coutts, "Martín Navarro: Treasurer, Contador, Intendant, 1766-1788: Politics and Trade in Spanish Louisiana," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1981), 2:554-55. However, Kinnaird, ed., in *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, Pt. 1:6-7, gives lower figures for monthly military pay. For grenadier officers, the captain received 60 pesos, the lieutenant 38, and the sublieutenant 30. For fusilier officers, captains received 50 pesos, lieutenants 32, and sublieutenants 25. At headquarters, the battalion colonel earned 200 pesos, the lieutenant colonel 85, the adjutant major 45, and two flag sublieutenants 25 each. By way of comparison, skilled artisans in New Orleans earned about three hundred pesos yearly.

charged French officer) paid for lieutenancies. Four persons bought sublieutenancies for 1,000 pesos each: Pedro Foucher, Agustín La Chaise, Joseph LeBlanc, and Francisco Dutillet; the last two purchasers were cadets. Not all posts in the second battalion were sold as the government reserved some of them for deserving officers, usually as promotions. The sale of officer posts seems not to have occurred upon formation of the third battalion.<sup>26</sup>

Many sergeants first class rose to officer rank over the years.<sup>27</sup> Although Spanish society was highly stratified, some movement within it occurred. Because of the army's growth in size, able, literate, and disciplined sergeants could rise and join officers who belonged to higher social classes. However, more than one talented sergeant failed to rise because of his unacceptable spouse. Officers' wives socialized, and women of peasant background without education or genteel manners were deemed uncouth and inadequate. In Louisiana, the enlisted men who became officers usually never rose beyond captain, but because of the military's small size in the colony, few officers surpassed that rank. By the 1790s, approximately twenty-six officers, with four exceptions—all Spaniards, had risen through the enlisted ranks and held posts from sublieutenant to captain. The exceptions were Antonio Coudugnan, a Frenchman; Pedro Rola, an Italian; and Federico Auteman and Juan Antonio Bassot, both Germans.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup>O'Reilly initially set the price for officer posts at 3,000 pesos for captain, 1,500 for lieutenant, and 800 for sublieutenant. Bernardo de Gálvez, however, raised prices to 4,000, 2,000, and 1,000 pesos respectively (O'Reilly to José de Gálvez, Puerto de Santa María, May 7, 1779, AGI, SD, leg. 2662; [Bernardo de Gálvez] to Martín Navarro, [n.p., n.d.], AGI, PC, leg. 83); Manuel Gayoso de Lemos to the Marqués de Santa Clara, No. 179, July 19, 1798, and attachments, AGI, PC, leg. 1501B.

<sup>27</sup>Of eight sergeants first class listed in the first service sheets of August 31, 1776, six became officers. They were Diego Blanco, Pedro Blanco, Francisco Rivas, Cristóbal Hidalgo, all Spaniards, and José Miler (Miller), a Hungarian. The two who failed were Eugenio Alvarez, a Spaniard, and Pedro Mondola, an Italian ("Libro de Vita et Moribus, Servicios de los Oficiales, Sargentos 1.<sup>os</sup> y Cadetes de d<sup>ho</sup>. Bata.<sup>ón</sup>," Miguel Almonacid, New Orleans, August 31, 1776, AGI, SD, leg. 2661).

<sup>28</sup>In Carondelet to Las Casas, No. 34, New Orleans, February 26, 1792, attached, "List of the Sgts. 1<sup>st</sup> Cl. who have been passed over in the promotions made on this date for flag sublieutenancy," Col. Francisco Boulogny stated about Sgts. 1<sup>st</sup> Cl. Miguel Soliberas and Antonio Clarisen, "These sergeants are married, and because of their wives they do not merit being promoted to the distinguished class of officer" (Boulogny, New Orleans, February 1, 1792, with Carondelet's approval on February 26, 1792, AGI, PC, leg. 1441). See the service sheets for the 1790s in Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra Moderna (hereafter abbreviated as

The Spanish army employed brevet ranks among its officers, occasionally for company grade officers and frequently for higher ranks, especially lieutenant colonel. By the end of the Spanish period, more than a half dozen captains were brevet lieutenant colonels. Technically, the Louisiana regiment held only one colonel and one lieutenant colonel, which were posts besides being ranks. Therefore, unless an officer held such a post, his rank was only brevet colonel or lieutenant colonel. Furthermore, unless otherwise granted, pay was for the lower grade. These ranks, nevertheless, allowed officers to sport the higher insignias and presume that they were genuine colonels and lieutenant colonels.<sup>29</sup>

From its inception in November 1769, whites of various ethnicities served in the Louisiana battalion/regiment.<sup>30</sup> Several French officers had worked under Ulloa, mostly designing and building forts and mapping. With the battalion's formation, they served in nearly all capacities. Because of their age, however, within a few years some of the older French captains died or retired. By then, French Creoles were entering the battalion in growing numbers. Besides Spanish, Spanish American, and French officers, others came from Ireland, Italy, Germany, Portugal, Sardinia, Greece, and even Hungary. They were expected to know Spanish (most soldiers were monolingual Spaniards) and write their letters and reports in this idiom; only the Louisiana officers faced the linguistic problem since the other non-Spanish officers, with years in the army and which were often spent in Spain, spoke the language.

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AGS, GM), legs. 7291-92, for the enlisted men who became officers. Except for Bassot, the other three foreigners who became officers had joined the Spanish army in Spain, where, undoubtedly, they learned Spanish. Sgt. 1<sup>st</sup> Cl. Manuel de Lanzos became a militia sublieutenant because O'Reilly refused to accept his wife. Lanzos, however, petitioned the Crown and proved that his wife was of distinguished birth and that her father, Luis Guerrero, had been an army adjutant major in Panama. Lanzos became a lieutenant in the new second battalion (Lanzos to José de Gálvez, Puerto Rico, February 13, 1779, and many attachments, all in AGI, SD, leg. 2534).

<sup>29</sup>Brevet ranks among officers can be seen in their service sheets in AGS, GM, legs. 7291-92. See also Marchena, *Oficiales y soldados*, 76.

<sup>30</sup>Blacks never served in the regular army, although they were in special militia units. On the black militia, see Kimberly S. Hanger, "A Privilege and Honor to Serve: The Free Black Militia of Spanish New Orleans," *Military History of the Southwest*, 2 (1991): 59-86; and *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769-1803* (Durham, 1997), 109-35. Hanger's claim that in the 1790s, the Spaniards relied upon the free black militia for protection against a hostile French population is patently untrue.

Louisiana cadets and officers who failed to learn Spanish did not advance far,<sup>31</sup> while the Spaniards tolerated exceptions among the older French officers, they never served at headquarters where records were kept in Spanish. Among non-Spaniards, the Irish probably ranked as the most accomplished in the use of Spanish. French Creoles, however, often became equally proficient, and one of whom, Francisco Maximiliano de St. Maxent, rose to brigadier-general and commandant of the regiment in West Florida.<sup>32</sup>

The purpose of the "fixed" Louisiana battalion was to enlist the province's inhabitants in its defense. Fixed army units, unlike Spanish peninsular regiments, did not rotate and remained anchored in the colonies where they served. Under both the French and Spaniards, the military administered the colony, and most educated residents regarded service as an officer as distinguished and honorable. Moreover, eighteenth-century life glamorized uniforms. Inasmuch as the officer corps expanded under the Spaniards, it attracted the planters, many of whom sought uniforms, usually in the militia for themselves and in the army for their sons. Young men from well-to-do families often felt inclined to become officers. They benefited, too, from the army *fuero* (legal privilege) that placed their civil and criminal trials in a more sympathetic military tribunal. In the 1780s and 1790s, officers

<sup>31</sup>Carondelet to Las Casas, New Orleans, April 30, 1792, AGI, PC, leg. 1441. In this letter, Carondelet comments on Sublt. Carlos Deville Degoutin's limited knowledge of Spanish and rejects him as an *ayudante* (assistant at headquarters). See also "Lista de los Tenientes que se postergan en la propuesta," attached to Carondelet to Las Casas, No. 303, New Orleans, March 11, 1793, AGI, PC, leg. 1442, which explains why officers were passed over in assignments and promotions. The reasons include poor conduct, inadequate knowledge of Spanish, little aptitude, and lack of skill in accounts and paperwork. Carlos Deville Degoutin subsequently learned Spanish. By 1812, he was a captain of grenadiers stationed in Pensacola (Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity*, 88-89).

<sup>32</sup>Among the first French officers to serve the Spaniards, Demasillières retired as a post commandant in 1773; illness forced Alejandro Couso from active service about 1780, and he soon died; and Balthazar de Villiers died on June 17, 1782. Army officers should not be confused with militia officers. At civilian settlements militia officers usually commanded, and they wrote in French. See also Guy Soniat du Fossat, *Synopsis of the History of Louisiana, from the Founding of the Colony to the end of the year 1791*, trans. Charles T. Soniat (New Orleans, 1903), 29, in which he writes favorably about French Creoles. The author, better known in his lifetime as Guido Dufossat, died on June 23, 1794. Carlos de Grand-Pré, who mastered Spanish, became a colonel and served in Havana after leaving Louisiana. Francisco Maximiliano de St. Maxent was the son of French businessman Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent and brother of Bernardo de Gálvez's wife Félicité. He generally signed his name as San Maxent.

leaving army service frequently petitioned to continue use of the uniform and military *fuero* in civilian life.<sup>33</sup>

Even under Ríu the Louisiana Company had cadets. Once the battalion formed, they rose in number. Officers usually wanted their sons to follow in their footsteps since underdeveloped Louisiana lacked professional schools and offered meager opportunities to middle-class Spaniards without fortunes. Before the school for cadets opened, they served in the companies where they acquired the basics of army life, particularly leadership, military laws, weapons, drills, and discipline. The experience varied since officers differed in their ability to instruct. Upon the cadet school's start in New Orleans in the early 1770s, education became more formal with subjects clearly defined and tests to measure learning administered periodically.<sup>34</sup> While an officer ran the school, he answered to the battalion or regimental commander, who in turn was under the governor. From 1769, the governor was the colony's highest-ranking army officer and the inspector-general.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup>M. Perrin du Lac, *Travels Through the Two Louisianas, and among the Savage Nations of the Missouri* (London, 1807), 90. Ulloa wrote to the Marqués de Grimaldi: "It is necessary to understand that among these people [the Louisiana inhabitants] there is an appreciation for military positions, because in the past the colony was established on a military footing and it has been governed in this manner" (Ulloa to Grimaldi, No. 5, July 20, 1768, AGI, SD, leg. 2542). In the Spanish period, an exception to military rule was the New Orleans city government or *cabildo*. On the use of uniforms and the military *fuero*, see Carondelet to Las Casas, Nos. 273 and 803, January 25, 1793, and January 30, 1796, AGI, PC, legs. 1442 and 1444 respectively. Both Governors Miró and Carondelet created militia units for the distinguished members of New Orleans society (Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity*, 23, 52).

