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“YO SOLO” NOT “SOLO”:
JUAN ANTONIO DE RIAÑO

by ERIC BEERMAN *

WHILE Bernardo de Gálvez's forcing the entrance of Pensacola Bay with his brigatine *Galveztown* during the American Revolutionary War is well known, virtually forgotten are the other Spaniards who also participated in that campaign on March 18, 1781. This is especially true of *teniente de fragata* (naval lieutenant) Juan Antonio de Riaño, Gálvez's brother-in-law. For the heroism of Gálvez, King Charles III of Spain added to his coat of arms a replica of him on the deck of the *Galveztown* with the motto "Yo Solo" (I alone). Although Gálvez displayed his mettle on that day, he did not force the bay alone. Riaño accompanied the general aboard his own sloop *Valenzuela* together with two row galleys, and the crews of all four vessels. From Gálvez's point of view, "Yo Solo" meant that he had entered Pensacola Bay without the assistance of the Spanish fleet. Nevertheless Juan Antonio de Riaño was also present, facing the British guns at Red Cliffs (*Barrancas Coloradas*) as he raced his ship with Gálvez across the sandbar into the bay during the siege of Fort George. Perhaps Gálvez's motto would have conformed more to historical reality if it had read, "I alone, accompanied by my brother-in-law."

Gálvez's brother-in-law, Juan Antonio, belonged to the Riaño clan which had its roots in the ancient village of Riaño, some twenty-five miles northwest of the city of Leon in Spain. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, the family moved seventy-five miles east, to the hamlet of Lierganes in the province of Santander. Here Juan Antonio de Riaño was born on May 16, 1757.¹

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1. Copy of Riaño's baptismal certificate in *expediente* for entry into Military Order of Calatrava, Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid (hereinafter cited as AHN), expediente 2182, 1, Orden Militar de Calatrava. Original document registered at Lierganes Parochial Church, Book of Baptisms, folio 37. See also Pascual Madoz, *Diccionario geografico, estadistico, his-*

Over the main entrance of the Riaño home stood the family coat of arms: two castles and two arrows under a brown crown with white plumes. This stone building, which still exists, is known locally as the *casa del Intendente Riaño*.² Riaño's mother was Rosa de la Barcena.³ His father, Juan Manuel de Riaño, held the municipal positions of mayor and judge.⁴ He was later appointed a knight in the prestigious Military Order of Malta and named Spanish governor of the provinces of Modica and Montalto in southeast Sicily, where he died at his post in 1784.⁵

Juan Antonio de Riaño grew up as a typical lad of Santander. In 1774 he became a midshipman *cadete* at the Spanish naval academy in Cadiz.⁶ Graduating early the following year, Riaño was commissioned an *alferez de fragata* in the Spanish navy as junior naval officers were needed for a coming expedition to North Africa. Moorish corsairs were a constant thorn to Spanish shipping in the Mediterranean. Exasperated, Charles III decided to end this harassment and ordered an assault on the Moorish bastion at Algiers. Several days after graduation, Riaño sailed from Cadiz to link up with the main invasion fleet from Cartagena commanded by Admiral Pedro de Castejo. It was a mighty fleet for the day with over 100 vessels. General Alejandro

