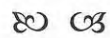


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Diary of Sebastian Vizcaino,  
1602-1603

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## INTRODUCTION

ALMOST simultaneously with the voyage of Cabrillo, Villalobos crossed the Pacific Ocean from Mexico and took formal possession of the San Lázaro Islands, their name now being changed to the Philippines. It was still twenty years before the islands were occupied, but in 1565 Legazpi led an expedition from Mexico, and during the next six years subdued the islands, precisely at the time when the province of Florida was being founded by Menéndez de Avilés. At once a regular trade, conducted by means of the annual Manila galleon, was established between Mexico and the Philippines.

This event gave rise to a new interest in the California coast. It was soon learned that the most practicable return route from Manila was northward to the Japan current and across the Pacific to the California coast in the latitude of Cape Mendocino. But the security of this route and of the Strait of Anian, whose existence was generally believed in, was threatened by the operations of the French and the English in the northern Atlantic, and by the exploits of Drake and Cavendish in the Pacific. By now, a Spanish writer has said, "the English had begun to lord it over the South Sea, terrorizing our coasts by outrages, incendiarism, robbery, and notorious piracy." Moreover, a port of call on the California coast was needed for the Manila galleon, as a place for shelter and repairs, and for relief for the sailors from the terrible scourge of scurvy.

With these needs in view, plans were made by Viceroy Pedro Moya de Contreras (1584–1585) for exploring the entire northwestern coast of America. But little came of them until

1595, when Cermeño was sent from Manila to explore down the California seaboard. At Drake's Bay his vessel, the *San Agustín*, was driven on the coast and wrecked, the crew escaping to Mexico in two barks built from the planks of the ship.

Simultaneously with the despatch of Cermeño, Sebastián Vizcaino was commissioned by Viceroy Velasco to explore the Gulf of California and establish settlements on the Peninsula. Vizcaino had been for several years a trader between Mexico and the Orient. He had been in the Manila galleon, *Santa Ana*, which Cavendish had plundered in 1588. See Hakluyt's *Voyages*.<sup>1</sup> It is significant that at the same time, also, Velasco was arranging with Juan de Oñate for colonizing New Mexico, one of the primary purposes being the protection of the northern strait. The three enterprises were directed to a common end. After some opposition by the new viceroy, the Conde de Monterey, in 1596 Vizcaino set forth with his expedition, planted a colony at La Paz, on the site formerly occupied by Cortés, and explored many leagues up the inner coast. But an Indian attack, lack of provisions, severe weather, and other difficulties, soon caused the abandonment of the project.

Vizcaino had failed, and while he was on his expedition a royal order had come requiring that his contract be rescinded. Nevertheless, he recommended another attempt, and volunteered to undertake it. His plan was to explore the gulf completely and to colonize its shores, but it did not look to the exploration of the outer coasts. Notwithstanding his former opposition, the viceroy now supported Vizcaino's petition, admitting that he had found in him more ability than he had expected in a mere merchant. He recommended, however, that, before attempting to colonize, an exploration be made of the gulf and its pearl-fisheries. Referring to the wreck of Cermeño, and to the need of a port for the Manila galleons,

<sup>1</sup> VII. 133-135, Everyman ed.

he suggested that the exploration of the outer coast be combined with that of the gulf.

The matter being considered in the Council of the Indies, it was decided that Vizcaino should be ordered to continue with his contract, which had not been fulfilled, and that the coast exploration be undertaken, but that it be done independently of that of the gulf. The royal order for the continuation of the coastwise exploration was dated September 27, 1599. To command the expedition the viceroy selected Vizcaino, whose enterprise of pearl-fishing and colonizing was now turned into one primarily concerned with the outer coast. The royal order specifically provided that the expedition should not stop in the gulf to explore, and so the open instructions of Vizcaino stipulated, but by secret orders Vizcaino was authorized to explore the gulf on his return.

The king had contemplated an expedition in one vessel, but, because of the difficulty of the voyage, the viceroy decided to send two ships and a frigate. The *San Diego*, the captain's ship, was brought for the occasion from Guatemala by Captain Toribio Gómez de Corbán; the *Santo Tomás*, admiral's ship, was a Peruvian trading vessel purchased at the last moment at Acapulco; the *Tres Reyes*, a *fragata* or frigate, was built for the voyage at the last-named port. The enlistments were made primarily in Mexico City. It being difficult to secure men as sailors only, Vizcaino was allowed to raise his standard and enlist men as both soldiers and sailors.

As admiral, in command of the *Santo Tomás*, went Captain Gómez; as commander of the *Tres Reyes*, Sebastián Meléndez; the chief pilot, with the *San Diego*, was Francisco de Bolaños, who had been wrecked with Cermeño at Drake's Bay in 1595. As chief cosmographer the viceroy appointed Captain Gerónimo Martín Palacios, a man of twenty years' experience, who had just come from Spain. To insure dignity and authority, the viceroy sent six old soldiers, with the title of counsellors

(*entretenidos*) for his Majesty. Three men in particular were empowered to advise with Vizcaino: Captain Gómez, Captain Peguero, and Ensign Alarcón, "exceptional men," who had seen service in Flanders and Brittany. Spiritual interests were intrusted to three Carmelites, Fray Andrés de la Asunción, Fray Antonio de la Ascensión, and Fray Tomás de Aquino.<sup>1</sup> Father Ascensión was a cosmographer, and had been pilot in voyages to the Indies before taking the habit in Mexico.

Vizcaino sailed from Acapulco on May 5. In trying to pass San Lucas Bay in June his fleet was three times driven back to that port by headwinds, and before reaching Magdalena Bay the vessels became separated by storms. At Magdalena Bay extensive explorations were made by the *San Diego* and the *Tres Reyes*. At Cerros Island the vessels were all reunited, but, after leaving there on September 9, the *Santo Tomás* again parted company. In November the other vessels spent five days in San Diego Bay, to which they gave its present name. Early in December explorations were made at Santa Catalina Island, where the vessels were again reunited.

The crews were now falling ill, and winter was coming on, and haste was necessary. Proceeding therefore into the Santa Bárbara Canal, so named by Vizcaino, the vessels were driven through it by a storm. Rounding Point Concepción and sailing close under Santa Lucía Mountain, on December 15 they discovered the Bay of Monterey, "the best that could be desired." This was the capital event of the expedition.

But it now became necessary to depart from the original plan of the voyage. Several men had died, forty-five or more were ill of scurvy, and provisions were running short. Accord-

<sup>1</sup>For the preparation of the Vizcaino expedition see especially the correspondence printed in Carrasco y Guisasola, *Documentos referentes al Reconocimiento de las Costas de las Californias desde el Cabo de San Lucas al de Mendocino, recopilados en el Archivo de Indias* (Madrid, 1882), pp. 36-46; "Instrucción y orden," *ibid.*, pp. 47-56; Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, I. 693-697; Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *Armada Española*, III. 297-300.

ingly, the *Santo Tomás* was sent back to secure supplies with which to explore the gulf on the return, carrying the sick, and leaving the other vessels to continue up the coast.

Setting out on January 3, 1603, the *San Diego* anchored at Drake's Bay on the 9th. Meanwhile the *Tres Reyes* had parted company. The experiences during the remainder of the voyage were strikingly similar to those of the Ferrelo party, although much more terrible. The two vessels proceeded separately amid storms, and were not reunited until they reached Acapulco. Reaching Cape Mendocino on January 12, the *San Diego* attempted to turn back, but was driven to latitude 42°, returning thence to Mazatlan in direst distress.

The little frigate had succeeded in getting farther north than the *San Diego*. After separation from her companion, she was driven in the storm till a point was seen called Cape Blanco, in latitude reckoned at 43°. Meanwhile the pilot had died, and the vessel was left in charge of the boatswain. In his declaration made in Mexico he told of discovering a great river and bay, which they had tried to enter, in latitude 41°, just below Cape Mendocino. From Cape Mendocino past Cape Blanco, he said, the coast ran northeast. On the basis of the boatswain's declaration the chief pilot of the expedition, Gerónimo Martín Palacios, placed on his chart a large bay and river, which do not exist in fact, just below Cape Mendocino. Torquemada, writing immediately after the expedition, told of the attempt of the *Tres Reyes* to enter a great river, but placed it near Cape Blanco, and concluded that it was the Strait of Anian. He either got his information from some source other than the boatswain's declaration, or else misplaced the river, which seems the more probable, as he said nothing of a river near Cape Mendocino. He also stated that the coast ran northwest above Cape Blanco, whereas the boatswain stated that it ran northeast. Trying to identify the river mentioned by Torquemada as near Cape Blanco,

later students have thought it to be the Rogue River. This seems to be a departure from the sources. The Vizcaino party, like that of Ferrelo, missed the Golden Gate and San Francisco Bay.

The principal printed sources of information regarding the Vizcaino expedition of 1602 are contained in Carrasco y Guisasola, *Documentos referentes al Reconocimiento de las Costas de las Californias desde el Cabo de San Lucas al de Mendocino recopilados en el Archivo de Indias* (Madrid, 1882). The work contains documents between the dates 1584 and 1609. Concerning the expedition in 1602, they comprise communications of the governments in Mexico and Spain with each other and with Vizcaino, the viceroy's instructions to Vizcaino, two journals, and a *derrotero*, or description of the route explored. The general diary (pp. 68-107) has no title but begins "Reynando El rrey don phelipe nuestro señor," etc. (printed here, pp. 52-103). Its author is not named, but the attestation at the end states that it was taken from "the original book of his Majesty." It is hereinafter referred to as Vizcaino's diary. The other journal published in Carrasco (pp. 109-148) is entitled "Copia de libro diario llevado por Sebastian Vizcaino durante el descubrimiento y demarcacion de las costas del mar del Sur, desde el puerto de Acapulco al cabo Mendocino, en 1602." It consists of the records of the juntas, or councils, held by Vizcaino with his officers during the voyage. It is referred to hereinafter as the *Libro Diario*.

The *Derrotero* (pp. 149-172), written by the cosmographer, is entitled "Derrotero de la navegacion desde el puerto de acap<sup>co</sup>. Al cabo Mendoçino y Boca de las Californias fecho Por El Cap<sup>n</sup>. geronimo Mm. Palaçios cosmografo may<sup>or</sup> del nuebo descubrimiento," etc. This *Derrotero* describes the route which should be followed, with "latitudes, landmarks, and other requisites demanded by the art of navigation." It was made in conference with the pilots and in the presence of



Father Fray Antonio de la Ascensión. It gives a most detailed description of the coast, based on the experience of the voyage, but does not relate the incidents of the journey. Appended to the Derrotero is the statement by the boatswain of the *Tres Reyes* regarding the voyage of that vessel above Drake's Bay. It is entitled "Relacion que dio el Contra-maestre de la Fragata de los Tres Reyes, La Qual me dio por Escrito el Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sevastian Bizcayno es la Sig<sup>te</sup>" (pp. 171-172). The Derrotero is accompanied by an "Explicacion que acompaña á cada una de las vistas de costa y planos de este derrotero" (172-182). It consists of an explanation of thirty-three *vistas* or *planos* (charts), which were made to accompany the Derrotero. The *planos* are not printed in Carrasco y Guisasola. In 1603 they were redrawn in colors from the original, by Enrico Martínez, royal cosmographer in New Spain.<sup>1</sup> On the backs of the charts are the descriptions, corresponding to the *vistas* in Carrasco y Guisasola but with different numbering. Two of the charts are reproduced in black in Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico*, pp. 22-23. A map combining the charts was published in Madrid in 1802, in the Navarrete *Atlas para el Viage de las Goletas Sutil y Mexicana al Reconocimiento del Estrecho de Juan de Fuca*. It is referred to hereinafter as the *Carta*. A complete set of the *planos* is in the Bancroft Library, and will be published in facsimile by Professor Frederick J. Teggart. Their publication will be a most important contribution to materials for the Vizcaino expedition.

Most of the documents published by Carrasco y Guisasola concerning the antecedents of the expedition and three of those narrating events of the voyage are translated by George Butler Griffin in *Historical Society of Southern California Publications*, II. (1891) 5-73. The three concerning the events of the voyage are letters written by Vizcaino at Aca-

<sup>1</sup> See Fernández Duro, *Armada Española*, III. 302, note.

pulco, May 5, 1602, on the eve of the departure; at the Bay of Monterey, December 28, 1602, on the eve of the return of the *Santo Tomás*; and at Mexico City, May 23, 1603, after the return of the expedition.

Father Ascensión kept a diary of the voyage and made a map, but neither has been published. In 1620 he wrote an account of the voyage with his original diary in hand. This account (printed hereinafter, pp. 105-134) is published in Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, VIII. 539-574, under the title "Relacion breve en que se da noticia del descubrimiento que se hizo en la Nueva España, en la mar del Sur, desde el puerto de Acapulco hasta mas adelante del cabo de Mendocino," etc. It is published from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, at Madrid. With it is printed a letter by Francisco Ramírez de Arellano transmitting the narrative to the king. The *Relación Breve* devotes only brief space to the events of the voyage, but elaborates the description of the country, and gives extensive space to recommendations regarding the occupation of California. Between 1602 and 1620 the expeditions of Oñate and Iturbi to the Gulf had given rise to the notion that California was an island instead of a peninsula. This theory Father Ascensión accepts in his narrative. The *Relación Breve* therefore may be regarded as representing two distinct periods. The narrative of the voyage is an authentic though brief account of an eye-witness; the insular theory represents the result of developments subsequent to 1602, while the recommendations illustrate the ideas held in 1620 regarding the colonization of California.

Most important of all the older accounts by other than eye-witnesses is that contained in Torquemada's *Monarchía Indiana* (I. 693-725), which was completed by 1612. Torquemada wrote from very full sources, having data especially regarding the movements of the *Santo Tomás* which we do not possess. His account was reprinted in Venegas's (Bur-

riel's) *Noticia de la California* (Madrid, 1757), III. 22–139. Venegas states that Torquemada's account was an *extracto* or summary of the relation written by Father Ascensión (I. 191). The version of Torquemada's account in the English translation of Venegas is very incomplete and unsatisfactory at many points. A less important early account is that of Zárate-Salmerón, "Jornada de Sebastian Vizcaino al Cabo Mendocino," in *Relaciones de todas las Cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico se han visto y sabido, asi por Mar como por Tierra, desde el Año de 1538 hasta el de 1626 por el Padre Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron* (*Documentos para la Historia de México*, tercera série, Mexico, 1856).

## DIARY OF SEBASTIAN VIZCAINO, 1602-1603<sup>1</sup>

IN the reign of our lord, King Philip, the third of this name, the Most Illustrious Señor Don Gaspar de Suñiga y Acevedo, Count of Monte Rey, being viceroy, governor, and captain-general of this New Spain, an exploration was made of the ports, bays, and inlets of the coast of the South Sea from Cape Mendocino, by order of his Majesty, for certain purposes of the royal service, Sebastian Vizcayno, a resident of Mexico, being the general under whose charge and orders went the seamen and soldiers of the said expedition, in the year one thousand six hundred and two.

