

Malagueños in Louisiana. English version

(Extract from the book "Historia de Alhaurín de la Torre en la Edad Moderna, 1489-1812", by José Manuel de Molina Bautista. Alhaurín de la Torre, Published in November 2005. ISBN 84-609-7905-9)

The translation of this chapter into English is a homage to the Spanish descendants living in the United States of America, proud of their origins and looking forward to a better understanding of our common history, in the USA and here in Spain.

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1. Introduction

In terms of international relations, the 18th century was like the 17th century, with frequent wars; although, in this case the wars were relatively shorter and the principal enemy was not France, but England. In one of the Bourbon alliances against the English, the so-called Seven Years War began, which ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1763. In this treaty, as a consequence of backing the French, Spain ceded Florida to England. By a separate agreement, the French, who had liquidated their possessions in North America, by ceding Canada to the English, compensated Spain with the concession of Louisiana, a territory that extended along the Mississippi River from New Orleans to St. Louis, including all land with rivers, to the west, that emptied into the Mississippi.

Thus, Spain found itself with a vast region that it had to populate, even though it had not been capable of extending its dominion effectively in other regions of the Americas, such as Upper California or Texas. For such reasons, and also to offer some type of resistance to the English (who controlled the eastern bank of the Mississippi River, in the territory called West Florida), King Charles III (Rey Carlos III) accepted the proposal of the Acadians (French colonists expelled from Canada and regrouped in France) to facilitate their transport to Louisiana via a fleet of several ships that carried those colonists to New Orleans throughout 1785.

Since 1776, the Governor of Louisiana was the Malagueño, (born in the province of Malaga, Andalusia, southern Spain) Bernardo de Gálvez. Knowing that he must increase Spanish control and influence in the territory, Gálvez brought colonists from the Canary Islands and from his home area of Malaga. The United States was already in a war for its independence, and Spain secretly provided services and assistance, as did France, in the war against their common English enemy.

In this context, the Brigantine San Joséf, sailed from Malaga on the 1st of June in 1778, with eighty-two persons from sixteen families, among them two that are clearly identified as being from Alhaurin de la Torre: the family of Juan Garrido, who left with his wife Ines Maldonado and their three children, Juan, Sebastian and Catalina; and the family of Teresa Gomez, widow of Antonio Villatoro, who traveled with her children, Antonio, Rita (recently married and accompanied by her husband, Juan Gonzales, also from Alhaurin de la Torre), Maria, Juana, and the nephew of Teresa Gomez, Francisco Villatoro.¹⁶

After a difficult voyage, with stops in Cadiz, Puerto Rico and Havana, these Alhaurinos arrived in New Orleans on the 11th of November in 1778. There they waited for several months to be assigned to Colonel Boulogny, who led them to the district of the Attakapas Indians, at the beginning of 1779, where they established a town that would be called New Iberia, and where their descendents still proudly remember their Spanish past, in distinction from that of the Acadians or French descendents. For these reasons, we feel that this historic episode, important in the history of Alhaurin de la Torre, ought to be better known. Therefore, we have researched in the Archivo General de Las Indias the prologue, their journey, and the development of their first years in faraway Louisiana.

2. Preliminaries to the voyage

Before departure, the Alhaurin colonists had to sign a contract with the Royal Commissioner, the priest José de Ortega y Monroy, wherein they promised to settle themselves in Louisiana. Those contracts were signed between July of 1777 and May of 1778. In their clauses it was stated that from the time of the departure of the families from their homes, the government was in charge of their maintenance. Upon their arrival, they were promised to have a house built, to be assigned land and to be provided with cattle, necessary utensils and tools for cultivating the land, and the government would bear the cost of the first planting and would provide subsistence until the first harvest. These lands and goods were to remain their property and be passed on to their descendants, an aspect that subsequently the United States would not recognize when it obtained the Territory. This would cause numerous reclamations.

On June 1st in 1778, sixteen families, comprising eighty-two persons, boarded the San Josef, a brigantine having two masts and a crew of thirty-five, under the command of

Captain Antonio Caballero. We do not agree with the statement of Morales Folguera that the majority were from Axarquía, in Eastern Malaga province.¹⁷ In reality, only six families were from Axarquía. There were four families from Macharaviaya, the home town of the Gálvez, which undoubtedly gave them spirit for the voyage, one family from Torrox, and another family, in which the husband was from Almachar and the wife from Velez-Malaga. The other families include the two families previously mentioned, from Alhaurin de la Torre, one from Alhaurin el Grande, another from Mijas, and six from the city of Malaga, including two residents of the capital who were married to Malagueños but born in Castuera (Badajoz) and San Salvador de Febra (Pontevedra). Also, joining the group, at the request of Antonio de Gálvez, was the medical doctor, Pedro Guerrero, and his daughter. (*See the contract of Teresa Gomez de Villatoro and the complete list of passengers in the Documental Appendix*).

The two families from Alhaurin de la Torre were composed of the following persons:

2.1. Family Garrido-Maldonado

Juan Garrido, forty years old, native of Alhaurin de la Torre and resident of Malaga. His wife, Inés Maldonado, thirty four years old, native of Pizarra. Their children, Juan Garrido (2 years old), Sebastián Villalba (8 years old) and Catalina Villalba (10 years old). It does not indicate that Inés had these two children from a prior marriage, but that is most likely.