<sup>34</sup>Among known textbooks used at the cadet school were one that contained army ordinances and Félix Colón y Larriátegui's *Juzgados militares de España y sus Indias*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1788). In 1791, Colonel Bouigny asked for eighty copies of the army ordinances and thirty copies of Colón's work (Bouigny to Miró, New Orleans, May 21 and June 1, 1791, attached to Miró to Las Casas, New Orleans, May 22 and June 28, 1791, all in AGI, PC, leg. 1440A). One volume of Colón's study, once owned by army officer Ygnacio Balderas and possibly his son Luis Balderas, has survived. It is now in Special Collections, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University.

<sup>35</sup>In Carondelet to Las Casas, New Orleans, August 20, 1792, AGI, PC, leg. 1441, he sent the captain general the results of the cadet examinations. Francisco Paula Morales, New Orleans, July 31, 1792, attached to *ibid.* The cadet school closed in 1789 because no officer volunteered or was qualified to teach mathematics. *Ayudante Mayor* Pedro Olivier, who acted as instructor, closed the school because he complained of his many duties. On becoming commandant in 1791, Colonel Bouigny reopened the school (Miró to Las Casas, No. 174, New Orleans, May 22, 1791, and attached, Bouigny to Miró, New Orleans, May 21, 1791, both in

With formation of the Louisiana battalion, French Creoles dominated the cadets. By the 1780s and 1790s, however, Louisiana-born Spanish Creoles figured prominently among them, their fathers invariably army officers. In addition, Havana sometimes provided cadets, as did Spain.<sup>36</sup> The period of time cadets served varied widely. Boys could become cadets at twelve, if their fathers were captains and above in rank, and at sixteen if their fathers were not. A few officers, however, were able to have their children admitted as young as six, which helped them in seniority. Nevertheless, attendance at the academy, the local name for the cadet school, began at about age thirteen. In 1801 the king allowed the sons of subaltern officers to enter the school at twelve. Able cadets with influential fathers, such as regimental commandants, sometimes were commissioned at fifteen and even younger, but they were the exceptions.<sup>37</sup> Sergeants first class who became officers were never cadets. Ten to twenty years—and occasionally more—of army service taught them the intricacies of military life.<sup>38</sup>

Coming from diverse backgrounds and educational levels, not all officers shared the dedication to military service the army tried to instill. Youths who became cadets and even officers because of parental pressure occasionally displayed a dereliction to

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AGI, PC, leg. 1440A). A new group of cadets entered the school at that time (Miró to Las Casas, No. 188, New Orleans, June 10, 1791, AGI, PC, leg. 1440B).

<sup>36</sup>José Vázquez Vahamonde and Vicente Fernández Texeiro were two Spanish youths who went to Louisiana to become cadets and army officers. See their service sheets, for Vázquez of December 31, 1791, in AGS, GM, leg. 7291; and for Fernández Texeiro of December 31, 1796, in AGS, GM, leg. 7292.

<sup>37</sup>Manuel de Salcedo to the Marqués de Someruelos, No. 118, New Orleans, April 8, 1802, AGI, PC, leg. 1553. In 1792, regimental commandant Francisco Bouligny proposed that his son Ursino become an officer at thirteen and a half, but the boy had to wait until he was fifteen (Din, *Francisco Bouligny*, 200). Commandant Piernas appears to have gotten a commission for his son Luis before he turned fifteen (Luis Piernas service sheet, June 30, 1815, AGI, PC, leg. 161B). In 1801, thirty boys and young men, from thirteen to twenty-three in age, were technically enrolled in the academy; those younger than thirteen did not attend. Eighteen cadets were sons of officers, and nearly all cadets were Louisianians ("Relación de los Cadetes qe. tiene dho. Reg.to," Fran.co Hemeterio de Hevia, New Orleans, August 31, 1801, AGI, PC, leg. 1552).

<sup>38</sup>Service sheets of officers, sergeants first class, and cadets are in AGI, PC, legs. 161AB; AGI, SD, legs. 2661-62; and AGS, GM, legs. 7291-92, among other places.

duty. They usually did not rise high in rank and "retired" early. A fair number of cadets never became officers.<sup>39</sup>

For ambitious and career-minded officers, service in the *plana mayor* (headquarters staff) was essential because here they acquired the fundamentals of army operations. The army was a bureaucratic organization that ran on paperwork, and *saber despachar* (expertise in processing paperwork) was a fundamental prerequisite. As the Spanish military grew in Louisiana, more officers served at headquarters. Beginning at the lowest rung, personnel in the *plana mayor* consisted of flag sublieutenants, or newly commissioned officers, who began their training at headquarters; *ayudantes* (assistants) to the *ayudante mayor* (adjutant major) who kept records, reports, inventories, and the like; *sargento mayor* (sergeant-major), the third officer in the regiment and its chief administrator, who supervised operations, trained recruits, and assigned officers of the day and soldiers to guard duty, clean up, and other details; *comandante* (commander) of the second battalion on the Mississippi; and regimental lieutenant colonel, or second officer in the regiment. Topping the headquarters staff was the colonel, who reported to the governor, usually through written reports that explained the state of the battalion or regiment.<sup>40</sup>

Besides commanding their companies, captains and higher-ranking officers had additional duties. One was serving on courts-martial, which occasionally tried officers and more fre-

<sup>39</sup>Many letters from the governor to the captain general note the poor conduct of cadets and even junior officers. See, for example, Carondelet to Las Casas, No. 303, New Orleans, March 11, 1793, and attachments, in AGI, PC, leg. 1442; and Gayoso to Santa Clara, No. 140, New Orleans, May 1, 1798, AGI, PC, leg. 1501A. Sometimes former army officers and cadets took service in the militia.

<sup>40</sup>The author has not seen records that explain precisely how the headquarters staff functioned. Carondelet remarked in 1793: "[T]he sergeant-major needs to be an expert in handling accounts and in paperwork, drills, and exercises" (Carondelet to Las Casas, New Orleans, September 30, 1793, AGI, PC, leg. 1442). Marchena, in *Oficiales y soldados*, 72, states that the *sargento mayor* was an administrative post. He writes: "[The Sergeant-Major] understood and watched over everything directly related to government, discipline, subordination, behavior, police, etc." Marchena adds that he was the chief administrative officer and under him were the *ayudantes*, surgeons, armorers, and others. He also instructed the officers in tactics.

*Ayudante mayor* was a post, not a rank such as major; lieutenants usually held the post. The Spanish army did not have the rank of major. Possibly flag sublieutenants helped train recruits in discipline, drills, and the use of arms. The term *bandera* (flag) was used for teams of officers and soldiers that sought recruits abroad; flag sublieutenants, however, served at headquarters.



quently enlisted personnel. The severity of crimes by soldiers ranged from minor to capital, the last often stemming from brawls with their comrades-in-arms. Criminal acts were frequently senseless and committed in the heat of passion by soldiers. Favorite diversions for many of them were drinking, gambling, and whoring, all of which sometimes landed participants in trouble.<sup>41</sup> High-ranking officers, usually lieutenant colonels and above, also served on councils of war called by the governor when an emergency, such as a threat to the colony, arose.<sup>42</sup> At posts where at least several officers served, such as Pensacola, Natchez, and St. Louis, commandants often held their own councils of war.

Seniority was a principle dear to officers, especially in promotions. Most officers in the Spanish army did not trust superiors to promote wisely, and they frequently petitioned the Crown for advancement. Exceptions to the principle of seniority in promotions occurred for outstanding service, usually in wartime, and when the Crown sold officer posts. In the case of a purchased post, future promotions might come only after many years. Carlos de Vilemont, for example, who purchased a captaincy in 1781, waited until 1802 for his next promotion. Another exception to

<sup>41</sup>On the steps taken in criminal investigations, see José de Fides to Miró, New Orleans, July 20, 1785, AGI, PC, leg. 122A. Many documents show the ignorance of the common soldier. Because literacy was required for promotion, many soldiers never rose beyond the first rank or two (*soldado* or private and *cabo segundo* or corporal second class). As recruits grew fewer in the 1790s, vacancies for *cabo primero* (corporal first class) and *sargento segundo* (sergeant second class) grew larger. In contrast, few vacancies for *sargentos primero* (sergeants first class), the most coveted rank for literate enlisted men, occurred. See Gov. Manuel Gayoso to Capt. Gen. Santa Clara, No. 172, New Orleans, July 19, 1798, and attached "Estado de la fuerza," which states about the vacancies for *cabos primeros* and *sargentos segundos* because "there were no worthy people to promote." Derek Noel Kerr, in "Petty Felony, Slave Defiance and Frontier Villainy: Crime and Criminal Justice in Spanish Louisiana, 1770-1803" (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1983), 192-221, discusses crimes in the Spanish military in New Orleans, using the records then available in Louisiana. Since he focuses on soldier misconduct, he exaggerates the frequency of military crimes. Many soldiers, however, conducted themselves well, even under Riu, and earned monetary bonuses for good behavior. Many sergeants were married and did not engage in the vices of ordinary soldiers.

