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A Brief Report of the Discovery  
in the South Sea,  
by Fray Antonio de la Ascensión,  
1602-1603

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A BRIEF REPORT OF THE DISCOVERY IN THE  
SOUTH SEA, BY FRAY ANTONIO DE LA  
ASCENSIÓN, 1602-1603<sup>1</sup>

*Memorial of Francisco de Arellano*

THE name which your Lordship has so established by your eminent Christian works gives me courage to request your Lordship to glance over this letter, and to hold and acknowledge me as a servant of your Lordship's house, and as such to deign to honor and reward me. From the memorial and the papers which will appear in the Council, and from the letter which has been written from this city to his Majesty, in which information is given of my person, according to what, they say, they have been ordered by royal decree, your Lordship will recognize the obligation which constrains me to serve his Majesty, as I have always had very great desire to do and, whenever occasion has arisen, have tried to do. Father Fray Antonio de la Ascension, of the Discalced Order of Carmelites, a person of very great virtue and holiness, concerning whom that Royal Council has information, and who took part in the discovery of the Californias, and as cosmographer surveyed them and made that map of them and their seas and wrote a narrative, which he sent, has given me a full account of this discovery and of how great a service to our Lord and to his Majesty it would be if this land should be reduced to the royal crown, on account of its great riches, and for the conversion of so great a multitude of Indians.

Since your Lordship is so eminent a Christian and so zealous

<sup>1</sup> Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, VIII. 537-538; endorsed: "This report has been taken from the folio volume of manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional which bears the signature 'J. 89,' and contains various papers relating to the Indies. First comes the holographic memorial of Don Francisco de Arellano, which we are publishing, and next the report in the form of a copy which seems to be contemporary."

for the honor of God and the service of his Majesty, it would be fitting that your Lordship should have examined the papers which Sebastian Vizcaino sent to the Council regarding this exploration, which are the same as I am sending, although [these are] more brief. As it is eighteen years since it was made, by order of his Majesty, while the Count of Monterey was viceroy of this New Spain, it may be that your Lordship has not heard of those papers, and that, for this reason, there has been a neglect of a matter so important, and one which might afford a beginning of a settlement and conquest at so little cost, since his Majesty has already<sup>1</sup> . . . [talked] of ordering this realm explored and of sending discalced Carmelites to it for that conversion.

I assure your Lordship that if I myself were in somewhat easier circumstances I would promise to make the beginning at my own expense and cost. But I promise what I can, which is my person, if it should be acceptable, and my very great desire to serve his Majesty, to whose royal feet I should wish to convey the conquered realm and the riches which are said to be therein. May God order everything to his greater honor and glory, and preserve your Lordship most happy years with the greatly merited lustre which your Lordship possesses and which I desire.

Don FRANCISCO RAMIREZ DE ARELLANO.

MEXICO, December 21, 1620.

*A Brief Report<sup>2</sup> in which is given Information of the Discovery which was made in New Spain, in the South Sea, from the Port of Acapulco to a Point beyond Cape Mendocino; containing an Account of the Riches, the Temperate Climate, and the Advantages of the Realm of the Californias, and setting forth how his Majesty will be able at little cost to pacify it and incorporate it into his Royal Crown and cause the Holy Gospel to be preached in it. By Father Fray Antonio*

<sup>1</sup> This is illegible.

<sup>2</sup> Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, VIII. 539-574, endorsed: "B. N. [i. e., Biblioteca Nacional], J. 89. Found among other manuscript papers that treat of divers matters, in a small folio volume, board binding, at folio 21."

*de la Ascension, a Religious of the Discalced Order of Carmelites, who took part in it and as Cosmographer made a map of it.*