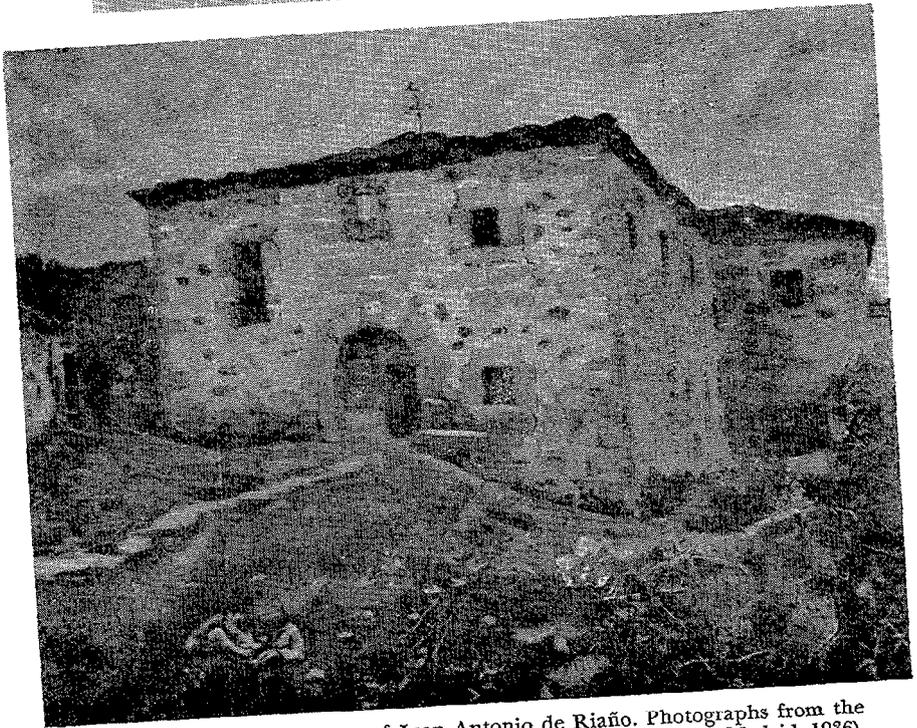
torico de Espana y sus posesiones de Ultramar, 16 vols. (Madrid, 1845-1850), X, 280-81; Eric Beerman, "Juan Antonio de Riaño: la participacion ilustre de un marino montanes durante la Revolucion Norteamericana," in *Santander y el Nuevo Mundo* (Santander, Spain, 1979).

2. Testimony of José Domingo de Carcoba on Riaño coat of arms, expediente 2182, 22, Orden Militar de Calatrava, AHN; Maria del Carmen Gonzalez Echegaray, *Escudos de Cantrabria-Trasmiera*, 2 vols. (Santander, 1971), I, 97-98; Fermin Sojo y Lomba, *Lierganes* (Madrid, 1936), 40.
3. Copy, baptismal certificate, expediente 2182, 5, 13, Orden Militar de Calatrava, AHN. Original document registered at Mogros Parochial Church, Book of Baptisms, 1728.
4. Copy, baptismal papers of Riaño's father, expediente 2182, 4, Orden Militar de Calatrava, AHN. Original registered at Lierganes Parochial Church, Book of Baptisms, folio 94. See also Sojo y Lomba, *Lierganes*, 40-43.
5. Juan Antonio de Riaño to Antonio Valdez, minister of the navy, July 22, 1785, legajo 3383, Estado, AHN.
6. "Hoja de servicios y expediente personal del teniente de navio Don Juan Antonio Riaño y Barcena, 1785." Archivo-Museo Bazan, Marina de Guerra, el Viso del Marques, Spain (hereinafter cited as "Hoja de servicios de Riaño"). After Riaño's transfer from the navy to the army in 1785, his service record of the navy was incorporated into that of the army, "Hoja de servicios del teniente coronel D. Juan Antonio de Riaño, 1795," Archivo General de Simancas (hereinafter cited as AGS), Secretaria, de Guerra, legajo 7272, IX, 15 (hereinafter cited as "Hoja de servicios del ejercito").

O'Reilly, who commanded the landing force of 22,000 men, was no stranger to the Gulf Coast of West Florida and Louisiana. Unfortunately, his performance on the rocky North African beach on July 8, 1775, did not match his crushing of the New Orleans Creole revolt six years before. The attack was disastrous for the Spaniards as the Algerians had been forewarned of the invasion. At the end of O'Reilly's "longest day," 2,000 Spanish soldiers lay dead and many other wounded, some of whom were evacuated by Riaño's ship.⁷

Riaño's naval career continued, and three years later he was promoted to *alferez de navio* (equivalent to the twentieth-century navy's lieutenant junior grade).⁸ Given the fact that he had no special influence at the Court, it is surprising that he received such recognition. Obviously, his superiors thought he had great talent. After the outbreak of hostilities between Spain and Great Britain in September 1779, Riaño was on duty in New Orleans serving under Bernardo de Gálvez, governor of Louisiana. In a brilliant campaign, Gálvez removed the British threat from New Orleans with his victories at Fort Bute at Manchac, Fort New Richmond at Baton Rouge, and Fort Panmure at Natchez. Riaño's naval expertise was important in this Mississippi campaign which freed the river for Spanish shipping and allowed Spain to supply the American Colonel George Morgan at Fort Pitt with money, munitions, material, and muskets.⁹

