On March 5, 1766, Antonio de Ulloa, the first Spanish governor of Louisiana, arrived at New Orleans in the midst of a violent rainstorm. Very few people gathered to greet their new leader, and those who were in attendance did not offer a warm welcome.

Spain had accepted Louisiana from France in 1762, but the colony was a low priority for the Spanish king. It took nearly four years for the Spanish to organize a fleet, fill those ships with supplies for the colonists and gifts for the Native Americans, and send the fleet to join Governor Ulloa in Cuba for the final journey to New Orleans.

Ulloa was a naval officer and experienced colonial administrator who had previously served in Peru. Despite his military rank, Ulloa was mainly a man of science. He had an impressive knowledge of astronomy, engineering, geography, and the flora and fauna of the New World. He also spoke several languages including French.

His ability to speak to the colonists in their own language was an advantage, but Ulloa had several disadvantages as well. He had requested several hundred troops to accompany him to Louisiana, but he was given only ninety. Under those circumstances, and with an unwelcoming population at New Orleans, he hesitated to take formal control of the colony.

Ulloa tried to work with the French Superior Council, but putting Spanish trade policies into effect created many enemies among the council members. The leading citizens of New Orleans were also offended by the governor’s decision to get married at a fort at the mouth of the river, called the Balize, rather than in the city. Making matters worse, when he finally decided to formally transfer the colony to Spain, Ulloa further angered the colonists by making the proclamation at the Balize rather than in the city, where three-quarters of Louisiana’s population lived.
By late 1768, tensions between Ulloa and the colonists had become so bad that a few members of the Superior Council encouraged unhappy citizens to engage in open rebellion against Spanish rule. In late October, hundreds of colonists took to the streets. Claiming popular support, the Superior Council ordered Ulloa to depart. Without sufficient troops to put down the rebellion, Ulloa, his wife, and the Spanish troops and officials returned to Cuba. The events that followed the Revolt of 1768 were just as dramatic, and more deadly, than the bloodless revolt had been.

In this chapter, we will explore the conditions that led France to transfer Louisiana to Spain, and the long and sometimes violent process involved in Spain taking effective control of the colony. You will also be introduced to each of the Spanish governors and to the groups of people who came to Louisiana during the Spanish colonial period.

**Background:** This painting, *Life of George Washington—The Soldier*, by Junius Brutus Stearns, shows a 22-year-old George Washington fighting for the British during the French and Indian War. Once a British victory seemed inevitable, the French secretly transferred Louisiana to Spain to keep it out of British hands.
## Signs of the Times

### U.S. Expansion

The original thirteen colonies had formed the United States of America by 1790. Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee had become states by 1796.

### Music

One of the world’s great musical geniuses, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, was born in Salzburg (today’s Austria) in 1756, the year the French and Indian War officially began. He began composing music by age five and was performing before European royalty by age six.

Musical favorites of the American Revolution included “Johnny Has Gone for a Soldier,” “The Foggy, Foggy Dew,” and “All the Pretty Little Horses.” British soldiers sang “The Yankeys Return from Camp” to make fun of the colonists. Today, it is known as “Yankee Doodle.”

### Sports

Golf was first played in America at a course established in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1786.

### Inventions

Inventions from this era helped start the Industrial Revolution and increased the demand for cotton. In England, the spinning jenny (1764) sped up yarn production, and the power loom used water power to turn yarn into cotton cloth. In the United States, inventor Eli Whitney patented his cotton gin (1794), which simplified the process of separating cotton fiber from seeds.

In 1790, the metric system of measurement was invented in France. Unlike English measurements, it used a decimal system and defined the meter to be one 10-millionth of the distance from the equator to Earth’s pole.

New Orleans plantation owner Etienne de Boré deserves credit for being the first planter in Louisiana to process sugar into granules in 1795. His success made sugar production profitable and encouraged other planters to begin raising the crop.

### Transportation

In 1782, the Montgolfier brothers in France launched the first successful hot air balloon, to an altitude of 985 feet. It was made of paper, and its air was heated by burning wool and moist straw. Later that year, with King Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette of France looking on, the brothers sent up a rooster, a sheep, and a duck to 1,650 feet.

To connect New Orleans and Texas during their colonial rule, the Spanish improved the route between the city and the capital of Spanish Texas, San Antonio. This Camino Real or “Road of the King” was used for transporting cattle and other goods between the two cities. Modern-day Highway 90 still follows this route.
1757 - Acadians began coming to Louisiana
1762 - France transferred Louisiana to Spain in secret Treaty of Fontainebleau

1766 - Governor Ulloa arrived in New Orleans
1768 - Louisiana citizens revolted against Ulloa government
1769 - Alejandro O'Reilly arrived and established Spanish control of Louisiana
1770 - O'Reilly left for Cuba; Luis de Unzaga became governor

1777 - Bernardo de Gálvez became governor
1778 - Isleños began coming to Louisiana from Canary Islands
1779 - Malaguenos founded New Iberia
1780 - Gálvez took control of fort in Mobile
1781 - Gálvez sailed into Pensacola Bay
1785 - Gálvez departed for Mexico; Esteban Miró became governor
1786 - Miró's Proclamation for Good Government
1788 - Good Friday fire devastated New Orleans
1791 - Miró returned to Spain; the Baron de Carondelet, became governor
1795 - Rumors of slave revolt in Pointe Coupee Parish
1797 - Manuel Gayoso de Lemos became governor