## I.

IN the past year of 1602, by order of our very Catholic and most Christian King, Philip III., king of Spain, Don Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Count of Monterey, may he be in heaven, being viceroy of New Spain, two small ships and a frigate were equipped by his order and command in the port of Acapulco,<sup>1</sup> which is in New Spain, on the coast of the South Sea. They were supplied with all necessary arms and provisions for a voyage of one year,<sup>2</sup> the time it was thought this expedition would last. Sebastian Vizcaino went as captain and commander of the soldiers and vessels and Captain Toribio Gomez de Corban went as admiral. There embarked in these ships and the frigate two hundred persons,<sup>3</sup> more or less, one hundred and fifty of them select and experienced soldiers, who were also very skilful sailors, to assist in whatever might present itself concerning affairs at sea as well as those of war on land, and to escort the general. Several famous captains and the ensign who had done heroic deeds in his Majesty's service in Flanders and Britain and in the cruise of the galleons embarked as counsellors, all well accustomed and experienced in affairs of war and of the sea. They were Captain Pascual de Alarcon, Captain Alonzo Esteban Peguero,<sup>4</sup> Ensign Juan Francisco Sureano,<sup>5</sup> Ensign Juan de Acevedo Tejeda, and Ensign Melendez. And for steering the ships there went select pilots, very vigilant and experienced, two for each vessel. And for spiritual matters and the guidance of souls, three religious, priests of the Discalced Order of Carmelites, were appointed; they were Father Andrés de la Asumpcion, who went as commissary, Father Tomas de Aquino, and I, Father Antonio de Ascension, who writes this report. They were sent in order that in the name of his Majesty the king our Lord, and of his religion, and of the Province of San Alberto of New Spain, immediate possession might be taken of

<sup>1</sup> See Vizcaino's diary, p. 53, above, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *junta* held in the Bay of Monterey on December 18, the equipment was for eleven months. See Vizcaino's diary, p. 92, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Vizcaino's diary, p. 53, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Peguero elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> Suriano elsewhere.

the realm of the Californias which was to be discovered and explored; in order that thenceforward they might take charge of the conversion and instruction of all the heathen Indians of that realm; and in order that on the voyage they might administer the sacraments to those who were in the ships. Besides these, the viceroy appointed two cosmographers, to survey and map all the coasts, with their ports, inlets, rivers, and bays, with their latitudes and longitudes. These were Captain Gerónimo Martin Palacios and I,<sup>1</sup> I having studied this art and science in the University of Salamanca, where I was born and reared, and where I studied until I took the holy habit which I unworthily wear. I have said this and signed here my name so that persons who may read this brief and concise report may be convinced that in all its contents I am telling the truth; and in order not to be prolix I am brief in everything, with a style plain and simple, as will be seen in what follows.

## II.

This armada sailed from the port of Acapulco the 5th day of the month of May, of the said year, 1602, every one, before embarking, having confessed and received communion, the captains as well as the soldiers and cabin-boys of the two vessels.

The order which the viceroy gave them was to explore all the coast from the above-mentioned port of Acapulco to the Point of California, and everything from there to Cape Mendocino; and on returning, if there should be time and opportunity, to explore the Mediterranean Sea of California.<sup>2</sup> Pursuant to this order, the armada sailed northwest, coasting all along the shore and land of New Spain as far as the islands of Maçatlan and thence crossing over so as to reach the Point of California. It is fifty leagues across the sea from one side to the other.

From the time this armada sailed from the port of Acapulco until it reached Cape Mendocino there were always strong headwinds, because almost continually the northwest wind prevails on all this coast; it was necessary, therefore, to sail with bow-

<sup>1</sup> In his correspondence and instructions the viceroy says nothing about Father Ascensión's being appointed cosmographer. See Carrasco y Guisasola, *Documentos*, pp. 41-68.

<sup>2</sup> The order to explore the gulf was in the secret instructions. See p. 92, above.

lines hauled, which was an incredible hindrance, as there were days when it was not able to gain a league's headway. Tacking to the sea or to the land, one way or the other, the voyage was made, and for this reason the outward trip was very prolonged, and all the ports, bays, rivers, and inlets of the entire coast were examined very minutely. It took us nine months from the time we left Acapulco to reach Cape Mendocino, where we arrived on the 20th<sup>1</sup> day of the month of January, 1603. Cape Mendocino is in latitude 42° north, and we went even farther, to the latitude of 43°, to what was named Cape San Sebastian, where the coast turns to the northeast, and where the entrance to the Strait of Anian seems to begin.