### CHAPTER 1.

#### *The Departure of the General from Mexico.*

The said general left the city of Mexico in prosecution of his voyage on the day of Santo Tomas de Aquino, which was the 7th of March of the said year, taking with him three religious of the Discalced Order of Our Lady of Carmen, the commissary, Fray Andres de la Umsumcion,<sup>2</sup> Fray Antonio de la Asencion, and Fray Tomas de Aquino; and his son Don Juan Vizcaino; and as chief cosmographer, Captain Geronimo Martín<sup>3</sup> de Palacios; and as counsellors, Captain Alonso Estevan Peguero, Ensign Pasqual de Alarcon, Ensign Martin de Aguilar Galeote, and Ensign Juan de Azevedo y Pereda; as

<sup>1</sup> Carrasco y Guisasaola, *Documentos referentes al Reconocimiento de las Costas de las Californias*, pp. 68-107.

<sup>2</sup> A misprint for Asumpción. See Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I. 695.

<sup>3</sup> The name Martín is here abbreviated into Mm. This frequently occurs elsewhere with the name of the cosmographer, and also with that of Ensign Martín de Aguilar. Frequently the Mm. becomes Rm. and once Mn. in the transcript. But there is no doubt as to the meaning, because both names are sometimes spelled out, when the abbreviations do not occur.

ensign of the company came Juan Francisco Soriano, and as sergeant, Miguel de Legar; seamen and soldiers, one hundred and twenty-six.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER 2.

### *The Arrival at the Port of Acapulco.*<sup>2</sup>

The general arrived with his men at the port of Acapulco on the day of the glorious San José, the 19th<sup>3</sup> of the said month and year. He found in it the captain's ship *San Diego*, which had arrived from El Rrealejo,<sup>4</sup> the admiral's ship *Santo Tomas*, the frigate *Tres Reyes*, and the long-boat. The general stayed in this port until May 5, careening and overhauling the ships and doing other carpentry work, and equipping them with everything necessary, in which he and his men labored hard, and in which, by means of his endeavors and of his outlay with calkers and other persons, great service was rendered his Majesty, not to mention the large expenditures caused by the men.

## CHAPTER 3.

### *The Departure from Acapulco.*

The fleet left the said port on Sunday, the day of San Angelo, the 5th of the said month and year. It consisted of the said ships, frigate, and long-boat. As admiral went Torivio Gomez de Corban;<sup>5</sup> as commander of the frigate, Sebastian Melendez; as chief pilot, Francisco de Bolaños; as pilot of the admiral's ship, Juan Pascual; as his assistant and mate, Estevan Rodriguez and Baltasar de Armas; and as pilot of the frigate, Antonio Flores. As patroness and pro-

<sup>1</sup> Father Ascensión says that there embarked from Acapulco about two hundred persons. Those in excess of one hundred and twenty-six must therefore have joined the expedition at Acapulco (*Relación Breve*, cap. I.).

<sup>2</sup> A port on the southern coast of Mexico, in the state of Guerrero, below lat. 17°. During most of the Spanish régime it was the port of entry for all trade between New Spain and the Philippine Islands.

<sup>3</sup> Torquemada gives the date as the 20th (*Monarchia Indiana*, I. 695).

<sup>4</sup> A port of Central America, in lat. 12° 28', to which Gómez had been sent for vessels.

<sup>5</sup> From Torquemada we learn that Gómez had served many years in the cruising service on the coast of France and had held important offices (*Monarchia Indiana*, I. 694).

tector, Our Lady of Carmen was carried. We took her on board the day of the Exaltation of the Cross,<sup>1</sup> in procession, with all the sailors and soldiers in order, with a salute of artillery and musketry, the bow of the bark in which she was carried being covered with awning. This gave great pleasure to all the men on board the fleet and on the land.

Sailing out to sea with a light wind, it was necessary to await the long-boat in order to tow it behind by a rope, and when it came alongside it caught its mast in the yard of the sprit-sail and capsized. The men who were in it swam to the captain's ship. The general was put to great pains in giving directions from on board, and it was righted with no little trouble and risk from its beating against the ship. But finally it got clear, and we steered up the coast; and by tacking back and forth, with a head-wind, but aided by the tides, we made the port of La Navidad<sup>2</sup> on Sunday, the 19th of the said month, it being necessary to ballast the captain's ship and to stop a leak which it had sprung through an auger-hole. This was done, and wood and water were taken on; and on Wednesday, the 22d of the said month, we set sail, a council<sup>3</sup> having previously been held of the said admiral, cosmographer, captains, and pilots to consider the order that should be observed in the voyage to the islands of Masatlan, and a report of what was agreed upon and of our arrival at the said port having been despatched to the viceroy by way of Guadalajara.

#### CHAPTER 4.

##### *The Arrival at and Departure from the Port of Navidad.*

We left the port of Navidad, as stated, Wednesday, at eleven at night, in continuation of our voyage, with a land breeze and aided by the currents, which were in our favor, al-

<sup>1</sup> The *Invention* of the Cross, May 3, is doubtless intended.

<sup>2</sup> Lat. 19° 13'. See Cabrillo's diary, p. 13, above, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The original record of the council held on the *San Diego* at Navidad is in the *Libro Diario*, Carrasco y Guisasola, *Documentos*, pp. 109-112. It was agreed that to reach Cape San Lucas the voyage should be made along the coast to Mazatlan; in case the vessels should become separated on the way the first to arrive must wait there a week and then continue to Cape San Lucas, there to wait a week. If still alone at the end of that time, the crew must carve a cross on the most prominent tree and leave a written message buried at its foot.

though with a light wind. We sighted Cape Corrientes on Monday, the 27th<sup>1</sup> of the said month, the second day of the Feast of Espiritu Santo.<sup>2</sup> This day an observation of the sun was made at a small island near the cape, to which was given the name of Espiritu Santo.

Pursuing the voyage, on the next day, Tuesday, we arrived off the point of Tintoque, and off Saltelga and Chacala.<sup>3</sup> These ports were not made, it not being convenient; and without loss of time, with the wind not very favorable, but aided by the currents, we made the islands of Masatlan.<sup>4</sup> We anchored there at eleven o'clock on Trinity Sunday, the 2d day of the month of June. The general permitted no one to go ashore. He alone went on the said islands in order to see if there was any water, but found none. A great many birds are found on these islands, in such numbers that they gathered in flocks which appeared like flocks of sheep; and with the sardines which they had near their nests we could have fed many people.

#### CHAPTER 5.

##### *The Departure from the Islands of Masatlan.*<sup>5</sup>

Going forward on the voyage, and having passed Culiacan<sup>6</sup> a matter of two leagues, the general gave orders to cross the entrance of the Californias to the Cape of San Lucas. This was done, although with much labor, there being westerly

<sup>1</sup> Lat. 20° 25'. Torquemada says they arrived on the 26th (*Monarchia Indiana*, I. 696).

<sup>2</sup> Pentecost.

<sup>3</sup> The Derrotero, pp. 153-154, mentions Punta de Tintoque, fourteen leagues above Cape Corrientes. It does not mention Saltelga or Chacala under those names.

<sup>4</sup> Islas de San Juan de Maçatlan (Vizcaino, *Relación* of 1597, in Carrasco y Guisasola, *Documentos*, p. 25). In the Planos, fol. 62, is a map of Islas de Maçatlan. The anchorage was on the islands and not on the mainland.

<sup>5</sup> In the text "Islas de Masatlan" is corrupted into "Velas de Masatlan."

<sup>6</sup> Culiacán, in Sinaloa, near lat. 24° 40'. This place was founded in 1531, by Guzmán, as an outpost of Nueva Galicia. Vizcaino's *Relación* of 1597 states that from Acapulco to Puerto de Çalagua it was one hundred leagues; thence to Cape Corrientes, sixty leagues; thence to Mazatlan, sixty leagues; thence to Culiacán, forty leagues; thence to Baldehermoso [Vallehermoso] in Sinaloa, fifty leagues; "from this point one crosses the gulf and mouth of the Californias, which is about eighty leagues across" (Carrasco y Guisasola, *Documentos*, p. 25).

head-winds; and going forward by tacking back and forth, after five days we found ourselves to be twelve leagues from the said Cape of San Lucas.<sup>1</sup> Coasting along the land, on Saturday, the 8th day of the month of June, we arrived at the said Cape of San Lucas. We anchored in the Bay of San Bernabe, and because we anchored in it the same day, which was the eleventh of the said month, that saint's name was given to it.<sup>2</sup> The ship being anchored, the admiral, the rest of the captains, and the ensign went ashore with their arms and fifty arquebusiers. We found awaiting us on the beach Indians to the number of a hundred, and the general, the religious, and everyone received them very well, embracing them and giving them food and other things, the Indians giving tiger and deerskins. That night the Indians went to their rancherías, and we remained on the beach. Orders were given to make ready the net for catching fish, but it was not necessary, for God granted that there should be cast upon the beach as many sardines as all could eat, with many left over.

The following day, being the octave of the feast of the Most Holy Sacrament,<sup>3</sup> the general ordered a tent pitched near the beach in the shelter of a large rock, where stopped the men of the ships in which the Englishman Don Tomas plundered.<sup>4</sup> In this place and tent mass was said, and a procession of the most Holy Sacrament held, in which Our Lady of Carmen was carried. The general and many men confessed and received communion. Father Fray Tomas de Aquino preached, and all with much joy, health, and peace gave thanks to God for having reached this place. For, in addition to its having been very much desired, we found in it many fish of different kinds and sardines in abundance, from which the

<sup>1</sup> Davidson at this point by mistake places a paragraph from Ferrelo's voyage under the head of Vizcaino, making it appear that Vizcaino arrived at Cape San Lucas on July 2 (*Early Voyages*, p. 161).

<sup>2</sup> San Lucas Bay, lat. 22° 52'; Cabrillo's Puerto de San Lucas (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 162). Martín, Planos, fol. 61, shows on the west coast a "high white sand dune," not shown on the Carta. See Explicación, 1, in Carrasco, *Documentos*, p. 172; Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, I. 697.

<sup>3</sup> Octave of Corpus Christi, June 13, 1602.

<sup>4</sup> There is clearly a mistake in the copy here. The text reads: "la nao Samque Rono El Yngles." I suggest the reading: "Los naos en que rouo El Yngles," which I have followed in the translation. The reference is, of course, to Thomas Cavendish. See Torquemada, I. 699.



men received great satisfaction, as the fish were very wholesome. We found very good fresh water near the beach in a patch of green canes,<sup>1</sup> and we also found a great number of rabbits and several hares, and signs of deer; but there was no fruit. We found incense trees, and some incense was gathered, as well as some wood; and they finished making the extra sails, to replace those which were worn out.

Sunday, the 16th of the said month, the general called a council<sup>2</sup> of the admiral, cosmographer, captains, and pilots for the purpose of determining the order of navigation from this place to the island of Serros. It was held, and that which was decided was noted down in the council book, with great unanimity of all.<sup>3</sup> It being cold, the men asked the general that the supply of clothing which was brought be distributed, which was thereupon done; and he also ordered an edict proclaimed to the effect that no one should gamble or sell them, under pain of death; likewise that no one should harm any Indian, or molest him, or take anything from him by force.

It was agreed to-day that on Wednesday, the 19th of the month, the moon being in conjunction, we should set sail in continuation of our voyage. This we did, and at four o'clock in the afternoon the captain's ship set sail, the others following. After we had rounded the cape, when six leagues from it a northwest wind came up which forced us to take shelter in the same bay, where we remained another two days, until it grew calm. We set sail a second time, but having arrived at the place before-mentioned the same wind struck us again and forced us to put into port.<sup>4</sup> We were there three more

<sup>1</sup> See the Carta, and Planos, fol. 61.

<sup>2</sup> See Libro Diario, p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> It was agreed in the council that in case of parting company in a storm the vessels should put into the nearest and best bay discovered or return to San Bernabé, to await the others. In order to avoid trouble with the natives, no landing must be made of less than thirty armed men; orders must be obeyed on pain of death; Indians must not be ill treated, nor presents received except by the commander of the landing party (Libro Diario, pp. 113-114).

<sup>4</sup> On June 21 a *junta* was held on the *San Diego*; already two attempts had been made to sail. It was now agreed that a new attempt should not be made till a change of weather or till full moon. Later in the same day the wind had shifted to the southeast and a new *junta* advised sailing with it, lest they be held in the port by the wind (Libro Diario, pp. 114-115).

days, until the eve of the feast of the glorious San Juan Baptista,<sup>1</sup> when, being desirous of going forward, we that night set sail the third time; but after sailing five days, during which we struggled as best we could, we were driven back with much force to the same bay and cape, where we remained until July 5. Then, with a favoring land breeze, we set sail in continuation of our voyage. A council being held, the long-boat was left in a pool of fresh water, with the concurrence of all, since it was the opinion that it would be lost and would give the captain's ship much trouble in towing it astern, and that it was not fit to sail because of the heavy seas on the coast.

#### CHAPTER 6.

##### *The Departure from the Cape of San Lucas and the Arrival at Santa María Madalena.*

We set out from the said cape and bay of San Bernabé on July 5, as has been said, and after going two leagues out to sea, sailing with a strong wind, we met with a moderate head-wind, and, tacking against it, sailed with great difficulty. After six days we sighted some high, broken mountains, to which we drew near in order to see whether there was any port there, and whether we could find the frigate, which had parted company the day after we left the said bay.

On the 18th of the said month, the day of Sameta Marina, we discovered a bay<sup>2</sup> and tried to enter it. Being near land we found soundings of six fathoms. The tide turned, and for this reason and because it was night, we stood off shore. In the morning we saw that it was a wild coast which showed no safe harbor. We coasted along till the 19th day of said month, when we came upon an inlet, outside of which we remained with lowered sails to await the admiral's ship, which was three leagues to the leeward.

The next morning we could not see her, and we continued

<sup>1</sup> June 24.

<sup>2</sup> Santa Marina Bay, lat. 24° 20'; "Bahía engañososa de Santa Marina" (Derrotero, p. 157); Cabrillo's Puerto de la Trinidad (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 164); shown on the Planos, fol. 66. Near this bay the charts show and the Derrotero mentions the point of the Sierra de Santa Margarita, evidently Cabrillo's Punta de la Trinidad (Derrotero, p. 157; *Early Voyages*, p. 164).

our voyage and entered a very large bay, which was named the Bay of Madalena.<sup>1</sup> The general ordered Ensign Juan Francisco to go on shore and explore it, and to send four arquebusiers to a point made by the bay, and two others to<sup>2</sup> a high hill, with orders to make smoke signals to the admiral's ship, thereby to let her know that we were there. Although this was done, and the men of the admiral's ship saw the smoke signals, they did not understand them out at sea. The chief pilot, Francisco de Bolaños, set out in the boat, making every effort to reach the admiral's ship, but he could not do so because the wind freshened. The chief pilot returned, and this day, which was the feast of the Magdalene, mass was said on land.

The following day the general agreed that the bay should be mapped, and the land and its people examined; that the cosmographer should sound it and map it; and that Ensign Pascual de Alarcon, with twenty arquebusiers, should explore the land, find out who the people were, and search for water, of which the captain's ship had great need.