<sup>42</sup>Governor Miró, for example, called a council of war on June 15, 1785, to discuss an American threat to the Natchez district (see documents in AGI, PC, legs. 197 and 2360). Replies from officers who attended this council of war are scattered; see, for example, Nicolas d'Aunoy's and Juan Alvarez's in AGI, PC, leg. 11; Carlos de Grand-Pré's in AGI, PC, leg. 117B; and Francisco Bouligny's in Edmund C. Burnett, ed., "Papers Relating to Bourbon County, Georgia," *American Historical Review*, 15 (1909-1910): 87-89. See also Gilbert C. Din, "War Clouds on the Mississippi: Spain's 1785 Crisis in West Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 60 (1981): 51-76.

the unwritten rule of seniority was for "political" officers such as Bernardo de Gálvez, who owed many of his promotions from 1776 to his uncle's position as Minister of the Indies; it was unheard of in the Spanish colonies to become an army colonel and a provincial governor at age thirty as Gálvez had. Louisiana officers entertained no similar expectations. Manuel Gayoso de Lemos's promotion to colonel in 1789 also was political; Miró requested it to enhance Gayoso's prestige as governor of the Natchez district, where American immigrants were settling. Gayoso never served in the Louisiana regiment. When regimental officers were promoted out of turn, complaints abounded.<sup>43</sup>

To an extent, the army controlled the marriages of its officers. To qualify for benefits, both officers and their brides needed army permission to marry. Most native Louisianians and Spaniards who settled in the colony married, and numerous records show that officers generally solicited military approval to do so. Prospective brides had to be white (pass a so-called *limpieza de sangre* [cleansing of blood] that revealed no Jewish or Muslim antecedents), possess a dowry or property valued at 3,000 pesos, and have an unblemished reputation. Retired officers and widows whose marriages the Ministry of War approved were entitled to a pension from the *Monte Pío militar*.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup>Din, *Francisco Bouligny*, 121-27, 172-73; Holmes, *Gayoso*, 252; Vilemont service sheet, December 31, 1808, AGI, PC, leg. 161A; "Acuerdo de la Junta Suprema de Estado informando favorablemente en concesión del grado de Coronel a Gayoso de Lemos y aprobación de S.M.," [Madrid], October 12, 1789, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado (hereafter abbreviated as AHN, Est.), leg. 3901, expd. 3. In Marqués de Casa-Calvo to Someruelos, No. 11, New Orleans, October 22, 1799, AGI, PC, leg. 1550, Casa-Calvo noted that seniority guided the selection of persons proposed for the post of sergeant-major. He disagreed and favored ability instead. Seniority, however, was used repeatedly in proposals for advancement in Louisiana. Casa-Calvo, who was acting military governor of Louisiana from 1799 to 1801, held the post of lieutenant colonel in the Fixed Havana Infantry Regiment at the same time that he had the rank of brigadier general; a similar situation never occurred in Louisiana. Casa-Calvo's title of nobility, doubtlessly, helped in securing his brigadier rank. Promotions for officers did not come automatically. After several years in the same grade, officers frequently petitioned the Crown for advancement. Important in this process was having the governor's and the captain general's approval. Janet Fireman, in *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands: Instrument of Bourbon Reform, 1764 to 1815* (Glendale, Calif., 1977), 45, notes that the Corps of Engineers was trying to move away from "longevity in rank" to "talents and merits" for promotions.

<sup>44</sup>AGI, PC and SD, contain many documents on army officers soliciting and receiving permission to marry. See, for example, the petition of Lt. Manuel Pérez to marry Juana Catalina Dubois, with supporting documentation, and the receipt of permission (Unzaga to Arriaga, No. 153, New Orleans, March 5, 1776, and B. de Gálvez to José de Gálvez, No. 6, New Orleans, March 21, 1777, both in AGI, SD,

In the late Spanish period, some foreign visitors to Louisiana who wrote travelogues commented that local white men, including army officers, lusted after black women. These observers, however, provide only generalizations. While some bachelor and even some married officers perhaps lusted, it is difficult to verify the visitors' conclusions. Nevertheless, there were officers who chose not to marry and formed liaisons, brief or long-termed, with free women of color. While army records do not shed light on which officers kept mistresses, other sources occasionally provide evidence.<sup>45</sup>

José López de la Peña was an officer who formed such a liaison with Luison Brouner. She was possibly a free woman of color, but more likely a *mestiza* (part Indian), since her mother, María Juana, was sometimes described as an *india mestiza*. During their union, Luison and López had four natural daughters, whom López recognized. One daughter, Clara López de la Peña, formed a bond with Luis DeClouet, an army officer and the son of French army captain and longtime Attakapas commandant Alejandro

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leg. 2547); and the petition of Lt. José Noriega to marry Victoria Le Sassier, with supporting documents (Miró to José de Gálvez, No. 130, New Orleans, April 20, 1786, AGI, SD, leg. 2551), and the arrival of permission (Miró to José de Gálvez, No. 178, New Orleans, January 11, 1787, AGI, SD, leg. 2552). Although many Spanish-born officers married local women, it was not a conscious plan to meld the Spanish minority to the numerically superior French population. Male French Creoles also married daughters of Spanish army officers.

<sup>45</sup>Accounts of foreign travelers in Louisiana in the late Spanish period must be used carefully. For example, physician Paul Alliot was particularly hostile to the Spanish government because it expelled him for practicing medicine without a license. His "Historical and political reflections on Louisiana," in *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807*, ed. James Alexander Robertson, 2 vols. (1911; reprint ed., Freeport, N. Y., 1969), 1:39-143, cannot be accepted as accurate in many places. See also Claude C. Robin, *Voyages dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane, de la Floride occidentale, et dans les isles de la Martinique et de Saint-Domingue pendant les années 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 et 1806*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1807); and Thomas N. Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South* (Knoxville, 1999), 159-60, 410.

In 1798, Governor Gayoso accused three French Creole army officers of fathering many mulatto offspring. The officers were Carlos de Ville, Pedro Olivier, and José LeBlanc. Gayoso to the Marqués de Santa Clara, reserved, New Orleans, July 28, 1798, AGS, GM, leg. 6926, exped. 9. Meanwhile, Sublt. Teodoro Macarty was arrested for attending a dance for people of color. Among the excuses he offered for doing so was illness. As punishment, Colonel Boulogny sent him to Fort San Felipe de Placaminas where, if he was sick, a surgeon could attend to him. Three weeks later, he returned to New Orleans because his malady had worsened (Boulogny to Carondelet, Nos. 597 and 601, New Orleans, September 28 and October 17, 1796, respectively, both in AGI, PC, leg. 34). Whether other officers attended the dances for colored people is unknown.

DeClouet. Clara and Luis married on October 1, 1797, without army permission, which they could do, but DeClouet forfeited benefits. Their marriage was entered in the white register at New Orleans' St. Louis Cathedral only on November 20, 1801. The marriage legitimized the six children already born to them. Soon Clara initiated legal proceedings to prove that she was part Indian, not African, and to transfer her oldest daughter's baptismal record from the black to the white register; the other five children were already in the white register.<sup>46</sup>

Army Commandant Boulogny thought well of Lieutenant DeClouet, favoring him in 1799 to head the Mississippi Volunteers, a militia unit. According to Boulogny, DeClouet then owned a plantation with more than 300 slaves, which probably was an exaggeration. DeClouet acquired the militia post.<sup>47</sup>

United protest by the officer corps against an unpopular measure or a superior seems never to have occurred in Louisiana. Colonel Boulogny's illness in 1798, however, led to a minor insurgency by some officers. They protested the governor's non-enforcement of the military *fuero*. Capt. Marcos DeVilliers's hostile reaction to an order to arrest his eight-year-old slave for an infraction caused the incident; younger officers supported him when he resisted authorities. Had Boulogny not been sick, possibly he could have kept his insubordinate officers in tow. Gayoso, who was then provincial governor, notified the captain general about the incident on July 28, 1798, labeling the twenty-seven

<sup>46</sup>While Hanger, in *Bounded Lives*, 83, 93-94, seems convinced that Clara and Luison were of African heritage, I disagree because records sometimes denote a Native American background. Luison's relationship with López de la Peña began in Natchitoches, where Indian women were held as slaves. Also it was easier for a *mestiza* (Clara), who probably was only a quarter Indian, to pass into white society than a *parda* (a "brown"-skinned black). After 1769 many slave owners wanted to hide their slaves who were females and descended from Indians because O'Reilly had limited the enslavement of Indians to one owner, and they could sue for their freedom if the owner died or sold them. See Stephen Webre, "The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana, 1769-1803," *Louisiana History*, 25 (1984): 117-35. Former French army officer François Demasillières, who served the Spaniards as a militia captain and post commandant, formed a relationship with the free *morena* (dark-skinned black woman) María Bienvenu. Two natural children, whom he recognized, resulted from the union. He also had children with other free women of color (Hanger, *Bounded Lives*, 103-4).

