



SPAIN

KEY TO YORKTOWN VICTORY

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Translate: José E. Herráiz Gil



España. Museo del Prado. El Gran Capitán, recorriendo el campo de la batalla de Ceriñola, ordena apesadumbrado recoger el cadáver del duque de Nemours. Óleo de Federico Madrazo, 1835.

BACKGROUND

War is a regrettable recurrent record in human History. Stemming from hatred, injustice and pride, the horseman of War rides tirelessly bringing about horrible consequences of hunger, death and desolation, together with his other 3 apocalyptic peers. For this reason, yet in Rome, one of the most praised deeds of the Emperor Augustus was the closure of the temple consecrated to the God Janus on three times, as it meant upcoming peace periods as opposed to war ones, when the temple was open.

The great Prussian military man Carl von Clausewitz stated the following phrase: “War is the continuation of politics, but by other means.” But we consider more appropriate to reverse the phrase: “Politics is the continuation of war, but by other means.”

The well-known French “grandeur” propelled such continuation, motivated its rivalry against Spain from the end of the 15th century. Many hostilities—either open conflicts or silent ones—resulted in a Spanish triumph when preventing the French hegemony in the Mare Nostrum, thanks to the Spanish “Tercios” of D. Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba “el Gran Capitán” (*the Great Captain*) and the Mediterranean Catholic States’ galleys and troops allied actions (like Venice or the Vatican).

In 1525, Spain defeated the French army in the battle of Pavía (today Italy), where Francis I was taken prisoner to Madrid over one year. This shamed France. Maybe for that reason, while Spain fought together with its southern European allies against Ottoman expansion, France—headed

by his ironically entitled “most Christian” King since XV century—outraged Europe when allied the Ottoman Sublime Porte from 1536 over almost the following three centuries. However, the Ottomans were halted at Malta (1565) and heroically defeated at Lepanto (1571).

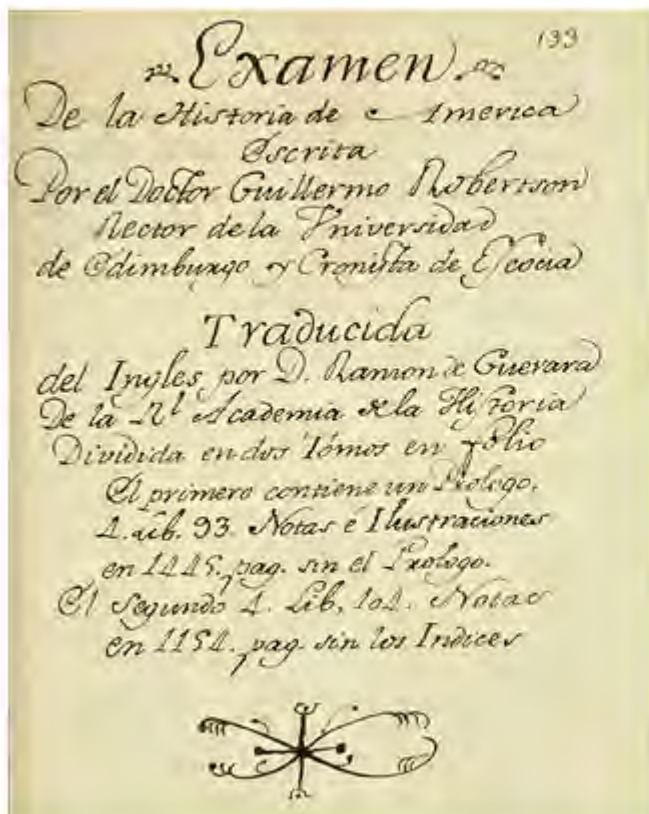
Finally, it will suffice remembering the treacherous Napoleonic invasion of 1808, perfectly comparable to today’s Russian invasion in Ukraine. The dictator’s objective was no other than to dismantle our Nation, taking over the northern part of the Peninsula from a newly pulled border along the Ebro river while dominating the rest of the peninsula, and looting the Spanish dominions worldwide. The latter was, however, achieved by Spain’s also treacherous ally: England

THE BLACK LEGEND

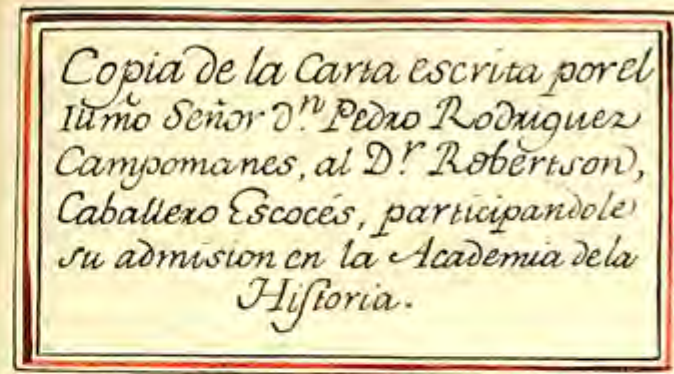
All of the above are outstanding milestones of a latently started war by English, French and Dutch against Spain: the “Black Legend”. One example of many regrettable episodes was William Robertson’s —Dean to the University of Edinburgh and chronicler of Scotland— who published a History of America (1777), riddled with falsehoods and incisively insulting our nation. He had not set foot in Hispanic America, though.

Most mind-boggling was Campomanes’ praising letter (29 December 1777) to Robertson for his work, under translation by Ramón de Guevara, by the time the Scottish was informed that he had been appointed as member of the Royal Academy of History.

Confronting such an aberrant decision, José de Gálvez (Minister for the Indies by that time), asked the great historian Juan Bautista Muñoz to carefully review the Scotsman’s work. As a result of the latter’s detailed analysis, a Gálvez suggested Royal Order on 23 December 1778 prohibited the dissemination of the aforementioned libel in the Spanish dominions.



España. Biblioteca Nacional. Examen de la Historia de América de Robertson.



Muy Señor mío. Seria inutil extenderme en manifestar a V.S. quanta estimacion hacen los Españoles Literatos de sus obras, y los motivos que me obligan a escribir esta Carta. Despues de haver escrito V.S. la Historia de su Patria con tanta concision y acierto, emprendió la de Carlos V. en la mas delicada crisis de la Europa: desempeñola V.S. con admiracion comun, penetrando los mayores arcanos de la constitucion de nuestra Monarquia Española: Pero que mucho á vista de su excelente discurso sobre el Gobier.

Real Orden

El Doctor Guillermo Robertson de la Universidad de Edimburgo, y Chronista de Escocia ha escrito y publicado en idioma Ingles la Historia del descubrimiento de la America; y conienso el Rey justos motivos para que dha obra no se introduzca en España ni en Indias: ha resuelto S. M. q. con el mayor rigor y vigilancia se impida su embarks para las Americas, y Filipinas, ni en el idioma Ingles ni en ningun otro, a que se ha traducido ó traducida, y que si hubiere algunas Partidas ó exemplares de dicha obra en los Reinos de uno u otro Dominio, ó introducidos ya tieerra adentro, se deneguen y embarguen á disposicion del Ministerio de Indias: Y de su R.ª Or.ª se lo participo á V.S. para que tomando las providencias mas estrechas y convenientes, en su jurisdic.ª, ponga el debido cumplimiento á esta resolucion. Dio.ª q. á V.S. m.ª. d. m.ª. 23. de Diciembre de 1778. Josef de Gálvez. S.ª Gobernador de la Habana: Igual Or.ª se expidió á los Virreyes, Gobernadores, e Intendentes de los Puertos.



España. Granada. Universidad Loyola. Fondo Saavedra. Retrato de Francisco de Saavedra.

FRANCISCO DE SAAVEDRA SANGRONIS AND THE FORGOTTEN JESUIT MANUEL IGNACIO PÉREZ ALONSO

This work's mission is the provision of documents evidencing the decisive but forgotten contribution of Spain to the crucial triumph of Yorktown, where Francisco de Saavedra and Bernardo de Gálvez played a key role in the victory of rebel and French joint troops under the command of Washington and Rochambeau.

Regarding the forgotten Saavedra (Sevilla, 1746), it is necessary to remember a practically unknown great researcher, Manuel Ignacio Pérez Alonso (Managua, 1917). He joined the Society of Jesus at the age of 16 and studied at the Pontifical University of Comillas (Santander, Spain). He founded the Ibero-American University of Mexico, where he was Dean and "Honoris Causa" Phd.

He later earned his doctorate at Georgetown University with a thesis titled "War Mission in the Caribbean," about Saavedra and Spain's decisive participation in the triumph of the US

Revolution. Pérez Alonso was the first researcher to analyze the archives of the illustrious Sevillian, in the latter's heirs hands. Today, this invaluable documentary collection is preserved in Granada, in the Faculty of Theology (Loyola University).

UNITED STATES DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Both Spain and France sharply outlooked the 13 colonies' declaration of independence, as a new and great opportunity for the Bourbon powers to regain hegemony.

As Spain was not prepared for the coming war, it delayed outbreaking hostilities against the English, while France took first step in February 1778, after both nations began to secretly provide weapons and other supplies to the patriots since 1776.

From Louisiana, firstly General Luis de Unzaga, and later on Colonel Bernardo de Gálvez from January 1 1777, the Spanish supplied the continuous demands of the rebels along the Mississippi River, as the entry route for all sort of aid, both in kind and money.

Benjamin Franklin, the diplomatic representative of the Americans in Europe, also settled additional aid in Paris from the Governments of France and Spain, whose ambassador to the French capital was the Count of Aranda.

The newly born American nation lacked not only an army or navy, but also a national bank, a reliable currency or any war factory... even gunpowder production was very scarce. The historian Larrie Ferreiro claims that the patriots' paper money stopped circulating because its face value plummeted by 700 times.