Acadian expulsion from eastern Canada began - 1755
French and Indian War officially began - 1756
French and Indian War ended with Treaty of Paris - 1763
American Revolution began with battles in Lexington and Concord - 1775
Declaration of Independence - 1776
Spain formally declared war on England - 1779
Articles of Confederation - 1781
American Revolution ended with Treaty of Paris - 1783
U.S. Constitution written - 1787
French Revolution began - 1789
Slave revolt in Saint-Domingue began - 1791
Section 1

The French and Indian War

As you read, look for

- conflicts between the French and English that led to war;
- the participants in the French and Indian War;
- why and how France transferred Louisiana to Spain;
- the results of the Treaty of Paris of 1763;

For as long as European countries had been in North America there had been competition among those nations for control of the continent. That rivalry, particularly between France and England, eventually resulted in open warfare.

By the 1750s, the French had begun to make territorial claims in the heart of North America. Their plan was to take control of the fur trade and to establish settlements along a route that linked Louisiana with their colony called New France (Canada). At the same time, British colonists were moving further west, in search of new lands to settle. Many of the English were also intent on controlling the lucrative (profitable) trade in furs.

Right: Native Americans and European colonists exchanged trade goods throughout North America.
The Outbreak of War

In 1754, these competing claims resulted in open conflict between French and English forces. War was formally declared between the two nations in 1756 and did not end until 1763. Before the war ended, five European countries had entered the fight, and battles had taken place in Europe, North America, the Caribbean, and as far away as the Philippines, Spain’s colony in the Pacific. The French called the conflict the Seven Years’ War. The British referred to it as the French and Indian War, because those were the parties they were fighting.

Spain hesitated at first but eventually joined the conflict on the side of the French. Spain and France had not always been allies, but the Spanish chose to act because they were concerned about protecting Mexico from the British. The British did, however, invade and take control of the important Spanish port at Havana, Cuba.

A Secret Transfer

Sensing the defeat that was to come, France took steps to keep Louisiana out of British hands by secretly transferring the colony to Spain before peace negotiations began. This 1762 agreement was called the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Spain was aware that Louisiana had been an economic disaster for France. Still, the Spanish were willing to take on the financial burden of the colony. They hoped that they could keep the British and their ever-increasing numbers of colonists from moving west toward their lucrative silver mines in Mexico.

Left: This Benjamin West painting depicts British General William Johnson saving a wounded French officer from a tomahawk in the French and Indian War.
The Treaty of Paris

The war formally ended with the Treaty of Paris of 1763. In the final settlement, France lost all that remained of its North American holdings, keeping only control of a few Caribbean islands. Spain agreed to transfer its control of Florida to the British in exchange for the return of Cuba. The British understood the growing importance of the Mississippi River and especially the port at New Orleans. But they were unable to gain control of the port because it had already been transferred to Spain in the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

Reviewing the Section


2. What were the conflicting goals of France and England in the 1750s that eventually led to war?

3. Why was Spain willing to receive Louisiana even though the colony had been an economic disaster for France?
Section 2

The Transition to Spanish Control

As you read, look for

- events leading up to a revolt against the new Spanish government;
- Governor O'Reilly’s tactics for controlling the Louisiana colony;
- different approaches to illegal trade taken by Governors Unzaga and Gálvez;
- terms: militia, Cabildo, Code O'Reilly, laissez-faire.

At the end of the French and Indian War, the North American continent was divided between England and Spain. Spain’s new holdings were vast, and its obligations were multiplied. In part, this accounts for the slow pace at which the Spanish took control of Louisiana.

Spain hoped to maintain Louisiana at as small a price to itself as possible. This strategy helps to explain why Governor Ulloa was assigned so few troops to accompany him to Louisiana. Spain also hoped to limit the costs of administration. They looked for ways to make the existing French governmental structures work with, rather than against, Spanish laws and policies.

This was not to be. Many of the men who served on the French Superior Council were not interested in cooperating with Ulloa and Spain. In fact, they hoped to convince France to retake control of the colony. They even sent representatives to Paris to make their case. Even without a return of French control, the Creoles were committed to protecting their long-established patterns of trade. Because of financial problems and years of warfare, France had not been able to supply the colony with its basic needs since the 1740s. Over time, the trade practices that developed in the colony included illegal but necessary dealings with English traders. Prosperous members of the Superior Council worried that these irregular but profitable arrangements would be threatened under Spanish control. When Ulloa proclaimed new trade regulations, their worst fears came true.

Above: Antonio de Ulloa.
The Colonists Revolt

These fears, and the desire to protect their own economic well-being, provided the impetus (incentive, driving force) for the open revolt that broke out in 1768. Encouraged by members of the Superior Council, unhappy colonists traveled to the city from the German Coast and the Acadian settlements to the west. They were joined by hundreds of men from the city who poured into the streets on the night of October 27 and took control of the city. The rioters held a meeting and wrote a petition asking Ulloa to leave the colony at once. Using the petition as evidence of popular support, the Superior Council agreed with the rioters and ordered the governor to leave within three days. With so few troops at his disposal, Ulloa had little choice but to comply. Once back in Spanish territory, the ousted (removed, thrown out of office) governor spent considerable time making reports about the revolt and the people he believed to be responsible for it.