<sup>47</sup>Boulogny to Someruelos, No. 37, New Orleans, August 8, 1799, AGI, PC, leg. 1550. A number of army officers and enlisted men transferred from the Louisiana battalion or regiment to militia units, where they served at headquarters and trained militiamen. They no longer were regarded as regimental personnel, although they retained army rank.

officers who applied for transfers to Spain as members of a "conspiratorial league." When Captain General Santa Clara queried Gayoso about it, he replied that he had nothing more to add. The "tempest in a teacup" had blown over by then.<sup>48</sup>

Service as a post (district) commandant ranked among the most important duties army officers performed. Commandants were the leading officials of their districts, possessing both civil and military authority. Their power, however, had limitations since they needed to keep the governor informed of everything that occurred in their districts and decide matters involving sums above twenty pesos. It often meant a steady flow of correspondence to New Orleans and a return flow of instructions to implement. Not all commandants were skilled letter-writers, and, consequently, some provided more information about their districts than others. Besides military duties, post commandants carried out civil (legal) responsibilities involving wills, land grants, notarial services, and distribution of intestate property. Other duties concerned Indian affairs, slaves, the fur and hide trade, settlement and economic development, liquor sales, and maintenance of order. Commandants sometimes held the exclusive right to trade with a local native tribe to help offset expenses not compensated by the army. A few officers spent most of their careers as post commandants, while others never received such an assignment. St. Louis and Natchitoches figured as the two most prominent posts in Louisiana. While the Crown appointed the Pensacola commandant, the Louisiana governor always held the governorship of West Florida and assigned other officials.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup>Gayoso to Santa Clara, No. 26 reserved, New Orleans, April 27, 1799, AGI, PC, leg. 154B; Holmes, *Gayoso*, 252-53.

<sup>49</sup>Two excellent studies of districts governed by post commandants are Carl J. Ekberg, *Colonial Ste. Genevieve: An Adventure on the Mississippi Frontier* (Gerald, Mo., 1985); and Morris S. Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas, 1686-1804: A Social and Cultural History* (Fayetteville, Ark., 1991). Both cover in detail the many duties and problems post commandants faced. See also by Arnold, *Unequal Laws unto a Savage Race: European Legal Traditions in Arkansas, 1686-1836* (Fayetteville, Ark., 1985); E. Russ Williams, *Filhiol and the Founding of the Spanish Poste d'Ouachita: The Ouachita Valley in Colonial Louisiana, 1783-1804* (Monroe, La., 1982); Lyle N. McAlister, "Pensacola during the Second Spanish Period," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 37 (1954): 281-327; and Jack D. L. Holmes, "Spanish Dominion in Pensacola (1781-1821)," in James R. McGovern, ed., *Colonial Pensacola* (Pensacola, 1972), 91-115. O'Reilly issued extensive instructions for the first commandants of St. Louis and Natchitoches, whom he designated lieutenant governors. While the St. Louis commandant retained that title, it mostly fell into disuse for Natchitoches after the death of Athanase de Mézières. The instructions for St. Louis are in Louis Houck, ed., *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, 2 vols. (Chicago,

Army officers also commanded and served aboard royal galleys, galiots, and gunboats because of the absence of naval officers. A civilian skilled in navigation, known as a *patrón* aboard each vessel, had charge of sailing. About 1778, under Governor Gálvez, the Spaniards began using gunboats (*lanchas cañoneras*) on the Mississippi to counteract the aggression of English warships. The gunboats' maneuverability, made possible by both sails and oars, and the firepower of a large cannon mounted in the prow gave them advantages sailing ships lacked on the river. Later, the Spaniards built and armed galiots and galleys, which were also sail and oar-powered. Besides their use on the Mississippi River, these vessels cruised along the Gulf Coast, going from Bayou San Juan (St. John) on Lake Pontchartrain or New Orleans to Mobile, Pensacola, and Apalache. Two officers, Pierre Georges Rousseau and Manuel García y Muñiz, at different times had overall charge of these vessels.<sup>50</sup>

Although the army's principal charge was defense, it also performed police functions. Post commandants on the Mississippi and elsewhere, for example, checked travel permits of persons

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1909), 1:76-83; and in AGI, PC, leg. 181A. The unpublished instructions for Natchitoches are in AGI, SD, leg. 2594. A brief set of instructions O'Reilly devised for post commandants in lower Louisiana is "Ynstrucción a las cuales se deben arreglar los Tenientes Particulares de la Costa constituidos por mi, y que dependen inmediatamente del Gobierno General de esta provincia por todo lo que mira a lo político, y a la administración de la justicia aii (*sic*) en lo civil como en lo criminal," in AGI, SD, leg. 2594. See also Gilbert C. Din, "The First Spanish Instructions for Arkansas Post, November 15, 1769," *Arkansas Historical Review*, 53 (1994): 312-19; and Jack D. L. Holmes, trans. and ed., "The First Laws of Memphis: Instructions for the Commandant of San Fernando de las Barrancas," *West Tennessee Historical Society*, 15 (1961): 93-104. Natchez in West Florida was an important post and, along with Pensacola, the only districts with a governor. Manuel Gayoso de Lemos and Carlos de Grand-Pré were the two Spanish governors of Natchez.

<sup>50</sup>Abraham P. Nasatir, ed., *Spanish War Vessels on the Mississippi, 1792-1796* (New Haven, 1968), 1-145; and Frances Coughlin, "Spanish Galleys on the Upper Mississippi" (M.A. thesis, Claremont College, 1945). Army officers and soldiers contributed to the construction of a ship, *La Leal*, in 1793 (Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity*, 77). On Rousseau, see Nasatir, *Spanish War Vessels*, 32-34, n29, and Raymond J. Martinez, *Rousseau—The Last Days of Spanish New Orleans*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New Orleans, 1974). Born in France, Rousseau immigrated to the rebel English colonies, where he became a naval officer. He accompanied rebel Americans down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in 1778, to see Bernardo de Gálvez about obtaining Spanish assistance. Gálvez asked Rousseau to take charge of the Spanish war vessels on the river, and he did. On García, see Jack D. L. Holmes, "*Dramatis Personae* in Spanish Louisiana," *Louisiana Studies*, 6 (1967): 169-75. García saw much action on the Mississippi River, on the Gulf Coast of West Florida, and in the Gulf of Mexico in later years as he continued to serve the Spanish Crown.

moving through the province, investigated crimes, and kept order at their posts, and these are only some of their many law enforcement duties. In New Orleans, soldiers guarded the city gates and sometimes patrolled the streets. Because Louisiana was a slave colony and blacks made up slightly more than half its population, slave owners occasionally implored the army to pursue runaway slaves (a chronic problem wherever slavery existed). Governors usually refused because masters were accountable for slave misbehavior. In a few instances, however, governors relented when owners absorbed the costs. This happened in 1784, when the fugitive slave leader Juan San Malo and his followers murdered whites and blacks and stole food from plantations. It briefly created an anxious situation on the Mississippi around New Orleans. Acting Governor Bouligny employed several junior army officers, some soldiers, and many militia officers and men against the San Malo band. In June they captured the elusive leader, several lieutenants, and numerous followers. Army personnel who pursued the fugitive blacks had their service count as a military campaign.<sup>51</sup>

More than three hundred officers served in the Louisiana company, battalion, and regiment between 1766 and 1803. Many of them spent their entire careers in Louisiana if they were American-born Spaniards or French, and nearly all if they were Spanish or French-born. Overall, few officers served temporarily in Louisiana; as members of a fixed unit, they were expected to remain. By the end of the Spanish period, many officers and cadets were the sons of officers.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup>Gilbert C. Din, *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves: The Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763-1803* (College Station, Tex., 1999), 89-115, enlarges upon his article, "Cimarrones and the San Malo Band in Louisiana," *Louisiana History*, 21 (1980): 237-60. Din refutes many contentions made by Gwendolyn Midlo Hal, in *The African Experience in Colonial Louisiana: Formation of a Creole Culture* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 202-36, about San Malo. Among other things, he denies that San Malo captured army officer Carlos de Villiers, first mentioned in Roland C. McConnell, *Negro Troops of Antebellum Louisiana: A History of the Battalion of Free Men of Color* (Baton Rouge, 1968), 22, because McConnell and studies that follow him fail to cite documents. Moreover, army records and governor reports do not mention de Villiers' capture or explain his release or escape if, indeed, he was captured. De Villiers, who participated in the pursuit of San Malo, served in the army for many years without him or his contemporaries ever mentioning his alleged capture. Burson, who, in *Stewardship of Don Esteban Miró*, 113-18, using New Orleans documents first wrote about "Juan Malo," as she calls San Malo, does not mention De Villiers.

<sup>52</sup>It is difficult to determine with precision the number of officers who served in Louisiana in the Spanish period. During the American Revolutionary War, some

In 1776, Louisiana's Spanish army began using service sheets (*hojas de servicio*) for officers, sergeants first class, and cadets. They provide information on age, place of birth (often a region or country rather than a city), dates of promotions, seniority, assignments to units, campaigns, the inspector general's remarks, and the colonel's notes on the officer's valor, ability, and conduct.<sup>53</sup> For example, the 1776 service sheets show that of the twenty-four officers in the Louisiana battalion (three then served at headquarters and the rest in the companies, which then had three vacancies), thirteen were Spaniards, seven French, three French Creoles, and one Italian.<sup>54</sup>

By the end of 1797, changes had occurred in the composition of officers. Eighty-four officers then served in the regiment, eleven at headquarters and the rest in the companies, although at times special assignments, such as at a post or on a ship, removed some of them from the companies. Among the officers, Louisianians numbered thirty-five, Spaniards thirty, Cubans eight, Frenchmen six, Germans two, and one each from Ireland, Guatemala, and Sardinia. Probably more important for the future, of the twenty-eight cadets then in the academy, twenty-four were Louisianians (both French and Spanish Creoles), three Cubans, and one French.<sup>55</sup>

By far, the most distinguished service the Spanish military rendered during its thirty-seven years in Louisiana occurred during the American Revolutionary War. It fought the British mainly in West Florida. Louisiana officers and men served on Gálvez's 1779 Mississippi River campaign against Manchac and Baton Rouge and in the conquests of Mobile in 1780 and

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officers served only briefly in the unit, and many never had a service sheet made. Holmes, in *Honor and Fidelity*, 89-158, purportedly has service sheets for 262 persons in the regiment, but there are problems with his number. He includes 43 sergeants first class, 22 cadets, 3 militia officers, and 11 persons who never went to Louisiana. Moreover, he did not see all the officer sheets which are widely scattered in the Spanish archives.