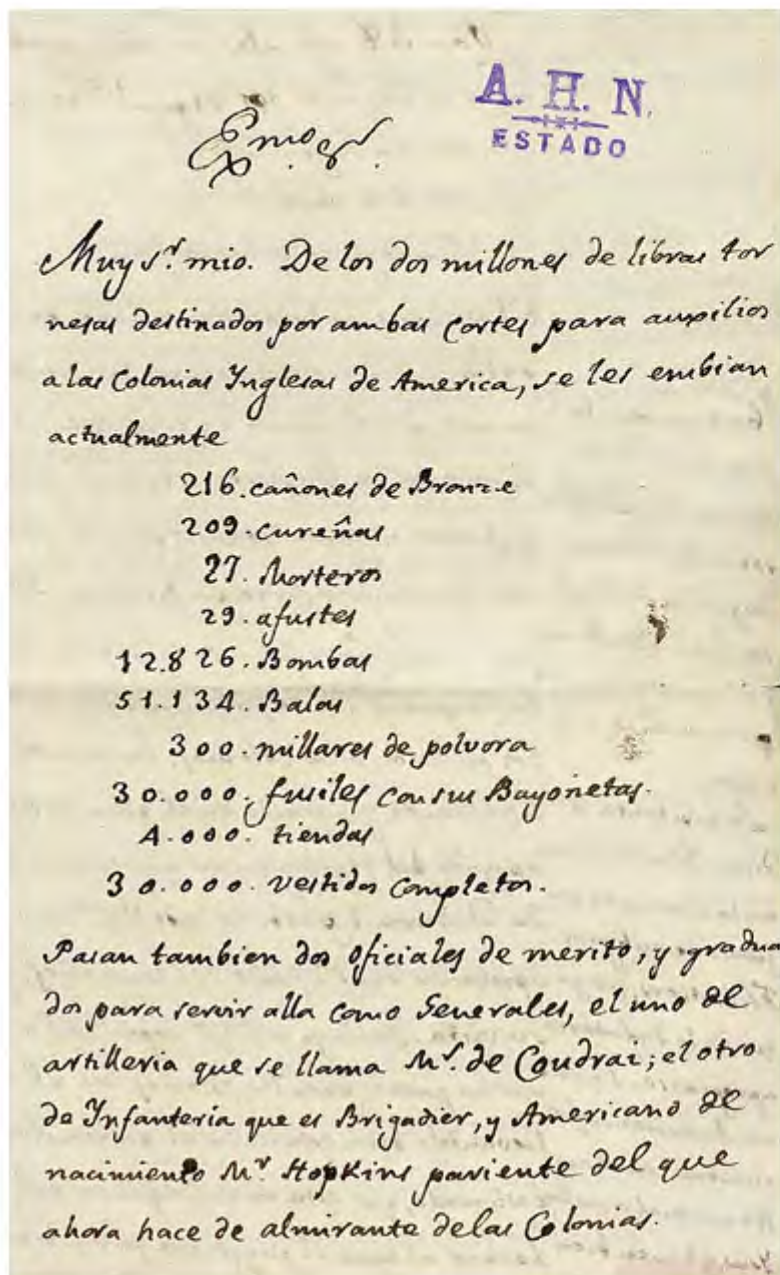
Shocking accounts of the resulting cruel bloody civil war are available in Holger Hook's book "The Scars of Independence", published in Spain in 2021.



Bernardo de Gálvez retratado con 20 años. Óleo propiedad de Terry Wallace. Nueva York



Retrato de Benjamin Franklin pintado por David Martín en 1767. Wikimedia.



España. Ministerio de Cultura. Archivo Histórico Nacional. Carta de Aranda a Grimaldi. París, 7 de septiembre de 1776.



España. Madrid. Palacio Real. Carlos III con el hábito de su Orden. Mariano Salvador Maella, c1783.

About two and a half million people lived in the thirteen colonies: 500,000 were slaves and the same number of inhabitants were loyalists to the English King. The rebels numbered barely a million and a half, who had to fight against royalists and England, which accounted for 11 million inhabitants and the most powerful navy in the world.

Weapons, gunpowder, uniforms, medicines and cash supplied by France and Spain at the beginning of the war, were key to the first and important victory achieved by the patriots in Saratoga. This was a French initiative, managed by Beaumarchais, referred by Count of Aranda in September 7, 1776, as the decisive help of both nations, without which the patriots would have never achieved their independence.

THE SPANISH ARMY

The disastrous Seven Years' War had one very positive effect for Spain: it highlighted the poor conditions of its Army. Aware of this, King Charles III made an effort to promote the necessary reforms, which began with the drafting of new Royal Ordinances, which were promulgated in 1768.

The excessive number of senior commands was a heavy misbalance stemming from the nobility class in the Ancien Regime. In 1782 there were more than 240 generals, regardless those of the Navy, most of them of advanced age, according to *the annual Military State of Spain at that time*. Except for artillerymen and engineers, there were no military educational institutions. Although belatedly, in 1774 General O'Reilly incorporated the Royal Military Academy of Ávila with the aim of decisively improving the training of military officers, what France, Prussia and some other European nations were much more advanced in. However, both due to the heavy Spanish defeat at Algiers and then the Spanish commitment to the American War of Independence, the Institution stopped its activities previously to its disappearance in 1779.

Both the Infantry Captain Francisco de Saavedra and Bernardo de Gálvez attended the aforementioned Academy, when both shared same rank and arm. However, the first was engaged as a teacher while the second attended as a student.

The most important operations of the Army were deployed in America, in accordance with the strategy

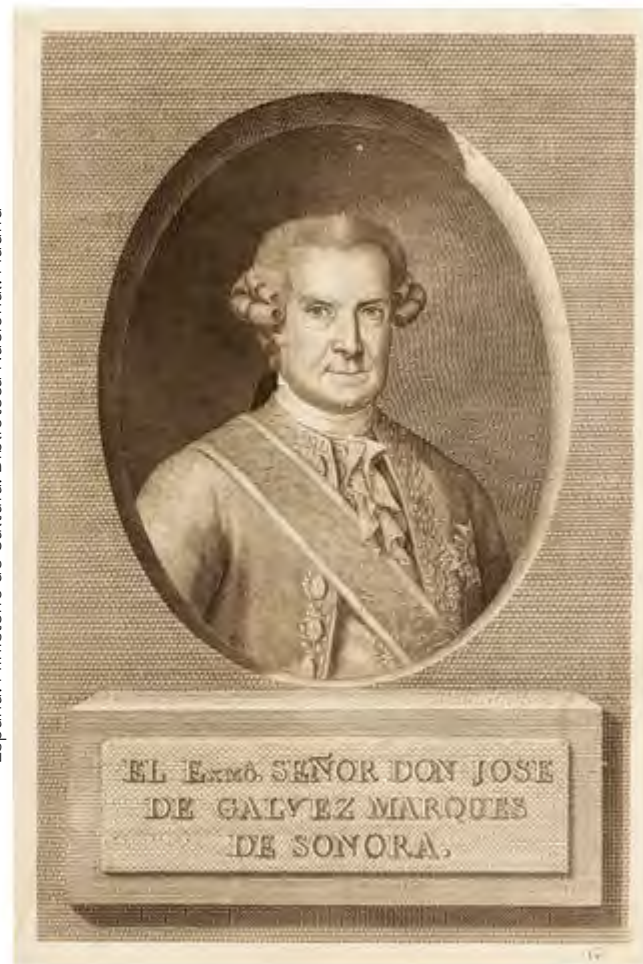


España. Granada. Abadía de Sacro Monte. Francisco de Saavedra. Goya, 1798.

planned by José de Gálvez —universal Minister for the Indies— and his brother Miguel —member of the Supreme War Council from 1774 to 1786—. Both were great jurists and war auditors. In the area of Guatemala and Honduras, the troops were commanded by their brother Matías de Gálvez, and in the Gulf of Mexico and West Florida, they were led by the latter's son: Bernardo de Gálvez.



España. Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional. Único retrato conocido de Matías de Gálvez. Tomás Suria, México, 1785.



España. Ministerio de Cultura. Biblioteca Nacional. Madrid



España. Real Academia de Jurisprudencia y Legislación. Miguel de Gálvez y Gallardo. Óleo de autor desconocido.

The Gálvez enjoyed privileged minds who gained the Crown's total trust, which they served with absolute honesty and dedication. It cannot be forgotten that the great Saavedra, close friend to the Gálvez, was appointed the Monarch's special envoy in the American domains to resolve the anomalous attitude of the top commands in La Habana. This was one of Bernardo de Gálvez's problems because His Majesty Army's Lieutenant Generals Diego José Navarro, and the Navy's Juan Bautista Bonet did not obey the King's precise orders to support Gálvez with all possible means, perhaps —among other reasons— because he was 40 years younger than them.

Spain made a gigantic logistical effort to send numerous regiments to America, which entailed a huge expense, also because of the high troop casualties caused by tropical climate and typical diseases in those territories, soldiers previously weakened by the harsh conditions of two-month ocean crossings.

THE ROYAL NAVIES OF THE THREE CONFRONTING POWERS

English naval forces were unquestionably the most powerful of the three countries that fought for hegemony. Some very significant records follow:

Although the French Royal Navy paralleled the size of the Spanish one, it underwent the effects of a worsening economic decline, when Louis XVI accessed the throne almost coinciding with the beginning of the American Revolution. In fact, —over the 15 years of his reign 14 different Ministers took charge of the Economy, but none was able to tackle such a French chronic financial crisis.