2.2. Family Villatoro-Gómez

Teresa Gómez, 46 year old widow, native and resident of Alhaurín de la Torre. Her children, Antonio (19 years old), Rita (15 years old), María (13 years old), Juana (11 years old) and the nephew of Teresa, Francisco Villatoro (21 years old). Furthermore, the young Rita was married to Juan Gonzalez (19 years old), also of Alhaurin de la Torre, and who joined this numerous family.

Before departure, the first casualty occurred. A 15-year old boy of the Migue family died. His place is filled by a relative from Mijas, but notice was received from the Pastor of Churriana to forbid him to leave, since he was married to a resident of that parish. Finally, another relative, Jose de Porras, native of Cartaza, boarded with the Migue family.

On the 5th of June, the winds blew favorable. Antonio Caballero, the Captain of the Brigantine San Josef, ordered the passing of the list and raising of the anchors. A surprise came when the child, José Migue (12 years old), of the family that had already lost a member, did not appear. In spite of that, with the good weather for navigating, it was decided to make sail and leave the unfortunate child ashore.

3. The Voyage

On the 13th of June, they arrived at Cádiz where they disembarked to await the license and provisions from the Chandler to make the crossing.

It is interesting to note the nutritious diet of the crew and passengers, as evidenced by the provisions:

On June 27th, they received a soup pot and a copper chocolate pot. On July 6th, they received seventy quintales (7000 pounds) of bread, twenty arrobas (500 pounds) of pork in six barrels, four quintales (400 pounds) of Codfish (Bacalao), ten arrobas (250 pounds) string beans, ten arrobas (250 pounds) of garbanzos, twenty arrobas (500 pounds) of rice, twenty arrobas (500 pounds) of oil in 50 jugs, one arroba (25 pounds) of sugar, eight celemines (approx. 70 pounds) of barley, three celemines (about 25 pounds) of chocolate, one celemin (approx 8 pounds) of ground wheat, one hundred fifty chickens, one barrel of brandy, four leather belts (trasqueras), two boxes of glasses and ten reams of paper. In this slow provisioning, on the 10th day they received one barrel of rabbits, another of dried beans, one of pickled red peppers, two barrels of cabbages, one jug of capers, two soles and tuna, ten pork tripes, one barrel of dentones (fish), 12 dozen sausages, ten legs of ham, five pieces of canvas, one arroba of sail thread, six sacks with chicken feed, six dozen wax candles, one jug of vinegar, another of wine, six lambs and one box of biscuits.

In the Bay of Cádiz, the wait continued. Another casualty occurred when Félix García Solano, a two-year old child died. Finally, in the afternoon of the 21st of July, after more than a month of waiting, the colonists came aboard. Due to illness, the families of Bernardo de Puentes and of Fernando Ibañez, both from Macharaviaya, and the family of Julian de Aguilar, from Malaga, remained in the capital city of Cadiz until they recuperated. The first two families would embark on the 13 of August aboard the Princess of Asturias in order to reunite with their colleagues at their final destination.¹⁸ The family of Julián Aguilar obtained permission on the 30th of November 1778 to embark on the brigantine Nuestra Señora de Belén destined for Louisiana by way of Havana.¹⁹

Thirty days later, on the 20th of August, they were already in Puerto Rico, where nine year old Sebastián Villalba, step-son of the Alhaurin family of Juan Garrido, died. On the 9th of September, they arrived at the Port of Havana. In Cuba, again, they remained during a long month and the losses continued. On the 3rd of October, José de Molina y Postigo, the oldest one in the group, died at the age of fifty-eight.

On the 10th of October, the voyage continued towards Louisiana. On the afternoon of the 14th, it was necessary, due to grave illness, to put ashore three persons, the family of Sebastián de Segura, from Malaga. Sebastián died on the 29th of October, at the age of twenty-eight, leaving his widow, Antonia de Castilla, age twenty-four, and his son Francisco, age two, who would continue the journey. Finally, on the 11th of November 1778, one hundred and sixty days after their departure from Malaga, they arrived at the Port of New Orleans.

4. The founding of Nueva Iberia

The difficulties for our countrymen did not end with their arrival in Louisiana. In New Orleans, they had to wait several months. On the 2nd of December, Francisco Moreno, native of Málaga, died, leaving as his widow Ana Lorenza Mancebo and five children. Also, Antonio de Molina, who had already lost his father on the voyage, died, leaving this family with only one son, young Luis, age twenty-two. Maria de Puentes, daughter of Bernardo de Puentes, died at age two. On a happier note, Ana Ortiz, daughter of Francisca Blanco and Francisco Ortiz, was born.

The causes for the delay in their departure from New Orleans were the reorganization and preparation of supplies and equipment for the group, as well as the disagreements between Governor Gálvez and his second, Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Bouligny.