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7. Sojo y Lomba, *Lierganes*, 40; *Diccionario Porrúa de historia, biografía y geografía de México*, 2 vols. 3rd ed. (Mexico City, 1976), II, 1760. For an account of O'Reilly at Algiers, see Eric Beerman, "General Alejandro O'Reilly, soldado irlandés al servicio de España," *Hidalguía*, forthcoming. See also Archivo del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Madrid, mss. 176, 193, AGS, Guerra y Marina, legajos 2004-2010.
 8. "Hoja de servicios de Riaño."
 9. Gálvez's diary of the Louisiana campaigns published in the official newspaper of the Spanish government, *Gazeta de Madrid*, December 31, 1779. For studies on these campaigns, see John Walton Caughey, *Bernardo de Gálvez: in Louisiana, 1776-1783* (Berkeley, 1934; facsimile ed., Gretna, Louisiana, 1972); Jack D. L. Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity: The Louisiana Infantry Regiment and the Louisiana Militia Companies, 1766-1821* (Birmingham, 1965); Guillermo Porrás Muñoz, *Bernardo de Gálvez* (Madrid, 1952); Sebastian Souvirón, *Bernardo de Gálvez, virrey de México* (Malaga, Spain, 1946); José Rodolfo Boeta, *Bernardo de Gálvez* (Madrid, 1977); Anna Lewis, "Fort Panmure, 1779, as Related by Juan de la Villebeuve to Bernardo de Gálvez," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVIII (March 1932), 541-48; Jack D. L. Holmes, "Bernardo de Gálvez: Spain's 'Man of the Hour' during the American Revolution," *Cardinales de Dos Independencias (Noreste de México-Sureste de los Estados Unidos)* (Mexico City, 1978), 161-74; Isidoro Vázquez de Acuña, Marqués de



Coat of Arms and home of Juan Antonio de Riaño. Photographs from the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid: *Liérganes*, by Fermin Sojo Lomba (Madrid, 1936).

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Bernardo de Gálvez

The next Spanish objective was Fort Charlotte at Mobile. Despite Riaño's youthful age, twenty-two at the time, Gálvez regarded him highly and named him chief pilot for the invasion fleet which departed New Orleans on January 14, 1780. Riaño guided the expedition, with nearly 800 soldiers, safely down the difficult waters of the Mississippi and out through the river's eastern pass.¹⁰ This Spanish force would be joined later by units of various infantry regiments under José de Ezpeleta, leaving from Havana on March 5.¹¹ On February 9, with Riaño's sloop *Valenzuela* in the lead, the New Orleans expedition was approaching Mobile Bay when the Spaniards suddenly sighted what appeared to be a British vessel sailing out of the bay. Suspecting that it was bound for Pensacola, Gálvez ordered Riaño to take an armed launch and capture the ship. He did not want the enemy at Pensacola to hear about the attack on Mobile. Riaño jumped from his sloop into a launch and carried out Gálvez's orders to the letter. Riaño returned with the captured vessel and crew, and a British officer revealed that a large frigate was in the bay. Riaño reacted like a fire horse upon hearing the bell; he immediately asked authority to take a galliot with three launches in an effort to capture the frigate. Although Gálvez granted permission, this time fortune was not with Riaño. The darkness that night caused him to run aground repeatedly. Reluctantly, Riaño ordered his vessels to return to the main fleet.¹²

On February 12, Spanish troops, both soldiers and sailors; stormed ashore at Mobile. Riaño himself took charge of a ship's cannon and served throughout the siege as an artilleryman.¹³ Later on the day of the landing, a storm destroyed much of the Spaniard's armaments and supplies. The landing force, however,

García del Postigo, "El Conde de Gálvez," *Revista de Historia Militar*, V (1961), 51-89.

10. "Diario que yo D. Bernardo de Gálvez, Brigadier de los Reales Ejércitos, Gobernador de la Provincia de la Luisiana y encargado por S. M. de la expedición contra Pensacola y la Mobila formó de los acaecimientos que ocurren . . . Mobila, 2 de enero a 18 de marzo de 1780," AGS, Guerra Moderna, legajo 6912 (hereinafter cited as "Diario de Mobila"). This *diario* was printed in *Gazeta de Madrid*, June 20, 1780, supplement, 435-51.
11. *Ibid.*; María de Soto Serafín, Conde de Clonard, *Historia orgánica de las armas de infantería y caballería españolas, desde la creación del ejército permanente hasta el día*, 16 vols. (Madrid, 1851-1862), XI, 254.
12. "Diario de Mobila."
13. *Ibid.*