Extremely high costs deriving from the “Seven Years’ war” (1756-1763), poor harvests, frequent epidemic outbreaks, together with an Administration more focused on privileges than on the subject’s needs, brought about the 1789 French Revolution. Saavedra, in his “Decenios” (Decades), accurately described the disastrous economic situation of France, which we extract below:

- “...Louis XIV created a war navy in a short time... he quickly raised arsenals and built fleets, trained admirals and won victories. But this prosperity, only supported by the talent of Colbert and the ambition of his Majesty, surprisingly spreaded the consideration that the expenses of a sustainable navy were useless, as much as France only needed armies and its squares to subdue Europe,... French maritime power then disappeared as quickly as it was born. This long neglect of such an important war arm turned into a political maxim, the pernicious belief that France might be left without a navy... The misfortunes of the war ending in 1763 made that error be abjured, but adequate measures were not taken... and on the eve of the present war, it was necessary to raise fleets almost from scratch... One of the defects of the continuous naval changes and poor organization of the French navy relates

the need to cover more than half of the war navy officer commands with the most capable captains and pilots from the merchant navy when the present war began... This measure has produced and produces very bad effects. Old navy commanders look disdainfully and nickname “intruders” their new “merchant” officers, who in turn most hatefully reply their new peers as “ignorants”. These parties have blatantly split the navy apart... each ship, each vessel is a battlefield... Generally, in the French navy there is less-than-due subordination from junior officers, sailors and soldiers than there should be. There is neither silence nor precision on the ships, as opposed to English manoeuvres, and it is even inferior in this respect to the Spanish. I found my assertion on many specific records, which are agreed upon by French Generals themselves...

When hostilities began, Spain sent a large fleet to the Atlantic coast of France under the command of Admiral Córdoba—32 ships, as well as numerous smaller vessels—with almost 22,000 men, including sailors, gunners, auxiliaries and infantry troops. The objective was to invade England together with a French naval force of the same size. But the plague breaking out in the French navy, thwarted the planned operation.



Combatientes norteamericanos en el asedio de Yorktown.
Acuarela de Jean Baptiste Antoine DeVerger, 1781.

Subsequently, France agreed to collaborate with Spain in the operations against Menorca and Gibraltar, the latter failing. French military forces moved to the 13 colonies to fight alongside the patriots, as Lafayette did with a volunteer troop.

WHY IN YORKTOWN

In 1781, at the beginning of fifth year of war, with no decisive victories on either side, the situation of the 13 colonies was desperate: the conflict was at a standstill and both sides were exhausted. Seeking a definitive victory, the English planned to concentrate their south forces—mainly from Georgia and the Carolinas—in Maryland, almost

in the centre of the thirteen colonies, while leaving garrisons to defend both New York and Massachusetts area.

In the spring of 1781, Washington reactively considered two options to try to get out of the crossroads: one was to attack the British garrisons deployed in New York and the other was to move his army southwards to, together with the French units, confront the English in the territory of Virginia. In agreement with General Rochambeau, head of the French troops, he opted for the latter, counting on the French navy to support the planned offensive.

The final decision was made towards the beginning of May 1781 and almost coincided with the great Spanish triumph achieved by Bernardo de Gálvez in Panzacola, which logically meant an extraordinary relief for the thirteen colonies. Meanwhile in Central America, Matías de Gálvez operated successfully in such intricate theatre of operations, which meant preventing important British forces from operating against the patriots northwards. In addition, the Spanish navy began to prepare the operation to conquer Jamaica, in accordance with the instructions of King Charles III to Francisco de Saavedra and Bernardo de Gálvez who, upon his victory in Panzacola was named head of the army of

operations destined to recover such a strategic Caribbean island.

At the same time, the nearly 9,000 soldiers under the Cornwallis' English command, who were also in urgent need of human reinforcements, arms and supplies, began the march towards North Carolina to reach Virginia, while the patriots awaited both Spain's troops and its silver support.

Before, at the end of March 1781, a French fleet under de Grasse with 20 ships and nearly 150 transport vessels set out for America, and within a month arrived in the French Antilles where it was joined by other warships under d'Estaing's command. There, he received a letter from Rochambeau insisting on the urgent need to obtain funds to pay the wages of his soldiers, who were in the same difficult situation as the patriots.

Meanwhile, resulting of the agreement reached by the governments of Madrid and Paris, as per a Royal Order dated March 17 Spain delivered the huge amount of 1 million pesos to the French, in two equal installments (due in August and September 1781), in exchange for their collaboration in the assault against Jamaica, planned for March 1782. On June 18, after the victory at Panzacola Saavedra received an order from José de Gálvez to move



Estados Unidos. Metropolitan Museum. George Washington. James Peale, 1782.



to Guarico (Cap François), on the north coast of Santo Domingo, in the French part of la Española island (today Haiti) to close final settlement with Admiral de Grasse, which was signed on July 24: It included France provision of 8 ships and 3,000 soldiers under Spanish command. Since the entire fleet under de Grasse's command—30 ships and other vessels—had to set sail for Chesapeake Bay to help the rebels with money and troops, Saavedra proposed that he could go with his entire fleet while Spanish ships would take responsibility for protecting the French domains in the Lesser Antilles, which the French admiral happily accepted.

Plano de la marcha de Washington desde Nueva York a Yorktown.
 EmersonKent.com. Atlantic Seaboard.

su Esquadra al Norte. Pido al comercio
 de aquella plaza tres millong de libras tome-
 das para los gastos de esta empresa, pero
 no encontré quien le quisiera dar un Real.
 Volví a intentar por medio de canteles publicos
 ofreciendo letras pagables en la Thesoreria
 de Francia, pero ni aun perdieron un veinte
 gramo. Puntos hallé quien las tomase. Uti-
 lmente pidió el dinero en su nombre, ofe-
 ciendo en fianza sus propios bienes, y
 haciendas, que parecen son considerables, y
 estoy entendido que en breve se presentará
 una, ó dos personas, que le dieron la corta
 suma de quarenta mil libras. En este
 apuro Navarro me manifestando la
 grande necesidad en que se hallaba, y que no
 volam^{te} cancela del din.^{ro} preciso para su em-
 presa, sino que ni aun encontraba el in-
 dispensable para la subsistencia Regular de
 su Esquadra.

Paréceme muy perjudicial alor uno
 -rever de las dos coronas de Francia, y
 España, que una Esquadra de 30. Navios

España. Granada. Universidad Loyola. Francisco de Saavedra. Mis Decenios. Fracaso de
 Grasse al pedir dinero en el Cap, por lo que Saavedra le entregó 100 000 pesos.

DE GRASSE MAKES AN URGENT REQUEST FOR MONEY

As Larrie Ferreiro points out, Washington sent months earlier to Robert Morris (in charge of the finances of the thirteen colonies) a letter highlighting his distressing situation: I must beg you to obtain, if possible, a

month's pay in kind for the forces under my command. Some of the troops have not been paid for a long time and have shown signs of great discontent on several occasions.

De Grasse hoped to obtain at Cap François the money he urgently needed both for his fleet and the allied troops on the Eastern Coast. In fact, Rochambeau had urgently asked him for 1,200,000 livres tournois (at that time the official currency of France), about 200,000 Spanish pesos. A relatively small figure compared to the below referred amounts.

But the French capitalists at Cape François, whom de Grasse asked for money, refused to lend anything even though he offered 25% interest. So he was forced to borrow 100,000 pesos from Saavedra, who agreed to such loan for the sake of collaboration between the Allied powers.

But de Grasse needed much more money, and days later he again asked Saavedra for another 500,000 pesos, insisting that he was in a huge bind. Since there was no more money left in Spanish Santo Domingo, given the delicate situation of the French and American patriots, and the high amount he was asking for, Saavedra — as personal envoy of the King of Spain to collaborate with Bernardo de Gálvez— proposed to go to Cuba to arrange this new loan there.

SUCCESSFUL MANAGEMENT OF SAAVEDRA IN LA HABANA

On August 5, Saavedra left Cap François aboard the French frigate Aigrette, under Captain Traversay's command, arriving in La Habana on the 15th. Upon immediate meeting with the intendant Juan Ignacio Urriza, they agreed that the only prompt solution was to ask for the money to the city landowners, as had been done on previous occasions. Finally, the governor of Cuba, General Cagigal authorized the operation after discussing it with his assistant, Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Miranda. We will refer to the dirty business which the latter were involved afterwards.

Consequently, Urriza began to spread the word among the landowners of La Habana: those who wanted to contribute to help the French navy should deposit their funds in the Treasury by means of a receipt. On the morning of the following day, August 16, in only six hours the 500,000 pesos were collected, which were loaded in wooden crates onto the French frigate Aigrette, which immediately set sail from La Habana to join de Grasse's fleet.



Reino Unido. Londres. National Gallery. Retrato de Francisco de Saavedra. Goya, 1798.

Mr. de Traversay, Cap. de la Frag. de S. M. Christianísima, titulada la Aigrette, de la Esquadra del mando del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Grasse. Recibo por oñ de dho. S. gral, del Sr. D. Ignacio Renalvea y Casanovas, Jefe de oñ de dho. S. gral, y certifica en la Isla de Cuba, quinientos mil p. fucate, que me ha entregado en virtud de oficio de esta Iha. del Sr. Intend. gral de dho. y R. l. Mar. en la misma Isla, del millon de pesos, que en Real oñ se dio y siete de esta ultima manda S. M. Católica se nos entregue de por mitad en los meses de Julio, y Septiembre del cor. año, a los Comand. de los Buques de mi Nación que nos presentemos en este Puerto a conducirlos: Cuyo recibo es correspondiente a la primera mitad de dho. millon q. Expresa la citada R. l. oñ. Y para q. Conste fiximo este por quadruplicado en la Habana a diez y vein de Agosto de mil setecientos ochenta y uno.
Son 500.000 p. fuc. Traversay

España. Archivo General de Indias. Recibo de Traversay por los 500 000 pesos. 16 agosto 1781.

mil p^{as} que era la suma que usando de la mayor economía posible necesitaba para su expedición, y vióse la necesidad de llevarse á la Esquadra que estaba esperando á la altura de Matanzas para desembarcar el canal de Bahama.