Spain Takes Effective Control

When the Spanish sent their next expedition to Louisiana, they corrected many of the mistakes of Ulloa’s entrance. Most importantly, they sent a decisive leader and skilled military man, General Alejandro O’Reilly, to head the second Spanish arrival. He was a skilled and respected soldier with many victories to his credit. O’Reilly was accompanied by twelve ships and nearly two thousand men. This was an overwhelming show of military force and more than enough men to put down any opponents who dared to oppose the Spanish a second time.

Lagniappe

Alexander O’Reilly was born in Ireland but had spent most of his life in the service of the Spanish military, adopting the Spanish version of his name—Alejandro.

Right: Alejandro O’Reilly.
O’Reilly arrived in August of 1769 and spent time at the mouth of the Mississippi before proceeding upriver to New Orleans. His arrival at the city was both impressive and well planned, and O’Reilly showed none of the hesitation to take charge that Ulloa had.

He also immediately set out to discover who had been responsible for the revolt. After a thorough investigation, O’Reilly acted. Ultimately the general pardoned all of the common people who had taken part in the uprising. The leaders of the revolt, however, he dealt with severely. Of the thirteen men put on trial, twelve were found guilty. Six were sentenced to prison terms in Cuba. The remaining six were sentenced to execution before a firing squad in New Orleans. Although he had pardoned the general public, many believed O’Reilly’s punishments were too harsh. Those people gave him the nickname Bloody O’Reilly.

Despite his nickname, O’Reilly was actually a fair and effective administrator. He focused on developing more regular trade practices at New Orleans with an emphasis on encouraging trade with Spanish ports, while discouraging illegal trade with the British. He also set price controls that made it more affordable for colonists to buy necessary food and supplies, even though, to his frustration, much of that food still came from British sources. He also directed that a census be taken.

O’Reilly reorganized the local militia (a military force composed mainly of citizen-soldiers), and improved the condition of forts throughout the colony. He also reached out to Native Americans in the region. He met with tribal leaders, presented them with gifts, and worked to establish new understandings with them.

O’Reilly completely reorganized colonial government. He abolished the French Superior Council, whose members had led the revolt, and replaced it with a Spanish governing body called the Cabildo. The Cabildo’s members were responsible for enforcing the colony’s laws, advising the governor, and acting as a court. The Cabildo adopted a new code of laws based on the Spanish Laws of the Indies. In Louisiana, these new laws came to be known as the Code O’Reilly. O’Reilly was responsible for numerous and impressive accomplishments by the time he turned the colony over to the second official Spanish governor and departed Louisiana for Cuba in March 1770.
When Alejandro O'Reilly replaced the French Superior Council with a governing body called the Cabildo, he also ordered that the existing French colonial government building be updated and improved. That renovated building was damaged beyond repair in the devastating fire that swept New Orleans in 1788. The building was reconstructed and began to serve again as the home of the Cabildo in 1794. At that time, the building had only two stories and looked similar to other Spanish colonial governmental centers throughout Central and South America.

The building’s second floor meeting room for the Spanish council was called the Sala Capitular or Council Chamber. It was in this room in 1803 that Spain transferred Louisiana back to France, and, a month later, that France transferred Louisiana to the United States. Thus, the building is very significant in both Louisiana and U.S. history.

In 1847, the New Orleans District Council voted to add a third-story mansard roof and cupola to the building. This style was popular in French architecture and gave the building a French character it had not had in its original design. Thus, in design terms, the building is very much a French and Spanish hybrid (mix), reflecting the history of the colony before it became part of the United States.

After its redesign in 1847, the Cabildo continued to be used for various governmental functions until it became the headquarters of the Louisiana State Museum in 1911. It remains part of the museum today. Anyone can visit the building and its exhibits to learn more about the building’s history and the history of Louisiana. Have you visited the Cabildo? If so, what do you remember most about the building? If not, would you like to visit it?
Governor Unzaga

Luis de Unzaga, who had accompanied O'Reilly to New Orleans, became the colony's second Spanish governor in early 1770. Unzaga was in his fifties and a bachelor when he arrived, but he quickly married a Creole woman named Elizabeth de St. Maxent. Although the marriage may have been for love, it also had economic advantages, because the bride's father, Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent, was one of the colony's wealthiest traders. Unzaga encouraged many of his officers to marry local women who had both family connections and substantial dowries (property brought by a woman to the marriage).

Unzaga was more pragmatic (practical) about the economic situation in New Orleans than O'Reilly had been. Although doing business with British traders was banned, Unzaga often ignored or tacitly (without actually saying) approved of this trade when it was necessary to feed the colonists or was helpful to his colonial allies. Unzaga served for seven years but had to be replaced when his eyesight failed.