<sup>53</sup>Marchena, in *Oficiales y soldados*, 90-100, discusses the use of service sheets. He, however, does not examine the Spanish military in Louisiana.

<sup>54</sup>"Statement . . . by Companies, with the names of captains, lieutenants, and sublieutenants," Luis de Unzaga, New Orleans, September 4, 1776, AGI, SD, leg. 2661.

<sup>55</sup>Officer service sheets of December 31, 1797, in AGS, GM, leg. 7292.



Pensacola in 1781. Gálvez's military exploits against the British have been recounted numerous times.<sup>56</sup>

Besides these campaigns, Louisiana officers and soldiers faced the enemy at other places during the war. They fought pro-British pirates on the Mississippi several times, defeated a British and Indian attack on St. Louis in 1780, and repelled loyalist James Colbert's assault on Arkansas Post in 1783. Capt. Fernando de Leyba became a lieutenant colonel posthumously for his valiant defense of St. Louis; he succumbed to disease a month after his victory. Lt. Francisco Cartabona, who took reinforcements from Ste. Genevieve to assist Leyba, rose to captain. Capt. Jacobo DuBreuil was promoted to lieutenant colonel and Sgt. First Class Alexo Pastor to sublieutenant for their work in defending Arkansas Post. The sole reversal the Spaniards experienced was the temporary loss of Fort Panmure at Natchez to British loyalists in May 1781.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup>Caughey, *Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana*, 135-214; Albert W. Haarmann, "The Spanish Conquest of British West Florida, 1779-1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 39 (1960): 107-34; Eric Beerman, *España y la independencia de Estados Unidos* (Barcelona, 1992), 19-170; N. Orwin Rush, *Spain's Final Triumph over Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico: The Battle of Pensacola, March 9 to May 8, 1781* (Tallahassee, 1966); Carmen de Reparaz, *Yo Solo: Bernardo de Gálvez y la toma de Panzacola en 1781. Una contribución española a la independencia de los Estados Unidos* (Barcelona, 1986); F. de Borja Medina Rojas, *José de Ezpeleta: Gobernador de La Mòbila, 1780-1781* (Seville, 1980); and two works by Jack D. L. Holmes, *The 1779 "Marcha de Gálvez": Louisiana's Giant Step Forward in the American Revolution* (Baton Rouge, 1974), and "Alabama's Bloodiest Day of the American Revolution: Counterattack at The Village, January 7, 1781," *Alabama Review*, 29 (1976): 208-19. The British side is told in J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Florida in the American Revolution* (Gainesville, Fla., 1975); J. Barton Starr, *Tories, Dons, and Rebels: The American Revolution in West Florida* (Gainesville, 1976); Robin F. A. Fabel, "West Florida and British Strategy in the American Revolution," in *Eighteenth Century Florida and the Revolutionary South*, ed. Samuel Proctor (Gainesville, 1978), 49-67; and Bettie Jones Conover, "British West Florida's Mississippi Frontier Posts, 1763-1779," *Alabama Review*, 29 (1976): 177-207.

<sup>57</sup>A. P. Nasatir, "St. Louis During the British Attack of 1780," in *New Spain and the Anglo-American West: Historical Contributions Presented to Herbert Eugene Bolton*, 2 vols. (Los Angeles, 1932), 1:239-61; Stella Drumm, "The British-Indian Attack Upon Paincourt (St. Louis)," *Illinois State Historical Journal*, 23 (January 1931): 642-51; Don Rickey, "The British-Indian Attack on St. Louis, May 26, 1780," *Missouri Historical Review*, 55 (1960): 35-45; John Francis McDermott, "St. Louis as Military Headquarters," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin*, 23 (1967): 101-18. See also Abraham P. Nasatir, "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution, 1779-1783," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 21 (1928): 292-358; Frederick J. Teggart, "The Capture of St. Joseph, Michigan by the Spaniards in 1781," *Missouri Historical Review*, 5 (July 1911): 214-28; and Lawrence Kinnaird, "The Spanish Expedition Against Fort St. Joseph in 1781: A New Interpretation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 19 (September 1932): 173-91. Much of the Spanish military activity

The colony's military waged its biggest peacetime operation against the adventurer William Augustus Bowles between 1799 and 1803. Bowles styled himself the director general of the Creeks and the sovereign state of Muskogee; it consisted of territory located mostly in Spain's colonies of East and West Florida.<sup>58</sup> Earlier, in 1792 the Spaniards had induced Bowles to present his proposals as representative of the Southern Indians in New Orleans. There, Louisiana governor Francisco Luis Héctor, Barón de Carondelet, persuaded him to travel to Havana to confer with the captain general. In this seemingly innocuous way, the Spaniards took Bowles prisoner, and he spent six years in confinement before escaping. With British assistance, he returned to Florida to bedevil the Spaniards. Because Fort San Marcos de Apalache threatened his commercial communications with Nassau in the Bahamas, he endeavored to seize it. A naval war simultaneously ensued on the Gulf Coast between Louisiana warships and privateers flying Bowles' colors. On May 19, 1800, with the support of nine whites and several hundred natives, the adventurer took Fort San Marcos. Spanish Capt. Tomás Portell, a seemingly experienced officer, felt vulnerable after a siege of more than a month, exhausted supplies, and lack of naval support. By the terms of capitulation, Bowles allowed the Spanish soldiers, dependents, and other whites, to withdraw. In New Orleans superior officers charged Portell and his subalterns with cowardice for surrendering. Meanwhile, Lt. Col. Vicente Folch y Juan, commandant at Pensacola, rushed troops and ships to recover the fort. His naval bombardment ousted Bowles and his followers from Fort San Marcos on June 23, barely a month after their victory. Although Spanish soldiers pursued and captured many of

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against British loyalists on the Mississippi River is in Gilbert C. Din, "Arkansas Post in the American Revolution," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 40 (1981): 3-30, and "Loyalist Resistance After Pensacola: The Case of James Colbert," in *Anglo-Spanish Confrontation on the Gulf Coast During the American Revolution*, eds. William S. Coker and Robert R. Rea (Pensacola, 1982), 158-76. See also John W. Caughey, "The Natchez Rebellion of 1781 and Its Aftermath," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 16 (1933): 57-83.

<sup>58</sup>On Bowles, see Jack D. L. Holmes and J. Leitch Wright, Jr., trans. and eds., "Luis Bertucat and William Augustus Bowles: West Florida Adversaries in 1791," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 49 (1970): 49-62; William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Pantón, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847* (Pensacola, 1986), 115-242, passim; and Lawrence Kinnaird, "The Significance of William Augustus Bowles' Seizure of Pantón's Apalachee Store in 1792," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, 9 (1931): 156-92.

the enemy and recovered stolen supplies, Bowles escaped. Despite this reversal, he remained determined to retake the fort, besieging it briefly in 1802. Early that same year, when news of the Peace of Amiens that ended the general war then being waged reached the Gulf Coast, British assistance to Bowles terminated. Upper Creek warriors, who had never been close to the adventurer, seized and handed him to the Spaniards in 1803 for a reward.<sup>59</sup>

Aside from San Marcos de Apalache, officers and soldiers of the Louisiana regiment served at many forts. Notwithstanding O'Reilly's dictum against dividing Spanish forces to prevent their piecemeal defeat in war, many were posted throughout Louisiana and West Florida as forts increased through the years. Among the first defenses in the 1760s and 1770s beyond New Orleans were Balize, Fort San Gabriel de Manchac, Galveztown, Fort San Juan del Bayou, Fort San Luis de Natchez, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupée, Arkansas Post,<sup>60</sup> and on the Missouri River. Army offi-

<sup>59</sup>Casa-Calvo to Someruelos, Nos. 16 and 17 reserved, June 13 and August 8, 1800 respectively; [Someruelos] to the interim military governor of Louisiana, reserved, Havana, June 29, 1800; all in AGI, PC, leg. 154C; David H. White, "The Spaniards and William Augustus Bowles in Florida, 1799-1803," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 54 (1975): 145-55; Elisha P. Douglass, "The Adventurer Bowles," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d series, 6 (1949): 3-23. See also White, *Vicente Folch*, 47-67; two works by Lyle N. McAlister, ed., "The Marine Forces of William Augustus Bowles and His 'State of Muskogee,'" *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 32 (1953): 3-27, and "William Augustus Bowles and the State of Muskogee," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 40 (1962): 317-28; Lawrence Kinnaid and Lucia B. Kinnaid, "War Comes to San Marcos," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 62 (1983): 25-43; D. C. Corbitt and J. T. Lanning, "A Letter of Marque Issued by William Augustus Bowles, Director General of the State of Muskogee," *Journal of Southern History*, 7 (1945): 483-96; and J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *William Augustus Bowles, Director General of the Creek Nation* (Athens, Ga., 1967), which is a sympathetic biography. The Spaniards had offered a 4,500-peso reward for Bowles, but not all of it was paid. After his capture in 1803, the Spaniards took Bowles to Havana, where he died in a military hospital two years later. Although Portell and his subalterns Bartolomé Pellerin, Vicente Borges, and Juan Bautista Metzinger were court-martialed for surrendering Fort San Marcos, they remained in the regiment pending royal review that to 1815 had not come. Portell never held an important command again. He died by 1812, still a captain ("Estado de la fuerza," Pensacola, June 1, 1812, AGI, PC, leg. 160B). Portell was not dismissed from service as Whittaker, in *Mississippi Question*, 169, 170, and others claim. Holmes, in *Honor and Fidelity*, 146, reproduces a service sheet on Portell dated December 31, 1808, which lists him as a captain, but ironically, also states, on page 72, that the army discharged Portell.