Escribiendo^{te} se puso en práctica esta resolución: y vióse alance en la Fragata la Esquadra que era la destinada apear el Dinero, y fue preciso que apear de la Orca sea de Caudales que había en esta Provincia, mediante las espesas diligencias de N. S. y la generosidad de estos havuamos se le entregaron los quinientos mil p^{as} con tal promesa, que habíamos llegado aquí la Fragata el quince de Agosto por la mañana, en subo despachada el 16^o en la tarde, se hizo á la vela aquella misma noche, y el 18^o seg^u despues supimos p^{or} el correo la Muerte, en talu ya el Dinero transbordado á los Navios, y la Esquadra en rumbo para el canal.

confieso a N. S. que quando llegue

España. Granada. Universidad Loyola. Fondo Saavedra. Mis Decenios.
Francisco de Saavedra informa sobre la carga en La Habana de 500 000 pesos en la fragata Aigrette.

The same day, at one o'clock in the afternoon, Bernardo de Gálvez arrived at the port of La Habana from Panzacola; he was pleased to learn about Saavedra's decision, who however was not aware yet of the King's order dated March 17, by which the delivery to France of an additional one million pesos in two installments (July and August 1781).

As already mentioned (see *Why in Yorktown*), the 1 million was intended to pay for France's collaboration in the future expedition (planned for spring 1782) against Jamaica, the English stronghold in the Caribbean sea. But de Grasse silenced the real purpose of such 1 million, when he told Saavedra that such additional financial support, was for his

Uon se pasó á los franceses: tenía también comisión especial para recibir y una Carta del Marques de Noailles General de la Martinica suplicando se le entregase al predicho Capitan con la brevedad posible. En fuerza de esto pedía el millon entero. Se le replicó q^{ue} el Conde de Grasse había llevado la mitad del millon para las operaciones de Nante y que no se le podía dar mas q^{ue} la otra mitad. Pero el no se satisfizo; tanto oficio de una parte á otra, y al fin se resolvió mediante un informe unio que se le diese todo el millon, mirando la entrega hecha para la empresa de la Batalla de Chesapeake como un nuevo servicio á la España á favor de la causa comun. Este dia escribieron á comen en mi casa los oficiales

España. Granada. Universidad Loyola. Francisco de Saavedra. Mis Decenios.
Sobre el millón de pesos para Francia

sailors and both the French and rebel soldiers.

Few days later, when Urriza reported Saavedra of the aforementioned Order from King Charles III, he realized the French Admiral's cheat.

acerca Plana, y encomendó en ella la oña
 para tener un millón á disposición de
 Framier. Y que sales enriquecer por mil
 años. Fraguas que vendian en los mers
 de Julio, y agosto oici que los quimientos
 mil p. que podía el conde de Grasse enar
 la mitad de esta cantidad, y que sin embar
 go de la Franguera con que havia tratado
 con nigo de todos los objetos de la campaña
 me havia ocultado la oña que venia acer
 ca de este dinero por motivos que inoraba.
 Igual equivocación oíco que padecieron Vt.
 y el cavallero Gov. de esta Plana, enqamado
 todos por las mas bellas aporomicias q.
 pucan prevenerse. En efecto la venida
 de una fragata por el mes de ag. el pedir un
 capitán quimientos mil p. en nombre del
 General de la Esquadra francesa en Ame
 rica, y el citar este en su oficio oñs de la
 corte de Versailles para que los pidiero, con
 temian tan puntualmente con las circuns
 tancias puchemitar en la R. oña de N.
 de Marzo, que nadie podía denar de

España. Granada. Universidad Loyola. Fondo Saavedra. Mis Decenios.
 Saavedra expone que Grasse ocultó la R.O. sobre la entrega de un millón.

un suceso en que tubo q. trabajar mu
 cho la prudencia de Gálvez; y mi opini
 ón consiliador. Con el fin de valgan en lo
 posible á Miranda del lado de Cagigal,
 se le habia embiado á Jamaica á estable
 cer el castel ó lango á prisioneros. Vol
 vió á los tres mers evacuado, ya su co
 misión, y sobre avisos q. tubo el Inten
 dente de que traía un gran contraban
 do se hizo observar, y en efecto el contra
 bando iba á ser aprehendido. Pero el Gover
 nador Cagigal se apoderó anticipadam
 de él, y se hizo depositar en uno de los
 fuertes de la plaza. Reclamó el Intend.
 y después de mil contestaciones picares
 queda en q. la d. Hacienda se fuere á
 entregar de dho. contrabando: pero aun
 q. se habia dho. q. el valor de este
 oio: están alteradas las páginas pero no faltan

España. Granada. Universidad Loyola. Francisco de Saavedra.
 Mis Decenios. Contrabando de Miranda.

MIRANDA DENOUNCED AS A SMUGGLER

Months later, on December 24 1781, Miranda was filed a complaint by Urriza, because when returning from a trip to Jamaica, with the commission to release of Spanish prisoners, he landed in Batabanó instead of in La Habana trying to avoid customs control on goods enough to fill three carts.

In other words: Lieutenant Colonel Miranda was denounced as a smuggler, and thus began

a long judicial process, during which he always had the support of Cagigal, who became an accomplice by hiding the stash in one of La Habana castles. For these acts both were relieved of their posts and prosecuted. Miranda later deserted, was a traitor to Spain and was imprisoned in Cádiz, where he died. He was not a hero in Panzacola, contrariwise to what his passionate and misinformed hagiographers have written, just as Cagigal was not.

Reservada

Como S.^{or}

Señor

Intendente de esta Real Audiencia: Sale este correo extraordinario con aceleracion, y no me ha sido posible finalizar el expediente que he formado sobre la ruidosa ocurrencia de que el Gobernador de esta Real Audiencia de Miranda, don Juan Manuel Cagigal, dara cuenta a V. E. acerca de tres Carretas de generos y efectos que se aprehendieron con mi orden en el camino de Bataviano los Ministros del Resguardo, procedentes de los Flagatruces Ingleses que vinieron de Jamaica el Feriante Coronel graduado D. Juan de Miranda, y de mandatos de el mismo Gobernador se quitaron al Resguardo, y se depositaron en el Castillo de la Punta, en donde los reconoció con mi intervencion, y después de todo, El fuesen era temido de la mayor grave circunstancias, que pueden ofender en estos Dominios. Rezona a un pleno conocimiento de ellas, para poder

Reservada Como Señor
Núm. 82
Señor
El Intendente de esta Real Audiencia replica se suspenda qualquiera res aceleracion; y no me ha sido posible lucion en el expediente de las tres Carretas de finalizar el expediente que he formado de generos y efectos de los Flagatruces Ingleses de sobre la ruidosa ocurrencia de que vinieron de Jamaica con el Feriante Coronel que el Gobernador de esta Real Audiencia graduado D. Juan de Miranda, y después de Juan Manuel Cagigal dara cuenta de las aprehendidas los Ministros del Resguardo a V. E. acerca de tres Carretas de generos y efectos que aprehendieron primera ocacion por el rior el que queda formado con mi orden en el camino de Bataviano el Intendente de que de otra suer vario los Ministros del resguardo, te no se vigan los imparables porfucios que procedentes de los Flagatruces Ingleses que trajo de Jamaica el Feriante Coronel graduado D. Juan

España. Archivo General de Indias. Informe del intendente Urriza a José de Gálvez sobre el contrabando de Miranda y el apoyo que le presta Cagigal.

España. Archivo General de Indias. El intendente Urriza informa a José de Gálvez el 24 de diciembre de 1781 sobre el contrabando de Miranda.

Meanwhile appropriate arrangements were being made, in May 1782 Cagigal undertook the operation against Providence, capital of the Bahamas, against the orders of Bernardo de Gálvez. Consulted documents evidence La Habana was left unguarded with Cagigal expedition, which moved 2,000 soldiers from Cuba renewing the risk of La Habana catastrophic conquest by the English in 1762.

THE LADIES OF LA HABANA

The aforementioned episode of the collection of 500,000 pesos raised the so-called legend, of "the ladies from La Habana" (even from Matanzas... located more than 80 km from the capital city) pawned their jewels to get the money and give it to the French fleet. But the only existing evidence is that the funds stemmed from 27 businessmen, including only one woman: Bárbara Santa Cruz, Marchioness of Cárdenas.

In other words: the myth of the ladies is only a made up story.