pulled itself together and established a beachhead. With the arrival of Ezpeleta's Cuban units, siege lines were established around Fort Charlotte. As the British situation appeared hopeless, the Spaniards raised a white flag and sent Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Boulogny to induce his old friend Colonel Elias Durnford of the British garrison to surrender. Durnford respectfully rejected the capitulation terms. Hostilities then resumed and, after a heavy bombardment, with Riaño's cannon contributing, Colonel Durnford surrendered Fort Charlotte on March 14.¹⁴ Gálvez was especially satisfied with the combat abilities of his naval aide Riaño, promoting him to *teniente de fragata* (lieutenant) two months after the fall of Mobile.¹⁵

Spain's next objective was Pensacola, the remaining British bastion on the Gulf coast. Gálvez first sailed to Havana and New Orleans, taking along Riaño, to prepare for the attack on Pensacola. At other times Riaño sailed alone, carrying Gálvez's secret dispatches and plans to diverse Spanish units in the Caribbean. Meanwhile in Spain, the siege of Gibraltar had failed and many of these Spanish army and navy units were transferred to Cuba for the projected assault on Pensacola. This was causing the British to fight a two-front war on the North American continent: in the north against the American patriots and in Florida and the Caribbean against the Spanish.¹⁶

After a storm aborted an earlier assault on Pensacola, Riaño sailed with the Spanish invasion fleet departing Havana Bay on February 28, 1781. It was destined for Santa Rosa Island at the entrance of Pensacola Bay. On the evening of March 9, Spanish infantrymen moved ashore on the western end of the island near Siguenza Point and successfully established themselves. At day-

14. *Ibid.*; "Artículos sobre la capitulación por Elias Durnford, sub-gobernador de la provincia de Florida Occidental y comandante del Fuerte Charlotte de Mobila, y Bernardo de Gálvez . . . Mobila, 13 de marzo de 1780," AGS, Guerra Moderna, legajo 6912. These capitulation terms were printed in *Gazeta de Madrid*, June 23, 1780, supplement, and William Beer, ed., "The Surrender of Fort Charlotte," *American Historical Review*, I (July 1896), 696-99. For information on Boulogny, see Gilbert C. Din, *Louisiana in 1776: The Boulogny Memorial* (New Orleans, 1977).

15. "Hoja de servicios de Riaño."

16. "La escuadra de dn. José de Solano, salió de Cádiz el 28 de abril de 1780. . . .," collection of the Conde de Clonard, legajo 31, Servicio Histórico Militar, Madrid (hereinafter cited as "La escuadra de Solano"); "Estado y noticias de la guerra," mss. 19445, f. 43, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; Manuel Conrotte, *La intervención de España en la independencia de los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte* (Madrid, 1920), 236.

break the following morning the invaders captured three dismounted cannons at Siguenza and then seized two British launches with seven sailors which had come in to feed the cattle on the island.¹⁷

With Santa Rosa Island secure two days after the landing, Riaño took the *Valenzuela* and sounded the bar at the entrance to Pensacola Bay. He was surprised to find only twenty-one feet of clearance instead of the twenty-four feet Havana naval authorities had expected. Despite the limited depth, British cannons at Red Cliffs on the western shore of the entrance, harassing fire from the two enemy frigates *Mentor* and *Port Royal*, and serious reservations by the Spanish fleet commander José Calvo de Irazabal, Gálvez decided to enter the bay. He was acting on Riaño's recommendation. That same afternoon (March 11), Calvo's seventy-gun flagship *San Ramon* led the fleet towards the entrance, but the ship struck the sandbar. Understandably, the other vessels were reluctant to attempt entry.¹⁸

Gálvez's concern increased as no communication had yet been received from José de Ezpeleta and his Mobile contingent that was supposed to join the attack on Pensacola. The general ordered Riaño to sail to Mobile and to find out the cause for the delay. At eight o'clock on the morning of March 16, Riaño returned, bringing good news: Ezpeleta was leaving Mobile with 900 men and marching east towards the Perdido River and Pensacola.¹⁹

The performance of the navy had disappointed Gálvez, and he decided that he might have to act on his own and without naval