Bernardo de Gálvez: Governor and Hero

Bernardo de Gálvez was a young and vigorous man in his early thirties when he became governor of Louisiana in 1777. Gálvez had arrived in the colony to lead the militia but was appointed governor a year later. His career as a Spanish soldier and colonial administrator had benefited from having an uncle who headed the Spanish colonial administration. But Gálvez was also a talented administrator and a skilled and experienced soldier. Like Unzaga before him, he was able to gain immediate wealth and important connections through his marriage to another of de St. Maxent's daughters, Félicité.

Governor Unzaga had exercised a practical and laissez-faire (noninterference by the government in economic matters) approach to illegal trade with the British. But Gálvez worked hard and consistently to eject British traders from the river and from their central role in the local economy. In fact, for a brief period, he succeeded in discouraging British trade. He also supported the development of other economic activities like growing tobacco and harvesting timber, both for export. Perhaps most importantly, Gálvez convinced the usually stingy Spanish to raise the annual sum they awarded the colony for governance and maintenance.

Reviewing the Section


2. Why did the colonists revolt when the Spanish took control of their government?

3. In what ways did Luis de Unzaga go about improving relations between the Spanish government and the people of Louisiana?
Besides leading to the loss of the Louisiana colony for France, the French and Indian War took a huge economic toll on all of the nations involved. When the war ended in 1763, the British were left with a large debt. The British government had spent a lot of money protecting their North American colonies. Therefore they thought that the colonists themselves should be responsible for paying much of this debt through a series of new taxes. Paper, letters, stamps, correspondence, and many varieties of trade goods were assigned new or higher taxes.
The colonists were particularly troubled by a British attempt to better control the trade in tea, one of their favorite beverages. They were also upset in general by the idea that there was “taxation without representation” in the British parliament (governing body). British King George III refused even to consider the colonists’ grievances. Tensions continued to rise in the late 1760s and 1770s. In March 1770, British soldiers fired on a group of unruly protesters in Boston, in a conflict known as the Boston Massacre. In 1775, British soldiers and American colonists engaged in the first formal battles of the American Revolution (the war in which the American colonists fought for their independence from Great Britain). These battles took place in the Massachusetts towns of Lexington and Concord. Seeing no alternative to warfare, the colonists declared independence from Great Britain on July 4, 1776.

The American Revolution was a long and bloody struggle, and victory was not assured. Seven years of fighting took place before the British and their former colonies made peace in 1783. This agreement was known as the Treaty of Paris of 1783.

The Colonies Unite

Even before the war was over, the rebellious colonies had agreed on a form of government called the Articles of Confederation. This arrangement lasted between 1781 and 1787, but some leaders felt the articles did not provide for a powerful enough central government. Thus, in March 1787, delegates gathered in Philadelphia to form a convention to debate the articles. This convention ultimately decided to form a new kind of central government. The Constitutional Convention, as it came to be known, worked diligently and in secret through September 1787. After months of work and debate, members of the convention developed a new form of government described in the document called the United States Constitution. Enough of the colonies agreed to the new constitution to confirm its ratification in 1788, and it went into effect on March 4, 1789. It would be another twenty-three years before Louisiana officially became a U.S. state and, therefore, subject to the terms of the Constitution.

Lagniappe

The war between the thirteen American colonies and the British Empire can properly be called the American Revolution, the Revolutionary War, or the War for American Independence.

Above: This Howard Chandler Christie painting, Signing of the Constitution, which was completed in 1940, hangs in the House Wing of the U.S. Capitol. To make the painting as authentic as possible, the artist located old portraits of 37 of the 39 Constitutional Convention delegates and the Convention secretary. He hid the faces of the two delegates whose portraits he could not find.
Spain in the American Revolution

Governor Gálvez’s military accomplishments were even more impressive than his administrative successes. The Spanish were slow to enter the fighting in the American Revolution, but Gálvez did take certain steps that provided advantages to the rebel colonists. First, he made it possible for representatives of the Continental Army to buy supplies at the Spanish port of New Orleans. Much of this activity was undertaken in covert (covered, secret) ways. However, when Spain formally declared war on England in 1779, Spanish support for the rebel British colonies became more open.

Over the next two years, Gálvez led a series of military actions against British outposts in the territory of West Florida. He first led attacks on the British outpost and fort at Manchac and then Baton Rouge. He was able to take control of both areas quickly. Gálvez then turned his attention to British forts on the Gulf Coast, attacking and taking control of the fort at Mobile in 1780.

After the capture of Mobile, Pensacola was the largest British fort left in West Florida. Gálvez led two campaigns to capture it. The first effort was disrupted by a hurricane in the Gulf. Undaunted (not discouraged), Gálvez returned to Cuba and reorganized a second expedition that began in the spring of 1781. It was on this mission that the governor and general achieved his most lasting fame. Gálvez needed to get close enough to bombard the British forts from the shipboard cannons and allow his soldiers to go ashore. He ordered the ships in his fleet to cross over a sandbar and sail into Pensacola Bay.

The ships’ commanders were reluctant to follow his orders because they feared running aground on the sandbar. To prove them wrong, Gálvez took control of the lead ship and sailed it successfully across the bar and into the bay. It was at this moment that he reportedly proclaimed “Yo Solo” (“I Alone”). After this important victory, Gálvez’s fame as a Spanish military hero was assured. Later, he received royal permission to add his trademark phrase, Yo Solo, to his personal coat of arms.