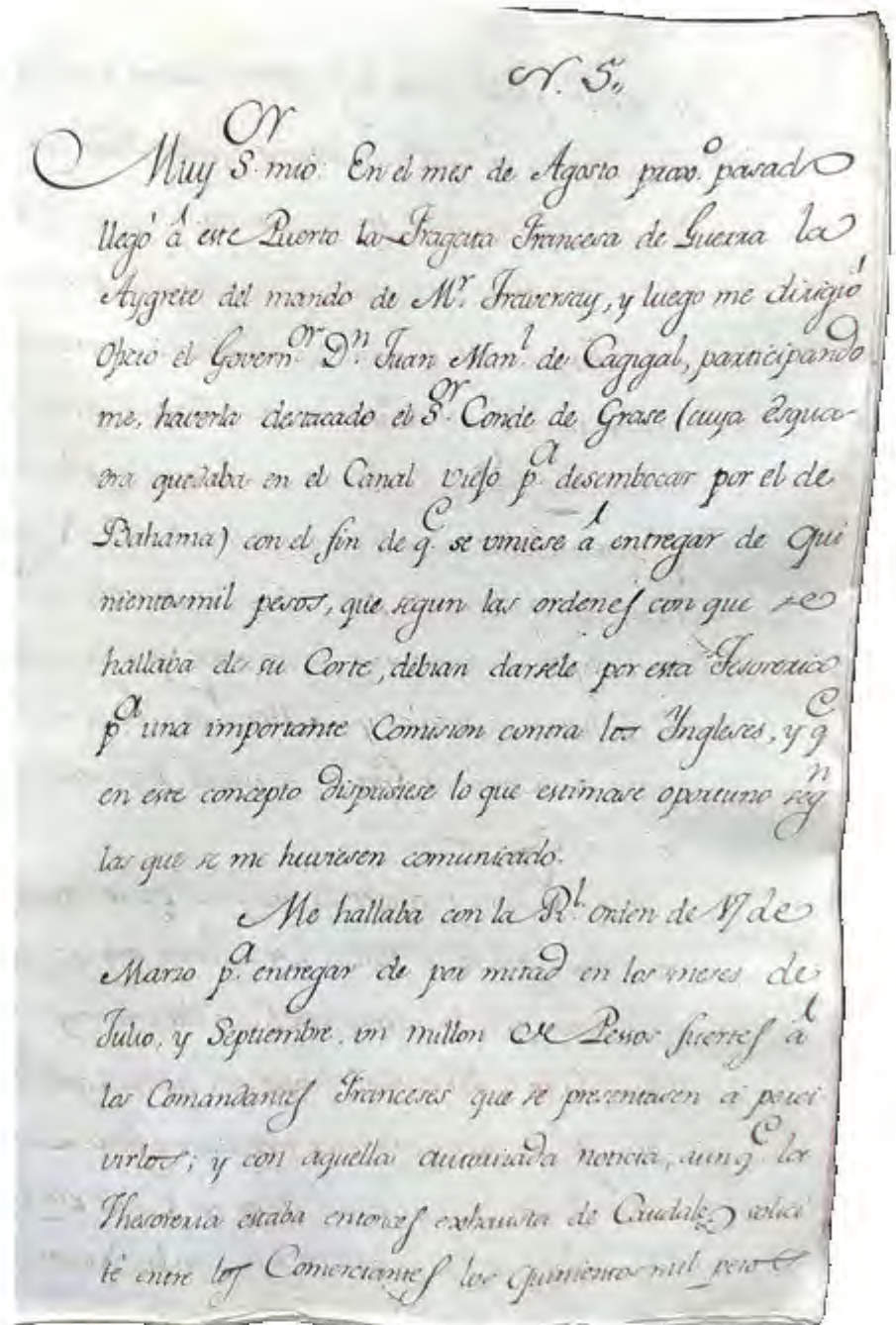
The documents on the matter were found by the US historian James H. Lewis in the *Archivo de Indias* —Archive of the Indies— (Sevilla, Spain). He published his research in July 1980 in the magazine "The Americas" (edition number 37). This information was later collected by Thomas E. Chavez in his work "Spain and the Independence of the United States", published in Spain in 2004, and it was also referred

to by Larrie D. Ferreiro in 2016 in his book "Brothers in Arms".

It is also worth referring to the memoirs of the treasurer of the French troops, Claude Blanchard, published in Paris in 1869. They include an episode in Williamsbourg, about the collapsing floor of the house where the numerous heavy boxes containing the silver pesos provided by Spain were stored. Those taken to Virginia by de Grasse.

We acknowledge the aforementioned work to the great Sevillian researcher Carlos Fernández-Andrade, where such episode is described. The amount received by Blanchard was "800,000 livres en piastras" (that is, livres tornais in pesos). The exchange rate was 1 peso to 8.25 "livres tornais" in the Caribbean, while in Europe the exchange rate was 1 peso to 6 livres tornais. Despite fluctuations specially in the Caribbean sea, the resulting figure would approach the value of 97.000 pesos. Altogether, some 2,500 kilos of silver (roughly 26gr of silver per peso).

But... what happened to the rest? To whom were the 403,000 pesos given? It is assumed that they were used to pay the salaries of French naval and army troops. This would require further investigation. In any case, France did not inform the patriots the money came from Spain.



España. Archivo General de Indias. Informe del intendente Urriza sobre las entregas a los franceses.

MORE MONEY FOR THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

Between September 5 and 10 took place the so called "Battle of the Capes", off the coast of Virginia, in the great Chesapeake Bay, de Grasse's squadron (35 ships of the line) faced an inferior English fleet (19 ships of the line), as the latter was heading south to help Cornwallis. The British

were defeated. A few days later, on September 28, Washington's troops and Rochambeau's French troops arrived at Yorktown, nearby the other French contingent location under La Fayette's command, totaling some 4,000 soldiers, in round figures.

El Cavallero de Village, Cap. & Tasio de la R. Armada de S. M. Christianisima y Comand. de la Frag. de esta Nación, titulada la Amazona, Recibe al Sr. Teniente Gual de Exito, y Marina D. Ignacio Ponce y Cardenas, un millon de P. Pesos, que me ha entregado, conde que a R. Dm. y en virtud de Oficio de esta Jha. de S. D. m. Gual, de Exito, y R. Dm. de esta L. de la, el mismo que se conduja al Puerto de la Martinica Colonia de m. H. a. con: A para que conser, fimo este documento p. quadruplicado. en la Habana p. cinco y seis de Septiembre de mil ochocientos ochenta y uno =

Don Looaooa P. Pesos

Le Chr. De Villages

España. Archivo General de Indias. Recibo de Villages por un millón de pesos.

In addition to the 600.000 pesos (100,000 + 500,000) previously referred, on September 22, another French frigate, the Amazone, under the command of Captain Villages, arrived in La Habana to collect the additional 1 million pesos that Spain had committed to deliver to France in two installments... whose use was planned for the operation against Jamaica (what, as referred, de Grass hid to Saavedra).

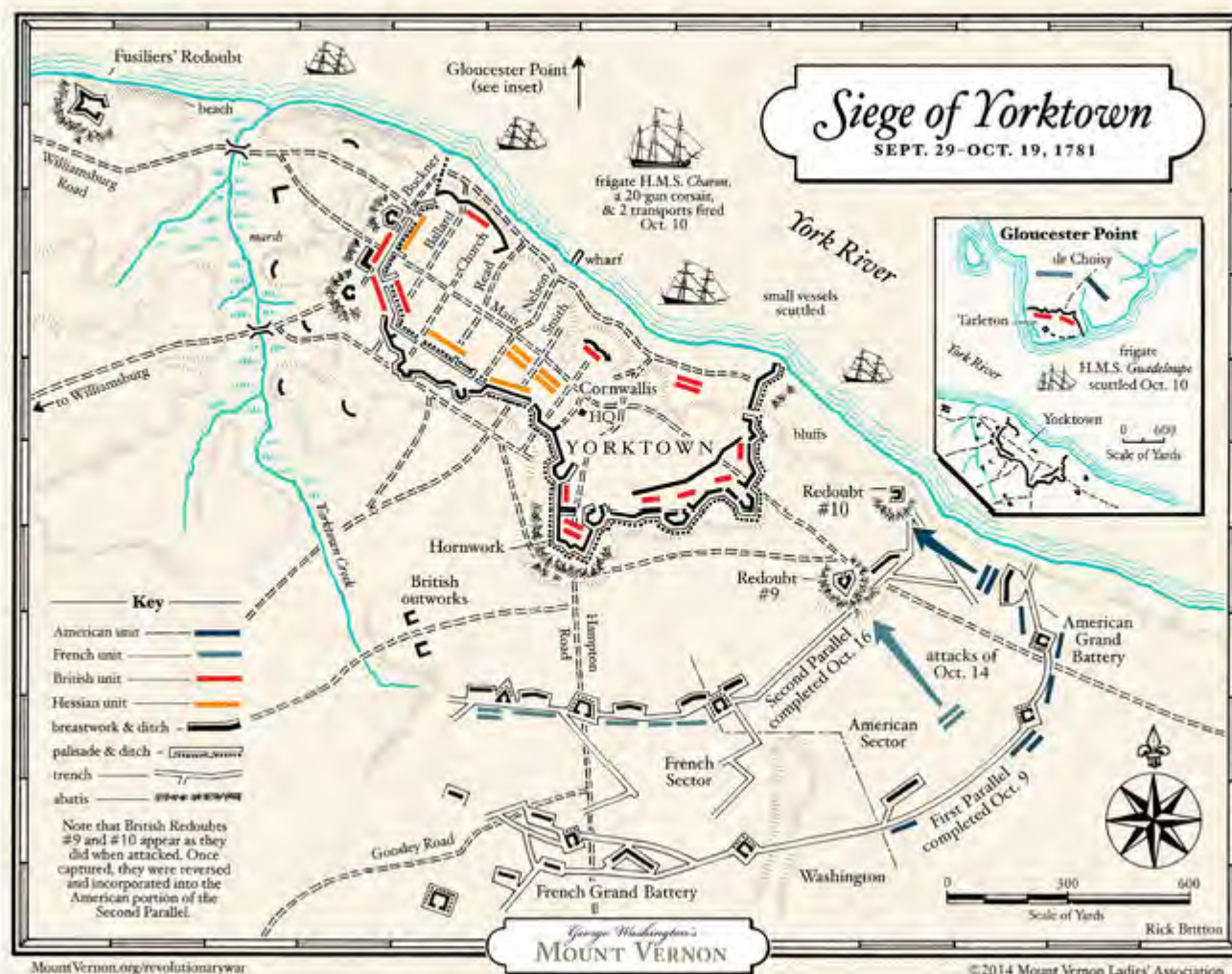
Eventually de Grasse meant to catch the Spanish commanders in La Habana off guard, arguing the extraordinary importance of the battle that was soon to take place in Yorktown. Even though Saavedra initially refused to authorize the delivery, Villages finally convinced Saavedra.