They set out upon this undertaking and went twelve leagues about the bay, but did not find water to any considerable amount, although between two hills, half a league from the beach, a pool was found where in the rainy season the water collects. It was not very fresh and was green, but the bottles we carried were filled with it. A great number of Indians came to the ensign in different places, with their bows, arrows, and small, fire-hardened darts, although they were friendly, for they gave up their arms as a sign of peace. They are a

<sup>1</sup> Magdalena Bay, lat. 24° 32'; the Puerto de San Pedro of Cabrillo. Shown on the Planos, fol. 68. Described in *Explicación, vista 10*. The Derrotero says: "This Sierra is called Santa Margarita, and between the point which it makes toward the northeast and the coast behind it it forms a bar, within the Ensenada Emgañossa de Santa Marina. There are inside of said bar a port and anchorage, the entry being five fathoms at least; and within there is great depth. It communicates with La Vaya de la Madalena. From the southeast point of the Sierra de Santa Margarita, as they call the very point, to the said bar of Santa Marina, it is four leagues" (Derrotero, p. 157). Torquemada (*Monarchia Indiana*, I. 700), says that the flagship entered Magdalena Bay, but that her consort did not enter on account of the fogs; and that mass was said ashore on Santa Magdalena's day, hence the name given the bay. See *Early Voyages*, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> In the text *á* is corrupted into *ó*.

well featured and robust race, though naked and living in rancherías. Their food is commonly of fish and maize, for there are great quantities of fish of many kinds. They fish with enclosures of sticks, catching in this way many mussels and shell fish. There are many whales, which are sometimes stranded on the beach of this bay, for we found many of their bones.

Thursday, the 25th of the said month, the frigate arrived, which gave much pleasure to all the men. Ensign Sebastian Melendes reported that on account of the strong wind he had returned to take shelter at Cape San Lucas five days after he had put out to sea. They had improved the time while there in caulking the hatchways. Moreover, they said that they had entered the Bay of Santa Marina, which has been mentioned above, and that at the end of it they had found a very good port, where many Indians came out to them, like the others, and in sign of peace gave them their arms, which are arrows and small wooden darts, which they also use for fishing. The next day after the frigate had arrived, there being a lack of water, Ensign Pasqual de Alarcon went in it, with the boat of the captain's ship, to the pool whence the green water had been brought before, but he secured only seventy bottles; and although they made great efforts, no other fresh water was found. This land is very dry and on the side of the mainland is very flat, the greater part consisting of sand dunes and the rest being sparsely wooded. During the dry season the Indians drink brackish water from waterholes which they make near the salt water. Seeing that there was no water here and that time was passing, it was agreed to set sail on Saturday, the 27th of the month. As we sailed out this day from the entrance of the bay the wind went down, and the tide, setting in, forced us to anchor. At midnight we stood out with a land breeze, the boat in tow, and on Sunday at nine o'clock, when four leagues out at sea, we came up with the frigate. The general ordered a rope given it so that it might be towed astern and not become separated again from the captain's ship.

## CHAPTER 7.

*The Arrival at and Departure from the Bay of Madalena and the Voyage to the Port of San Bartolomé.*

We set out, as has been said, on Sunday, with favorable wind, on our way to the island of Serros. Some five leagues from land we discovered the entrance of another large bay,<sup>1</sup> which we attempted to go into in order to protect ourselves from the northwest wind. At its entrance, on the point toward the northwest, there were some shoals which extended out as far as the middle of the mouth of the bay. Having arrived off these, we were obliged to stand away to sea and continue our voyage. This bay was named Santa Marta. Tacking back and forth, on Tuesday, the 30th of the said month, we discovered a bay,<sup>2</sup> and in the middle of it what appeared to be a river or port. The general ordered the cosmographer to go in the frigate to examine it and take soundings and bring back a report of what was there. He did so, and as he drew near with the frigate the breakers were rolling in on all sides. As it was of no importance he returned to the captain's ship, and the general bade him come aboard.

We continued our voyage, skirting along this coast because of our great need of water, and at the end of it we saw another large bay<sup>3</sup> and two leagues of land near it. The general or-

<sup>1</sup> Santa María Bay, lat. 24° 44'; the Bahía de San Martín of Cabrillo (*Early Voyages*, p. 165). The Derrotero, p. 159, notes Punta de San Laçaro two leagues above Ensenada de Santa Marta. This is now Cape San Lázaro, lat. 24° 48' (*Early Voyages*, p. 166). See Planos, fol. 69; Explicación, *vista* 11.

<sup>2</sup> Torquemada (*Monarchía Indiana*, I. 701) says: "This place or inlet called San Christoval had been surveyed by the admiral's ship. . . . The inlet was named San Christoval because it was surveyed on the anniversary of that saint." In this inlet is the entrance of Boca de San Domingo, lat. 25° 21'. The southern end of the lagoon heads in Magdalena Bay (*Early Voyages*, p. 167). The Planos, fol. 71, show two "ensenadas" above the "ensenada larga" where the Carta shows only one. The Bay of San Christóval may have been one of these.

<sup>3</sup> Torquemada (I. 701) states that on the night of July 30 they reached Bahía de las Ballenas, seeing, just before reaching it, "another large bay," which they could not enter for the shoals. See *Early Voyages*, p. 169. Bahía de las Ballenas is Ballenas Bay, in lat. 26° 45', and the Puerto de Santiago of Cabrillo. Bahía de las Ballenas had already been explored by the *Santo Tomás* before the *San Pedro* reached it; it was given the name from the multitude of whales seen

dered the launch sent ahead to take soundings and find out whether it had a harbor, so that the captain's ship could anchor and search for water.<sup>1</sup> When he came near land he found a reef more than three leagues long, with breakers throughout its length. Seeing, therefore, that there was no entrance to it, he made the accustomed signal, and we steered out to sea, continuing our voyage with great thirst, and with difficulty on account of head-winds.

On the 8th of the month of August of the said year we arrived at a headland which seemed to us a suitable place for casting anchor; and there, with the boats of the captain's ship and the frigate, we anchored. On inspection the coast was seen to be very wild, without a sign of a river or port. As we had anchored where the southeast wind was onshore, at midnight of this day the general ordered us to set sail in continuation of our voyage.

The next day the headland<sup>2</sup> was rounded, though with difficulty, for out at sea, two leagues from it, we discovered some shoals, to which we gave the name of Los Abrejos.<sup>3</sup> Having rounded these, we tacked back and forth along the coast in search of the island of Serros. On the 11th and 12th of the said month a strong northwest wind struck us, which made us lower the mainsails, there being a heavy sea. That night the wind went down and we veered toward land; but anchorage was not found, and we therefore stood out to sea again with a favorable wind.

there (*Monarchía Indiana*, I. 702; *Early Voyages*, pp. 168-169). The name does not appear on the Planos or the Carta or in the *vistas*, but on the Planos, fol. 73, an unnamed "ensenada" is shown. The bay reached just before Ballenas Bay must be the one shown on the Carta as hemmed in by the "Arcifes." Mapped in the Planos, fol. 73, and described in *Explicación*, *vista* 14.

<sup>1</sup>This appears to have been August 2. On that day the *San Diego* being in lat.  $26\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ , and about two leagues from the shore, near what seemed to be a bay or inlet, Vizcaino took the opinion of his counsellors as to whether it should be examined to search for water and wait for the *Santo Tomás*, which had not been seen for over fourteen days. They agreed that the launch should go in, and, if water were found, that the *San Diego* should follow (*Libro Diario*, pp. 115-116).

<sup>2</sup>Abrejos Point; Cabrillo's Punta de Santiago (*Early Voyages*, p. 168). The Derrotero, p. 169, gives Punta de Abrejos in  $27\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ . Shown in the Planos, fol. 74; described in *Explicación*, *vista* 15.

<sup>3</sup>Abrejos Rocks, off Abrejos Point, lat.  $26^{\circ} 46'$ . Vizcaino did not pass between the point and the Abrejos Rocks (*Derrotero*, p. 160).

The following day, the feast of San Epolito, we arrived at a bay<sup>1</sup> which had good protection from the northwest and which gave indications of having water. At nightfall a north wind blew from the land and obliged us to go outside. As it was strong and favorable, we sailed with it all that night, and at five o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, the fourteenth, eve of the feast of Our Lady of the Assumption, we found ourselves near a little island which had to the north of it an inlet, in which we found anchorage the same day at sunset. As soon as it was morning on the day of Our Lady, the general ordered Ensign Pasqual de Alarcon to embark in the boat with sailors and soldiers and go ashore. He found on the beach some Indians who were peaceful, for they pointed out to them several small wells of scanty, brackish water. Thereupon the ensign returned with this report, which was received with great disappointment.

Because of our great need of water, and because to go forward without finding it would be very rash and to risk our dying of thirst, the general directed Ensign Martin to arrange to go with four soldiers and follow the coast to the windward, to another inlet, three leagues beyond this place, charging him to put forth his utmost endeavors. The said ensign returned at sunset the same day with the report that he had found good water and a saline a little more than two leagues from where we were anchored, which gave us all great joy. The soldiers brought some green tomatoes.

The same night we set sail with a land breeze, passing round and measuring the little island, to which was given the name La Asuncion.<sup>2</sup> About two o'clock of the same day we were off another island, some three leagues distant from the last one, to which was given the name San Roque.<sup>3</sup> We cast

<sup>1</sup> San Hipolito Bay, lat. 26° 58', half-way between Abreojos and Asunción Island (*Early Voyages*, p. 170). Ensenada de San Hipolito on the Carta. See Planos, fol. 75; Explicación, *vista* 16. The feast of St. Hippolytus was August 13.

<sup>2</sup> Asunción Island, off Asunción Point; Planos, fol. 75; Explicación, *vista* 17. By the *Santo Tomás* this and San Roque Island were called *Las Islas de San Roque*. They were not named by either Ulloa or Cabrillo (*Early Voyages*, p. 170). The *Derrotero*, p. 161, mentions Punta de San Epolito (Asunción Point, lat. 27° 7'), Isla de la Asuncion, and Isla de San Roque.

<sup>3</sup> San Roque Island, lat. 27° 8½' (*Early Voyages*, p. 170). Shown in the Planos, fol. 75; described in Explicación, *vista* 17.

anchor between it and the mainland. The general ordered Ensign Alarcon to embark and go ashore where Martin de Aguilar had directed. They carried pickaxes and dug wells, putting in a quarter pipe. The water that ran into it was salty, and that which overflowed it fresh, which was considered a miracle wrought by God. We got thirty quarters and two hundred bottles, although with much trouble, for there was a heavy surf on the beach, which capsized the boat several times. Some bottles were broken and our men escaped drenched, with their arquebuses in their hands; but as we were in great need of the water they did not mind working at such a risk.

As the admiral's ship was missing, the general, desirous of learning about it, ordered Ensign Juan Francisco Serriano<sup>1</sup> to go with four arquebusiers to a very high hill which was about four leagues farther on, and from there to look for the admiral's ship and see whether there was any bay ahead. The ensign went and returned the same day, saying that the ship was not in sight and that there was no bay ahead of any consequence; that he had found some rancherías of Indians, who had in their huts skins of sea-wolves, of which they were making sandals,<sup>2</sup> and that there were many roads leading from there and indications of many people, although they did not wait for them to take some salt from the saline.

Tuesday, the 20th of the said month, we set sail in continuation of our voyage, although with the slack wind we ordinarily had had up to here, and by tacking back and forth we skirted the coast till the 23rd, the eve of the feast of San Bartolomé, when we discovered a very good port, which at first seemed to be the island of Serros. We went into it and cast anchor, and Ensign Pasqual de Alarcon went ashore. Although efforts were made, there were found neither water nor people nor anything of consequence. Captain Gerónimo Martin, cosmographer, observed the said port and said it was very good. We gave it the name of Puerto de San Bartolomé.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Suriano.

<sup>2</sup> *Ca, des* in the text, a misprint for *cacles*.

<sup>3</sup> Port San Bartolomé, lat. 27° 39'; Cabrillo's Puerto de San Pedro Vincula. Five leagues above San Roque Island, and before reaching Port San Bartolomé, the Derrotero notes Morro Hermoso, still so called, lat. 27° 30' (*Early Voyages*, p.



## CHAPTER 8.

*The Departure from the Port of San Bartolomé and the Arrival at the Island of Serros.*

We left this port, as has been stated, on August 23,<sup>1</sup> at eight o'clock at night, in continuation of our voyage. Proceeding along the coast, with the wind generally slack, by tacking back and forth we arrived at some high mountains and a headland on the eve of the feast of San Agustín, the twenty-seventh of the said month. Although great efforts were made to round the headland, the weather would not permit it. It appeared that this land was an island, and that there was another to the leeward, with a large inlet between them.<sup>2</sup> The general directed Captain Gerónimo Martin to go with the frigate to explore it and take soundings, while the captain's ship remained out at sea. The said Captain Gerónimo Martin went with great labor and difficulty because of the strong head-wind. He made land the following day, going ashore and exploring inland, and placing sentinels on the hills to see if the captain's ship was following.

Saturday, the last of the said month, the wind having veered

172). See also the Carta; Planos, fol. 76; Explicación, *vista* 18. Torquemada (*Monarchía Indiana*, I. 704) states that the *capitana* and *fragata* found on the shore at San Bartolomé "a resin which, because it did not have a good odor, no one wished to take. Some have supposed it to be amber, and it would not be surprising if this were so, because there were great numbers of whales there, and, as they say, this is amber. This may be true, and if so there is enough there to load a ship." See *Early Voyages*, p. 173. Cf. Father Ascensión's diary (below, p. 116) for a statement concerning the amber (ambergris).

<sup>1</sup> Torquemada (*Monarchía Indiana*, I. 704) states that the *San Pedro* and the tender left Port San Bartolomé in the night of August 24, the day they arrived. See *Early Voyages*, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> Six leagues above Puerto de San Bartolomé the Derrotero (p. 162) indicates Punta de San Eugenio in lat.  $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and west of this point Isla de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora, which on approach appeared to be one with the point. The island was eight and one-half leagues around. Between the island and the point there is noted a passage of nearly three leagues (Derrotero, p. 162). Also in Planos, fol. 77, and Explicación, *vista* 19. The island was Natividad Island, lat.  $27^{\circ} 53'$ . Punta de San Eugenio is now called Point Eugenio, lat.  $27^{\circ} 50'$ . Davidson, who did not have access to the Derrotero, remarks that Point Eugenio is not described by either Cabrillo or Vizcaino (*Early Voyages*, p. 176). The passage between the point and the island is nearly four miles wide (*ibid.*, p. 174).

with great force to the northwest against the captain's ship, it put in at a harbor on the southeast shore;<sup>1</sup> and having cast anchor with great anxiety because the admiral's ship and launch were missing, God deigned that the admiral's ship should sail round a headland formed by the eastern shore of the same land. This gave great pleasure to the men of both ships because for forty-one days they had not seen each other. Immediately we sent them the shallop, and the admiral told how he had arrived here twelve days before, at a place where there was a good anchorage and water, although the latter was a league inland and was brackish. However, as there was great need for it, it seemed to all of them very good and to be near. There was a great abundance of fish.

Immediately the general gave orders to sail from where they were, and to cast anchor where the admiral had said. This was done, and the two ships setting sail with the same wind, God granted that the captain's ship should make port and cast anchor, the admiral's ship remaining outside, since it was not able to come in, and in order that they might see the frigate which was to windward awaiting the captain's ship, for she had left it out at sea; and thus it was that Captain Gerónimo Martin saw her, and she understanding what the captain's ship wished, he went alongside of her, and at ten o'clock at night recognized her to be the admiral's ship. At this they were greatly pleased, and still more so when told that the captain's ship was anchored further on.