Upon the arrival of Gálvez, discord arose concerning who would be in charge of settling the colonists who arrived from Malaga and from the Canary Islands between July 1778 and June 1779. We have read numerous letters that have been preserved. In one letter from August of 1778, Bouligny tried to convince Gálvez of the suitability for a Spanish settlement in the region of the Ouachita River, which seemed to be a better area and favorable for the cultivation of tobacco, hemp, and wheat.²⁰

Gálvez departed for Manchac on the 12th of November, because the English had already sent Indians to attack the Spanish settlements. He ordered Bouligny to study the proposed settlement on the Ouachita. Bouligny remained in New Orleans and he ordered a complete list of the names and ages of the group of Malagueños. Miguel Romero and Juan López refused and were incarcerated on the 18th of November, for disobedience. This would not be the only problem for Lieutenant Colonel Bouligny. The accountant of Gálvez does not recognize Bouligny's authority, and refuses to obey him.

In a letter dated the 22th of November, Gálvez rejects the Ouachita location, on the basis that it was too far away to be helped in case of Indian attack or to lend help to the capital in case of attack by the English. Gálvez ordered the settlement to be located on the river Iberville (Bayou Manchac), an area that he was familiar with and which he viewed to be a better place. He signs the letter in "Villa de Gálvez" (Galveztown).

On the 3rd of December 1778, with a bitter reprimand from Gálvez and the governing council, Bouligny insists on defending his Ouachita thesis in a long and interesting twenty-six page report. He details times of navigation in "*batós*", describes friendly tribes, like the Caddoes and the Arkansas, and enemies like the Osages and Choctaws. He details the response times from the capital to the various settlements already established and how, from those locations, it would be possible to come to their mutual aid more quickly than from New Orleans. Bouligny speaks about the economic costs and the ease of transport. Bouligny also proposes a plan by which licensed soldiers from Cuba and Mexico, who previously had been farmers, could be brought to Louisiana to become farmers, with the same conditions as the Malagueños, with the commitment to marry "with white women of clean blood, not to expose them to the scorn of the families who would come from Spain or who were naturalized here". Bouligny adds "this province will not be able to be called Spanish in reality, unless I have in its center a numerous and strong population of Spaniards. Your Honor can scatter in Opelousas, the Attakapas, La Fourche and behind Manchac, the Germans who come from Pensacola, and the Americans and English that Your Honor finds advisable to admit, but concentrate Your Honor all assistance to establish in the Ouachitas all the Spaniards who can be gathered and some "criollos" from here and the Acadians. Put all of them in several united populations of one hundred families each. This will give Your Honor the basis of an Empire that with time will be able to compete with that of Mexico and will make Your Honor memorable to posterity".

Without his opinions and requests being considered, Bouligny offers his resignation to Gálvez, requesting optional retirement as of the 10th of December,²¹ but it is rejected.

On the 23rd of December 1778, Gálvez and Bouligny reached an understanding. They agreed on a site located on the Bayou Teche, in the region of the Chitimaca Indians, in the Attakapas district. Bouligny is to lead the colonization.

Finally, the expedition was ready. Bouligny contracted (*or better said, rented*) from two French slave owners, sixty negro men and ten negro women, to help with the building of houses and other hard work. They bought utensils and plants, but still did not depart. On the 12th of January, Gálvez urges Bouligny, who finally departs from New Orleans on the 26th of January, in two large boats with twenty settlers; the families of Miguel Romero, Teresa Gomez, Bernardo de Aponte and Francisco Ortiz, plus the single men José de Porras, Francisco Segura, José Lagos and Francisco Balderas, and numerous helpers.

Juan Garrido and his family do not leave in this first expedition, because his wife, Inés Maldonado, is about to give birth. Garrido is told that "*you can come when your health and circumstances permit*". The other native of Alhaurín de la Torre, whom we have already mentioned, the young Juan González with his wife Rita Villatoro-Gomez, also stayed in New Orleans because they did not know anything about farm labor and he is working as an intern in the hospital.

Bouligny requests of Gálvez that Luis Molina, the young man who lost his father and brother on the voyage, and who is not suited for farm work, be allowed to remain in New Orleans. Bouligny also requests that certain others be allowed to remain in New Orleans: The families of Juan Lopez and Gonzalo de Prados, because their spouses are about to give birth; The family of José de Lagos and Juana Moreno, because they say that they do not know anything about the fields, and the woman wants to remain in New Orleans to work as a seamstress; The families of Juan Miguez and Jose Artacho, because their women are ill; The family of the widow Lorenza Mancebo, because she does not have husband and her children are small.²²

The expedition left from the Mississippi River on the 7th of February of 1779 and entered into one of the numerous marshy rivers of the region, the Bayou Plaquemines, until they reached their destination, the Bayou Teche (or Theis, as it was called by the Spanish) on the 12th of February 1779.

On arriving, Bouligny selected an appropriate site and began the work of constructing, following the established model of a central plaza and houses and streets perfectly aligned, the town that will receive the name Nueva Iberia (New Iberia). The future town is located according to the report "*next to a small site of the Chitimacas whose beautiful location and excellent soil seems to me very favorable to the settlement of this population, for the cultivation and for raising all sorts of animals. In my judgment it would be difficult to find a site that has as many advantages.*"

A few days later, they planted the hemp, cotton, wheat and barley. Bouligny is exultant, he buys oxen, cows, horses and some cattle from French retailers through Monsieur Alexandre De Clouet, Commandant of the Attakapas, who also helped him choose a place. He finds four German families in very bad circumstances, and invites them to join in the settling of the new town. He does not tire from organizing all the tasks of establishing of the town.