Given the critical situation that the French sailor had exposed, and with the consent of Bernardo de Gálvez, Saavedra signed a document on September 25 authorizing the delivery, arguing among other reasons that in the event that the planned operation failed, the French would blame Spain. The next day the entire million pesos were shipped on the Amazona, as shown by the receipt signed by Villages.

But on October 6 another French frigate named Courageuse, commanded by Captain Santo Domingo, docked in La Habana, and surprisingly asked for another million, although it was not delivered in



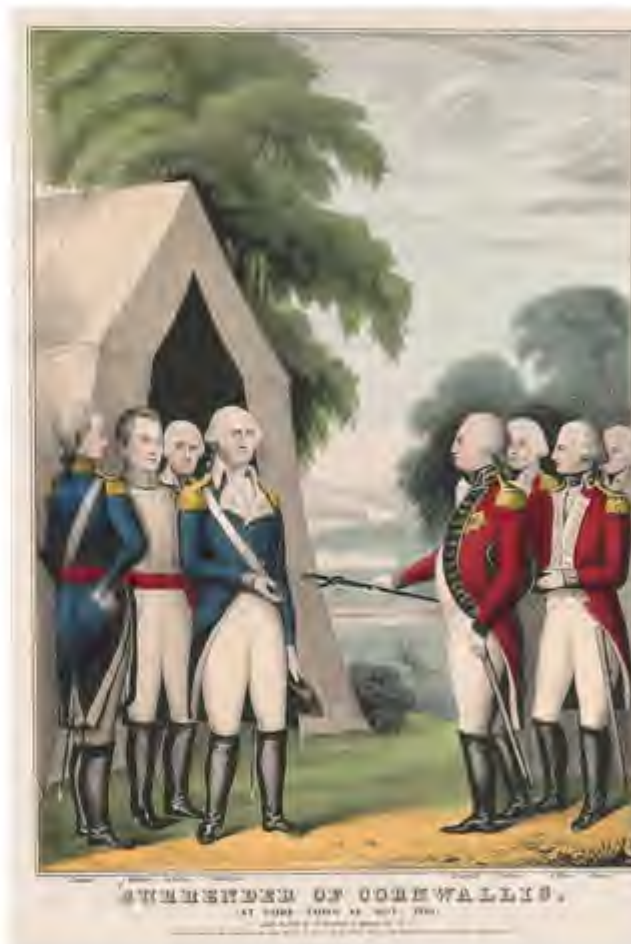
España. Biblioteca Nacional. Mapa del asedio de Yorktown.



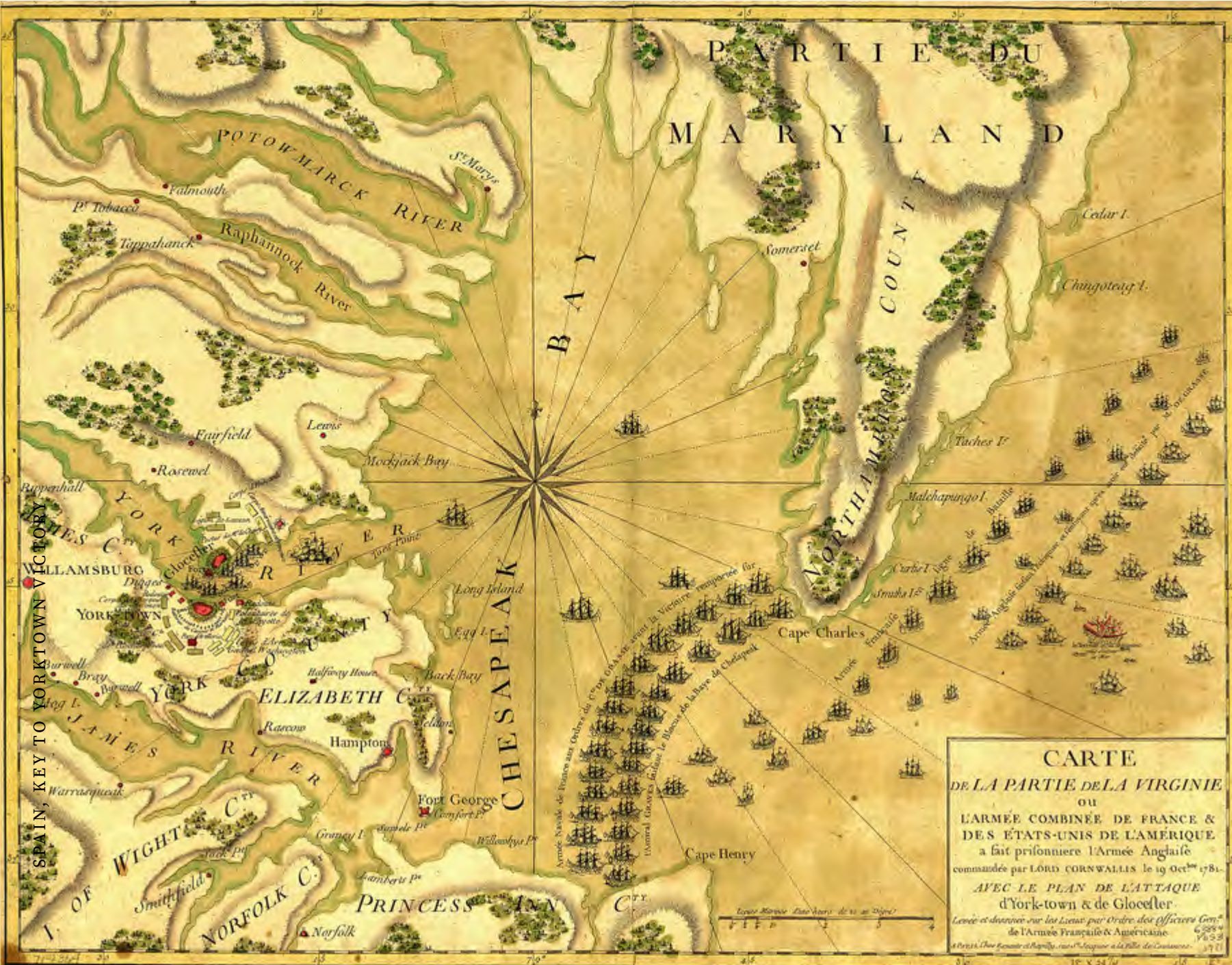
Estados Unidos.
Mount Vernon.
Mapa del sitio de
Yorktown.

that moment, as there was no money left in La Habana. Given that Saavedra had already decided to go to Mexico on the Spanish ship San Francisco, to urge more silver to the Peninsula, he proposed to the French sailor to accompany him with his French frigate to Veracruz, where he could load the significant amount that he was so urgently requesting.

Both ships set sail from La Habana on October 24 and arrived in Veracruz on November 6. After the trip to Mexico City and Saavedra's arduous efforts, which consumed much time to obtain the necessary silver, on December 13 the frigate Courageuse was finally able to load the new million pesos in Veracruz and set sail immediately for Virginia. It remains unknown yet how much (If any) out of these 2.000.000 pesos, reached its final addresses: north Americans.



Estados Unidos.
Biblioteca
del Congreso.
Rendición de
Cornwallis.



Estados Unidos. Biblioteca del Congreso. Despliegue de las flotas ante la bahía de Cheseapeake en septiembre de 1781.

Obviously, this last money dispatch did not arrive in time for the decisive victory of Yorktown, because the siege of the British stronghold ended on October 19. But undoubtedly it accounted for a new and important Spanish contribution to the independence of the United States in the last period of the war. In total, the money that Spain contributed for the

exclusive purpose of making the victory of Yorktown possible amounted to 2,600,000 pesos, as evidenced by herein attached documents, which we believe are published for the first time.

In addition to all above taking place in the Caribbean, France acted in Madrid like de Grasse, as the following shows:

The request made the astonished Spanish government hold the French for beggars, as a letter (which we found in file 4201 of the State section of the National Historical Archive) from Floridablanca to Aranda reveals: “We promptly pay their debt. They do not pay back with what we advance them, so it seems that what is theirs is theirs and what is ours is of both of us.” This assertion is also supported by the attached document on the additional debt of more than 150.000 pesos (or 1.200.000 reales literally accounted), the cost of supplies or repairs to French ships in the arsenals of Ferrol or Cadiz, only until that moment and excluded from the present calculation.

Spain, Ref 10 TORREYOWN VICTORY

à S. Noéjome curé. 2. septembre 1811

E. 4625-185

Monsieur

J'ai été chargé par ma cour de solliciter de celle d'Espagne une permission pour l'extradition d'un million de piastres: cette permission ayant pour objet le payement des frais de la guerre, et M. Joly de Fleury demandeur quelle ne vusse pas se diffuser, j'espère que votre laculance voudra bien engager M. de Marquis à l'accorder. La maison de la Reine nous prête la main etc

En la M. le Comte de Floride blanche.

España. Archivo General de Simancas. Estado, leg. 4625. El embajador de Francia pide un millón de pesos. 12 de septiembre de 1781.

Paris 1.^o Marzo 1781.
 Correo Lintillac N. 6.
 Deudas de la Armada
 francesa
 A.H.N.
 ESTADO

España. Archivo Histórico Nacional. Estado, lg. 4164.
Deudas de la marina francesa.

Como desde entonces
no he tenido noticia del
estado de este reintegro, me
ven en la precision de hacer
un recuerdo a V. E. para que
se sirva repararlo al S. Conde
de Aranda pues la dila-
cion es reparable: nosotros
les pagamos puntualmente
su haver: ellos no nos

España. Archivo Histórico Nacional. Leg. 4201. Fragmento final de una carta del ministro de Hacienda y Guerra, Miguel de Múzquiz, al conde de Floridablanca.
Aranjuez, 16 de junio de 1781.

t
Imo S.^{or}
ex.