### III.

This exploration was made with very great care and vigilance and cost a great deal of labor and exertion and tedious illness, and the lives of many who took part in it, because of undergoing so much labor, in continual pain and always struggling against the wild waves which the sea heaved up and against the winds which caused them. Moreover, the provisions became so stale that they finally had no virtue or nutrition. From these two causes there ensued a sickness like a pest, which affected every one and was extremely painful, so that more than forty-four<sup>2</sup> persons died on the voyage. I made a report of all that happened on this voyage, in which is related at length everything that took place during it and what was seen and discovered on it, and upon which I rely. This armada returned to Acapulco, and the captain's ship, in which I came,<sup>3</sup> entered it March 21 of the said year, 1603.

<sup>1</sup>The author is careless here, and confuses Cape Mendocino with Cape San Sebastián. They arrived at the former place on the 12th, and at the latter, in lat. 42°, on the 20th. Cape Blanco was given in the official records as in 43° (see Vizcaino's diary, p. 101). The latitude of Cape Mendocino was variously given as 41°, 41½°, and 42½°.

<sup>2</sup>According to Torquemada forty-eight died, including Alferez Juan de Acevedo Texada, Alferez Sebastián Meléndez, Alferez Martín de Aguilar Galeote, pilot Antonio Flores, pilot Baltasar de Armas, Sergeant Miguel de Legar, and Sergeant Juan del Castillo Bueno (*Monarchia Indiana*, I. 724-725). In his letter to the King, dated May 23, 1603, Vizcaino stated that forty-two had died.

<sup>3</sup>On the outward voyage he was on the *almiranta* as far as the Bay of Monterey.

Thus eleven months were spent on the voyage from the time of sailing until port was made. In this short account I will speak briefly of some of the most important things I saw, learned, and observed throughout the land and seacoast which we saw and explored.

#### IV.

This realm of California is very large and embraces much territory, nearly all inhabited by numberless people. It has a good climate, is very fertile, and abounds in many and various kinds of trees, the most of them like those in Spain, abundant pastures of good grazing land, and a great number of different kinds of animals and birds. The sea of all this coast is full of a variety of savory and wholesome fish, which I will mention later. All the land of this realm is in the temperate zone, which is situated in the northern division, and the climates 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8<sup>1</sup> pass over it. It has the exact form and shape of a casket, being broad at the top and narrow at the point. It is this latter which we commonly call Punta de la California. From there it widens out to Cape Mendocino, which we will describe as being the top and breadth of it. The breadth of this land from here to the other sea, where the Mediterranean Sea of California comes and connects with the sea that surrounds and encircles Cape Mendocino, must be about one hundred leagues.<sup>2</sup> In this part this realm has north of it the Kingdom of Anian, and to the east the land which is continuous with the realm of Quivira. Between these two realms extends the strait of Anian, which runs to the North Sea, having joined the Oceanic Sea which surrounds Cape Mendocino and the Mediterranean Sea of California, both of which are united at the entrance of this strait which I call Anian. Toward the west is the realm of China, and toward the south all the realm of Japan. The most modern maps show that from the meridian corresponding to the Point of California to the meridian corresponding to Cape Mendocino there are sixty degrees of longitude; so that if we give sixteen and a half leagues to each degree, according to the reckoning of

<sup>1</sup> Climate in the old astronomical sense—so many degrees of latitude.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is a fair statement of the geographical notions concerning the Northwest after Iturbi's expedition.



cosmographers, it is about one thousand leagues long; but if according to the reckoning of mariners, who give twenty-five leagues to each degree, we should say that its coast and shore is more than fifteen hundred leagues long from northwest to southeast, which is the direction all this realm runs and trends. In latitude, or breadth, it extends from the Tropic of Cancer, that is, from the Point of California, called Cape San Lucas, which is under that tropic, to the latitude of 50°, the highest latitude of this realm—which, I said, is where unite the two seas that surround this realm.