<sup>60</sup>Powell A. Casey, *Encyclopedia of Forts, Posts, Named Camps, and Other Military Installations in Louisiana, 1700-1981* (Baton Rouge, 1983). For a study of one fort, see Gilbert C. Din, "The Spanish Fort on the Arkansas, 1763-1804," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 42 (1983): 51-76. Fort San Luis at Spanish Natchez was

cers served at these posts, while militia officers usually governed civilian settlements, although in the late Spanish period army officers served in that capacity. Both army and militia officers commanded at Natchitoches through the Spanish era.<sup>61</sup>

With the conquest of British West Florida, Spain acquired new forts to garrison. They initially were Fort Bute at Manchac that replaced Fort San Gabriel, Baton Rouge, Natchez, Mobile, and Pensacola, which had several forts. However, the Spaniards soon added new defenses as the threat to West Florida and on the Mississippi escalated. In late 1785, acting on the recommendation of Pensacola commandant Arturo O'Neill, Viceroy Gálvez authorized Governor Miró to establish a fort at San Marcos de Apalache, which he initiated more than a year later, to guard that far eastern corner of West Florida.<sup>62</sup> Miró also erected Fort San Esteban de Tombeche on the Tombigbee River above Mobile in 1789. Responsibility for the garrisons of these forts fell on the newly created third battalion headquartered in Pensacola.<sup>63</sup> New Madrid became a settlement with the first Spanish fort, Fort Céleste, down river from the mouth of the Ohio River; Miró ordered it built in 1789, when large-scale American immigration to Louisiana seemed imminent. More impressive, however, were two ma-

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abandoned in 1769. Although most settlers, principally Acadians, left the area, a few remained.

<sup>61</sup>Ulloa appointed Capt. François Coulon de Villiers, a reformed French army officer, as commandant of Natchitoches in the mid-1760s. In 1769, O'Reilly named former French army captain Athanase de Mézières lieutenant governor, who served until his death in 1779, although during his absence in Europe in the mid-1770s, army lieutenant José López de la Peña served there. On de Mézières, see Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Athanase De Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*, 2 vols. in 1 (New York, 1970 rpt.). Commandants after de Mézières included Luis Borne, Etienne de Vaugine, and Pierre Rousseau. In 1788 Luis DeBlanc, a militia officer and grandson of the post founder, became commandant for the next eight years, when regular soldiers at the post were very few. Captain Félix Trudeau, a regular army officer, followed DeBlanc for the remainder of the Spanish period, during which time the garrison temporarily rose to thirty soldiers.

<sup>62</sup>Stanley Faye, "British and Spanish Fortifications of Pensacola, 1781-1821," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 20 (1942): 277-92; Mark F. Boyd, "The Fortifications at San Marcos de Apalache (St. Marks, Wakulla Co., Florida)," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 15 (1936): 3-34.

<sup>63</sup>Jack D. L. Holmes, "Notes on the Spanish Fort San Esteban de Tombeche," *Alabama Review*, 18 (1965): 281-90. See also William H. Jenkins, "Alabama Forts," *Alabama Review*, 12 (1959): 163-79; and Peter J. Hamilton, "St. Stephens: Spanish Fort and American Town," *Publications of the Alabama Historical Society*, 3 (1898-1899): 227-33.

gor forts whose foundations he laid at Nogales, at the junction of the Yazoo and Mississippi rivers (modern-day Vicksburg), and at Fort San Felipe de Placaminas, located about fifteen miles above Balize. Both strongholds were designed to protect lower Louisiana, especially New Orleans, against a river assault.<sup>64</sup>

Louisiana's next governor, Carondelet, soon surpassed Miró's building program. Because his governorship coincided with the French and Haitian revolutions and heightened military threats to the colony as France and Spain went to war in 1793, Carondelet advocated a substantial defensive network. He inundated the Spanish government with reports detailing the province's vulnerability and pleaded for additional troops. He reorganized the militia and created new units. He built more forts and finished constructing Nogales and Fort San Felipe. Following a land cession by the Choctaws, Carondelet built Fort Confederación in 1794 on the Tombigbee River, above Fort San Esteban. The next year, he established Fort San Fernando de las Barrancas, where Memphis now stands, to safeguard that area against American encroachment. All these posts required both officers and soldiers. Moreover, because of the constant deterioration of the wooden forts and the soil upon which they rested (most forts stood on or near riverbanks), they frequently needed expensive repairs.<sup>65</sup>

After Carondelet's governorship ended in August 1797, the Spaniards evacuated several forts in compliance with Godoy's Oc-

<sup>64</sup>"Junta de Guerra," New Orleans, August 11, 1790, and Miró to Las Casas, New Orleans, January 25, 1791, both in AGI, PC, leg. 1446. These documents describe the governor's fear about an invasion from the United States by George Rogers Clark and Dr. James O'Fallon and from ships coming up the Mississippi. On O'Fallon, see John Carl Parish, "The Intrigues of Doctor James O'Fallon," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 17 (1930): 230-63; and on Nogales, see Lawrence and Lucia B. Kinnaird, "Nogales: Strategic Post on the Spanish Frontier," *Journal of Mississippi History*, 42 (1980): 1-16. On Americans settling in New Madrid and the Spanish reaction, see Gilbert C. Din, "The Immigration Policy of Governor Esteban Miró in Spanish Louisiana," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 73 (1969): 155-75. See also Carondelet's report on fortifications, New Orleans, April 18, 1793, in AGI, PC, leg. 2353.

<sup>65</sup>See two published Carondelet reports: "Carondelet on the Defense of Louisiana in 1794," *American Historical Review*, 2 (1897): 474-505; and "The Defenses of New Orleans in 1797," trans. J. W. Cruzat, *Publications of the Louisiana Historical Association*, 1 (1896): 35-39; and María Antonia Valbuena, "Notas sobre el establecimiento del fuerte de los Nogales," in *La influencia de España en el Caribe, la Florida y la Luisiana, 1500-1800*, eds. Antonio Acosta and Juan Marchena (Madrid, 1983), 377-81. No adequate study of Carondelet has yet been written. A glimpse of his problems is in Holmes, *Gayoso*, 136-73. See also Jack D. L. Holmes, "Spanish-American Rivalry over the Chickasaw Bluffs, 1780-1795," *Publications of the East Tennessee Historical Society*, No. 34 (1962): 26-57.

tober 1795 Treaty of San Lorenzo (also known as Pinckney's Treaty) that recognized the United States claim to territory on the Mississippi's left bank down to the thirty-first parallel. The Spaniards abandoned Forts San Fernando, Nogales, and Panmure on the Mississippi's east bank, all vital to the defense of lower Louisiana, and Forts San Esteban de Tombeche and Confederación in northern West Florida.<sup>66</sup>

Despite Spanish withdrawal from these forts, Carondelet's successor, Gayoso, embraced ambitious plans for restructuring Louisiana's defenses. He proposed a larger military, new forts, more war vessels on the Mississippi, and a revitalized militia. All his proposals entailed sizable expenditures, and Godoy, consequently, squashed them. The first secretary's attitude reflected royal policy in Spanish Louisiana's closing years since he now sought an advantageous way to divest the Crown of the burdensome colony.<sup>67</sup>

Earlier, however, because Spain had more territory to protect after the American Revolutionary War, in 1785 it authorized creation of a third battalion to serve in West Florida.<sup>68</sup> First and second battalion soldiers, who now garrisoned forts along the Mississippi, were to number 689 and 688 respectively, while those for the third battalion were set at 479, for a total force of 1,856.<sup>69</sup> Death, discharge, and imprisonment for crimes and misconduct, however, steadily sapped their number. Since few civilians in

<sup>66</sup>On building the fort at Nogales and Carondelet's delay in implementing the Treaty of San Lorenzo, see Holmes, *Gayoso*, 145-51, 168-73. See also by Holmes, "Three Early Memphis Commandants: Beauregard, Deville Degoutin, and Folch," *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, 18 (1964): 5-38; and "The Ebb-Tide of Spanish Power on the Mississippi: Fort San Fernando de Las Barrancas, 1795-1798," *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, 36 (1964): 23-44.

<sup>67</sup>Holmes, *Gayoso*, 237-55. On the Spanish retrocession of Louisiana, see E. Wilson Lyon, *Louisiana in French Diplomacy, 1759-1804* (1934; reprint ed., Norman, Okla., 1974); and Alexander DeConde, *This Affair of Louisiana* (New York, 1976).

<sup>68</sup>Mortimer H. Favrot, "Colonial Forts of Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 26 (1945): 722-54, and Stanley Faye, "British and Spanish Fortifications of Pensacola, 1781-1821," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 20 (1942): 177-92. The third battalion was not responsible for the West Florida garrisons on the Mississippi River because communications from New Orleans were far easier than from Pensacola.

<sup>69</sup>At full strength, the regiment was to consist of a colonel, a lieutenant colonel, a *comandante*, a sergeant-major, 3 adjutants, 6 standard bearers, 27 captains, 27 lieutenants, 27 sublieutenants, 78 first and second class sergeants, 58 drummers, 213 first and second class corporals, and 1,507 soldiers.