On the 22nd of March 1779, twenty-four more Malagueños arrive, the families of Gonzalo de Prados, Juan Lopez, Juan Garrido and Jose de Artacho, although almost all of them are ill with scabies or other similar diseases that cannot be determined due to the lack of a doctor.

In April, three more families arrive, the family of Juan de Aguilar with his wife Francisca Durán and her daughter Ana, the family of Ana Moreno, daughter of Francisco Moreno, who recently married Rafael Vidal, and the unmarried Jose Fernandez.

Nevertheless, in April, Bouligny's luck changes. Rains cause swelling of the bayou that severely floods the precarious location, which is found to be inadequate. For that reason, it is decided to relocate to higher ground more than eight leagues away. They have to buy land from a Frenchman who owns that property. Disheartened, Bouligny informed Gálvez, on the 21st of April of 1779: "*My Very Dear Sir. An unforeseen flood has put me in need of leaving the site where I had been established. The huts of the Chitimaca Indians, in which almost all of them had been born, have never been wet in stronger floods. In one day, the water almost covered them entirely. Each of the houses or huts that the families have already built on the land, had six to eight feet of water inside. The warehouses of the King needed to be relocated three times due to precipitation, because, since Easter, the water has risen up to 15 and 16 inches per day and the flooding has not diminished*".

In addition, the new site of establishment of the town has other problems. At first, we were told that only two black free men lived in the area, and that their land would be easy to take in exchange for giving them other lands, whereas, in this second area there appeared numerous Acadians who, in spite of not farming, allege royal concessions. They refuse to leave if they do not get compensation. The aforementioned De Clouet will be their representative. The confrontation between Bouligny and De Clouet is very intense. Bouligny accuses De Clouet of disobedience and of obstructing the settlement of Nueva Iberia by undermining Bouligny's authority and favoring the Acadians.

There are two letters sent to Gálvez that harshly criticize Bouligny's behavior. One letter is from Jose de Artacho who, on the 11th of May 1779, writes to a friend named Jacinto de Muros in New Orleans requesting him to communicate with Governor Gálvez about the bad behavior of Bouligny, saying "We are not able to do anything because he has not assigned us that which the King commands ", and he accuses Bouligny of threatening to hang them if letters are written without his supervision, as well as such statements as *"here there is no God that is more than what I feel, neither Law nor King."*^[1] The other letter does not have a date, but is written after the 16th of May. It is written in French, by the priest of the Attakapas and Opelousas Districts, Father Grumeau, who tells Gálvez about the animosity and hatred of Bouligny toward De Clouet, in spite of his attempts to restore an understanding.

On the 16th of May 1779, three families of Malagueños, who had remained behind in New Orleans, arrive at New Iberia. Their arrival coincides with the celebration of the wedding of Madame Dauterive and Ascension Sunday, by the Dominican priest, Father Grumeau, who traveled with them. They celebrated a solemn Mass and made a procession to bless the designated cemetery. This festive occasion serves Bouligny *"to reunite and to conciliate some families of the principals of this town in whom reigned, although hidden, seeds of past discord."*

In June, Gálvez shows symptoms of his displeasure with his lieutenant governor, complaining about the expense vouchers in New Iberia and protesting an amount that he had loaned to him. Bouligny is, in addition to a military man, a landowner, with a mill, some buildings and owns thirty-two slaves. He had financial hardships and had to solicit a personal loan from the governor. In spite of this escalating cooling of relations between Gálvez and Bouligny, they continued the plans for the settlement and, on the 25th of June of 1779, another family departs from New Orleans, the family of Fernando Ibáñez, who has been recommended by Gálvez to Bouligny, and his wife Doña Maria Cabrera. They arrive at New Iberia on the 16th of July. Accompanying them were Ana Lorenza Mancebo, widow of Francisco Moreno, her two children and new husband, Domingo de Mauris. At the last moment, he has a fall that prevents their departure. It seems that diseases and accidents were very frequent, because Fernando Ibáñez, who already had been left as a straggler in New Orleans due to his bad state of health, becomes ill with a malign fever soon after arriving at the New Iberia, *"for having walked barefoot foot in the dew during the first days after arrival "* and dies on the 23rd of July, without the care of a doctor. The one doctor they brought from Malaga managed to obtain a license to practice medicine in New Orleans and chose to remain there. The loss of Fernando Ibañez is strongly lamented due to his active participation on the long trip from Malaga. Bouligny says that *"he was the director and the true father of these families, animating them and consoling them on all occasions and preaching to them with the example of a full life of honesty and good principles, even more than with his words"*.

In those days, the Spaniards are still learning about the territory, such as where to find an exit to the sea and establish a port. The construction of houses goes very slowly because the ditches that the black slaves open are filled by the rains that have begun and, on the 28th of July, the Malagueños petition to construct provisional houses that the Acadians know how to make, elevated high above the ground. Bouligny relays their request to Gálvez who accedes, in spite of the increased cost.