Thus it is plain that this realm of California is a land separate and distinct from the lands of New Mexico and the realm of Quivira, which is continuous with the latter, although there is a long distance and much territory between the one realm and the other. The sea between these two realms, which is the one called the Mediterranean Sea of California, since it is between lands so large and extended, must be about fifty leagues wide. In the middle of it there are many islands, some small and others larger; but I cannot say whether they are inhabited or not. The inhabitants of Cape Mendocino are so opposite and remote from the kingdom of Old Castile in our Spain that it is midnight in the noted city and university of Salamanca when it is noon at Cape Mendocino, and *vice versa*: so that they are the antipodes of each other, being opposite each other, and in the same climate, but with different and diametrically opposite meridians. Hence it follows that they must possess the same atmospheric conditions and climate, having the same winter, summer, and autumn. It is possible that they differ in some conditions and temperatures, because of the different influences of the vertical stars which affect their qualities.

Those who are acquainted with and understand the sphere and cosmography will have no doubt of this; but in order to make myself better understood I made for those who do not understand it a geographic map of it all, which I have with me; and I am sending a copy of it to his Majesty and to his Royal Council of the Indies, that they may understand the great size and the situation of this great realm. And I believe it will be indispensable and important, in order that the present maps of the world may be compared with it and corrected,

because many of the things which are depicted in them relating to matters of this realm are very different from what they actually are. This is not to be wondered at, since the land and seacoast of this realm have never been viewed or explored so exactly and designedly as on this expedition, which went solely for this purpose.

## V.

The Cape of San Lucas,<sup>1</sup> which is at the extremity of California, whence all this realm begins and takes its name, forms in its shelter a bay called San Bernabé, so spacious that it is a good bay and will accommodate many ships, although it is not protected on all sides. This bay, or cape, of San Lucas is under the Tropic of Cancer, and off the islands of Maçatlan, which, on the coast of New Spain, are the frontier and limit on this side of the bishopric of Guadalajara and of the kingdom which they call Nueva Galicia. It is fifty leagues, more or less, across the sea, which is the width of the Mediterranean Sea of California between the realm of California and that of Galicia. This latter joins the kingdom of New Spain and extends to New Mexico, continuing to the kingdom of Quivira, and terminating at the Strait of Anian, as has already been said. Some call it the Mediterranean because it flows between these two large realms; others call it the Vermillion Sea, since in this passage the water looks a bright reddish color, perhaps because the land at the bottom is red, or it may be from the spawn brought here by the river-fish that come to swim in that sea, this color being caused by the blood; for once I saw that the water at the port of Acapulco was of this bright reddish color, and they told me that it was because of the fish spawn. On the old maps it is called the bay, or gulf, of Ballenas,<sup>2</sup> because there, as on all the coast as far as Cape Mendocino, there are so many whales that they cannot be numbered, nor would it be believed by anybody who had not seen them. And because until now<sup>3</sup> it has been understood to be a bay or large gulf, formed there by the sea, and not a regular and continuous sea, which it is, they gave it this name.

<sup>1</sup> See Vizcaino's diary, p. 56, above, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Whales.

<sup>3</sup> The allusion is perhaps to the results of the Iturbi and Oñate expeditions.

In this passage are the islands called the Marías, and another small one called San Andrés; and through all this sea there are many other islands. Among them, facing the port formed by the Tizon River,<sup>1</sup> which flows into this sea from New Mexico in latitude 35°, is the island of Giganta,<sup>2</sup> where lives the queen of the neighboring peoples. In this sea, on both shores, other islands also, as well as the land of California, have many oyster-beds, which produce pearls, many, rich, and large. They are found as far as latitude 36°, as I say in the last chapter of the report which I made of this discovery.

## VI.

I will say that the wealth and abundance of pearls in this sea is very great, a thing which is well known and remarked upon by persons who have coasted along the sea; and they are, indeed, large and beautiful, choice, and very perfect. The oysters are not very deep, for the Indians search for and bring them up. This is not to make use of the pearls, because they do not understand or value them, but only to eat the fish within. In order to open the oysters and more easily extract their contents they put them in the fire, whereupon they open and the pearls are burned or smoked. When found they are thrown away, as if they were stones of no value.