The next day, September 2, they reached the place where the captain's ship was, and the general ordered a council held.<sup>2</sup> It was held, and he proposed to the members, if it were best, that Captain Gerónimo Martin should go in the frigate to circumnavigate and measure this land, for there was doubt as to whether or not it was an island, as it appeared very large. It was agreed that he should go, being given eight days' time for it, and that meanwhile the captain's and admiral's ships should be provided with wood and water, Captain Peguero and Ensign Pasqual de Alarcon being put in charge of this work.

<sup>1</sup> South Bay, on the southeast side of Cape San Agustín, Cerros Island (*Early Voyages*, pp. 174-175). See Planos, fol. 78; Explicación, *vista* 20.

<sup>2</sup> It was held on the *San Diego*, in lat. 29° (Libro Diario, pp. 116-117).

Captain Gerónimo Martin departed on Tuesday at two o'clock in the afternoon to carry out this undertaking. On the following day the general, with the religious, went ashore. After mass was said, he went to the place where they were getting wood and water and saw that the water was scanty and poor, and that they were securing it only with much trouble and that the men were becoming worn out and ill. Reflecting that so large a land could not lack wood and water, that the place he was in was convenient for the ships coming from China, and that it was proper for him to investigate<sup>1</sup> the resources of the land in order to take back a more complete report, he held a council of war regarding the matter, consisting of the admiral, captains, counsellors, and ensign. It was agreed that an entrance into the interior should be made; that twenty arquebusiers should go, well equipped, since in the said land there had been seen warlike men who had been impudent and who had broken twenty bottles which the men of the admiral's ship had left on land because they could not get them aboard; and that Ensign Juan Francisco and Sergeant Miguel de Legar should go for three days, with strict injunction to treat the Indians kindly and to search for wood and water, which was our greatest necessity.<sup>2</sup>

The ensign set out with twenty men on the 3rd of the said month to make the attempt, and at the end of two days he returned, reporting that the country was very rough; that on the slope of a great mountain range there was a large forest of pines; and that two leagues beyond the place where they were anchored, on the very shore of the sea, there was a stream of fresh spring water which issued from some clumps of rushes and which was plentiful and good. Upon hearing the good news the general ordered them to weigh anchor immediately, and within two hours the watering place was reached,<sup>3</sup> where anchor was cast. Thursday afternoon, the 5th of the said month, a landing was made. A pipe of the forge-bellows was

<sup>1</sup> The text reads "sta uiesse," evidently a misprint for "sse uiesse."

<sup>2</sup> Libro Diario, p. 118. The reason given for sending Juan Francisco and Miguel de Legar (*sic*) was that Peguero and Alarcón were occupied in preparing the ships for the voyage.

<sup>3</sup> The Derrotero gives a full description of Cerros Island, pp. 162-163. See *Early Voyages*, p. 174; the Planos, fol. 78; Explicación, *vista* 20.

carried and put into the spring, and a stream filled the pipe. Without more time or labor than putting the bottle or barrel at the pipe it was filled, and it was not two steps<sup>1</sup> from the sea where the boats arrived. It was regarded as a miracle which God, our Lord, performed for us. Very good oak, mastic, and sabine wood were found, and a cabin was built on land wherein mass was said. Wood was taken on and the next day, Saturday, the 7th of said month, the image of Our Lady was brought forth, and was received on shore with a salute of arquebuses and musketry.

The next day, Sunday, mass was sung and there was a procession. Father Fray Tomas de Aquino preached,<sup>2</sup> and after divine services were over Captain Gerónimo Martin, Father Fray Antonio de la Asemçion, and Ensign Sebastian Melendes, commander of the said frigate, reported that they had been along the land, that it was the island of Serros, and that they had measured around it for twelve leagues when a northwest wind came up and obliged them to turn back southeast to the mainland, where they went ashore, finding neither Indians nor water. They went to an island two leagues from the mainland,<sup>3</sup> and Captain Gerónimo Martin surveyed it, took soundings, and returned.

Having arrived there, as has been said, the general ordered the frigate supplied with water and wood, and that it should be given canvas for a maintopsail which it needed. This was done, and immediately the general ordered a conference and sea council,<sup>4</sup> composed of the admiral, cosmographer, pilot, and assistants, concerning the order of navigation from here to Cape Mendocino. It was agreed, besides other things which are in the book of decisions, that we should continue our voyage. Thereupon we set sail in continuation of our voyage Monday, the 9th of the said month of September.

<sup>1</sup> The text reads *possos*, a misprint for *passos*.

<sup>2</sup> The text reads *pedrico*, instead of *predico*.

<sup>3</sup> From the description this seems to have been Natividad Island.

<sup>4</sup> Libro Diario, pp. 118-119. The next stage of the voyage marked off was to Isla de las Cenizas. It was agreed that the vessels should try to keep together, but in case of a storm from the north they were to return to Cerros Island or some port above it to wait eight days, or, in case of southeast winds, to go to Cenizas Island, to wait twelve days.

## CHAPTER 9.

*The Departure from the Island of Serros, and the Arrival at the Island of San Gerónimo.*

Monday, the 9th of the said month of September, we set sail from the island of Serros in continuation of our voyage, and Wednesday, the 11th of the said month, we sighted the mainland toward the north-northeast. Skirting along the coast in search of some bay and port for shelter from the north-west wind, it being that which troubled us, on Friday, the 13th, we discovered an inlet sheltered from the said northwest wind. It was entered, the captain's and admiral's ships and the frigate cast anchor, and Ensign Pascual de Alarcon, with twenty men, went on shore. They took the net and caught a quantity of white fish, like that of Mechoacan, and of sole, both very good. On land a very broad and long road was found leading to the beach.<sup>1</sup> Not to lose time, we set sail the same night, following along the coast. On the beach the Indians signalled to us by great columns of smoke both day and night, from which we inferred that there were many Indians.

Sunday, the 15th, we sighted the very conspicuous,<sup>2</sup> cliff-like, white sandstone cape of Samta Maria.<sup>3</sup> It seemed best

<sup>1</sup> The Derrotero, the Carta, the Planos, fol. 79, and the Explicación, *vista* 21, all mention two bays here three leagues apart. The westernmost was called Ensenada del Pescado Blanco, which seems to have been Blanco Bay, lat. 29° 4', the other being La Playa María Bay, lat. 28° 55'. Torquemada (*Monarquía Indiana*, I. 706) calls the easternmost bay San Hipolito and the westernmost San Cosme y San Damián, which Davidson identifies as La Playa María Bay and Blanco Bay. From the circumstances mentioned by Torquemada, his San Hipolito Bay seems to be Ensenada del Pescado Blanco. Neither the Carta, the Planos, the Vistas, nor the Derrotero mentions a Bay of San Hipolito here. See *Early Voyages*, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> The text reads: "Descubrimos un cauo tajado muy conocido de barrial blanco de Samta Maria." This is ambiguous, for *muy conocido* may mean either "conspicuous" or "very well known."

<sup>3</sup> Apparently Point Canoas, lat. 29° 25', the Punta del Mal Abrigo of Cabillo. The Derrotero, p. 164, calls it El Cavo Blanco de Samta María, gives the latitude as 30½° scant, and locates it five leagues southeast of the Ensenada of San Francisco, which in turn is given as nine leagues from Cavo Bajo y Ysla de San Gerónimo. The distance from San Gerónimo Island corresponds with that of Point Canoas, which is thirteen leagues from San Gerónimo Island.

to go to it in the frigate in order to survey it and take its bearings and altitude, since it is very important for the ships that may go to the Philippines, for, having sighted it, they may hold their course to the island of Serros. Therefore the general ordered the frigate to come up alongside, whereupon the cosmographer, Captain Gerónimo Martin, went aboard. On Monday, the 17th<sup>1</sup> of the month, he set out to make this attempt. The next day, Tuesday, there came up a very strong northwest wind, with much fog, so that the ships could not see one another. At six o'clock in the afternoon of this day the captain's and admiral's ships agreed to lie by until dawn the next day, Wednesday. This day they resolved to put in at the Bay of Pescado Blanco previously mentioned,<sup>2</sup> because the admiral's ship, being old, could not withstand it. While coasting along shore it grew dark before they reached the bay, and for this reason they did not enter, but stood out to sea.

The same night the wind went down, whereupon we turned back in continuation of our voyage, and Friday and Saturday we reached the place where we had put in before. Sunday evening, the 20th,<sup>3</sup> the eve of the feast of the Apostle San Mateo, the wind again became heavy, though not so strong, with the same threatening weather. That night the admiral's ship parted company, and although attempts to find her were made for two days, searching back and forth, she was not to be seen. It was thought she had put into the Bay of Pescado Blanco. The captain's ship went hugging the land in search of the frigate, which had been missing for eight days, and on Sunday, the 29th of the month, we discovered her, which caused no little satisfaction, great pleasure to the general, and joy to all, for we had been feeling great anxiety and fear lest she had met with some accident during the past storm. Captain Gerónimo Martin came aboard the captain's ship, the frigate putting out its canoe to bring him. He said that during the past storm he had put into a large bay four leagues from this

<sup>1</sup> Evidently this should be the 16th.

<sup>2</sup> Blanco Bay, lat. 29° 4', the Ensenada del Pescado Blanco, mentioned on p. 69, above, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> This is evidently an error. The 20th was the eve of St. Matthew, but the 22d was Sunday. Moreover the *Junta* held on September 30 states that the *almiranta* strayed on the 22d.

place;<sup>1</sup> that in this bay there was a great number of Indians, who came out to them in reed canoes;<sup>2</sup> that during the second storm they had been under shelter of a small island, which was to leeward; that he had turned back in search of us, and on the 28th of the month had returned to the said bay, because it appeared that we were keeping to leeward, and from there he saw us at four o'clock in the afternoon; that the captain's ship was about to cast anchor, and that it had shelter from the northwest wind. As the weather was favorable the general gave orders to continue our voyage, and by tacking back and forth we found ourselves off the island where the captain had been, to which was given the name San Gerónimo.<sup>3</sup> Having rounded it the northwest wind struck us with greater fury, and the general, seeing that the admiral's ship, which remained behind, and the frigate could not weather so great a storm at sea, decided to put into the bay which has been previously mentioned. In it we, the captain's ship and the frigate, cast anchor October 2.<sup>4</sup>

On the beach were a number of Indians, both men and women. The general agreed with the members of the council to land, to reconnoitre, and to make a complete report of everything.<sup>5</sup> Ensign Pascual de Alarcon, with twenty arquebusiers, at once embarked in the boat, the Indians awaiting them on the beach peacefully. Presents were given them, and they

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the bay entered October 2, as stated below. The latter was Bahía de San Francisco. According to the Derrotero, p. 164, it was nine leagues from San Gerónimo Island. The Carta and the Planos show it, without a name, above Ensenada de Canoas.

<sup>2</sup> *De nea, i. e., de enea.* Cf. Torquemada, I. 707.

<sup>3</sup> San Gerónimo Island, lat. 29° 48', the Isla de San Bernardo of Cabrillo (*Early Voyages*, p. 182). Planos, fol. 80; Explicación, *vistas* 22, 23. *Juntas* of the officers of the *San Diego* and the *Tres Reyes* were held on September 30, October 1 and 2. Finally it was agreed to land (Libro Diario, pp. 120-121). The Derrotero gives San Gerónimo Island as nine leagues from Ensenada de Canoas and five from Cavo Blanco de Santa María, and as in lat. 30 $\frac{2}{3}$ °. The Planos, fol. 80, show the little bay, unnamed, six leagues from San Gerónimo Island and three from the Ensenada de Canoas.

<sup>4</sup> Torquemada (*Monarchia Indiana*, I. 707) states that on the eve of the feast of San Francisco, October 3, they put into La Bahía de San Francisco. See *Early Voyages*, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> The *junta* was held October 1, unless an error has been made in dating it. See above, note 3.

were assured by signs that we were their friends and would treat them well; thereupon Ensign Alarcon re-embarked and conveyed the news to the general. The next day, that of the blessed San Francisco,<sup>1</sup> the general went ashore, taking with him the Father Commissary and Father Fray Tomas de Aquino. Mass was said, and the same day the general ordered Ensign Juan Francisco Suriano, with four arquebusiers, to go to a very high hill more than two leagues from the beach in order from it to look for the admiral's ship, which, as has been said, remained behind. The ensign returned at eight o'clock at night, having carried out his instructions, and reported that the admiral's ship was not in sight and that on top of the hill there was a great number of Indians, both men and women, who were afraid of us. They went inland by a wide trail, followed by people. The next day, which was the day after the feast of San Francisco, the fathers said mass on land. The general and many of the men confessed and received communion.

To this bay was given the name of San Francisco. It has many fish—mackerel, white sea-bass, and many other kinds, of which the soldiers caught a great number with sail-rope and small lines and bent needles and pins. We found in the rancherías of the Indians some horns larger than those of bulls and small ones like those of goats; they say that the large ones are buffalo horns, and the Indians said by signs that there were cattle inland. This country has a good climate and is pleasant to travel in. Monday, the 7th of the said month, we set sail in continuation of our voyage.

#### CHAPTER 10.

##### *Departure from the Bay of San Francisco and Arrival at that of the Eleven Thousand Virgins.<sup>2</sup>*

We set sail, as has been said, from the bay of San Francisco on the 9th<sup>3</sup> of October. The next day we arrived at the island of San Gerónimo, which is nine leagues from this bay. We sailed around it and took its bearings but did not cast anchor, as the weather did not permit it, for it was rough and fitful. We skirted the coast on the lookout for the island

<sup>1</sup> St. Francis.

<sup>2</sup> Port San Quentín.

<sup>3</sup> A mistake for the 7th.



of Senissas,<sup>1</sup> and Saturday, the 12th of the month, we discovered a very large bay<sup>2</sup> and an island toward the northwest. The general directed Ensign Sebastian Melendes and Anton Flores to go ahead in the frigate to take soundings of the bay, instructing them to give a certain sign if it were suitable for the captain's ship to enter and for us to follow.

Having entered it he discovered it to be so large and good that we went in and cast anchor. Immediately there came alongside peacefully more than twenty canoes of Indian fishermen. We gave them some things, which they received with pleasure. They were catching fish with hooks which appeared to be thorns from some tree, and with lines of *maguey*, plaited and better twisted than ours. They caught fish so easily that within two hours they filled their canoes. On the 13th of the month the general, with the members of the council,<sup>3</sup> decided to go ashore to reconnoitre and see the people there and their manner of living, and to search for water, of which we had great need. The cause of this was the quarter pipes which we carried, for as they had been made in Acapulco of old and gaping and worm-eaten staves, when we thought we had water we were without it. This caused the men much labor, and detained us somewhat on land.

When Ensign Juan de Alarcon went with twelve arquebusiers to do this work he found on the beach three rancherías of Indians, with their women and children, as quiet and free from excitement as if we had had dealings with them for many days. He found water in a lagoon a league from the beach

<sup>1</sup> There is a confusion of the names Cenizas and San Gerónimo. In Torquemada's account they are identified, but here the name Cenizas is applied to an island north of Port San Quentín. See next note.