17. "Diario de las operaciones de la expedición contra la plaza de Pensacola . . . baxo las órdenes del Mariscal de campo D. Bernardo de Gálvez . . . Pensacola, 12 de mayo 1781," AGS, Guerra Moderna, legajo 6912 (hereinafter cited as "Diario de Pensacola"). This diario was published in *Gazeta de Madrid*, August 21, 1781, and also in booklet form. See also "La escuadra de Solano."
18. "A Journal of the Siege of Pensacola, West Florida, 1781," *Archivo del General Miranda*, 24 vols. (Caracas, 1929-1950), I, 179, which states that this diary was probably written by a British officer at Pensacola; "Diario de Panzacola: Diario de lo más particular ocurrido desde el día de nuestra salida del puerto de la Havana" (hereinafter cited as "Diario de la Havana"), in *ibid.*, I, 141, which states that this Spanish naval diary was written by a subordinate of Captain José Calvo serving on the flagship *San Ramón*, and it illustrates the frequent clashes between the army and the navy.
19. "Diario de Pensacola." For a biographical account of Ezpeleta, see Eric Beerman, "José de Ezpeleta," *Revista de Historia Militar*, XXI (1977), 97-118.

support. His own ship, the *Galveztown*, Riaño's *Valenzuela*, and two armed launches were not under Calvo's command as were the other vessels in the invasion fleet.²⁰ With his troops living under bad conditions on Santa Rosa, the imminent arrival of Mobile and New Orleans units, and a large fleet on the open sea with possible destruction or dispersment by a sudden storm, Gálvez decided that immediate action was imperative.²¹

On March 18, he dispatched an aide to inform Calvo that if he had the least degree of courage and honor, he would enter Pensacola Bay. Gálvez, of course, would go first, aboard the *Galveztown*, in order to protect the larger *San Ramón* and help in part to dissipate Calvo's temerity. Calvo responded to Gálvez's request for action with a message in which he described "a spoiled upstart and traitor to king and country." If he repeated his disrespect, Calvo threatened to hang Gálvez from a yardarm of the *San Ramón*.²²

Gálvez realized that he would have to act without the support of the fleet. He ordered Riaño to prepare the *Valenzuela* and the two armed launches for forcing their passage into the bay. Gálvez boarded the *Galveztown* and raised his general-of-division ensign in order to leave no doubt to friend nor foe alike that he was on board. Sailing past Calvo's fleet, the *Galveztown*, Riaño's *Valenzuela*, and the two launches then turned and headed under full sail for the sandbar. The British batteries at Red Cliffs had expected the entire fleet to attempt entry; they did not anticipate four small vessels sailing in alone. The British, caught napping, fired off only twenty-eight rounds as Gálvez and Riaño sailed into Pensacola Bay relatively unmolested. The Spaniards on Santa Rosa Island and on the ships with the possible exception of Navy Captain Calvo, cheered this heroic action. The other naval officers were probably chagrined to see Gálvez and their own young colleague Riaño safely inside the bay. They wanted to enter also, but Gálvez ordered them to stay put until he gave the word. The following day, March 19, despite British preparations in which their Red Cliffs's batteries fired off 140 rounds, the Spanish fleet moved into the bay. Only Calvo's *San Ramón* did

20. *Ibid.*; "Diario de la Havana," 141.

21. "Reales cédulas del Conde de Gálvez," Consejos Suprimidos, legajo 5085, 2, AHN; "Diario de Pensacola."

22. "Diario de la Havana," 144.

not join in the action.²³ Two years later the Crown authorized Gálvez to add to his coat of arms a replica of the *Galveztown* with the inscription, "Yo Solo."²⁴ The involvement of Riaño and the other Spaniards who also were with "Yo Solo" seemed to have been forgotten.

With the Spanish navy securely anchored inside Pensacola Bay, relations between the two services improved but only temporarily. On March 22, rivalry erupted again when Gálvez and Riaño attended a working luncheon with naval officers. The conversation became heated when recent events were discussed, and Gálvez announced that he did not need the navy. The host of the luncheon, Navy Captain Miguel de Alderete, retorted that the minister of the Navy in Madrid would hear about Gálvez's disrespect towards the sister-service.