There are many different kinds of fish in this sea, large and small, which are seen to go in shoals or schools. As they are fish known in other seas, I will here name some of those I have caught, had in my hands, and eaten,<sup>3</sup> so that the abundance, excellence, and wealth of that sea may be understood. There are, as I have said, multitudes of very large whales, and a great quantity of sardines, large and small, slender and thick, which are, according to what they say, the common sustenance of the whales, and may be it is for this reason there are so many. There are ruffles, porgy, sea-bass, corundas, small sharks, or dog-fish, sturgeon, *esmirigalas*, skate, salmon, tunny, ray, *chucos*, sea-horse, little bass, striped tunny, gilt-

<sup>1</sup> The Colorado, named Río del Tizón (Firebrand) by the Alarcón expedition in 1540.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of Oñate's journey to California, p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> When in California with Vizcaino, presumably.

head, sole, mutton-fish, porpoise, newts, *tirgueros*, common oysters, those that bear pearls, and many other never seen and unknown. And there are octopus. One was caught so large that it wrapped itself around the buoy-rope or line by which the buoy was fastened to the anchor; although it was very heavy, as it had a firm hold, the ship raised it and dragged it behind.<sup>1</sup> It had a mouth like a half-moon. I measured it from one point to the other, crosswise, and it was a *vara* and three quarters, and from the head to the end of the tail it was five and one quarter *varas*. It was broad and flat like a mantle. These fish are of fine flavor, palatable, and wholesome. All these varieties were caught every year by casting the net, or seine. Sometimes the seine was so full that it broke.

## VII.

The country of this Cape San Lucas is very fertile and healthful, with a fine climate and clear sky. It has good level land and is not very mountainous. All of it is perfectly adapted to cultivation and to keeping and raising stock, both cattle and sheep, goats and swine. There is plenty of wild game for hunting and fowling, such as rabbits, hare, deer, lions, tigers, armadillos, ringdoves, quail, and many ducks. Of trees, there are figs, broccoli, agaves, mangroves, mastick, and, near the beach, a grove of plum trees.

In place of gum or resin, they exude in great quantities very good and fragrant incense. The fruit which they produce is very delicious, as I have been told by those who have tried it on other occasions. There is also on the shore of this land which encircles the Bay of San Bernabé, where I saw all the things mentioned, a lagoon of good fresh water,<sup>2</sup> all surrounded and hedged in with brambles. On the other side, near the rocks and the beach, there is a little lagoon of salt water, left by the sea in high winds, which was covered, all around, with very good salt, plentiful, white, and of a good taste. Here also are many robust Indians, of good disposition, who use bows, arrows, and darts for arms. They gave indications of being bellicose and spirited; for, when some

<sup>1</sup> Evidently an incident of the Vizcaino voyage.

<sup>2</sup> For this lagoon see the Carta.

natives came to see us at this port, they said that if the soldiers would put away the arquebuses they carried they would also come without arms. Laying them aside, they seated themselves, saying in a loud voice "Vtesi," that is to say, "Seat yourselves" or "be seated," which is the surest and most certain sign of peace in use among them. With this ceremony they came peaceably, and treated us with friendliness and civility, although always with extreme caution and suspicion, and on hearing an arquebus discharged they immediately ran away. When they came, they always brought with them such little things as they had, showing themselves to be a people grateful and thankful for what the soldiers and religious gave them.

### VIII.

It is at this port that his Majesty should order the first settlement of Spaniards to be made when he sends people to pacify the country, in order that the pacification of all this realm and the preaching of the Holy Gospel may begin here. It is situated near and convenient for trade and communication with New Spain and Peru, as the ships to New Spain touch at this place when they come from Peru by the new mode of navigation now in use, and they come in one month. Besides these, it has other advantages for sustaining human life, and for enabling the Spaniards to keep their trade and commerce in good and secure communication, because, besides the pearl-fisheries near by, there is, on the south coast, a neighboring land which we call Sierra Pintada or del Enfado.<sup>1</sup> It has many minerals of various kinds; and one can go by land to extract them, and to get the gold and silver which they may contain. Apparently they are very abundant, according to experience and trustworthy information upon which I rely.

It is the best place that could be found in the world for the maintenance and mode of life of the Discalced Carmelite religious (who, by order of the king, our lord, have charge of the conversion of this realm), and for their abstemious and penitent life, because of the good mild climate as well as the great abundance of many kinds of good fish, as is stated above. The heat of the climate is not so excessive as to need linen,

<sup>1</sup> See Vizcaino's diary, p. 57, above.

nor does it require much protection against the cold, so that one kind of clothing can be worn all the time. Moreover, the proximity of the country to New Spain and the facility of navigation from one realm to the other is very important for providing it with the religious, for governing them by one provincial, and for conveying some and bringing back others, according as the necessity of the religious may require; for, having settlements as far as the port of Navidad where they can embark if they do not wish to go to Acapulco, in a month one can go from Mexico to the Californias with great ease and comfort.