By then, the Governor already has definitively lost confidence in his lieutenant governor who, after the continuous misfortunes in the settlement of the town, has not even received the answer from the Governor.

In 1779, Spain finally became involved in the United States War of Independence. Supporting the rebellious North Americans in the war against England is an excellent opportunity for Bouligny to redeem himself in Gálvez's eyes. In a letter dated the 25th of August, Bouligny wrote to Gálvez as follows: *"The silence of Your Excellency with me on this occasion saddens me beyond all exhibition and, if my pleas, my ardent pleas can contribute to mitigate in Your Excellency. so much anger, humbly I direct them to Your Excellency, of whose benignity I implore pardon, pardon, pardon. It would be I alone who would find closed doors of a heart that is as much pleased in making happiness and in whom I have constantly based my hopes"*.²³

After requesting permission to advance to the front, and without waiting for an answer, Boulogny starts off with a small troop composed of two young Malagueños farm people, Francisco Segura and Jose de Porras; five military men, Captain Tomás Aragón and the soldiers Antonio Domínguez, Juan Lázaro, Pedro Ruiz, and Luis Marcos; two deserters who had arrived days before at New Iberia named Antonio Peña and Antonio Toisa, two soldiers already licensed, grenadier Gabriel López and the soldier Pedro Blacer; Noel Dublin, master blacksmith and militiaman in the Company of Mr. Belleile; two Americans, Thomas Beard y Juan Abschor (John Abshire); two volunteers employees in Nueva Iberia named Don Juan de Tala and Don Luis Loyssel; and twenty-four of his blacks, to whom he promises their freedom and who appear with their names and ages, divided into creoles and laborers, the majority only with first names or with nicknames: Claudio, Antonio, Félix, Telemaque, César, Baltasar, Alexsi, Gran Luis, Loullu, Ignacio, Javier, Solimán, Yorck, and only five with first and last names: Juan Ciselle, Juan Grilladé, José Dubor, Bartolomé Nago and Vicente Nago. Gálvez has already marched with his small army towards the English fort of Manchac, that he takes on the 27th of August.

In September, Gálvez, along with Boulogny and his men, attacks and conquers Baton Rouge, and the following month continues successfully towards Natchez. Afterwards, Boulogny goes to New Orleans to receive instructions and money for the payment of the slaves who were rented by the Crown. But, Boulogny finds that he must give a complete accounting of the expenses incurred for the founding of New Iberia. He now tries to disguise his confrontations with De Clouet but he is not able to recover his position.

On the 3rd of November, Boulogny solicits, without success, permission to return to New Iberia to continue building the town. As an answer, on the 12th of November, he receives notice of his replacement by Nicholas Forstall, Commandant of the Opelousas Post. Boulogny is ordered to turn over to Forstall complete management of the new population, especially the financial matters.

Meanwhile, and under the new intendant, the Malagueños of New Iberia barely survived on their poor harvests in the hostile environment, subsisting only on potatoes, rice, tobacco and the young cattle.

According to Paul Hoffman, a North American historian, the Malaguenos had been fortunate and received more help than the Canary Islander immigrants, settled by Galvez at Terre-aux-Bouefs, Valenzuela, Amite, Galveztown and Barataria. Also, Hoffman confirms that the Malaguenos decided quickly "that the cultivation of linen, although possible, was less sustainable than to imitate their Acadian neighbors who raised cattle on the prairies that extended westward from the Bayou Teche".²⁴

In the census of 1788, and according to the writer Maurine Bergerie, there were one hundred and ninety people in New Iberia, most of Spanish origin.²⁵ In 1793, according to another North American author, Jim Bradshaw, only six of the original families of the Malagueños still remained in New Iberia.²⁶

5. Francisco Boulogny

We think that the importance of Boulogny in the history of Louisiana deserves more attention and for that reason we have looked deeper into his life.

Boulogny was born in Alicante on the 4th of September in 1736^[1] in family of Italian, Bulignini, with last name Frenchified by the birth of his father, Jose Boulogny in Marseilles. Boulogny's mother was Maria Pared, native of Valencia and they were considered nobles. In 1770 in New Orleans, Boulogny married a French noblewoman, Marie Louise D'Auberville Petit de Coulange, daughter of the previous commissioner of the French navy, Vincent Guillaume Le Sénéchal Sieur D'Auberville.

In the General Archives Militar we have found Boulogny's personnel record in Havana and his marriage permission, with extensive genealogical information about his aristocratic wife.