<sup>2</sup> Port San Quentín, lat. 30° 24', Cabrillo's Puerto de la Posesión (*Early Voyages*, p. 184). It will be seen that the name San Quentín was applied by Vizcaino to a cape and bay a few leagues above the place now bearing that name.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Libro Diario*, pp. 122-123, on the 13th (*tres* for *trese*—the correction is confirmed by the diary), the *San Diego* being at anchor in the bay, in lat. 32° scant, it was decided in a *junta* to send Captain Meléndez to explore an estuary communicating with a lake, and Alarcón, with twenty armed men, to explore by land. Davidson says: "To the eastward of this peninsula [Cape San Quentín] there is low country, with great lagoons penetrating the land for several miles. The entrance to these lagoons is on the east side of the cape and two miles from its extremity" (*Early Voyages*, p. 184). The estuary is shown in the Planos, fol. 81.

and he returned to report it. The general thought this watering place was too far away and that they would have to work very hard; and that since toward the northwest shore an entrance like a river or estuary had been discovered, in order to find out what it was Ensign Melendes should go to reconnoitre it. He did so, and brought back the report that it was an estuary which came from a large lagoon in the interior of the country, and that it had anchorage in it for the captain's ship. We set sail immediately and within two hours cast anchor in it. The general, his son, and Captain Gerónimo Martin went ashore to explore it, together with Ensign Juan Francisco Suriano, Sebastian Melendez, Martin de Aguiar Galeote, and some soldiers, leaving Ensign Alarcon in his place on board the flagship.

We went more than four leagues along the beach in search of water but did not find any. We found in the woods a large number of hares. The chief pilot, Francisco de Bolaños, entered the estuary above-mentioned with the boat. On taking soundings he found a good depth, but the current was so strong by reason of the high tide that it whirled the ships around like a millrace. The chief pilot and the pilots seeing this, and that our vessels were not very secure, we set sail from there, and the general directed that we should return to the place where we were before. There he went ashore with Ensign Alarcon, and with the men and the picks, leaving in his place Captain Gerónimo Martin. They made wells near the beach, in a patch of rushes, and found so much good water that there was enough for a squadron. The men were happy at hearing this news, and the next day the general and the religious went ashore. Mass was said, and some Indians came and listened to it with great attention, as if exalted. They were told by signs, in answer to their questions, that it had to do with heaven; and the said Indians bowed their heads, kissed the cross, and said the prayers and all the words we told them in our language. The general gave food to the Indians at his table, and they said by signs that there were many Indians inland who shot them with arrows, and that we should go with them. They wore in the Mexican fashion *tilmas* made of skins of animals, with a knot on the right shoulder, leather sandals, and strings of cotton fibre. Their food

was generally *mascale*, for there are quantities of *maguey*. This place is very pleasant, for it has a large valley surrounded by lagoons in which are many fish, ducks, and heron, and a grove with hares and deer. The climate of the land is the best in the world, for the night dews last until ten o'clock in the forenoon.

We gave orders to take on water, although it was difficult, owing to the heavy surf on the beach, which flooded the boats. Thursday, the 17th of the month, the general embarked at sunset, though with much trouble and with drenchings, the canoe being flooded when leaving. That night a south wind came up, with a heavy sea oblique to the place where we were—which was in a depth of six fathoms—while near us were the breakers. Seeing our great danger, and that if the wind increased it would drive us on the coast, the general consulted with the cosmographer, chief pilot, his assistant, and experienced seamen as to what should be done to escape the peril which we were in and it was agreed that in the morning we should sail, because at present the fog was so thick that we could not see each other. Accordingly at daybreak we set sail, leaving the anchor and cable to be raised by hand, and with no little effort on the part of the chief pilot, his assistant, and the rest of the crew we went outside, leaving on shore Pasqual de Alarcon, the Father Commissary, Father Fray Tomas de Aquino, Ensigns Melendes and Aguilar, the commander of the squadron, Antonio Luis, and more than forty soldiers, leaving them without food or powder and with only a few ropes. This was what gave the general the most anxiety; however, he remedied the situation by directing the pilot, Anton Flores, to go with the frigate into the estuary, and with the canoe into the lagoon, to aid the men. He did so with great care and no little work, and we at sunset found ourselves off the entrance of the bay. The wind went down, and although there was a heavy sea we cast anchor.<sup>1</sup>

The next day at dawn the general ordered the boatswain,

<sup>1</sup> On October 19, when at anchor at a large *ensenada*, in 32° scant, a *junta* was held. It recited that a storm had arisen from the south-southeast, and that it had been necessary to leave the bay to save the ship. But a number of men and a valuable anchor and the best cable had been left inside. It was decided therefore to send the *capitana* into a near-by inlet, while the *fragata* went inside for the men and the anchor (Libro Diario, pp. 123-124).

Estevan Lopez, to go with ten sailors in the boat, charging him to make every effort to bring back the men, the cable, and the anchor. The anchor was what caused anxiety for it was the best the ship had. He did this so well that at the end of three hours he had removed the anchor and cable and part of the men who were on shore, returning immediately, together with the frigate. All the troops and men embarked; and the same day, at eight o'clock at night, when all were on board, there were many embraces because those who had come from land were with those of us on shipboard, and especially because the ships were safe.

The next day, Sunday, with a sea breeze we set sail in the continuation of our voyage. The name of the Eleven Thousand Virgins<sup>1</sup> was given to this bay.

#### CHAPTER 11.

##### *Departure from the Bay of the Eleven Thousand Virgins and Arrival at the Port of San Diego.*

We sailed, as we have said, on Sunday, the 20th<sup>2</sup> of the said month, from the Bay of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, and at dawn of the following day the general ordered a sailor to the topmast-head, from there to look for the admiral's ship, which was causing much anxiety, lest some misfortune should have happened to her since she had separated from us. The sailor saw a ship about six leagues out at sea, and immediately Ensign Sebastian Melendez was ordered to go in the frigate to inspect her, carrying orders that if she were the admiral's ship she should be told that we were there, and that if she were some other ship she should wait, in order to carry a package of letters to the viceroy. We also approached her, and at two o'clock in the afternoon we were all together. We recognized her to be the admiral's ship,<sup>3</sup> which gave the greatest pleasure.

After we had saluted the general asked the admiral, Father Fray Antonio, and Captain Peguero where they had taken shelter during the past storm, and whether they were in need

<sup>1</sup> The celebrated virgins of Cologne.

<sup>2</sup> Torquemada gives the date of sailing as the 24th.

<sup>3</sup> They had not seen the *almiranta* for twenty-eight days, and had given her up for lost (*Early Voyages*, p. 185).

of anything. They said that they carried eight quarters of water, and that the late tempest obliged them to put into the Bay of Pescado Blanco,<sup>1</sup> but, not being very safe there, they went to Serros Island, where they remained during the storm; and that on the 25th of the past month Ensign Juan de Azevedo Tejada had died. This news gave great pain to the general, for he was a good soldier. After sailing forty leagues from the mainland they had discovered a large island, but the weather did not permit them to go to it.<sup>2</sup>

Seeing that the weather was so favorable the general ordered us to continue our voyage, and, following along the coast, the next day we discovered an island some two leagues from the mainland; we did not cast anchor at it, in order not to lose time. It was given the name of San Marcos.<sup>3</sup> We proceeded, tacking back and forth, and on the eve of the feast of San Simon and San Judas, the 27th of the month, we being in latitude 32° scant, a strong northwest wind came up, with a heavy sea, so that the admiral's ship and the frigate could not weather it unaided. Thereupon the general, with the admiral and the members of the council,<sup>4</sup> determined to put in at a bay<sup>5</sup> which was nine leagues to leeward, to take shelter from the storm, and to provide the admiral's ship with water. This was done, and at sunset of the same day we cast anchor in the said bay.

The next day Captain Peguero and Ensign Juan Francisco, with some soldiers, went on shore with orders to search dili-

<sup>1</sup> Blanco Bay, lat. 29° 4'. See p. 70, above, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 182, following Venegas, describes the *almiranta's* course.

<sup>3</sup> San Martín Island, lat. 30° 29', Cabrillo's San Agustín. Shown on the Planos, fol. 81, and described in *Explicación, vista 23*. Also called Isla de las Cenizas and Isla de San Hilario by the *almiranta* (*Early Voyages*, p. 186). "San Marcos" is clearly a misprint for "San Martín."

<sup>4</sup> The record of the council is in *Libro Diario*. It states that on the 28th, the three vessels being together in lat. 32°, and about four leagues from land, a severe northwester came up. A conference was held, speaking from ship to ship, and it was agreed that since there was a prospect that the storm would last several days, and since the *almiranta* was greatly in need of water, they should put in at a bay seven leagues to the leeward. The account in *Torquemada* varies slightly from this.

<sup>5</sup> Bahía de San Simón y Judas, or de San Quentín. See note 2, p. 73. Davidson describes the Bay of San Ramón, not shown on the Planos, between San Martín Island and Cabo de San Simón y Judas (*Early Voyages*, p. 186).

gently for water and to treat well the Indians who were on the beach. When they arrived on the land they made wells near the sea and found plenty of good water. More than a hundred Indian warriors came to the place with their bows and arrows and with clubs for throwing. These Indians were very insolent, to the extent of drawing their bows and picking up stones to throw at us. Without taking notice of them except to make signs of peace, the captain and ensign embarked, and having come on board reported to the general what had happened.

The next day Captain Peguero, Ensign Pasqual de Alarcon, and the chief pilot, Francisco Bolaños, went ashore to take water. To them the general gave orders to treat the Indians well and to deal with them with great care and prudence, especially in embarking and disembarking. Arriving on land we found a multitude of Indians arrayed for battle, and although, on our part, we gave them to understand that we intended to do them no harm, but to get water, and although we gave them biscuits and other things, the Indians took no notice of what was given them; on the contrary, they tried to prevent the taking of water and to take from us the bottles and barrels. This made it necessary to fire three arquebus shots at them; whereupon, with the noise of the powder and someone's crying at the death of some of the others, they fled with great outcries; but at the end of two hours a multitude of Indians returned, assembling from different rancherías, holding councils among themselves, apparently, as to what they should do, and then, with arms in hand, they came toward us, who to them seemed few, with their women and children, bows and arrows. Ensign Pasqual de Alarcon went out to meet them, telling them by signs that they must be quiet, and that they should be friends. Thereupon the Indians said they would do so upon condition that we would not fire any more arquebuses at them, which appeared to them many. They gave a female dog as a hostage, and with this they went away to their rancherías very well satisfied, and we took on water. At midnight, the 30th of the month, the general ordered us to set sail. This bay was named San Simon y San Judas.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Colnett Bay, east of Cape Colnett, whose lat. is 30° 59' (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 188). Called Ensenada de San Quentin by the Derrotero, p. 166. The

Skirting along the coast with much difficulty because the wind was at the prow, on November 5 we discovered two small islands at the mouth of a large bay.<sup>1</sup> As we were entering it night came on and the wind went down, and the chief pilot told the general that he did not think it best to enter the bay that night, and so he stood out to sea, leaving it for the next day. At dawn we found ourselves at the mouth of the bay. As we were entering it a light breeze came up from the east and prevented our going in. The general consulted the admiral, captains, ensign, counsellors, and pilots as to what should be done and all were of the opinion that he should go on and not lose this wind, which was in our favor; we therefore continued our voyage. This bay was given the name of *Islas de Todos los Santos*.<sup>2</sup>

On the 9th of the said month we discovered two other islands and three farallones, in latitude 33° full, a little more than two leagues from the mainland, and a very large bay. The general ordered Ensign Melendes to go ahead in the frigate, the captain's and admiral's ships following him. Then, while the frigate sailed along the coast of the mainland, the captain's ship went up to the islands. There was so much kelp around them in the bottom of the sea, that, although the water was fourteen fathoms deep, the kelp extended more than six fathoms above the water. The captain's ship passed over it as if it were a green meadow. Some of the kelp looked as large as gourds and was very highly colored, with fruit resembling very large capers and with tubes like sackbuts. These islands were given the name *San Martin*.<sup>3</sup> The In-

name *San Quentín* is now applied to Vizcaino's Bay of the Eleven Thousand Virgins (p. 72, note 2). On the Planos, fol. 81, the cape is called *San Quentín* or *San Simón y Judas*. See *Explicación, vista 23*.

<sup>1</sup> Todos Santos Islands, off Grajero Point, whose latitude is 31° 45'. Grajero Point is Cabrillo's Cabo de la Cruz (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 190) and the Cavo de Todos Santos of the Derrotero, p. 166. Shown on the Planos, fol. 82; described in *Explicación, vista 24*.

<sup>2</sup> From Torquemada it is seen that the *fragata* and the *almiranta* went in, but soon went back to follow the *capitana* (see Davidson, *ibid.*, p. 191).

<sup>3</sup> Los Coronados Islands, lat. 32° 25'; the *Islas Desiertas* of Cabrillo; opposite La Mesa de la Cena on the Carta. Shown in Planos, fol. 83; described in *Explicación, vista 25*. The Derrotero (p. 167) describes the *Islas de San Martín* as consisting of four, the largest being nearest the land. The distance from the "Puerto Bueno de San Diego" is given as six leagues to the south.

dians made so many columns of smoke on the mainland that at night it looked like a procession and in the daytime the sky was overcast. We did not land here because the coast was wild.

The next day, Sunday, the 10th of the month, we arrived at a port, which must be the best to be found in all the South Sea, for, besides being protected on all sides and having good anchorage,<sup>1</sup> it is in latitude  $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . It has very good wood and water, many fish of all kinds, many of which we caught with seine and hooks. On land there is much game, such as rabbits, hares, deer, very large quail, royal ducks, thrushes, and many other birds.

On the 12th of the said month,<sup>2</sup> which was the day of the glorious San Diego, the general, admiral, religious, captains, ensigns, and almost all the men went on shore. A hut was built and mass was said in celebration of the feast of Señor San Diego. When it was over the general called a council to consider what was to be done in this port, in order to get through quickly. It was decided that the admiral, with the chief pilot, the pilots, the masters, calkers, and seamen should scour the ships, giving them a good cleaning, which they greatly needed, and that Captain Peguero, Ensign Alarcon, and Ensign Martin de Aguilar should each attend to getting water for his ship, while Ensign Juan Francisco, and Sergeant Miguel de Lagar, with the carpenters, should provide wood.

<sup>1</sup> San Diego Bay. The end of Point Loma is near lat.  $32^{\circ} 40'$  (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 192). This is Cabrillo's Puerto de San Miguel. Shown in Planos, fol. 83; described in Explicación, *vista* 25. The Derrotero calls it the "Good port of San Diego," and says: "The tides are like those at Sanlucar, Spain, because the port within is large and good, sheltered on all sides. No sea enters it. There is wood, and water, though salty, and to get it wells were dug to the east of the entry near the beach. Likewise, at a stone's throw there are plentiful fish, both of net and line. There are numerous Indians, with bows and arrows, good people desirous of dealing with the Spaniards. This port is in lat.  $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ " (p. 167).