Lagniappe

Manchac, also known today as Akers, is the settlement at the western end of Pass Manchac—the seven-mile waterway that links Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain. The word manchac means “back door” in the Choctaw language. Pass Manchac is a “back door” that leads from Lake Maurepas to Lake Pontchartrain, then through the Rigolets to the Gulf Mexico.

In 1763, the British had divided the former Spanish Florida into West and East Florida. West Florida ran from the Mississippi River to the Chattahoochee River and from the 31° parallel to the Gulf of Mexico. The parishes of East Baton Rouge, East and West Feliciana, Livingston, St. Helena, St. Tammany, Tangipahoa, and Washington are within those territorial limits. That is why they are known as the “Florida Parishes.”

Right: Spanish troops storm the British positions in the 1781 battle for Pensacola.
After his military victories over the British, Gálvez returned to his duties in New Orleans. In 1785, he was appointed to the high-ranking post of viceroy of New Spain. In that year, a new Louisiana governor was appointed, and Gálvez traveled to Mexico City to undertake his new duties. The hero of Pensacola died the following year at the age of forty from a mosquito-borne infection. Although his life was relatively short, he accomplished a great deal, including a successful term as governor of a growing and increasingly economically vital colony.

**Governor Miró**

Esteban Miró had gained considerable experience governing Louisiana while Gálvez was away fighting the British. In fact, Miró served as temporary governor for much of the period between 1780 and 1784. He was officially appointed governor of Louisiana in 1785 when Gálvez left for Mexico. By this time, New Orleans had become a thriving but disorderly city of more than 5,000 people.

Left: Spanish governor of Louisiana Esteban Rodríguez Miró.
New Regulations

Miró set about trying to better regulate a city that had already established a reputation for pleasure seeking and rowdiness. In 1786, he announced a series of orders that were called Miró’s Bando de Buen Gobierno (Miró’s Proclamation for Good Government). He sought to better monitor the city’s taverns and gambling establishments. He also tried to discourage trade on Sundays so more of the city’s inhabitants would attend Mass. He ordered that no one leave or enter the city without reporting to the governor’s office and receiving permission. Many people resented the new regulations, and some simply ignored what they saw as intrusions on their rights.

More Tolerant Slave Laws

In the area of slave law, Miró established new rules that affected both slaves and their masters. Under the French Code Noir (Black Code), masters were given virtually complete legal authority over their slaves. Spanish slave law respected the rights of slave owners, but also gave slaves the right to complain to the Cabildo about poor treatment. Miró also instituted the Spanish practice of coartación (self-purchase) for slaves. Under this system, slaves could accumulate money and property. If they earned enough, they could even buy their own freedom. If their master did not wish to sell the slave or set a price, the slave could appeal to Spanish authorities and have a price set.

These more liberal slave laws upset many slave owners. On plantations outside the city, many French-descended planters simply ignored Spanish law and continued to rely on the French Black Code. In the city of New Orleans, however, Spanish slave laws had more influence. One result is that, during the Spanish period, the population of freed slaves, called gens de couleur libres (free people of color), became so numerous that they started to constitute a distinct community and develop their own culture.

Right: This collage painting depicts a free woman of color and her daughter in New Orleans.
A Devastating Fire

Despite his early unpopularity, Miró became a widely admired leader in New Orleans after a devastating city-wide fire in 1788. On Good Friday of that year, a resident of the city lit candles in his home chapel. His home caught fire and the flames spread quickly across the compact city’s many wooden structures. By the time the fire burned out, nearly 80 percent of the city’s buildings had been destroyed. In a report to his superiors in Havana, Miró wrote, “It is a difficult task to decide which has caused the most sorrow, whether the destruction of the city or the pitiful situation of all of its inhabitants.”

The governor immediately set out to aid the citizens who had lost everything they owned. In the years that followed, he also worked closely and effectively with the colony’s intendant (financial officer) Martín Navarro. Such close cooperation between colonial officials, which was so essential to rebuilding the city, had been rare during the French colonial period. According to one historian, Miró “had the longest and most effective tenure of the colony’s Spanish governors.”

Encouraging Anglo Migration

Outside New Orleans, Miró also sought to increase the population in the colony’s outposts. In particular, he is credited with encouraging immigration of British or British-descended colonists (called Anglos) who came from the territories of the United States. These colonists were quite different from many of Louisiana’s long-time inhabitants. Most of them spoke English rather than French or Spanish, and many identified with religions other than Catholicism. To entice them to settle in Louisiana’s northern and western frontiers, the Spanish government offered grants of land. In return, the Anglo immigrants had to swear loyalty to the Spanish king and agree to refrain from practicing or proclaiming any religion other than Catholicism. What began as a slow trickle of Anglo-American settlers in the late 1780s turned into a flood of hundreds and then thousands in the decades that followed. In time, their presence would contribute to a shift away from Spanish control.
Governor Carondelet

Francisco Luis Héctor, the Baron de Carondelet, became governor of Louisiana in 1791 when Miró returned to Spain. Carondelet had a military background but only two years of administrative experience when he took over the governorship. In New Orleans, Carondelet is credited with creating a system of oil-lit lamps that provided the city with light and increased safety after dark. He also oversaw the construction of a canal that connected the heart of the city with Bayou St. John. This provided an additional route into the city by way of Lake Pontchartrain.