Diciendome Vd. que el Rey quiere se permita la extracción de medio millón de Pesos por ahora, á la Casa de la Balle de Cadix como lo ha solicitado de orden de su Corte el Embaxador de Francia Conde de Montmorin por las consideraciones que Vd. me indica en su papel de ayer, no me queda otra cosa que hacer que dar cumplimiento á esta resolución de S. M., á cuyo

España. Archivo General de Simancas. Estado, leg. 4625. Respuesta de Muzquiz sobre la petición francesa de un millón de pesos, a la que accedió por haber autorizado el Rey la entrega de medio millón.

t

Emo S.^{or}

El Embaxador de Francia solicita de orden de su Corte permiso para extraer de varias Poblaciones de America quatro mil mulas para las Colonias Francesas con las precauciones que pareciere oportunas á fin de remover toda sospecha de contrabando; y para á Vd. su Oficio para que me diga si habrá inconveniente en condescender con esta suplica, y en que terminos debere responder á dho Embaxador.

Dios que Vd.

España. Archivo General de Simancas. Conde de Floridablanca a José de Gálvez. 1º de septiembre, 1781. Francia pide extraer 4000 mulas. Estado, leg. 4625.

E. 4625 - 15

à l'Amiral de 1^{er} novembre 1781

Monsieur

J'ai reçu de nouveaux ordres de ma Cour pour solliciter des bontés de S. M. C. une permission pour l'extraction de 500 000 piastres, somme que la maison française de Magon et le Fer, établie à Cadix s'est chargée de recueillir et j'ai eu l'honneur d'expliquer de vive voix à V. E. les raisons qui me faisoient desirer que cette permission si elle ne souffroit pas de difficultés, fût accordée le plutôt qu'il sera possible. Je réitére ici mes instances pour que V. E. m'accorde ses bons offices en cette occasion qui intéresse essentiellement et directement la ferme du Roi mon maître.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la plus haute considération

Monsieur

De Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur
Le Cte de Montmorin

España. Archivo Histórico Nacional. Estado. Montmorin, embajador de Francia, solicita el 1.º de noviembre de 1781 la extracción de otro medio millón de pesos.

Along with Floridablanca's opinion, it is worth highlighting the written side-note to such money request (included in a report to the Ministers of War and Finance): "it makes one's laugh". On September 17, Miguel de Múzquiz, Minister of War and Finance, opposed to the request, among other reasons because of the shortage of silver and the urgent financial needs of the Crown.

The letter said: "...but I have no other choice but to comply with this resolution of His Majesty"... because the King had previously ordered the delivery of the half million "out of a very particular royal condescension".

Furthermore, on November 1, a new letter was received from Montmorin requesting permission to borrow another half million, this time through the French trading house "Magon et de Fer", also established in

Cadiz. We have not been able to find out what happened with this new request but, should it have been granted, another half million must be added to everything delivered to the French in America. Hence, all figures above amounts to 3,600,000 pesos excluding the still due repayments of the supplies and repairs to the French navy in the arsenals of Cadiz and Cartagena.... and also 4,000 mules, as evidenced by the attached document.

N. de Barbacan, Capitán de
 Navio de la R. Armada de S. M. Chris-
 tianísima y Comandante de la Fragata titulada la
 Vestala: P.º del S.º d. Donacio Penabaz y Card.
 Teniente genl. de Exército y Marina en esta Isla
 de Cuba; Fraciento e quaranta y nuevemil quinien-
 ta y dos S. del nuevo cño Mexicano, que me
 há entregado, conseqüente á oficio del S.º Intend.
 genl. de Exército de la propia Isla; que con veintien-
 cinquenta mil quatrocientos treinta y ocho pesos que
 en esta ocasion ván embarcados en la Fragata de
 mi propia Nacion nombrada la Iris al mando
 de M.º de Frasesvar, se alista el millon de
 P.º que en nueve de septiemb.º último mandó S. M.
 Católica á entregue al Indivíduo que se presente
 en Comision de la Casa de Cabarriz y Aguirre
 del Comercio de Madrid, en íntegro de igual
 suma q.º suplico al Rey: Y para que conste está
 cumplida la dicha R.º orden de S. M. firmo este
 recibo por quadruplicado en la Habana á veinte y seis
 de Abril de mil setecientos ochenta y dos.

Don 349562 P.º \$

j'ai eu la dite somme et de plus
 de trois cent quarante neuf mille cinq cent soixante et dix

España. Archivo General de Indias. Recibo por 349 562 pesos firmado por Barbacan,
 comandante de la Vestana.

El Embajador de Francia soli-
 cita por el adjunto oficio se
 entregue en la Habana, ó
 Cartagena millon y medio
 de pesos que su Corte necesita
 para subvenir á los gastos de
 la Isla de S.º Domingo, que
 irán á buscar Navios de
 guerra franceses, y á los seis
 meses los entregaria en
 Madrid, ó Paris, segun nos
 acomodare; y le pago á V.º

para que poniendose de

España. Archivo General de Indias. El embajador de Francia pide a
 Floridablanca 1 millón y medio de pesos para Santo Domingo.
 4 enero 1781.

But the story does not end up here, as two additional money requests prove, which we have found in the sizable *Archivo de Indias* (Sevilla, Spain). The first one was made in Madrid on January 4, 1781 by the French ambassador to the Count of Floridablanca, asking for 1,500,000 pesos, a request that was forwarded to our Secretary of State to the ministers Miguel de Muzquiz and José de Gálvez for information. D. Miguel de Muzquiz was Head of the Treasury ministerial portfolio over 18 years... quite a stable position when compared with French Ministers of Economy in that time: 14 in 15 years.

As we do not know —for now— whether this request was finally granted, it will remain out of our calculations.

And the second one happened on March 5, 1782, when the frigate *Nereyda* arrived in La Habana. Bellecombe, the French intendant on the island of Santo Domingo, was onboard. He then asked for 2,000,000 pesos, arguing the 4,000 Spanish soldiers — quartered in Guarico needed to be fed. This request was not granted as such supplies were already worked out.

Later, on April 26, 1782, when the French frigates *Iris* and *Vestala* loaded 650,432 and 349,568 pesos in La Habana to set sail for Guarico and Martinique (whose receipts are herein attached), to hand them over to the agent of the Cabarrús y Aguirre trading house, in accordance with a Royal Decree dated September 9, 1781. But these receipts

M.^r de Barbazan, Capitan de
Navio de la R.^a Armada de S. M. Christianisima y Comandante de la Fragata titulada la
Vestala: P.^o del S.^o Donacion Donalvey Card.^e
Tesoro genl de Exerito y Marina en esta Isla
de Cuba; Fraciento y guaranta y nuevemil quinient.
forma y dos p.^{os} del nuevo curso Mexicano, que me
ha entregado, con sequente a Oficio del S.^o Donalvey
genl de Exerito a la propia Isla; que con recien
cinquenta mil quatrocientos treinta y ocho p.^{os} que
en esta ocasion van embarcados en la fragata de
mi propia Nacion nombrada la Iris el mando
de M.^r de Traversay, se afuta el millon de
p.^{os} que en nueve de septiembre ultimo manda S. M.
Catholica se entregue al individuo que se presente
con Comision de la Casa de Cabarrus y se le pague
del Comercio de Madrid, en reintegro de igual
suma y Cuplio al Rey: Y para que con esta
completa la citada R.^a orden de S. M. firmo este
Recibo por quadruplicado en la Havana a veinte y seis
de Abril de mil setecientos ochenta y dos
Son 349.562 p.^{os}

España. Archivo General de Indias. Recibo por 349 562 pesos firmado por Barbazan, capitán de la fragata Vestala. 26 abril 1782.

M.^r de Traversay Cap.ⁿ de Frag.^a de la R.^a
Armada de S. M. Christianisima y Com.^{te} de la
titulada la Iris: Recibo del S.^o Donacion Donal-
vey y Cardenas Toror.^o genl de Exerito y Mari-
na en esta Isla de p.^{os} Seiscientos cinquenta
mil quatrocientos treinta y ocho p.^{os} que
del nuevo curso Mexicano que me ha entregado
con sequente a Oficio del S.^o Donalvey genl de Exerito
de la propia Isla; que con treinta y dos mil
cinquenta y nueve mil quatrocientos ochenta y dos p.^{os} que
en esta ocasion van embarcados en la fragata de mi
propia Nacion, nombrada la Vestala el mando
de M.^r de Barbazan, se afuta el millon de p.^{os}
que en nueve de septiembre ultimo manda S. M.
Catholica, se entregue al individuo que se
presente con Comision de la Casa de Cabarrus
y Aguirre del Comercio de Madrid, en reintegro
de igual suma que cuplio al Rey: Y para
que con esta que está cumplida la citada R.^a or-
den de S. M. firmo este Recibo por quadruplicado
en la Havana a veinte y seis de Abril de
mil setecientos ochenta y dos.
Son 650.438 p.^{os}

España. Archivo General de Indias. Recibo por 650 438 pesos firmado por Traversay, comandante de la Iris. 26 abril 1782.

corresponded to the repayment of a loan from Cabarrús to Spain.

It is worth bearing in mind that days before the naval battle of Los Santos (Caribbean Lesser Antilles) took place, which was a disaster for France because the French fleet suffered a very hard defeat by the English, and de Grasse was taken prisoner.

In summary: Although it is not possible to conclude for now, whether Spain granted all French requests, France was recurrently asking for

money both in Madrid and in the Caribbean. The matter will require further research, not only in Spanish archives but also in French and US ones.