<sup>2</sup> On the 11th, the *San Diego* being at anchor in the bay in  $34^{\circ}$  scant, Vizcaino called a *junta de mar y guerra*, and stated that the harbor seemed good and in a latitude suitable for a port for the Philippine vessels, and for other purposes of his Majesty. It was decided to send Bolaños in the *Tres Reyes* to sound the bay and its inlets and rivers, and to find a place for cleaning the snail-covered vessels, and for getting wood, water, and fish (*Libro Diario*, pp. 125-126). It would appear that the 12th of the diary should be the 11th. The feast of San Diego was November 13.



When this had all been agreed upon, a hundred Indians appeared on a hill with bows and arrows and with many feathers on their heads, yelling noisily at us. The general ordered Ensign Juan Francisco to go to them with four arquebusiers, Father Fray Antonio following him in order to win their friendship. The ensign was instructed that if the Indians fled he should let them go, but that if they waited he should regale them. The Indians waited, albeit with some fear. The ensign and soldiers returned, and the general, his son, and the admiral went toward the Indians. The Indians seeing this, two men and two women came down from a hill. They having reached the general, and the Indian women weeping, he cajoled and embraced them, giving them some things. Reassuring the others by signs, they descended peacefully, whereupon they were given presents. The net was cast and fish were given them. Whereupon the Indians became more confident and went to their *rancherías* and we to our ships to attend to our affairs.

Friday, the 15th of the month, the general went aboard the frigate, taking with him his son, Father Fray Antonio, the chief pilot, and fifteen arquebusiers, to go and take the soundings of a large bay which entered the land. He did not take the cosmographer with him, as he was ill and occupied with the papers of the voyage. That night, rowing with the flood tide, he got under way and at dawn he was six leagues within the bay, which he found to be the best, large enough for all kinds of vessels, more secure than at the anchorage, and better for careening the ships, for they could be placed high and dry during the flood tide and taken down at the ebb tide, even if they were of a thousand tons.

I do not place in this report the sailing directions, descriptions of the land, or soundings, because the cosmographer and pilots are keeping an itinerary in conformity with the art of navigation.

In this bay the general, with his men, went ashore. After they had gone more than three leagues along it a number of Indians appeared with their bows and arrows, and although signs of peace were made to them, they did not dare to approach, excepting a very old Indian woman who appeared to be more than one hundred and fifty years old and who ap-

proached weeping. The general cajoled her and gave her some beads and something to eat. This Indian woman, from extreme age, had wrinkles on her belly which looked like a blacksmith's bellows, and the navel protruded bigger than a gourd. Seeing this kind treatment the Indians came peaceably and took us to their rancherías, where they were gathering their crops and where they had made their *paresos* of seeds like flax. They had pots in which they cooked their food, and the women were dressed in skins of animals. The general would not allow any soldier to enter their rancherías; and, it being already late, he returned to the frigate, many Indians accompanying him to the beach. Saturday night he reached the captain's ship, which was ready; wood, water, and fish were brought on board, and on Wednesday, the 20th of the said month, we set sail. I do not state, lest I should be tiresome, how many times the Indians came to our camps with skins of martens and other things. Until the next day, when we set sail, they remained on the beach shouting. This port was given the name of San Diego.

#### CHAPTER 12.

##### *Departure from the Port of San Diego and Arrival at the Island of Santa Catalina.*

We left the port of San Diego, as has been said, on a Wednesday, the 20th of the said month,<sup>1</sup> and the same day the general ordered Ensign Sebastian Melendes to go ahead with the frigate to examine a bay which was to windward some four leagues,<sup>2</sup> and directed that the pilot should sound it, map it,

<sup>1</sup>On November 19 a *junta* was held to draw up sailing orders. It was agreed that in case of any vessel's being driven by head-winds before finding another port, it was to return to the Bay of San Diego; if driven by a southwest wind it was to run with it to 38° or a little above, where there was said to be an island, there to wait eight days, making signals; at the end of that time, if still alone, it should continue to Cape Mendocino (Libro Diario, pp. 126-127).

<sup>2</sup>Apparently False Bay, just north of San Diego Bay, shown as "Ensenada de baxa entrada." It is described by the Derrotero, pp. 167-168, as being a large bay two leagues above the entry of San Diego Bay. It is added that it is shallow at the entry but deep inside, and that it has a great grove of trees on the east shore. From the bay to the Punta de la Arboleda the distance is given as ten leagues; from here to the Ysla y Ensenada de Buena Gente, fifteen leagues; thence to the Ysla de Santa Catalina, eight leagues, southwest. According to

and find out what was there. He did so, and the next day ordered the return to the captain's ship. He reported to the general that he had entered the said bay, that it was a good port, although it had at its entrance a bar of little more than two fathoms depth, and that there was a very large grove at an estuary which extended into the land, and many Indians: and that he had not gone ashore. Thereupon we continued our voyage, skirting along the coast until the 24th of the month, which was the eve of the feast of the glorious Santa Catalina,<sup>1</sup> when we discovered three large islands.<sup>2</sup> We approached them with difficulty because of a head-wind, and arrived at the middle one, which is more than twenty-five leagues around.

On the 27th of the month, and before casting anchor in a very good cove<sup>3</sup> which was found, a multitude of Indians came out in canoes of cedar and pine, made of planks very well joined and calked, each one with eight oars and with fourteen or fifteen Indians, who looked like galley-slaves. They came alongside without the least fear and came on board our ships, mooring their own. They showed great pleasure at seeing us, telling us by signs that we must land, and guiding us like pilots to the anchorage. The general received them kindly and gave them some presents, especially to the boys. We anchored, and the admiral, Ensign Alarcon, Father Fray Antonio, and Captain Peguero, with some soldiers, went ashore. Many Indians were on the beach, and the women treated us to roasted sardines and a small fruit like sweet potatoes.<sup>4</sup>

this, Punta de Arboleda would be about at modern Encinitas, although in the Planos, fol. 84, Punta de Arboleda is shown about half-way from San Diego Bay to San Pedro Bay. Torquemada mentions a bay a few leagues before reaching Santa Catalina Island, which Davidson identifies with San Pedro Bay (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, pp. 194-195), but it is clear that the one entered by Meléndez on the 21st was not so far north. I judge, therefore, that Davidson is in error in his identification.

<sup>1</sup> St. Catherine.

<sup>2</sup> The three shown on the Planos are the Santa Catalina, the Santa Bárbara, and the San Nicolás, but we know that the San Clemente was also described.

<sup>3</sup> On Santa Catalina Island: the San Salvador of Cabrillo.

<sup>4</sup> Santa Catalina Island is shown on the Planos, fol. 84. From this map, together with the diary and the Derrotero, it is clear that the first anchorage was near the middle of the eastern coast. The port near the pueblo is called Puerto de Santa Catalina. The Derrotero (p. 168) describes the island.

Fresh water was found, although a long distance from the beach.

The next day the general and the Father Commissary went ashore, a hut was built, and mass was said. More than one hundred and fifty Indian men and women were present, and they marvelled not a little at seeing the altar and the image of our Lord Jesus crucified, and listened attentively to the saying of mass, asking by signs what it was about. They were told that it was about heaven, whereat they marvelled more. When the divine service was ended the general went to their houses, where the women took him by the hand and led him inside, giving him some of the food which they had given before. He brought to the ship six Indian girls from eight to ten years old, whom their mothers willingly gave him, and he clothed them with chemises, petticoats, and necklaces, and sent them ashore. The rest of the women, seeing this, came with their daughters in canoes, asking for gifts. The result was that no one returned empty-handed. The people go dressed in seal skins, the women especially covering their loins, and their faces show them to be modest; but the men are thieves, for anything they saw unguarded they took. They are a people given to trade and traffic and are fond of barter, for in return for old clothes they would give the soldiers skins, shells, nets, thread, and very well twisted ropes, these in great quantities and resembling linen. They have dogs like those in Castile.

Thursday, the 28th of the said month, there was an eclipse of the moon, which commenced at a quarter past ten at night and lasted until twelve o'clock, being entirely over at one o'clock; the eclipse commenced on the eastern edge.

On the night of the eve of San Andres, the 29th of the said month, we set sail,<sup>1</sup> for the Indians had told us by signs that farther along on this same island they had their houses and there was food. On the day of San Andres, at four o'clock

<sup>1</sup> On November 29, the *San Diego* being at anchor at Santa Catalina Island in 34½°, a *junta* was held to consider circumnavigating the island and exploring the San Andrés (San Clemente). It was decided not to spend the time, but to go ahead, leaving these explorations for the return, since the weather was good, the men were becoming ill, and supplies becoming short (*Libro Diario*, pp. 127-128). The general therefore ordered the pilots to set sail as soon as possible.

in the afternoon, we arrived at the place which the Indians had designated, they piloting us in their canoes into the port,<sup>1</sup> which is all that could be desired as to convenience and security. On the beach there was a pueblo and more than three hundred Indians, men, women and children. The general and Ensign Alarcon went ashore and inspected it. The next day the general and many of the rest of us went ashore. The Indian men and women embraced him and took him to their houses. These women have good features. The general gave them beads and regaled them, and they gave him prickly pears and a grain like the *gofio* of the Canary Islands, in some willow baskets very well made, and water in vessels resembling flasks, which were like rattan inside and very thickly varnished outside. They had acorns and some very large skins, apparently of bears, with heavy fur, which they used for blankets.

The general went inland to see the opposite coast. He found on the way a level prairie, very well cleared, where the Indians were assembled to worship an idol which was there.<sup>2</sup> It resembled a demon, having two horns, no head, a dog at its feet, and many children painted all around it. The Indians told the general not to go near it, but he approached it and saw the whole thing, and made a cross, and placed the name of Jesus on the head of the demon, telling the Indians that that was good, and from heaven, but that the idol was the devil. At this the Indians marvelled, and they will readily renounce it and receive our Holy Faith, for apparently they have good intellects and are friendly and desirous of our friendship. The general returned to the pueblo, and an Indian woman brought him two pieces of figured China silk, in fragments, telling him that they had got them from people like ourselves, who had negroes; that they had come on the ship which was driven by a strong wind to the coast and wrecked, and that it was farther on. The general endeavored to take two or three Indians with him, that they might tell him where the ship had been lost, promising to give them

<sup>1</sup> Puerto de Santa Catalina, mentioned above.

<sup>2</sup> On Vizcaino's chart in Burney a small dot is placed on Santa Catalina Island, to represent, Davidson thinks, the "so-called Temple of the Sun" (Burney, *Voyages*, II., map opp. p. 256; Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 196).

clothes. The Indians consented and went with him to the captain's ship, but as we were weighing anchor preparatory to leaving the Indians said they wished to go ahead in their canoe, and that they did not wish to go aboard the ship, fearing that we would abduct them, and the general, in order not to excite them, said: "Very well."

We set sail, and on leaving the port a head-wind struck us, which prevented our going where the Indians indicated; therefore we stood out to sea and the Indians returned to their pueblo. This attempt was given up because we did not have the launch, which had gone to reconnoitre another island,<sup>1</sup> apparently belonging to the mainland, and because the admiral's ship was absent, as it could not make the said port, and because the fog was so very dense that we could not see each other, and also because there seemed to be many islands, keys, and shoals, among which, in such weather, the pilots did not dare take the flagship; and so we continued our voyage.

The next day the admiral's ship and frigate came up with us, for perhaps God willed it that we should be united. On being asked what he had found on the island, Ensign Melendez said that there were many Indians, who had told him by signs that upon it there were men who were bearded and clothed like ourselves. Thinking them to be Spaniards, he sent them a note, and eight Indians came to him in a canoe, bearded and clothed in skins of animals, but they could learn nothing more. Accordingly the general ordered that we should continue our voyage without further delay, because our men were all becoming ill, leaving for the return any efforts to verify what the Indians of the island of Samta Catalina had told us by signs, for, as we could not understand their language, all was confusion and there was little certainty as to what they said.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the island in San Pedro Bay called "Isla vaja de buena gente." This may have been El Moro, or Dead Man's Island.

## CHAPTER 13.

*The Departure from the Island of Santa Catalina and the Arrival at the Port of Monterrey.*

We left this said island of Sancta Catalina and port of San Andres on Sunday,<sup>1</sup> December 1st. On this day, as has been stated, we met the admiral's ship and the frigate, and, after the general had conferred with the admiral and the members of the council as to what should be done, it was agreed that we should continue our voyage, since our men were becoming ill, the cold increasing, and winter coming on, and since there were neither comforts nor medicines with which to cure the sick, and, if we should delay, the voyage could not be completed.<sup>2</sup>

So we went on skirting the coast, and on Monday, the 2d of the said month, we sighted two other large islands. Passing between the first and the mainland,<sup>3</sup> a canoe came out to us with two Indian fishermen, who had a great quantity of fish, rowing so swiftly that they seemed to fly. They came alongside without saying a word to us and went twice around us with so great speed that it seemed impossible; this finished, they came aft, bowing their heads in the way of courtesy. The general ordered that they be given a cloth, with bread. They received it, and gave in return the fish they had, without any pay, and this done they said by signs that they wished to go. After they had gone five Indians came in another canoe, so well constructed and built that since Noah's Ark a finer and

<sup>1</sup> Evidently San Pedro Bay, called on the charts Ensenada de San Andrés. Santa Monica Bay is shown just above it as "Gran Ensenada." Torquemada says, "After taking a survey of several parts of this island, the squadron left it on the third of December, 1602." Quoted in Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 197. This does not agree with the official diary.

<sup>2</sup> The reference seems to be to the council recorded in the Libro Diario as of November 29. See above, p. 84, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> They were now in the Santa Bárbara channel. Vizcaino's chart shows Isla de Santa Bárbara (Santa Barbara Island) and Isla de San Nicolás, but he does not mention them in any of the narratives. Davidson states that Vizcaino is the first to call attention to the parallelism of these islands with the continental shore (*Early Voyages*, p. 200). See the Planos, fols. 84, 85, 86, and Explicación, *vistas* 26, 27, 28.

lighter vessel with timbers better made has not been seen. Four men rowed, with an old man in the centre, [singing]<sup>1</sup> as in a *mitote* of the Indians of New Spain, and the others responding to him. Before coming alongside they stopped and he saluted us three times, making many ceremonious gestures with his head and body, and ordering the Indians to row around. This was done so swiftly that in a moment they went around us twice and immediately came aft. Only the old man spoke, he saying by signs that we must go to his land, where they would give us much food and water, for there was a river. He gave us a flask of it which he had brought, and a willow basket of food, a sort of porridge made of acorn meal. This Indian made himself so well understood by signs that he lacked nothing but ability to speak our language. He came to say that as a pledge of the truth of what he said one of us should get into his canoe and go to his land, and that he would remain on board ship with us as a hostage. The general, in order to test the Indian's good faith, ordered a soldier to get into the canoe, and at once the Indian came aboard our ship with great satisfaction, telling the others who were in the canoe to go ashore and prepare food for all of us.

Meanwhile, as the sun was already setting, the admiral's ship arrived near us, whereupon the general called a council<sup>2</sup> of the admiral, ensign, and pilots, to consider what should be done, since for our voyage the wind was now behind us, which had not been the case since we had left Acapulco. It was agreed that the Indians should depart, being given to understand by signs that next day we would go to their land; but such were the efforts of this Indian to get us to go to it that as a greater inducement he said he would give to each one of us ten women to sleep with. This Indian was so intelligent that he appeared to be not a barbarian but a person of great understanding. We showed him lead, tin, and plates of silver. He sounded them with his finger and said that the silver was good but the others not.