The rancor abated somewhat the next day when the remainder of the New Orleans contingent of 550 soldiers arrived and the British instigated their heaviest shelling thus far—706 rounds. Rivalry no doubt declined further when Calvo departed on the *San Ramón* on March 24 bound for Havana. Gálvez and Riaño then began to enjoy an increasingly good rapport with the remaining Spanish naval officers as all desired to get on with the primary task—the conquest of Fort George.²⁵

Siege lines were tightened around Fort George. Many sailors like Riaño, as they had at Mobile, left their ships and served on land during the battle. Spanish force was further bolstered on April 19 with the arrival of Admiral José Solano's fleet with 1,600 crack infantry veterans from the siege at Gibraltar, in addition to 750 Gallic troops who sailed on French ships. French sailors, like their Spanish comrades, also served on land. The British garrison at Pensacola was now heavily outnumbered by

23. Ibid.; "Diario de Pensacola"; "Reales cédulas de Conde de Gálvez." The latter account indicates that, besides the *Galveztown* and *Valenzuela*, there was only one armed launch, whereas the other two diaries and "A Journal of the Siege of Pensacola" indicate two launches, for a total of four vessels which forced the bay.

24. "Reales cédulas del Conde de Gálvez." For a biographical study on the Gálvez family, see Eric Beerman's introduction in *Yo Solo: The Battle Journal of Bernardo de Gálvez during the American Revolution* (New Orleans, 1977.)

25. "Diario de la Havana," 147. Some of the army officers bickered among themselves, noting that one of Gálvez's top generals, the Marquis González de Castejón, was married to the niece of General John Campbell, commander-in-chief of British troops in West Florida. Ibid., 145.

the invading forces as the siege continued. Riaño served with the unit that was laying siege to the advanced British battery of Half-Moon located on high ground overlooking Fort George.

On May 8 a Spanish grenade struck Half-Moon's powder magazine, blowing it up, together with some 100 of its defenders. The Spaniards moved quickly to take advantage of the opportunity. Riaño joined the troops which occupied the shattered British battery and unleashed a heavy barrage against the besieged Fort George below. British General John Campbell's position had become untenable. He raised a white flag at Fort George asking for capitulation terms. A Spanish delegation including Riaño worked out terms with the British. On the morning of May 10, the British garrison marched out of Fort George and surrendered to the Spaniards. There were 1,400 prisoners, including General Campbell and Vice-Admiral Peter Chester, governor and captain-general of West Florida.²⁶ Riaño participated with distinction in this epic victory, eliminating the last British stronghold on the Gulf coast of North America which contributed significantly to the success of the American Revolution.

As a result of his outstanding performance under fire at Pensacola, Riaño was promoted to *teniente de navio* (equivalent to the modern lieutenant commander) one week before his twenty-fourth birthday.²⁷ He then returned to New Orleans where he married Victoria de St. Maxent at St. Louis Cathedral. The ceremony was one of the social events of the year. Many veterans of the siege of Pensacola attended: Gálvez; Victoria's father Gilberto Antonio de St. Maxent; her brother Maximiliano; and Riaño's future brothers-in-law, Manuel Flon (Marquis de la Cadena) and Joaquín de Osorno, both captains in the Navarra Infantry Regiment. Another illustrious brother-in-law, Luis de

26. "La escuadra de Solano"; "Diario de Pensacola"; "Diario de la Havana," 147-48. For additional accounts of the siege, see Albert W. Haarmann, "The Spanish Conquest of British West Florida, 1779-1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX (October 1960), 107-34; Maury Baker and Margaret Bissler Haas, eds., "Bernardo de Gálvez's Combat Diary for the Battle of Pensacola, 1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVI (October 1977), 176-99; N. Orwin Rush, *The Battle of Pensacola, March 9 to May 8, 1781* (Tallahassee, 1966). For the names of British officials in West Florida, see *The Royal Kalender, or complete and correct Annual Register for England, Scotland, Ireland and America for the Year 1779*, signatura 5/884, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

27. "Hoja de servicios de Riaño"; *Gazeta de Madrid*, August 21, 1781.

Unzaga, the former governor of Louisiana and at the time the captain-general of Venezuela, was unable to attend the wedding.²⁸

After serving at Pensacola, Riaño received a new assignment as chief pilot at Baliza on the mouth of the Mississippi. However, he often accompanied Gálvez on missions in the Caribbean in preparation for the proposed Spanish-French assault on the British bastion of Jamaica.²⁹ This invasion never came off due to Admiral George Rodney's defeat of Comte de Grasse's French fleet and the conclusion of peace talks.