However at that stage, Spain's contribution could have added up to a minimum of 4,600,000 pesos —only both to France and to the Patriots via France—, hence excluding both other direct (financial or in kind) aid to the Patriots and the own cost of the Spanish operations.

Thus, thanks to the extremely successful management of

Bernardo de Gálvez and Francisco de Saavedra, who always acted in full agreement, Washington managed to triumph at Yorktown, which was the decisive battle of the American Revolution.

All of the above suffices to show how Spain committed its allies both France and U.S.. On the other hand, there is no evidence that neither France reported where the pesos —key to the victory at Yorktown— came from, nor how much was given to our US allies.



Washington y Rochambeau en el asedio de Yorktown. Óleo de Auguste Gouder. Imagen Giogo.

PEACE AT LAST. TRIUMPH OF LIBERTY

After five years, Christmas was very quiet. Washington and his wife celebrated it in Philadelphia, at Francisco Rendón's residence, Spain's diplomatic representative to the United States. They probably enjoyed the party enthusiastically, as anticipation to the Peace that would soon come.

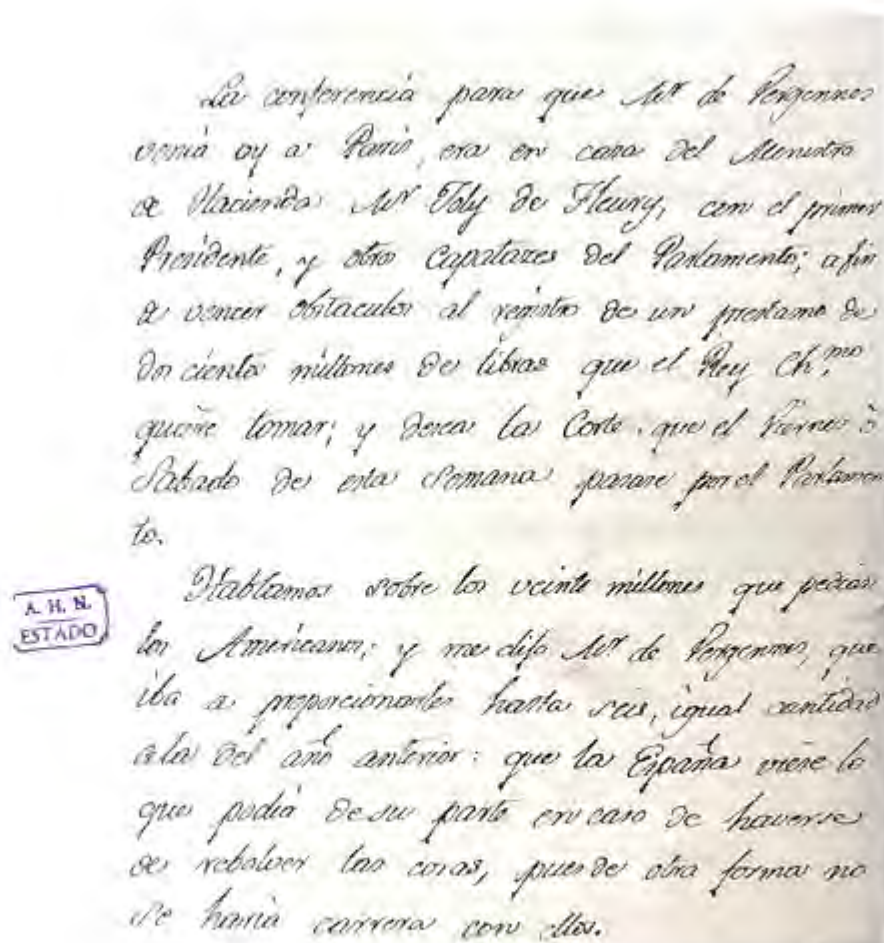
War continued, but the outcome was already decided. The main reason was that the British government decided not to increase its operations in America and concentrate the majority of its fleet on the European stage. Finally, U.K. chose to continue with the defense of Gibraltar instead of helping the American loyalists.

CONCLUSION

We have downloaded heavy documentation —500Mb— from Gallica —digital Archive of *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*— on the history of this period, including ten books (only the French historian Mr. Doniol's accounts for about 5000 pages). De Grasse is referred on more than 500 occasions, while Gálvez and Saavedra are only two or three times... No mention about the money borrowed, whatsoever. Meaningfully, a deafening silence is kept about how Spain so promptly and effectively responded to the anguished pleas of Admiral de Grasse.

The one-of-many above referred letter from Count of Aranda—Spanish ambassador to Paris—to Count of Floridablanca reinforces our assertion that France was in a state of bankruptcy. It also states that France was going to ask for an astronomical loan of 200 million livres tournois (33.000.000 pesos)! while that the rebels were asking for 20 million, of which France would only give 6... and that Spain should see how much its contribution could be....

Should all hereby referred evidences not suffice, this last statement definitively demonstrates the initial assertion of this article: the long ruin of our begging allies, would end up with the revolution of 1789 and the collapse of the French monarchy. It remains unclear though, what part of the aforementioned 4,600,000 pesos were given by the French to the rebels... and whether they were informed of its Spanish origin. It can be assumed they were not. For the sake of historical truth, this matter deserves deeper investigation, as much as whether our French ally returned what it borrowed...



España. Archivo Histórico Nacional. Carta del conde de Aranda al conde de Floridablanca. París, 3 de diciembre de 1782.

Based on all above, we consider necessary to urgently rectify many quotes about the actions of Spain and France in the Wikipedia pages dedicated to the Anglo-French war: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-French_War_\(1778%E2%80%931783\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-French_War_(1778%E2%80%931783))

But the truth is making its way. Proof of this is that on June 21 2024, the Secretary of the United States Navy, Hon. Carlos del Toro, reported the name given to a new modern frigate of the Constellation FFG-67 class, which is being built at the Fincantieri Marinette shipyard in Wisconsin: Gálvez. With such a unique recognition, the United States acknowledges Bernardo de Gálvez for his decisive participation on behalf of Spain in achieving its independence, declared on July 4, 1776.

In light of such important news, the Bernardo de Gálvez Association (Málaga, Spain), in urgent meeting on June 25, unanimously agreed to award the Bernardo de Gálvez Prize to the United States Navy.

It should be noted that this is not the first American ship to be named after Gálvez. In May 1782, the brig Gálvez, armed with 12 6—pounder cannons and commanded by Captain Robert Montgomery, was part of the American naval group that participated alongside a Spanish fleet in the assault and conquest of Providence, capital of the Bermuda archipelago. Regarding the brig Gálveztown, which was given to Bernardo de Gálvez by the American patriots settled in Louisiana, it became a ship of the Spanish Navy after the death of the hero of Panzacola, with the name of Gálvez. This was published in 2009, in magazine *Péndulo* (issue 20), which can be downloaded free of charge (see www.copitima.com).



Conmemoración de la batalla de Yorktown el 19 de octubre del pasado año 2023.

YORKTOWN, OCTOBER 2024

On October 19, 2023, at the solemn ceremony held to commemorate the decisive victory of Yorktown, the flag of Spain flew for the first time alongside those of the United States and France, after 242 years. As referred, historical truth makes its way.

We are very pleased to note that Spanish presence was possible thanks both to the enthusiasm and determination of Teresa Valcarce Graciani, soul of the Bernardo de Gálvez Association in Washington and Honorary Member of the College of Technical Engineers of Malaga, and thanks to the efficient work carried out by Santiago Cabanas Ansorena, until recently Spanish ambassador to the United States. Also in 2024, days before this magazine begins to be printed, Spain has for the second time in a row been present at the celebration of such a significant anniversary.

It is also worth mentioning another event that took place very recently in the American city of Norfolk (Virginia), right on the Chesapeake Bay and very close to Yorktown. where headquarters of the Allied Transformation Command (one of the two most important NATO commands), are located. Colonel Peñas Domínguez is the Spanish delegate in the aforementioned organization.



La Bandera de España desfilando el 19 de octubre del presente año 2024 en Yorktown.



El Coronel Joaquín Peñas y el Coronel Edward Jeep.



El Coronel bajo la primera imagen de la conferencia, en cuya organización ha participado la Asociación Bernardo de Gálvez.



His deputy, Lieutenant Colonel Ramón Macías, proposed us to give a lecture there on June 6 on Bernardo de Gálvez, but unable to attend such a gentle invitation, we proposed as lecturer our good friend Edward Jeep, colonel of the Marine Corps. Many members of such an important NATO organization have been able to learn about the biographies of Bernardo de Gálvez and Francisco de Saavedra as well as the money that Spain contributed for the decisive victory at Yorktown.



Estados Unidos. Metropolitan Museum. George Washington. James Peale, 1782.



Bernardo de Gálvez y Gallardo. Mariano Salvador Maella, 1784.
Cortesía familia De Haya-Gálvez. Málaga.

EPILOGUE

The American War of Independence officially ended with the Treaty of Paris, which was signed on September 3, 1783. To contribute to the triumph of Liberty, some 140,000 Spanish soldiers and sailors offered their sweat, blood, or lives.

We believe that this fascinating work should be deepened on by other researchers to definitively clarify some of the questions raised in it. The scope may eventually be wide enough to overcome our possible means. We are thankful for having complied with our duty to uncovering all the above documentation, fortunately preserved in the very plentiful Spanish archives. The

phrase traditionally attributed to Tales de Mileto, one of the “seven Greek wisemen” rises: *Time is the wisest thing, as it always clarifies everything.*

Based on all above evidences, we hold the belief to have shed light on an extraordinary event in History, where D. Bernardo de Gálvez and D. Francisco de Saavedra were the key players to, on behalf of Spain and its King, support the US patriots and French allies to fight the common enemy.

MÁLAGA, DECEMBER 2024