In the General archives of Simancas his military career file can be found, documenting his entrance as a cadet in the Infantry Regiment of Zamora on the 19 of March of 1758, his passage to Cuba as a lieutenant of the Infantry Regiment of Havana, where he was stationed for five years and the start of his military career in Louisiana in 1769 as the adjunct of Governor Alejandro ÓReilly. In 1776 he wrote a comprehensive report about Louisiana²⁷, now in Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. In 1779, he marched with Gálvez, participating in the assault of Fort Bute at Manchac, the taking of Baton Rouge, the siege and taking of Mobile in 1780, and the conquest of Pensacola in 1781, assaulting personally the so-called "Burned Fort", taking its flag to the front of the company of Grenadiers that he commanded. In 1784, Boulogny acted as governor, in the absence of Esteban Miró. He arranged several search parties and expeditions against the "Runaway Blacks", being able to capture one hundred and twenty of them. On the 4th of September 1791, Boulogny was promoted to the rank of Colonel.^[1]

(In 1785, upon his father's death, Gen. Bernardo Gálvez was named Viceroy of New Spain and moved to Mexico City. Esteban Miro was named Governor of Louisiana to replace Gálvez. In the interim, Boulogny acted as governor, until the arrival of Governor Miro. On November 30th of 1785, Gen. Bernardo Gálvez died in Mexico City, Mexico)

On the 22nd of August 1796, Boulogny requested permission to return, temporarily, to Spain to attend to accounts and interests of his family, and to see his older brothers whom he had not seen since 1776. His initial request was rejected in January of 1797. Boulogny made a second request, which was accepted, in December of 1797, with the condition that he not begin his voyage until the peace agreement with England was signed.

In 1799 during several months, Boulogny acts as temporary governor of Louisiana, until the arrival of the new governor, the Marques de Casa Calvo. Boulogny died in Louisiana in November of 1800, never returning to New Iberia, the town that he helped to establish.

6. New Iberia nowadays

As a consequence of the Second Treaty of San Ildefonso (1st of October 1800, see documental appendix) and the Treaty of Madrid (21 March 1801), Spain would yield Louisiana to France. In exchange, Spain was compensated by the creation in Tuscany of the kingdom of Etruria, which was given to Luis de Borbón (son-in-law of Charles IV of Spain) who leaves the Duchy of Parma.

In 1803, Napoleón sold Louisiana to The United States, in order to avoid it falling into British hands and because he needed money for his military campaigns. For the Malagueños, there began a period of uncertainty. They did not have written titles or grants for their properties, and the United States refused to recognize their land ownership, a reason why some relocated near a lake on the edge of New Iberia, known later as Spanish Lake. In 1814, The United States opened a postal office with the name of New Iberia, but shortly after, some began to call it Nova Iberia until, in 1839, it was listed only as Iberia, and finally, in 1847, it was officially named New Iberia, in opposition to the names Nouvelle or Nueva Iberia by which it was known until then.

On the occasion of the Bicentennial of Independence of the United States in 1976, that country began to recognize the vital role of the Spaniards, in winning decisive battles, that led to the success of the American Revolution. Furthermore, in April of 1979, in commemoration of the Bicentennial of the Founding of New Iberia, the town held three days of festivities. The guest of honor was the Marques de Casa Mena, consul-general of Spain in New Orleans. Later that year, a delegation of officials and citizens from New Iberia visited Malaga and initiated an official sister-city accord with the town of Fuengirola.

At the present time, surnames attributed to the Malagueños, such as Segura, Romero, Viator (a modification of the Spanish name Villatoro) and Gary (a modification of the Spanish name Garrido) can still be found in Louisiana. Still more important is the persistence of the descendants of Malagueños who honor their Spanish heritage, in a territory where the French Acadian descendants are a majority and who mainly promote France and the French culture as a sign of identity of the regional ancestry.

In this part of Louisiana the descendants of the French and the Spanish are called "*cajuns*", a word that is commonly used to signify anyone from the region of South Louisiana, regardless of whether they are of French Acadian heritage or not. Although, in New Iberia, the families with Spanish surnames still proudly refer to their ancestors as "*Malagueños*". As Stanley LeBlanc, who has Malagueños ancestors in his genealogy, told us: "*I've been trying to educate my readers about the fact that the Spanish in Louisiana are all Cajuns, but they never were Acadians*".

In addition to LeBlanc, we have been in contact with other North Americans who are direct descendants of the family Villatoro-Gomez from Alhaurín de la Torre, like the professor from Rice University, Norman F. Carnahan, who was born in New Iberia and maintains a message forum on Rootsweb.com about these ancestors; his cousin Nancy Armentor Lees, who has kindly sent abundant information to us about New Iberia; as well as Bobby Stelly and Missy Burke. The latter is the person who brought our attention to this historical episode when she contacted us in 2000 via electronic mail. In New Iberia, there is a bronze bust of Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Boulogny, commemorating its origin, as well as commemorative plaques. At the present time, one of the descendants of the Malagueños and Canary Island colonists who settled in Louisiana in the 18th century, has achieved the highest possible political rank in the state. Kathleen Babineaux Blanco, a native of Iberia Parish, was sworn in as Governor of Louisiana, a successor of Gálvez, on January 12th, 2004.