Revolution in France and Saint-Domingue

Despite his industriousness, Carondelet oversaw Louisiana during a time of great unrest. In 1789, the French Revolution began. Common people rose up against their king and the nobility, claiming “liberty, equality, and fraternity” for all men. Despite its worthy aims, the revolution quickly turned bloody and led to thousands of executions, including those of King Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette.

The French Revolution also led to unrest in Louisiana. The Spanish king was understandably worried about events in neighboring France. Governor Carondelet understood and sympathized with these fears and closely monitored the colony’s population for signs of unrest. He suppressed any open support for the French Revolution, outlawed revolutionary clubs, and even banned the singing of songs associated with the revolution.

Carondelet kept a lid on revolutionary sentiments in Louisiana, but the nearby French colonial island of Saint-Domingue followed France into a period of violent revolution. Slaves on the island, who far outnumbered the island’s whites and free people of color, broke out into open revolt in 1791. Decades of fighting followed. In the early years, many whites and free people of color fled the island and the violence. Thousands of them came to Louisiana. Many of the refugees brought their slaves with them.

Above: This photograph of the Carondelet Canal turning basin was taken early in the twentieth century. The canal went out of use in 1927 and was filled in in 1938. Right: Fighting continued between rebel slaves and French forces for more than two decades after the Saint-Domingue slave revolt began in 1791.
A Slave Conspiracy

In 1795, rumors of a slave conspiracy in Pointe Coupee Parish reached New Orleans. Through slave informers, officials were told of a planned revolt centered on the plantation of the prominent colonist Julien Poydras. Wasting no time, Carondelet led an investigation of the slave conspirators and their free supporters. The inquiry resulted in sixty convictions. Twenty-three of the slave conspirators were sentenced to be hanged. After their deaths, their heads were severed from their bodies and placed on pikes (spikes) along the River Road to serve as a warning to other slaves who might have similar ideas.

Historians have debated whether or not the revolutions in France and Saint-Domingue had some role in encouraging slaves to plan a revolt in 1795. There is no clear evidence that this was the case. What is clear is that Governor Carondelet governed Louisiana during a period of great difficulty and unrest.

Final Spanish Governors

The last two Spanish governors of Louisiana served shorter terms and played less prominent roles in the colony. Manuel Gayoso de Lemos was named governor in 1797 but died in office in 1799. Manuel Juan de Salcedo was appointed governor two years later and served until 1803. Those years saw both growth and challenges. Some of those challenges would lead to dramatic changes in Louisiana’s administration. In the meantime, the different groups of people who came to Louisiana during the Spanish period also contributed to a changed Louisiana.

Reviewing the Section

2. What heroic deed allowed Bernardo de Gálvez to add the phrase Yo Solo to his personal coat of arms?
3. What events in Europe caused trouble for the Baron de Carondelet during his governorship?
Section 4

Spanish-Era People and Immigrants

As you read, look for

- the indirect journey of the Acadians from eastern Canada to Louisiana;
- the arrival in Louisiana of two different Spanish-speaking groups;
- mixed results in the campaign to attract Anglos to the colony;
- terms: refuge, subsidize, Malaguenos.

The ability to attract large numbers of new immigrants is one of the great successes of the Spanish colonial period. The Spanish were energetic in pursuing potential settlers. Spanish willingness to temporarily support immigrants helped these new arrivals establish settlements and discover effective ways to make a living in their new home. Many of these Spanish-era migrant groups retain distinctive cultural communities into the present day.

Acadians

The Acadians were French migrants who had been in New France since the early 1600s. The English gained control over eastern Canada in 1714. Despite disagreements over religion, the Acadians remained and lived under British rule until 1755, when the British expelled them from their rich farmlands. By 1763, virtually all of the Acadians had been ejected from their homes and had lost their lands and livelihoods. The British burned some Acadian settlements so they could not return. In other cases, they gave their former homes and farms to British migrants from Massachusetts.
When Acadian refugees first landed in the British colonies, they were generally unwelcome. The French offered the Acadians refuge (protection from danger or distress) in Louisiana for cultural reasons. With their interest in growing the colony’s population, the Spanish continued welcoming them, and began to provide support for their resettlement. Although their transition to Louisiana was far from smooth, approximately one thousand Acadians came to Louisiana between 1757 and 1770. By the end of the Spanish period, their population had grown to over four thousand. The Acadians had established farms and had begun to make their mark on Louisiana’s economy, culture, and southwestern territory, known today as Acadiana.