This Indian left, and the same evening the northwest wind

<sup>1</sup> There is evidently some omission in the print. At this point Torquemada has "all singing in their language as the Indians of New Spain sing in the *mitote*" (*Monarchia Indiana*, I. 713).

<sup>2</sup> This council is not recorded in the Libro Diario.



freshened so well for us that we sailed more than fifteen leagues, but between islands and with no little anxiety and danger, since we knew not where we were going; and next morning we found ourselves hemmed in between islands and mainland. Tacking back and forward on the 4th of the said month, we were struck by a heavy northwester, with a high sea, and were obliged to take off the bonnets and run with lower sails, so that we became separated from each other.

At dawn the captain's ship was near an island, in the shelter of which it was calm. A canoe came out with two Indians and a small boy, their eyes being painted with antimony. They asked us to go to their land; however, there was such a heavy sea and the island presented so many shoals that we did not dare go to it, but veered out to sea, where we found the frigate. We made the usual signals to it and it came to us. When it came alongside it was agreed that we should go ahead of the frigate toward the island to see if there was any protection in which to take shelter from the wind. We did so, and on our going there the admiral's ship appeared and followed us. The launch went in between this island and another, we following it; but it appeared to the chief pilot and pilots that it was not best to follow it, for many shoals and reefs were seen and the night was coming on, with a high sea and wind, and that we should run the risk of being lost. Therefore the general gave orders to go outside, the frigate, which had already gone between the two islands mentioned, remaining.

The next day the wind went down and we skirted the coast, although with great anxiety lest some accident had befallen the frigate, which remained behind and did not appear. We continued our voyage, with a favorable wind, until the 12th of the said month, eve of the feast of Santa Luçia,<sup>1</sup> when the frigate overtook us. This gave great pleasure,

<sup>1</sup> As Davidson remarks, it is strange that Vizcaino does not mention Point Concepción in his narrative, though he shows it on his chart (*Early Voyages*, p. 204). The Derrotero, however, does mention it, stating that "La Punta de la Limpia Concesscion is in  $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  long, and this point is low, with timber. It forms two coasts; on that toward the east, ten leagues from said point, on the seashore, is a very large pueblo of more than two hundred houses" (Derrotero, p. 169).

especially because the ensign and the pilot said that they had gone into the interior of the said island and that there was a pueblo<sup>1</sup> there with more than two hundred large houses, in each one of which lived more than forty Indians; and that in the midst of it two poles were nailed together, with one above, like a gallows. More than twenty canoes came alongside the frigate, and because they were all alone they dared not stay there. In this place there are great numbers of Indians, and the mainland has signs of being thickly populated. It is fertile, for it has pine groves and oaks, and a fine climate, for although it gets cold it is not so cold as to cause discomfort.<sup>2</sup>

The day of Santa Luçia,<sup>3</sup> at four o'clock in the morning, a southeast wind struck us, the first we had had during the voyage. It lasted until sunset the next day, when we reached a place in 37° full.<sup>4</sup> The general ordered Ensign Melendez to go ahead to explore a large bay and see if there were any port, for this country was the most important of the exploration for the purposes of his Majesty.

This was done, and as the bay was found to be large and as night was coming on, we went outside. The said ensign entered the bay, and the next day, the 16th of the month, the frigate came alongside and the pilot told the general that he had found a good port, a sketch of which he had brought back. The general held a council<sup>5</sup> to consider what should be done

<sup>1</sup> This pueblo is shown on the Planos, fol. 86. San Miguel Island (Cabrillo's Isla de la Posesión) is given on Vizcaino's chart as Isla de Baxos.

<sup>2</sup> The reference seems to be to the coast on the Canal de Santa Bárbara.

<sup>3</sup> St. Lucy's Day, December 13. The coast between Point Concepción and the Bay of Monterey is described in the Derrotero, p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> Monterey harbor, lat. 36° 31', now discovered for the first time. It was so named in honor of the ruling viceroy, Gaspár de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Conde de Monterey. Shown on Planos, fol. 88; described in Explicación, *vista* 29; Derrotero, p. 169. Davidson says that Vizcaino applied the name only to the southeast angle of the bay, where the city of Monterey now is (*Early Voyages*, p. 214). The Planos, fol. 88, show Puerto de Monterey swinging round to a headland about opposite Punta de Pinos, and then another large bight curving clear around to Punta de Año Nuevo, and not showing the convex curve of the coast from Santa Cruz nearly to Point Año Nuevo.

<sup>5</sup> The Libro Diarió records the council of December 16. The day before, Meléndez and Flores had been sent in the *fragata* to examine the Bay of Monterey; returning, Flores had boarded the *San Diego* bearing a map of the bay.

and it was agreed that they should put in at the said port, provide themselves with water, and restore the men and the sick, of whom there were many. We arrived this day at seven o'clock in the evening and cast anchor.

#### CHAPTER 14.

*The Arrival at the Port of Monterey, and the Decision made there to despatch the Admiral's Ship with Reports to New Spain; and to continue with the Captain's Ship and the Frigate to Cape Mendocino.*

We arrived, as has been said, at this port of Monterey, on the 16th of the said month of December, at seven o'clock in the evening. The next day the general ordered Ensign Alarcon to go ashore, with orders to make a hut where mass could be said and to see if there was water, and what the country was like. He found that there was fresh water, and a great oak<sup>1</sup> near the shore, where he made the hut and arbor<sup>2</sup> to say mass. The general, commissary, admiral, captains, ensign, and the rest of the men landed at once; and mass having been said and the day having cleared, there having been much fog, we found ourselves to be in the best port that could be desired, for besides being sheltered from all the winds, it has many pines for masts and yards, and live oaks and white oaks, and water in great quantity, all near the shore.<sup>3</sup> The land is fertile, with a climate and soil like those of Castile; there is much wild game, such as harts, like young bulls, deer, buffalo, very large bears, rabbits, hares, and many other animals

Since it seemed promising as a port for the Philippine ships, and as it appeared to have fresh water, for lack of which the men were ill, it was decided to go in, explore, and seek water. There was one dissenting voice, that of Alarcón. He advised going on to the bay where Cermeño had been wrecked (Drake's Bay) and where Bolaños said there was water, he having been with Cermeño. Vizcaino yielded to the majority, and gave orders to enter Monterey Bay (Libro Diario, pp. 128-129).

<sup>1</sup> Until recently an oak stood in Monterey which, according to tradition, was the tree under which mass was said in 1602. The spot is now marked by a cross.

<sup>2</sup> *Recado* for *ramada*.

<sup>3</sup> The bay is well protected from southeast storms, but little from those from the northwest. Davidson states that Vizcaino greatly overpraised the harbor, and thereby misled Costansó, later (*Early Voyages*, p. 212).

and many game birds, such as geese, partridges, quail, crane, ducks, vultures, and many other kinds of birds which I will not mention lest it be wearisome. The land is thickly populated with numberless Indians, of whom a great many came several times to our camp. They appeared to be a gentle and peaceable people. They said by signs that inland there are many settlements. The food which these Indians most commonly eat, besides fish and crustaceans, consists of acorns and another nut larger than a chestnut. This is what we were able to understand from them.

In view of the fact that we had so many sick, that the pilot of the admiral's ship and his assistant were very ill, that there was a shortage of sailors for going forward, and that the supplies were becoming exhausted because of the length of time we had spent in coming, it seemed to the general impossible to complete the exploration this time without a new supply of men and provisions; and he therefore at once called a conference of the admiral and the members of the council<sup>1</sup> to consider what should be done for the best service of his Majesty. It was decided that the admiral's ship should return as a messenger to the viceroy of New Spain with a copy of the records of the discoveries as far as this place, carry back those who were the most ill, ask for further supplies of men and provisions in order to complete at this time the exploration of the remainder of the coast and of the entrance to the Californias, designating the time and place to which they were to be sent; and other things which were treated of in the council and were written to the said señor viceroy; and

<sup>1</sup>The council was held on December 18. In it Vizcaino revealed his secret orders to explore on his way back, if there was time, the Gulf of California to 37°, two degrees more or less, and to report on the pearl-fisheries and inhabitants. This conference was the most solemn of all held, and each member gave his opinion separately. It was shown that already eight months had passed, and provisions had been brought for only eleven. Several men had died. Pilot Juan Pascual and his assistant were sick in bed, and in all forty men were ill. This number included some of the helmsmen, who were unable to steer because they were paralyzed. The sick were without suitable medicine and food. The *Santo Tomás* was unseaworthy. Corbán was continued in command of the *almirante*, but since Pilot Juan Pascual was ill, Manuel Sessar Cordero was sent to serve as pilot. The *capitana* and *fragata* were to await the new orders on the return at Puerto de la Paz (Libro Diario, p. 144).

that we, with the captain's ship and frigate, should go on to Cape Mendocino, and farther if the weather should permit.

The foregoing having been agreed upon it was at once put into execution. The admiral's ship was immediately supplied with wood and water; those who were the most ill went aboard her; and the journals, maps, relations, and itineraries were copied, which was no little work, because of the ill health of the cosmographer and the scrivener, but it was accomplished with all possible diligence, as was also the taking on of wood and water, because the men were very ill. The admiral's ship left on Sunday night at 8 o'clock, the 29th of the said month, with orders to make haste.

#### CHAPTER 15.

*The Departure from the Port of Monterey; What occurred after the Admiral's Ship had been despatched with Messages; and the Arrival at Cape Mendocino.*

Sunday, the 29th of the said month, the admiral's ship set out with messages, carrying those most ill, and provided with water, wood, and what was necessary to reach the port of Acapulco, the admiral carrying instructions not to put in at any port until he reached that of Acapulco; he was especially charged with the care of the sick, and with other things which were provided in the said instructions. We ourselves remained, making the preparations necessary for our voyage to Cape Mendocino. The men worked under great difficulties in taking on wood and water because of the extreme cold, which was so intense that Wednesday, New Year's Day of 1603, dawned with all the mountains covered with snow and resembling the volcano of Mexico,<sup>1</sup> and that the hole from which we were taking water was frozen over more than a palm in thickness, and the bottles, which had been left full over night, were all frozen so that even when turned upside-down not a drop ran out. So urgent was our situation that necessity compelled us all to act with energy, especially the general, who aided in carrying the bottles and in the other tasks, with the good support of Ensign Alarcon and Captain

<sup>1</sup> Popocatepetl, popularly called in the neighborhood "El Vulcán"—The Volcano.

Peguero, who, although ill, aided, while the pilots spared no efforts to forward our preparation, so that by Friday night, the 3d of the said month,<sup>1</sup> we were all ready.

This day the general, with the commissary and ten arquebusiers, went inland, toward the southeast, having heard of a copious stream that ran into the sea and of another good headland, and in order better to see the lay of the land and its people and animals. He proceeded some three leagues when he discovered another good port, into which entered a copious river<sup>2</sup> descending from some high, snow-covered mountains with large pines, white and black poplars, and willows. It had an extended river bottom, and in it were many cattle as large as cows although apparently they were harts, and yet their pelts were different, for their wool dragged on the ground, and each horn was more than three yards long.<sup>3</sup> An effort was made to kill some of them but they did not wait long enough. No people were found because, on account of the great cold, they were living in the interior. He sent Ensign Juan Francisco with four soldiers to a ranchería to see what was there; he found it to be depopulated, and returned.

The general and all the men having reached the flagship, at nightfall we raised all but one anchor, and at midnight, aided by the land breeze, we set sail.<sup>4</sup> On leaving the harbor a northeast wind came up favorably for our voyage, so that at dawn we were more than ten leagues farther on and, although the wind went down, aided by the off-shore breeze we reached the bay<sup>5</sup> where was lost the ship *San Agustín*, of which Sebastian Melendez Rodriguez was pilot; however, although the chief pilot recognized it, we did not stop lest we

<sup>1</sup> January, 1603.

<sup>2</sup> Carmel River, which empties into Carmel Bay a few miles to the south of Monterey Bay, in lat. 36° 34' (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 212). It was given this name by the Vizcaino expedition.

<sup>3</sup> Evidently the elk.

<sup>4</sup> January 3, 1603. Cf. Father Ascensión's statement (p. 120, below).

<sup>5</sup> Drake's Bay, lat. 38°, where Sebastián Meléndez Rodríguez Cermeño was wrecked in 1595. Davidson states that Vizcaino makes no reference to Point Año Nuevo (*Early Voyages*, p. 214). It is indeed not on the chart as reproduced by Burney, but it is on the Carta and on Planos, fol. 88, which is reproduced in Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico*, opp. p. 23. On this Plano the island southeast of Los Frayles is called Isleo Hendido. El Morro de los Reyes is of course Point Reyes, and Puerto de Don Gaspár is Reyes Bay, or Drake's Bay.

should not have another favorable wind;<sup>1</sup> but the next day an exceedingly strong northwest wind struck us, which obliged us to seek shelter in it. We cast anchor, although outside, with the intention of going ashore next day,<sup>2</sup> but at daybreak the offshore wind struck us and obliged us to set sail. As we were sailing, two canoes, with an Indian in each, came out from the bay calling to us to come to the port, and saying they were awaiting us.<sup>3</sup> They dared not come to the ship, and consequently we left them, in order not to lose time. For it was not well to lose any, since the men were very ill, the cold was increasing, and the frigate did not appear, because in the recent northwest wind it had parted company.

Aided by favoring land breezes, we skirted the coast until the 12th of the said month, when the moon was in conjunction, and we found ourselves to be off Cape Mendocino,<sup>4</sup> so greatly desired by all, for it was reached with so much toil and difficulty. And in order that our labors should be more highly esteemed, God willed that the new moon of January should begin with so furious a south wind, together with so much rain and fog, as to throw us into great doubt whether to go forward or to turn back, for it was as dark in the daytime as at night. The seas were very high, so that we could neither run nor lie by at sea. All the men had fallen sick, so that there were only two sailors who could climb to the maintopsail.

In view of the great straits and the doubt which we were in,

<sup>1</sup> It will be seen from the note next below that according to the diary the wind shifted on the 8th and not on the 7th.

<sup>2</sup> From the *Libro Diario* we learn that on January 9, the *San Diego* being in 39°, a council was held. According to the record, at sunset of the day before a strong southwester arose; all night they had sailed with the lower sails, trying without avail to make headway, because the men were too ill to manage the vessel. It was decided, therefore, to take refuge in a port two leagues to the leeward, sheltered from the north, where Bolaños said he had been with Cermeño in the *San Agustín* (*Libro Diario*, pp. 139-140).

<sup>3</sup> The text is corrupted here.

<sup>4</sup> Lat. 40° 27'. The *Derrotero*, p. 170, describes Cape Mendocino, and locates it in latitude 41½°, or 53' too far north. See *Planos*, fol. 91; *Explicación, vistas* 32, 33. The bay and river just below Cape Mendocino were evidently inserted in the *Carta*, on *Planos*, fol. 91, and in the diary, on the basis of the reports of the voyage of the *Tres Reyes* and not of the *San Diego*, as will appear later on. The *Derrotero* says nothing about them in the original description of the Cape Mendocino region. See *Derrotero*, p. 170.

the general called a council <sup>1</sup> of the captains, the pilots, and their assistants to consider what should be done for the best interest of his Majesty. It was decided that it would not be best to go forward as there were no men for it, it was very cold, the rains were increasing and winter coming on all at once, and if we were to go on we should all perish. With this decision, the general ordered that when the weather should permit we should return to Cape San Lucas.