DOCUMENTAL APPENDIX IN ENGLISH

Contract of boarding for Louisiana

Don José de Ortega y Monroy, Commissioner for His Majesty (May God Keep Him) for the enlistment of families from the Coast of the Kingdom of Granada for the populations of Louisiana, and Teresa Gomez, native and resident of the Place of Alhaurín de la Torre, of forty and six years of age, widow and farm laborer: We say and we contract, I the second who is to travel with my person and my children Antonio Villatoro of ten and nine years of age, Rita of fifteen, Maria of thirteen, Juana of eleven, and my nephew Francisco Villatoro of twenty and one year of age, all of this Place and vicinity, to establish us in these populations, to which we go with all approvals, free voluntarily and, without other force, violence, nor promise, that of the parties are done in the name of His Majesty, reason for which we will be prepared and quick to present ourselves in this city of Malaga to embark and to make our trip, as soon as ordered by this Commissioner, who offers that the cost of our maintenance from the day which we leave our house and board the transport until our arrival to Louisiana, are in charge of and to the account of His Majesty and of same giving us comfortable lodging, constructing a house for us, to assign land to us, and to provide us with cattle, utensils and corresponding tools for the culture and work of the land, paying for us the first sowing, attending to us yet the necessary things for our subsistence until the harvesting of the first harvest, from which time we will begin to subsist by ourselves, and we will contribute to His Majesty with that portion that our situation allows, to refund the cost of our conduction and maintenance, being for us, our heirs and successors, possession and perpetual property, of the house, land and cattle that have been assigned to us, and with all that we have acquired, and that we will acquire in said populations.

Everything to which we have committed ourselves contained herein, mutually and reciprocally, and we will fulfill each of the corresponding parts, and for that we sign this contract, duplicated in the city of Malaga, on the twenty-fourth day of the month of February of the year one thousand seven hundred seventy and eight. Joaquín Pizarro, Don Diego Terrón y Don Antonio Soler. And signed by all of the children of Teresa Gómez.

Note. In attention to the fact that Rita Villatoro contracted marriage with Juan González, native of Alhaurín de la Torre, of nineteen years of age, he was included in this contract.

Listing of families who sailed on the San José

1st Family

José de Lagos, native of Macharaviaya, age thirty-eight
Juana Moreno, his wife, age thirty-one
María de Lagos, daughter, age fourteen
Salvador de Lagos, brother of José, age twenty-eight
Tomás Grajales, nephew, age fifteen, in place of his cousin Miguel who died
José Muñoz, nephew, age eighteen
Bárbara Jurado, mother of José de Lagos, age fifty-five

2nd Family

Juan López Riveros, native of Almáchar, age thirty-nine
María Ruiz, his wife, native of Vélez Málaga, age thirty-five
Félix López Riveros, son, age fourteen
Rafael López Riveros, son, age one
Francisca López Riveros, son, age eleven
Josefa López Riveros, son, ocho años.
Juana Fernández, mother of María Ruiz, age more than fifty

3rd Family

José de Molina Postigo, widower, native of Macharaviaya, age fifty-eight
Luis de Molina Postigo, son, age twenty-two
Antonio de Molina Postigo, son, age twenty

4th Family

Juan Garrido, native of Alhaurín de la Torre, resident of Málaga, age fifty
Inés Maldonado, his wife, native of Pizarra, age thirty
Juan Garrido, son, age two
Sebastián de Villalba y Maldonado, son, age eight
Catalina de Villalba y Maldonado, daughter, age ten

5th Family

Julián de Aguilar, native of Málaga, age twenty-eight
Francisca Durán, his wife, age twenty-six
Francisco de Aguilar, son, age one
Ana de Aguilar, daughter, age eight

6th Family

Francisco Moreno, native of Málaga, age forty-six
Ana Lorenza Mancebo, his wife, age forty
Francisco Moreno, son, age fourteen
Fernando Moreno, son, age twelve
Ana Moreno, daughter, age sixteen
Josefa Moreno, daughter, age sixteen
María Moreno, daughter, age ten

7th Family

Gonzalo de Prados, native of Málaga, age thirty-seven
Teresa Guzmán, his wife, age thirty-eight
Manuel de Prados, son, age fourteen
Gertrudis de Prados, daughter, age nine
Teresa de Prados, daughter, age three

8th Family

Fernando Ibáñez, native of Los Caraveos, Burgos, resident of Málaga, age forty
María Cabrera, his wife, native of Macharaviaya, age thirty-five
Fernando Ibáñez, son, age seven
José Ibáñez, son, age six
Antonio Ibáñez, son, age two
Bernardo Ibáñez, son, age one
María Ibáñez, daughter, age four

9th Family

Juan Miguez, native of San Salvador de Febra, Tuy, resident of Málaga, age thirty
Salvadora de Quero, his wife, native of Málaga, age twenty-five
José Miguez, son, age twelve
Salvador Miguez, son, age one
José de Porrás, cousin, native of Cártama, age forty

10th Family

Sebastián de Segura, native of Málaga, age twenty-eight
Antonia de Castilla, his wife, age twenty-four
Francisco de Segura, son, age two

11th Family

José de Artacho, native of Torrox, age thirty-seven
Francisca Villegas, his wife, age thirty-five
Gregorio de Artacho, son, age fourteen
Cristóbal de Artacho, son, age two
María de Artacho, daughter, age six

12th Family

Teresa Gómez, widow, native of Alhaurín de la Torre, age forty-six
Antonio Villatoro y Gómez, son, age nineteen
Francisco Villatoro, nephew, age twenty-one
Juana Villatoro y Gómez, daughter, age eleven
Juan González, son-in-law, native of Alhaurín de la Torre, age nineteen
Rita Villatoro y Gómez, daughter, wife of Juan, age fifteen
María Villatoro y Gómez, daughter, age thirteen