Louisiana enlisted for the eight-year term soldiers normally served, the regiment sought recruits in Mexico, the Canary Islands, and at Cádiz and Pamplona in Spain. But the puny enlistments failed to satisfy regimental needs.<sup>70</sup>

The number of officers and troops at the posts varied through the years, much of it depending on available personnel. For example, in 1778, when only one battalion stood watch on the Mississippi, Spanish Illinois (Missouri) had four officers and thirty-three soldiers; Arkansas one captain and fifteen soldiers; Pointe Coupée one captain and fourteen soldiers; Spanish Manchac one lieutenant and fifteen soldiers; Balize one sublieutenant and twenty-one soldiers; Bayou San Juan one sergeant and fifteen soldiers; and Tigouyu five soldiers. In addition, one sublieutenant and twenty-four soldiers were in Mexico recruiting for the battalion. Meanwhile, 283 troops remained in New Orleans to man its forts and to rotate with the soldiers at the outposts, for a total provincial force of 431.<sup>71</sup> The battalion was then more than a hundred men below full strength.

In 1793, with the addition of new forts and battalions, the distribution of troops became more widespread. Soldiers now numbered 52 in St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve combined, 40 in New Madrid, 32 in Arkansas, 50 in Nogales, 110 in Natchez, 9 in New Iberia, 6 in Tensaw, 7 in Natchitoches, 13 in Pointe Coupée, 15 in Baton Rouge, 17 in Manchac, 30 in Galveztown, 100 at Fort San Felipe and Balize combined, 5 in San Bernardo, 14 at Bayou San Juan, 373 in Pensacola, 50 each at Mobile and San Marcos de Apache, and 4 at San Esteban. Officers at these posts varied in number from none at the smallest, to 1 or 2 at many of the others, to 20 at Pensacola.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup>Carondelet to Las Casas, No. 70, New Orleans, April 12, 1792; and "Relación de la fuerza," May 1, 1792, attached to Carondelet to Las Casas, May 29, 1792, all in AGI, PC, leg. 1441. In 1791, Lts. Juan de San Saudens and Francisco Caso y Luengo were recruiting in Pamplona, with the assistance of eighteen soldiers. Only Caso y Luengo went to Louisiana (Miró to Las Casas, No. 189, New Orleans, June 10, 1791, AGI, PC, leg. 1440B, with enclosures). He served as commandant at Attakapas and later at Arkansas Post and as an aide to the regimental colonel. Juan de San Saudens avoided posting to Louisiana by trading assignments with an officer who wanted to go there. The king agreed to a *bandera de recluta* (recruiting team) in Cádiz in 1796 (Carondelet to Las Casas, No. 965, New Orleans, October 26, 1796, AGI, PC, leg. 1444).

<sup>71</sup>"Estado de la fuerza," Bernardo de Gálvez, New Orleans, June 1, 1778, AGI, SD, leg. 2547.

<sup>72</sup>"Estado que manifiesta el pie de la fuerza," attached to Carondelet to Las Casas, No. 326, New Orleans, April 5, 1793, AGI, PC, leg. 1442.

The steady attrition in officers and troops from their apogee in the early 1790s resulted in fragile garrisons everywhere. The 1,856 soldiers authorized for Louisiana and West Florida—but never achieved—fell to 1,546 in October 1794; 1,512 in March 1796; 1,115 in November 1800; and 959 in October 1803. Although occasional reinforcements trickled in through the 1790s, a steady erosion in manpower was clearly discernable.<sup>73</sup>

Of the officers who served in Louisiana, the outstanding feats of many have already been told.<sup>74</sup> The focus here is on a few individuals, who either performed ably or had unusual careers. An excellent but perhaps the least known regimental commandant was the Irishman Carlos Howard. In 1761, at age twenty-three, he entered Spain's Hibernia Infantry Regiment, where many of the Irish in the Spanish army served; participated in the 1762 Spanish invasion of Portugal; fought at Algiers in 1775 and in Colonia do Sacramento (Uruguay) in 1777; and served in East Florida. He arrived in Louisiana in 1785, as the sergeant-major. Aside from his desk job, in 1797 he commanded an expedition that evacuated personnel and equipment from Fort San Fernando de las Barrancas, built two blockhouses across the Mississippi from the former fort at what became Campo de Esperanza, and bolstered St. Louis' defenses against an anticipated invasion from Canada. In late 1800, he became a brevet colonel and, as the regiment's lieutenant colonel, the acting commandant upon Colonel Bouligny's death. He kept the post until 1808, by which time the regiment was in West Florida, retiring as a brigadier-general.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup>See the "estados de la fuerza," for October 1, 1794, in AGI, PC, leg. 1443A; for March 1, 1796, in AGI, PC, leg. 1444; for October 1, 1800, in AGI, PC, leg. 1552; and for October 1, 1803, in AGI, PC, leg. 1556.

<sup>74</sup>See the notes both above and below for the literature on many of the officers in the Louisiana military under Spain.

<sup>75</sup>Jack D. L. Holmes, "Some Irish Officers in Spanish Louisiana," *Irish Sword* (Dublin), 6 (1964): 240-43. See also Ernest Robert Liljegren, "The Commission of Lieutenant-Colonel Carlos Howard to Defend the Upper Mississippi Valley Against the English," Senior thesis, San Diego State College, June 1936, copy in A. P. Nasatir's possession. Liljegren wrote his M.A. thesis at the University of Southern California on the same topic. The best known Irish officer in Louisiana was Alejandro O'Reilly, who was governor but never part of the colony's military establishment. See Bibiano Torres Ramírez, *Alejandro O'Reilly en las Indias* (Seville, 1969); David Ker Texada, *Alejandro O'Reilly and the New Orleans Rebels* (Lafayette, La., 1970); and two works by David K. Bjork, "Alexander O'Reilly and the Spanish Occupation of Louisiana, 1769-1770," in *New Spain and the Anglo-American West*, ed. George P. Hammond, 2 vols. (Los Angeles, 1932), 1:165-82, and



The Spanish military at times showed remarkable forbearance with officers whose problems were not of their own making. For example, Lt. Juan Antonio Bassot, a German who seems to have been a Waldeck deserter from British West Florida, entered the Spanish army in 1779; fought in Gálvez's three West Florida campaigns; and later served in Peru, Panama, Mexico, and Spain before returning to Louisiana. The comments of the inspector general (governor) in Bassot's 1791 service sheet read: "Of outstanding zeal for service, but somewhat insane and incapable of command." Despite his mental deficiencies, no effort was made to remove him from the regiment; he retired only when his grasp on reality totally disintegrated.<sup>76</sup>

Unlike Bassot, Antonio Palao's querulous disposition made life miserable for several commandants and governors. His father was a militia sublieutenant who transferred to the Louisiana battalion in the regular army for escorting a shipload of Canary Islanders to New Orleans. Antonio, who performed a similar function on another ship with Isleño immigrants in 1778, became a cadet. During Gálvez's campaign against the British in Pensacola, Palao and two fellow cadets sought refuge instead of joining their unit to attack a British emplacement. Despite this failing, Palao became a sublieutenant and later rose to lieutenant. His personality, meanwhile, became less tolerable. In 1791 he was under house arrest for insubordination, a condition that persisted for several years, although he did not remain at home during all this time. In 1795 the governor entrusted Palao with command of Fort San Esteban above Mobile. Because of his poor performance there, he retired to Pensacola, where he remained until 1800. By 1803 he had left the Louisiana regiment for Ha-

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"The Establishment of Spanish Rule in the Province of Louisiana, 1762-1770" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1923). Another Irish officer in Louisiana was Enrique White, who served at headquarters. He left in 1796 to become the governor of East Florida with the rank of colonel, where he served until 1811 (Holmes, "Some Irish Officers," 244-45). Arturo O'Neill, meanwhile, served as commandant of Pensacola and later became a general and a nobleman. Eric Beerman, "Arturo O'Neill, First Spanish Governor of West Florida During the Second Spanish Period," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 40 (1981): 29-41. See also W. S. Murphy, "The Irish Brigade of Spain at the Capture of Pensacola, 1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 38 (1960): 216-25.

<sup>76</sup>Bassot service sheet, December 31, 1791, AGS, GM, leg. 7292. In 1800 Captain General Someruelos commented that retired Lieutenant Bassot was insane (Sommeruelos to the military commandant of Louisiana, Havana, October 30, 1800, AGI, PC, leg. 154C). On the desertion of Waldeck mercenaries to the Spaniards in 1779, see Din, "Lieutenant Raimundo DuBreuil," 17-22.

vana, where in retirement he joined the headquarters staff of the Fixed Havana Infantry Regiment.<sup>77</sup>

Lt. Josef Villaume faced a different problem—alcoholism, a curse that has plagued many armies. Born in Flanders and a member of the Spanish Flanders Infantry Regiment for more than sixteen years, he transferred to Louisiana in 1786, upon his marriage. After arriving, his conduct degenerated, but it did not prevent his advancement to lieutenant of grenadiers. He was later court-martialed for drunkenness, a condition the governor described as incorrigible. He was probably dismissed from service.<sup>78</sup>

Aside from Lt. Luis Andry, no other officer suffered the fate that befell Capt. Antonio Narbona. In 1793 for unknown reasons, two Choctaw Indians, Nacthunan and Naquetonla, murdered him with a knife and multiple blows at his farm eleven leagues from Mobile. Although two Indians were responsible, the Spanish agreement with the Choctaws on murder called only for "a life for a life." Mobile commandant Manuel de Lanzos advised the tribe to seek out the culprits, but he realized that only one would be executed. By custom, the kinsmen of the assailant would inflict the punishment or, if they were deemed untrustworthy, the chief would send out parties to obtain satisfaction. The latter had the obligation to make certain that they punished the right individual.<sup>79</sup>

The two officer-sons of Gov. Manuel Juan de Salcedo, Manuel and Francisco, had an ill-defined place in the Louisiana regiment. Salcedo, the least qualified of Louisiana's Spanish governors and

<sup>77</sup>AGI, PC, contains many documents on Palao, which are cited in Din, *Francisco Bouligny*, 183-86. See the documents and petition by Palao, November 5, 1803, in AGI, PC, leg. 1556. Palao's licentious life resulted in his contraction of syphilis by the mid-1790s, and his involvement with the mulatto prostitute Pognon caused his wife to complain about him to an ecclesiastical court in New Orleans. In sharp contrast with Antonio were his father and his brother Martín, both army officers who served honorably.