**Isleños & Malaguenos**

The Spanish also sought Spanish-speaking migrants for the Louisiana colony. Once the American Revolution began, the Spanish were particularly interested to sponsor immigrants who could also serve as soldiers. In 1778, the Spanish subsidized the transport of 1,600 people—700 of them men—from the Canary Islands, the Spanish possession in the Atlantic Ocean. To subsidize is to grant money toward a useful cause. The Spanish planned to train these Isleños, as they were called, as militia. After the Revolutionary War, a few hundred more migrants came, bringing the total population of Isleños to about 2,000. The Isleños were first settled near modern-day Barataria in Jefferson Parish, but warfare and flooding disrupted the early settlements. Eventually, most of the Isleños settled in San Bernardo, today called St. Bernard Parish. Some of their descendants continue to live there even today.

A smaller group of Spanish-speaking immigrants came from the Málaga region of Spain. About sixty people arrived in Louisiana and were assigned a workforce of seventy-five slaves for one year. The Malaguenos (people from Málaga) did not succeed as farmers. Ultimately, many of them found economic success as cattle herders and later as ranchers. Their descendants helped found the city of New Iberia.

**Lagniappe**

In 1845, poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote the epic poem *Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie*. Although it is based on the real events of the Acadian expulsion from eastern Canada, its main characters, Evangeline and Gabriel, were invented by Longfellow. In 1929, a statue depicting Evangeline was donated to the town of St. Martinville by the makers of the silent film *Evangeline*. The film’s star posed for the statue.

Above: Statue of Evangeline in St. Martinville.
New Iberia

In 1779, a group of Spanish pioneers from Málaga, Spain, founded Nueva Iberia on the banks of the Bayou Teche. Nueva means “new” in Spanish, and “Iberia” refers to the peninsula on which Spain is located. The settlers chose that name to remind themselves of their homeland. Unfortunately for the settlers, the soil in Nueva Iberia was not good for farming or ranching. Instead, the Spanish settlers used their location to exchange goods and services with others. They developed an important trading post between New Orleans and the prairies in the west. The town is located at the lower (downstream) end of a twenty-five-mile loop of Bayou Teche. It was easier for boatmen to unload their cargo at New Iberia, transport it overland for less than two miles, and reload it on boats at the upper end of the loop than to push it upstream those twenty-five miles.

Nueva Iberia would not remain in the hands of the Spanish for long. French Acadians from eastern Canada also settled in the area and called it “Nouvelle Ibérie,” the French version of New Iberia. In 1803, after the Louisiana Purchase, English-speaking settlers arrived, and they chose to call the settlement New Town. In an effort to create one name for the city, a post office was established in 1814 with the name “New Iberia.” Residents, however, continued to use their own names for the city. Can you imagine how confusing that must have been to live in a city that had at least three different names? Finally in 1847, the Louisiana legislature reached a compromise and officially named the city New Iberia.

New Iberia is home to many festivals throughout the year, including Mardi Gras celebrations, the Louisiana Sugar Cane Festival, and the World Championship Gumbo Cook-off. The home of the famous Tabasco brand pepper sauce is only a few miles away at Avery Island. Such unique features of our state make it an interesting, fun, tasty, and spicy place to live and to visit. What would be your favorite thing to see or do in New Iberia?
Anglos

In their quest to expand Louisiana’s population, Spain approved and oversaw the arrival of hundreds of Anglo immigrants in the period following the American Revolution. These settlers were hungry for land, and the Spanish had much of this to offer. Although the Spanish were successful at attracting these English-speaking migrants to the colony, their presence did not have the desired effect. The Spanish hoped that a growing population in Louisiana would discourage the migration of English-speakers into areas that bordered their silver mines in Mexico. These hopes were dashed. Many Anglos eventually went beyond Louisiana to Texas. Those who stayed in Louisiana often had their own ideas about how and by whom Louisiana and the Mississippi River should be controlled.

As the 1700s gave way to the 1800s, the hopes of regular people combined with the plans of powerful leaders to create enormous historical change in Louisiana. This would lead to one of the largest real estate transfers in the history of the world. It is to those events we now turn.

Reviewing the Section

1. Define in sentence form: refuge, subsidize, Malaguenos.
2. Why did the French, and then the Spanish, welcome the Acadians to Louisiana?
3. What could the Spanish offer the Anglos after the American Revolution that would attract them to Louisiana?

Above: 1788 map of Louisiana.
Chapter Summary

Section 1: The French and Indian War

- The French and the British had competing claims over territory in North America. In 1754, this led to war. Spain eventually allied with France in this conflict.
- Facing the prospect of defeat and the loss of Louisiana, France secretly transferred the colony to Spain in the Treaty of Fontainebleau. While Spain recognized that Louisiana was not likely to be profitable, the colony could serve as a buffer against the British.
- The Treaty of Paris of 1763 ended the French and Indian War. France lost nearly all of its North American colonies while Spain retained control of New Orleans.