13th Family

Francisco de Ortiz, native of Mijas, age thirty
Francisca Blanco, his wife, age thirty-one
Juan de Ortiz, son, age two
Catalina Ortiz, daughter, age six

14th Family

Miguel Romero, native of Castuera, Badajoz, resident of Málaga, age forty
María Grano, his wife, native of Málaga, age thirty
José Romero, son, age fourteen
Juan Romero, son, age four
Antonio Romero, son, age one

15th Family

Juan Solano, native of Alhaurín el Grande, resident of Málaga, age fifty-five
Félix García, son-in-law, native of Granada, age thirty
Isabel Solano, daughter, wife of Félix García, age twenty-six
José García Solano, grandson, age six
Félix García Solano, grandson, age two

16th Family

Bernardo de Puentes, native of Macharaviaya, age thirty-one
Ana Barroso, wife, native of Algeciras, age twenty-eight
María de Puentes, daughter, age two

Second Treaty of San Ildefonso. Transcription by Norman F. Carnahan

1st. October 1800

Preliminary and Secret Treaty between the French Republic and His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, Concerning the Aggrandizement of His Royal Highness the Infant Duke of Parma in Italy and the Retrocession of Louisiana.

His Catholic Majesty having always manifested an earnest desire to procure for His Royal Highness the Duke of Parma an aggrandizement which would place his domains on a footing more consonant with his dignity; and the French Republic on its part having long since made known to His Majesty the King of Spain its desire to be again placed in possession of the colony of Louisiana; and the two Governments having exchanged their views on these two subjects of common interest, and circumstances permitting them to assume obligations in this regard which, so far as depends on them, will assure mutual satisfaction, they have authorized for this purpose the following: the French Republic, the Citizen Alexandre Berthier General in Chief, and His Catholic Majesty, Don Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Knight of the Order of Charles III, and of that of St. John of Jerusalem, a Counselor of State, his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary appointed near the Batavian Republic, and his First Secretary of State ad interim, who, having exchanged their powers, have agreed upon the following articles, subject to ratification.

ARTICLE 1

The French Republic undertakes to procure for His Royal Highness the Infant Duke of Parma an aggrandizement of territory which shall increase the population of his domains to one million inhabitants, with the title of King and with all the rights which attach to the royal dignity; and the French Republic undertakes to obtain in this regard the assent of His Majesty the Emperor and King and that of the other interested states so that His Highness the Infant Duke of Parma may be put into possession of the said territories without opposition upon the conclusion of the peace to be made between the French Republic and His Imperial Majesty.

ARTICLE 2

The aggrandizement to be given to His Royal Highness the Duke of Parma may consist of Tuscany, in case the present negotiations of the French Government with His Imperial Majesty shall permit that Government to dispose thereof; or it may consist of the three Roman legations or of any other continental provinces of Italy which form a rounded state.

ARTICLE 3

His Catholic Majesty promises and undertakes on his part to retrocede to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the above conditions and provisions regarding His Royal Highness the Duke of Parma, the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it ought to be according to the treaties subsequently concluded between Spain and other states.

ARTICLE 4

His Catholic Majesty will give the necessary orders for the occupation of Louisiana by France as soon as the territories which are to form the aggrandizement of the Duke of Parma shall be placed in the hands of His Royal Highness. The French Republic may, according to its convenience, postpone the taking of possession; when that is to be executed, the states directly or indirectly interested will agree upon such further conditions as their common interests and the interest of the respective inhabitants require.

ARTICLE 5

His Catholic Majesty undertakes to deliver to the French Republic in Spanish ports in Europe, one month after the execution of the provision with regard to the Duke of Parma, six ships of war in good condition built for seventy-four guns, armed and equipped and ready to receive French crews and supplies.

ARTICLE 6

As the provisions of the present treaty have no prejudicial object and leave intact the rights of all, it is not to be supposed that they will give offense to any power. However, if the contrary shall happen and if the two states, because of the execution thereof, shall be attacked or threatened, the two powers agree to make common cause not only to repel the aggression but also to take conciliatory measures proper for the maintenance of peace with all their neighbors.

ARTICLE 7

The obligations contained in the present treaty derogate in no respect from those which are expressed in the Treaty of Alliance signed at San Ildefonso on the 2d Fructidor, year 4 (August 19, 1796); on the contrary they unite anew the interests of the two powers and assure the guaranties stipulated in the Treaty of Alliance for all cases in which they should be applied.

ARTICLE 8

The ratifications of these preliminary articles shall be effected and exchanged within the period of one month or sooner if possible, counting from the date of the signature of the present treaty.

In faith whereof we, the undersigned Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic and of His Catholic Majesty, in virtue of our respective powers, have signed these preliminary articles and have affixed our seals thereto.

Done at San Ildefonso the 9th Vendemiaire, 9th year of the French Republic (October 1, 1800)

[Seal] ALEXANDRE BERTHIER [Seal] MARIANO LUIS DE URQUIJO