<sup>78</sup>Villaume service sheet, June 30, 1797, AGS, GM, leg. 7291. Another officer who suffered from alcoholism was Josef Portillo (Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity*, 76). Alcoholism in the Spanish army was a more serious problem among soldiers than officers. In 1769, numerous soldiers in Havana destined for the Louisiana battalion were never sent because of physical afflictions (blindness, coronary ailments, dropsy, and injuries) and chronic alcoholism, which was a greater dilemma ("Lista de la Tropa que queda de la Luisiana en esta Plaza," Pascual de Ulloa, Havana, November 29, 1769, leg. 1109).

<sup>79</sup>Manuel de Lanzos to Carondelet, Mobile, September 19 and October (no day), 1793, AGI, PC, legs. 27A and 27B respectively. On Lt. Luis Andry, see note 18.

a colonel of undistinguished merit, sought promotions, not only for himself, but for his sons, despite their inconspicuous accomplishments. When they did not rise to eminent posts, he became angry. For example, Salcedo wanted his older son Manuel appointed regimental sergeant-major, and he complained about it to Capt. Gen. Salvador de Muro, Marqués de Someruelos. The latter, however, refused to support the governor and doubted that the Crown would appoint Manuel since he was only a brevet captain, not a captain in fact (*capitán vivo*). Someruelos believed the governor was incompetent. Soon after, Salcedo asserted that his post as governor entitled him to appoint militia officers, and he tried to make Manuel colonel of the New Orleans militia battalion. He similarly failed in that endeavor. As his term as governor neared its end due to Spain's cession of Louisiana, Salcedo sought the ranks of lieutenant colonel for his son Manuel, captain for Francisco, and brigadier for himself. While the Crown obliged the governor with his promotion, his sons became only *capitán vivo* and sublieutenant respectively. They continued their service in the Canary Islands, where Salcedo retired.<sup>80</sup>

When Spain ceded Louisiana to France, several army officers requested transfers and others release from service. The regiment was going to West Florida, an unusual move for a fixed unit, but unavoidable in this case. Among the officers seeking discharge in March and April 1804 were Capts. Pedro de la Ronde and Luis Desvalles; Lt. Domingo Bouligny; and Sublts. Luis Wiltz, Francisco Garic, Pedro Deverges, and Luis Bouligny. They wanted to remain with their families and property in Louisiana. As early as 1803, a few officers requested a two-year stay in the colony after its cession to dispose of property, and not all of them

<sup>80</sup>Salcedo to Someruelos, Nos. 90 and 128, New Orleans, March 17 and May 12, 1802, respectively, both in AGI, PC, leg. 1553; Salcedo to Someruelos, No. 195, August 16, 1802, AGI, PC, leg. 1554A; Salcedo to Someruelos, No. 403, New Orleans, June 5, 1803, AGI, PC, leg. 155B. Salcedo's son Francisco arrived in Louisiana as a cadet. Unverified service sheets for Salcedo's two sons, dated December 31, 1802, are in AGI, PC, leg. 78. Regimental Commandant Howard refused to accept the service sheets as authentic in his letter to Salcedo, New Orleans, November 29, 1803, in AGI, PC, leg. 78. A prime example of Salcedo's incompetency was on the seizure of William Augustus Bowles, when he sought royal rewards for his sons who had not assisted in the capture. Manuel, however, had charge of the guard that accompanied Bowles to Havana. See Salcedo's letter to First Secretary Pedro Cevallos, New Orleans, June 11, 1803, in AHN, Est., leg. 3889, expd. 10, document 197. Félix D. Almaráz, Jr., has written a sympathetic biography of Salcedo's son Manuel as governor of Texas, but which reveals nothing about his or his father's experience in Louisiana: *Tragic Cavalier: Governor Manuel Salcedo of Texas, 1808-1813* (Austin, 1971).

departed. Although other officers left with the regiment for nearby Pensacola, a fair number retired over the years and returned to Louisiana. Nonetheless, still other officers, including French Creoles, remained unswervingly at their posts in the Spanish army. José Deville Degoutin, who quit Spanish service and became an American militia officer, soon felt disgusted by American rule. In 1806, he resigned his commission and reentered the Spanish military in Havana, where he spent the rest of his life.<sup>81</sup>

During Spanish Louisiana's last years, enlisted ranks declined considerably in number, and troop shortages became more pronounced in West Florida. Before long, the three battalions contained barely enough men to fill one.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, the designation of regiment remained until an 1816 reform downsized it to a single battalion. By that time, with only 173 soldiers, it was well below battalion strength. The history of the Fixed Louisiana Infantry Regiment in West Florida was dismal. It received few recruits or soldiers to bolster its ranks and government funding only sporadically, especially after 1810 when rebellions erupted throughout the Spanish American colonies. Civilians seldom volunteered since the officers and soldiers were infrequently paid. When uniforms wore out, soldiers dressed as civilians. The unit remained in Pensacola until Florida's transfer to the United States in 1821, when it withdrew to Havana.<sup>83</sup>

It is difficult to assess the officers of the Spanish army in Louisiana fairly because of the adverse conditions they often faced. Moreover, they comprised a heterogeneous group of individuals who possessed varying skills and abilities. Overall, they performed well in wartime when military units from elsewhere came

<sup>81</sup>Salcedo to Someruelos, No. 342, February 23, 1803, AGI, PC, leg. 155B; petitions of Francisco Garic, New Orleans, March 1, 1804; Pedro de la Ronde, New Orleans, March 28, 1804; Luis Desvalles, March 30, 1804; Pedro Deverges, New Orleans, March 31, 1804; Domingo Bouligny, New Orleans, April 3, 1804; Luis Bouligny, New Orleans, April 8, 1804; all in AGI, PC, leg. 73; Holmes, "Three Early Memphis Commandants," 37.

<sup>82</sup>The "Estado de la fuerza" of the Louisiana regiment for September 1, 1801, listed 1,119 troops present and an absence of 737 (Carlos Howard, New Orleans, September 1, 1801, AGI, PC, leg. 155A). Salcedo complained of the enormous shortage of troops the next year to the captain general but to no avail (Salcedo to Someruelos, No. 176, July 1, 1802, *ibid.*).

<sup>83</sup>Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity*, 74, and "Pensacola: Spanish Dominion," 105. As in Spanish Louisiana's final years, West Florida also had military units from Cuba and Mexico.

in to support them,<sup>84</sup> and they obliged potential adversaries to reconsider their hostile designs in peacetime. What happened in later years, under the direction of Godoy and King Carlos IV and as the Spanish empire declined, should not minimize that for thirty-seven years most officers in Spanish Louisiana performed their assignments reasonably well, even with limited resources and personnel and sometimes daunting conditions.<sup>85</sup> Despite their French, Spanish, Irish, German, Italian, and other ethnic backgrounds, the officers of the Fixed Louisiana Infantry Regiment generally served loyally and many of them creditably.

<sup>84</sup>During the American Revolutionary War, officers and soldiers from Spain and Cuba arrived for service in Louisiana. Later, during unrest caused by the French and Haitian revolutions, troops came in from Cuba and Mexico. Among these outside units, in April 1792, were three companies of the Light Infantry Regiment of Havana (Carondelet to Las Casas, No. 65, April 12, 1792, AGI, PC, leg. 1441); in April 1793, the third battalion of the Fixed Infantry Regiment of Havana arrived (Carondelet to Las Casas, No. 330, New Orleans, April 10, 1793, AGI, PC, leg. 1442); the next year four companies of the first battalion of the Infantry Regiment of Mexico came in (Carondelet to Las Casas, No. 518, May 9, 1794, AGI, PC, leg. 1443A); and, in 1795, the second battalion of the Infantry Regiment of Mexico replaced the first battalion in Louisiana (Carondelet to Las Casas, No. 712, New Orleans, July 30, 1795, AGI, PC, leg. 1443A; Carondelet to Santa Clara, No. 30, New Orleans, March 28, 1797, AGI, PC, leg. 1500).

<sup>85</sup>Biased generalizations about Louisiana officers should be avoided. Typical of American writers of the late eighteenth century, Maj. Andrew Ellicott wrote on November 14, 1798, to American Secretary of State Timothy Pickering: "Nine tenths of the officers of the Louisiana regiment are at this time corrupted . . .," quoted in Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity*, 75. Ellicott rendered his judgment from Natchez without knowing most of the Louisiana officer corps, which he obviously believed that he did not need to do. Similarly, in 1934, Whitaker wrote in *Mississippi Question*, 170, about Portell's surrender in 1800 to Bowles: "The truth of the matter seems to be that Portell and his garrison and the naval officers—and indeed every Spaniard in Florida at that time—were all in a dead funk. . . . The whole service, military and civil, was thoroughly demoralized." If, indeed, it was in a "dead funk" and "demoralized" to the extent that Whitaker asserts, why then was Folch in Pensacola able to dispatch forces that quickly recaptured Fort San Marcos and send Bowles fleeing pell-mell into the wilderness? Ellicott and Whitaker turn their respective "generalizations" into "general lies." Moreover, Whitaker accepts the army's prosecution of Portell without question, brands the captain's defense of the fort as "perfunctory," and, without investigating the documentation, argues that Fort San Marcos was capable of defense. A careful scrutiny of the Apalache records, however, reveals the fort's shoddy construction that necessitated repeated repairs through the years, the exhaustion of artillery fuses and their improvised substitutes, a shortage of foodstuffs, the defenders' fatigue, and yet other obstacles that rendered continued resistance virtually impossible. Lastly, the capitulation probably saved lives. Although the Spanish Ministry of War did not exonerate Portell for surrendering, it never cashiered him as Whitaker erroneously claims.