The next day the wind calmed and the sun shone, so that the pilots were able to take the latitude,<sup>2</sup> and they found themselves to be in forty-one degrees. Although it had been decided that we should turn back, a wind storm came up from the southeast which made us very cold. Worse than this, on the day of San Anton, the 17th of the said month, at eight o'clock at night, when lying by at sea, the ship was struck by two seas which made it pitch so much that it was thought the keel was standing on end, and that it was even sinking. The pitching was so violent that it threw both sick and well from their beds and the general from his. He struck upon some boxes and broke his ribs with the heavy blow.

This trouble continued until the 20th of the said month, the day of San Sebastian, when the storm abated and we found ourselves in 42 degrees,<sup>3</sup> for the currents and seas were carrying us

<sup>1</sup> This was on the 13th, the *San Diego* being in  $41\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ . Vizcaino stated that he had orders to reach Cape Mendocino, in  $41^{\circ}$ , and, in case the weather would permit without too great risk, to go as far as Cape Blanco, in  $44^{\circ}$ ; arrived there, if the coast did not turn east, to follow it one hundred leagues, but no further. It was decided, however, that it was perilous to continue, since there were not two men who could ascend to the maintopsail, winter was coming on, and navigation of the coast dangerous. Orders were given, therefore, to return to Puerto de la Paz, there to await new orders from the viceroy. Nothing was said of the *Tres Reyes* in the council (*Libro Diario*, pp. 140-142). No other council is recorded till January 28, at Isla de Santa Catalina.

<sup>2</sup> Davidson concludes that the lat.  $41^{\circ}$  was based on mere "report," but we learn here that an observation was actually made (*Davidson, Early Voyages*, p. 230).

<sup>3</sup> Of the voyage of the *San Diego* after leaving Puerto de los Reyes, Torquemada says that it sailed slowly northwest in search of the *Tres Reyes*, and on Sunday, the 12th, sighted some high mountains (Davidson says King's Peak), and fourteen leagues farther, Cape Mendocino, in lat.  $41^{\circ}$ . Next day, the 13th, a heavy southeast wind arose, and they lay to till the 19th, by which time they had drifted to  $42^{\circ}$ , near Cavo Blanco de San Sebastián (*Monarchia Indiana*, I. 718; *Davidson, Early Voyages*, pp. 231-233).



rapidly to the Strait of Anian. This day we sighted land both on the cape and beyond, covered with great pine forests. There was much snow covering the mountains, making them look like volcanoes, and reaching down to the sea.

On the 21st of the month God sent us a light northwest wind, which had been so unseasonable for us in going but was so desirable for the return, and which brought us out of this trouble. We skirted along the coast, inspecting again what we had seen, as far as this place.

#### CHAPTER 16.

##### *The Return from Cape Mendocino, the Arrival at the Islands of Masatlan, and what occurred on the Return.*

We returned, as has been said, from Cape Mendocino, and from another beyond to which was given the name San Sebastian, on the 21st of the month of January. The northwest wind aiding us, we came along skirting the coast, carefully reviewing it all, and on the 25th of the said month we had come as far as the port of Monterrey, where the Indians signalled us with smoke. We did not enter it because the state of our health was so bad and the sick were clamoring, although there was neither assistance nor medicines nor food to give them except rotten jerked beef, gruel, biscuits, and beans and chick-peas spoiled by weevils. The mouths of all were sore, and their gums were swollen larger than their teeth, so that they could hardly drink water, and the ship seemed more like a hospital than a ship of an armada. Affairs were in such a condition that anyone who had ever in his life been at the helm steered, climbed to the maintopsail, and did the other tasks, and all who could walk assisted at the hearth, making gruel and porridge for the sick. Above all, we were greatly distressed because the frigate, the *Tres Reyes*, did not appear, for we feared that she had been lost in the past storm; but our need was so great, as has been said, that we could not wait for her, although it was our intention to do so at the island of Santa Catalina,<sup>1</sup> where we arrived

<sup>1</sup> From a *junta* held January 28, the *San Diego* being off Santa Catalina Island in lat. 34°, it is learned that on the return several days were spent re-exploring inlets not completely examined on the way up, and that Captain Gerónimo, Bolaños, and his assistant pilot, had recommended putting in at Santa Catalina Island to await the *Tres Reyes*. But since the men were too ill to get wood and

the 29th of the said month. Although many canoes of Indians came with fish and other things, inviting us to go to them, the general did not dare cast anchor among them, as he did not have men strong enough to raise the anchors, and as the sick were dying of hunger.

We therefore continued our voyage for the island of Serros, and so great was our need of wood and water that we anchored there February 6th of the said year; only one small anchor was cast, with the idea that if it could not be raised it could remain there with the cable. The general went on shore with six men, but the strongest of them could not lift a bottle of water from the ground, and only with the greatest efforts of all could they take on twelve quarters of water. The Indians of the island came down to the beach where the water hole was made, with their bows and arrows, painted with vermilion, and playing flutes, and although the general called and coaxed them and gave them hardtack, they would not accept it or approach peaceably, but, as before, tried to hinder and prevent the taking of water. This obliged the general to order some arquebus shots fired, though in the air, in order to terrify them; thereupon they ran away up the mountain.

The next day the general ordered Ensign Pasqual de Alarcon to go with the men to get wood on land. He did so, and at midnight on the 8th of the month we set sail, weighing anchor with the greatest efforts of all, and continued our voyage with a fresh wind behind us, skirting the coast, until the 11th of the month, when we drew near Cape San Lucas to bring away the long-boat which we had left there on the outward voyage, as well as to put in at the port of La Paz to await the succor we had sent to the viceroy to ask. All were of the opinion<sup>1</sup> that

water, or even to weigh anchor once it was cast, it was concluded that no time should be lost, lest all might perish (Libro Diario, pp. 142-143).

<sup>1</sup> A council was held on the *San Diego* on February 13, off Cape San Lucas. The questions considered were whether to enter the Bay of San Bernabé to get the long-boat and await the *fragata* and then go to Puerto de la Paz to await new orders, or to proceed to New Spain as rapidly as possible. All were agreed that no stop should be made, because of the deplorable condition of the crew. The two caulkers were dead; over forty-five men were ill, and not six were able-bodied; the scanty provisions were foul. It was decided to go to Mazatlán where help could be had from the villa de San Sebastián (Libro Diario, pp. 143-148). This is the last council recorded.

we should not put in at the said bay nor go to the port of La Paz, because the men were so sick and exhausted that if anchor were cast the ship would not be able to leave port. Some were of the opinion that we should cross over to the nearest port in New Spain to relieve our necessities, and others that we should go directly to Acapulco. In view of these opinions and considering our great need, and as the sick were dying of hunger because they could not eat what was on board the ship on account of their sore mouths, the general ordered that we go to the islands of Masatlan.

Crossing the entrance of the Californias, we arrived there on the 18th of the said month, in the greatest affliction and travail ever experienced by Spaniards; for the sick were crying aloud, while those who were able to walk or to go on all fours were unable to manage the sails.

We cast anchor between the islands and the mainland and the next day the general determined to go to the mainland with five soldiers, since on all the ship there were no others able to walk. Without knowing the way, he travelled thirteen leagues inland through mountains and rugged places, for the pueblo of Masatlan, but, because there was no travelled road, and because of the wide, grassy plains, the trail was obscured and he followed the one leading to Culiacan. On the way his supply of food gave out and he straightway would have perished of hunger and thirst had not God miraculously provided a remedy in the form of a pack-train which was going to Culiacan from Mexico. The muleteer noticed him and saw how he had lost his way, and gave him wine and *tortillas* and bananas and riding animals, by means of which he went on to the pueblo of Sacarita, subject to the villa of San Sebastian.

Being informed of the necessity which had forced the general to go there to succor his perishing men, the *alcalde mayor*, Martin Ruis de Aguirre, aided him generously with such gifts as were within his jurisdiction, such as hens, chickens, kids, beef, veal, bread, fruits, and vegetables. These the general sent, and from them his men received great refreshment and nourishment. God, like a father of mercy, caused to be provided in these islands a small fruit like agaves, called *jucoystlis*. These, because of their strength, when eaten by the men who had sore mouths caused the ulcers to slough off and bleed pro-

fusely ; but such was the efficacy of the fruit that within six days there was not a single person whose mouth was not healed.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, his Divine Majesty provided that the paralyzed and lame, without any manner of curing, without medicines, with only the fine climate and food, should all be healed, so that within the eighteen days we were on these islands, up to the 9th of March, when we set sail, all became well and were able to assist in handling the ship and at the helm. Not to be tedious, I do not tell of the hardships which the general endured on land, or of his ruined health, or of his outlay of money ; or of those who went with him, namely, Andres Leal, Juan Guerra, Christoval de los Reyes, Gonzalo Fernandes, and Diego Lopez, who can speak as eye-witnesses.

As has been said, we set out from the islands for Acapulco, skirting the coast, and on the morning of the 10th of the said month were off Cape Corrientes, all very happy because the men were improving and becoming well. Continuing the voyage, following the coast, we came to the port of Acapulco and anchored in it on Friday, the 21st of the said month, with great joy. It was marred however by the news that met us of the many deaths among those who had come on the admiral's ship with messages. For lack of necessities the greater part of the men who came on that ship died. The general found orders from the viceroy that the men should be paid what was due them, that they should be thanked for the good work they had done on this voyage, and that such as desired to enter the army or navy should go up to Mexico, in order that his Lordship might reward them in the name of his Majesty. The men received their pay with great satisfaction and the general took them all with him to Mexico at his own expense.

We arrived at Mexico on Saturday, the 18th of March<sup>2</sup> of the said year, and went to Chapultepeque,<sup>3</sup> where his Lordship was, to kiss his hands. The viceroy welcomed the general very warmly and embraced the others, thanking them by word of mouth, and showing himself very grateful for the good work

<sup>1</sup>Since Captain Cook's time, lime-juice has been used for such exigencies.

<sup>2</sup>This must be a misprint for May.

<sup>3</sup>Chapultepec, the famous crag on which the viceroy's palace was located. It is now the site of the principal residence of the presidents of Mexico, and of a military college.

they had done in the exploration. Some of them he appointed as captains and military officers for the aid and escort of the fleet which this year goes from San Juan de Ulúa to Castile because of the news received of the English corsair. Thus ended this exploration, his Lordship sending to his Majesty a copy of the record of all that was done in it, in order that in view of everything he may provide what is best for his royal service.

#### CHAPTER 17.

##### *What the Frigate discovered after it separated from the Captain's Ship.*

We arrived, as has been said, at Mexico, where we found the boatswain, Estevan Lopez, accompanied by the pilot of the frigate, the *Tres Reyes*. He said that during the hurricane that struck us from the south-southwest in latitude 42° they separated from us and kept running on, without being able to stop, as far as latitude 43°, at Cape Blanco.<sup>1</sup> He said that from that point the coast ran northeast, and the cold was so great that they thought they should be frozen, and they were in great danger of being lost. Ensign Martin de Aguilar, their commander, died, and also the pilot, Antonio Flores, and the said boatswain turned back in search of the captain's ship.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is shown on Burney's chart as Cavo Blanco de Aguilar, distinct from and a degree above Cavo de San Sebastián.

<sup>2</sup> The *Relación* of the boatswain of the *Tres Reyes* states that six leagues beyond "Puerto de los Reyes, which above they call Puerto de Don Gaspar," they found a "very, very large river" flowing from the southeast. This was evidently Tomales Bay (see Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 220). It is shown on the chart as Río Grande de San Sebastián. Farther on, in lat. 41°, near Cape Mendocino, which is placed at 41½°, they found a very large bay into which entered a large river coming from the north. It had such a current that during a whole day they were able to enter it only two leagues. It was on a rise and carried logs. The country was heavily timbered with pine and oak forests. From this river to Cape Mendocino the direction was south. From the river to Cape Blanco in lat. 43° the coast ran northeast and continued in the same direction beyond, though it was scarcely seen, because they turned back there ("Relación que dio el Contramaestre," in *Derrotero*, p. 171). Torquemada states that the *Tres Reyes*, finding herself alone, continued north looking for the *San Diego*. In lat. 41° she was struck by a southeast wind, and took shelter near Cape Mendocino under a large rocky islet (Davidson thinks this was Redding Rock in 41° 22', *Early Voyages*, p. 232). Continuing close to the shore, on January

In latitude  $39\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$  he discovered a copious river, and an island at the entrance of a very good and secure port, and another large bay in latitude  $40\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , into which another large river emptied.<sup>1</sup> A great number of Indians came out to them in canoes made of pine and cedar planks, but because there were so many people they did not dare to go up the river with the launch, although the Indians invited them to do so, giving them many fish, game, hazel nuts, chestnuts, acorns, and other things to induce them to go with them up the river.

As he said that there were many Indians there, it was decided not to comply, but to go outside instead. And they returned along the coast, entering the port of Monte Rey, that of Los Reyes, the islands of Santa Catalina, and the port of San Diego. The Indians remembered them well, for though but six of our men remained in the said frigate, the rest having died of cold and sickness, the Indians were so friendly and so desirous of our friendship and so grateful for the kind treatment which they had received that they not only did them no harm, but showed them all the kindness possible.

He said that they came hugging the coast all the way and arrived at the port of La Navidad on the 26th of the said month of February. Having no men with whom to take the frigate to Acapulco, he came to the viceroy in this city, who gave him an order to the effect that the *alcalde mayor* there should give him what was necessary for his voyage. Thus, thanks to God, all the ships which the general had taken had returned in safety, with no loss to the Real Hacienda. Thus ended this exploration, the viceroy sending a copy of the reports to his Majesty in order that he may provide what is most fitting for his royal service.

Corrected by the original book of his Majesty, beginning

19 they were at Cape Blanco, in  $43^{\circ}$ , whence the coast begins to run northwest. Near this place they found a large river, which they could not enter. Here they turned back. It looks as though the boatswain's river, just below Cape Mendocino, had been elevated by Torquemada to  $43^{\circ}$ .

On the basis of Torquemada's narrative, which gives the direction of the coast incorrectly, Davidson (*Early Voyages*, p. 234) concludes that the Cabo Blanco de Aguilar was the white sand dune in lat.  $42^{\circ} 14'$ , and that the river was the Rogue River, lat.  $42^{\circ} 25'$ .

<sup>1</sup> This is probably intended for the river and bay in  $41^{\circ}$  told of by the boatswain and shown on the Carta just under Cape Mendocino.

at the sixty-fifth folio and ending at the eighty-fifth, comprising twenty written folios, which are sent true and correct. There were present, as witnesses, at the copying and correcting, Juan Martin Marques, Antonio Luis, Andres Leal. In testimony whereof I signed and affixed my accustomed rubrics. Done in Mexico, the 8th day of the month of December, 1603.

In testimony of the truth,

DIEGO DE SANTIAGO, chief scrivener.