Section 2: The Transition to Spanish Control

- Spain slowly gained control of Louisiana. In part, this reflected Spanish desires to administer the colony at minimal cost. Some of the leading men of the Louisiana colony were unhappy about the prospects of Spanish administration.
- In 1768, the colonists revolted against Antonio de Ulloa, their new Spanish governor. Rioters wrote a petition asking Ulloa to leave, which was also endorsed by the French Superior Council. With only a small garrison of soldiers, Ulloa had little choice but to withdraw; however, he later submitted a report on the revolt to his government.
- In 1769, the Spanish sent their next expedition to Louisiana led by General Alejandro O’Reilly, a skilled military man and leader. O’Reilly was backed by 12 ships and 2,000 soldiers. This show of force ended armed opposition to Spanish rule. While pardoning the common people who had taken part in the uprising, O’Reilly executed or imprisoned several of its leaders.
- Bloody O’Reilly, as he was nicknamed, was an effective administrator. He encouraged trade, improved the condition of forts, reorganized the militia, and reached out to the Native Americans.
- Luis de Unzaga, a bachelor, succeeded O’Reilly as governor. He quickly married the daughter of one of the colony’s wealthiest traders. He also encouraged his officers to marry local women.
- Bernardo de Gálvez replaced Unzaga who stepped down from his post due to failing eyesight. As governor, Gálvez convinced Spanish authorities to raise the annual sum they awarded the colony for governance and administration.

Section 3: The American Revolution and the Last Decades of Spanish Rule

- The American colonists were upset with the British parliament over issues related to taxation and King George III’s unwillingness to listen to their grievances. In 1775, British soldiers and American colonists fought the first formal battles of the American Revolution. On July 4, 1776, the colonists declared their independence from Great Britain.
- The Treaty of Paris of 1783 formally ended the American Revolution. The 13 colonies won their independence. The newly established nation had adopted a constitution, called the Articles of Confederation, even before the war had ended.
- The Articles of Confederation did not provide a strong central government. In 1787, 55 delegates gathered in Philadelphia in what became known as the Constitutional Convention. Over a four-month period, a new constitution was drafted and later ratified by all 13 states.
- Governor Gálvez led a series of successful military actions against the British during the American Revolution. He captured forts at Manchac and then Baton Rouge. Later, he captured Mobile and, most famously, Pensacola—which was the largest British fort in West Florida.
- Esteban Miró was appointed governor of Louisiana in 1785. He attempted to better regulate the city of New Orleans by monitoring the city’s taverns and gaming establishments and discouraging trade on Sunday. He also established more liberal slave laws, which included coartación.
- The Fire of 1788, accidentally caused by candlelight, destroyed 80 percent of the buildings in New Orleans.
- The Baron de Carondelet served as governor of Louisiana during a restless period. The French Revolution had sparked a revolution in the Caribbean island of Saint-Domingue. Many fled the island and settled in Louisiana.
In 1795, rumors of a slave conspiracy in Pointe Coupee Parish reached Governor Carondelet. He responded swiftly and 23 slave conspirators were hanged.

**Section 4: Spanish-Era People and Immigrants**

- The Spanish attracted settlers to Louisiana during their period of colonial rule.
- The Spanish continued to welcome Acadian refugees who had begun settling in Louisiana during French colonial rule. By the end of the Spanish period, the Acadian population was over 4,000.
- Spain sponsored Spanish-speaking immigrants to settle in the Louisiana colony. The Spanish planned for the Isleños—immigrants from the Canary Islands—to be trained to serve in the colonial militia. A smaller group of Malaguenos also migrated to the colony. Their descendants founded the city of New Iberia.
- Spain approved and oversaw the migration of hundreds of Anglos who were attracted to the large tracts of land. However, many of the settlers went beyond Louisiana and settled in Texas.

**Activities for Learning**

**Understanding the Facts**

1. Which two European nations formally went to war in 1756 over control of the North American continent?
2. Which treaty transferred ownership of the Louisiana colony from France to Spain?
3. After the French and Indian War, why could the British not gain control of the port of New Orleans?
4. How did the colonists receive Governor Ulloa when he arrived in New Orleans?
5. What skills did Alejandro O'Reilly possess that made him an effective governor?
6. List three of Alejandro O'Reilly's accomplishments as governor of Louisiana.
7. Which two governors married daughters of Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent, the wealthy Louisiana trader?
8. Which treaty ended the American Revolution?
9. Identify the two forts in Louisiana that Governor Gálvez captured from the British.
10. Describe the Spanish practice of coartación.
11. According to one historian, which Spanish governor had the “most effective tenure” of the Louisiana colony?
12. What did Governor Carondelet install to make New Orleans safer?
13. When did the British expel the Acadians?
14. In what economic activity did the Malaguenos find success in the Louisiana colony?

**Developing Critical Thinking**

1. Why did France secretly transfer the Louisiana colony to Spain?
2. Compare and contrast any two Spanish governors described in this chapter.

**Writing across the Curriculum**

Write a one-page letter to Governor O'Reilly pleading for mercy for those citizens condemned for the Revolt of 1768. Your letter should include a flattering salutation (words of greeting or goodwill at the beginning of a letter) based on O'Reilly's previous accomplishments. Using historical facts, your letter should also include three reasons why O'Reilly should treat the condemned prisoners mercifully. Finally, conclude your letter by asking for an alternative punishment for the prisoners rather than execution.

**Exploring Louisiana on the Internet**

Go to [http://cdm16313.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p16313coll29/id/277/rec/178](http://cdm16313.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p16313coll29/id/277/rec/178). Read the first 3 pages of this primary source made when Alejandro O'Reilly was governor of Louisiana. Make an inventory list of the New Orleans buildings found on these pages. What does this list of buildings tell you about New Orleans in 1769?