The year after the war ended, Riaño's father died in Sicily, and he returned to Spain to assist his sick and elderly mother in caring for their estate. As he himself was ill, Riaño requested permission to transfer from the navy to the army to serve in Mexico under Viceroy Gálvez.³⁰ It was granted, and Riaño departed Spain for the last time to commence his army career in Mexico. Riaño's joy of being associated again with Gálvez was cut short as the viceroy died on November 30, 1786. At the burial services of their brother-in-law at the church of San Fernando in the Mexican capital, Riaño and Manuel Flon had places of honor.³¹

Riaño spent the remainder of his life in the service of Spain in Mexico. In 1787, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and

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28. Marriage document, Riaño and Victoria St. Maxent, registered at St. Louis Cathedral, "Premier registre des Mariages des blanc" (1777-1784), 104, document 200, cited in J. Ignacio Rubio Mañé, "Matrimonio de D. Juan Antonio de Riaño," Mexico, *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, XVI (1945), 298; Lucas Alamán, *Historia de Méjico*, 5 vols. (Mexico City, 1849-1852), I, 75; James Julian Coleman, Jr., *Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent: The Spanish-Frenchman of New Orleans* (New Orleans, 1968), 54-55; Stanley C. Arthur, *The Story of the West Florida Rebellion* (St. Francisville, Louisiana, 1935), 43-44. For a genealogical sketch of the St. Maxent family, see Eric Beerman, "The French Ancestors of Felicite de St. Maxent," *Louisiana Review*, VI (Summer 1977), 69-75.
 29. Letters from Riaño to Bernardo de Gálvez, 1781-1782, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 605-1, Archivo General de Indias, Seville.
 30. Riaño to Antonio Váldez, July 22, 1785, Luis de Córdoba to Váldez, August 2, 1785, Váldez to Córdoba, November 14, 1785, in "Hoja de servicios de Riaño."
 31. *Gazeta de México*, December 5, 1786, 251-53; Fernando de Córdoba to José de Gálvez, Marqués de la Sonora, December 2, 1786, expediente 7, 13, Estado, legajo 3885-bis, AHN. Gálvez made out his will shortly before his death. It stated that his relative Fernando de Córdoba and brother-in-law Riaño should retain their respective assignments: no mention was made of brother-in-law Manuel Flon, who was married to Mariana de St. Maxent. Abstract of Gálvez's will in the expediente of Miguel de Gálvez y St. Maxent, his son, for entry into the Military Order of Calatrava, 1797; expediente 1009, V, Orden Militar de Calatrava, AHN.

named intendant of Michoacán.³² After five years at that post, Riaño transferred to Guanajuato, where he served for the next eighteen years.³³ There, on September 28, 1810, he became one of the first Spanish victims of Father Miguel Hidalgo's bid for independence in Mexico. Thus, at the age of fifty-seven, after forty years of dedicated service in behalf of his country, Juan Antonio de Riaño died. His son Gilberto also perished in this action at the *alhóndiga* (public granary), which Intendant Riaño had built some years earlier.³⁴

From Riaño's marriage to Victoria de St. Maxent there were born four children: Gilberto; Honorato, born in 1791 at Valladolid (today Morelia), capital of Michoacán, who married his niece Victoria Setien y Riaño and who died in Mexico City in 1857; Rosa, who married Miguel Setien; and Gil, who was born in Mexico and killed in action in 1812 at the battle of Cattle de Amilpas.³⁵

In this era of the Bicentennial celebrations, greater recognition should be made of Juan Antonio de Riaño's services at Pensacola. Perhaps too much credit has been given to Bernardo de Gálvez and his motto of "Yo Solo" on that day in 1781 when he crossed the sandbar into Pensacola Bay. A more fitting and accurate motto would be, "Yo solo, acompañado por mi cuñado."

32. "Hoja de servicios del ejército."

33. Lucio Marmolejo, *Elermérides Guanajuatenses*, 2 vols. (Guanajuato, Mexico, 1883), II, 320-21; "Real Orden del 22 julio 1791," *Titulos de Indias* (188-581), AGS; *Diccionario Porrúa de historia, biografía y geografía de México*, II, 1760.

34. Sojo y Lomba, *Liérganes*, 42-43; *Guía Oficial de España* (Estado Militar de América), 1802, 200; Alamán, *Historia de Méjico*, I, 424-27; Emilio del Castillo Negrete, *Historia militar de México en el siglo XIX*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1883), II, 284.

35. Sojo y Lomba, *Liérganes*, 42-43.