### IX.

After remaining in this port and bay of San Bernabé some days, we set sail<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of making the exploration of Cape Mendocino. As the coast runs from southeast to northwest, and as the wind is continually from that quarter, that is, northwest, we found it so severe and strong that four times against our will it forced us to put back into the port from which we sailed. Finally, at the end of some days, with bowlines hauled, we made our way and arrived at the port of Magdalena,<sup>2</sup> which was formerly called the port of Santiago.<sup>3</sup> Here the Indians received us peacefully and, as an acknowledgment of submission, offered the Spaniards their bows and arrows, very nicely wrought, and brought some incense like that we had procured in the Bay of San Bernabé, a sign that there are here a great number of these trees which produce it. An arm of the sea enters this port, unless it is some large river which disembogues here and empties into the sea. But it was ascended only about a league, being left for exploration when we should return from Cape Mendocino. Here many Indians came out to us in their canoes and showed themselves friendly and gentle.

This port is very good and spacious, and has two mouths or entrances. By one, small vessels only can enter; by the other large ones can enter, as it has good soundings. Here

<sup>1</sup> They set sail the first time on June 19, finally on July 5. See Vizcaino's diary, pp. 57, 58, above.

<sup>2</sup> See Vizcaino's diary, p. 59, above, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> By Cabrillo it was called Port of San Pedro. See p. 14, note 4.



and all along this coast there are many whales, and, if it is true that amber comes from their filth, as I understand, from what I saw on this voyage, there must be much amber on this coast; for not far from this place, though farther up on the same coast, we found another port, which was named San Bartolomeo, on whose shore was a large quantity of ambergris,<sup>1</sup> in cakes, like soft, whitish pitch. We did not recognize it as such, and for this reason we took no notice of it. Afterward, when giving a description of it to those who are well acquainted with amber, they said that it was very fine ambergris. There was a large quantity of it in this port. Perhaps God our Lord allowed none of those who went there to know this, since it may be that in the interest of going to obtain it his Majesty will send ministers with the design of converting those Indians, for according to the signs which they gave it will be easy to bring them into our Catholic faith.

#### X.

We went forward, making the exploration carefully and slowly, because head winds impeded it. Other ports and islands were discovered along the coast, and all along it there were many Indians, who signalled us with smoke columns and other signs; but, in order to reach Cape Mendocino, everything was left to be examined on our return. Finally, after much labor we reached the port of San Diego,<sup>2</sup> which is very good and capacious and offers many very good advantages for Spanish settlement. Here the ships were cleaned and oiled again, the place being quiet, and there being many friendly and affable Indians there. They use bows and arrows and appear warlike and valiant, since, notwithstanding they came to see us every day, they always treated us with so great a distrust that they never had complete confidence in us. They pronounced so very well in our language what they heard us speak that anyone hearing them and not seeing them would say they were Spaniards. Every day they would come in order that we might give them some of the fish we caught in the net, and they would go away quietly after they had helped to haul it in.

<sup>1</sup> Port of San Bartolomé. See Vizcaino's diary, p. 64, above, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> November 10, 1602. See Vizcaino's diary, p. 80, above, note 1.

The harbor is large and secure, and has a large beach within, like an island of sand,<sup>1</sup> which the sea covers at high tide. In the sand on this beach there is a great quantity of yellow pyrites, all full of holes, a sure sign that in the neighboring mountains and adjacent to this port there are gold mines; for the water, when it rains, brings it from the mountains, and the whole watershed converges here. On the sandy beach which I said was in this harbor we found some large pieces, like adobe, brown or dark red in color, and very light in weight, like dried cowdung. They had neither a good nor a bad odor, and they are said to be amber. If this is so, there are great riches and an abundance of amber here.

There are many different kinds of fish, of very good taste and flavor, such as ray, sea-horse, lobster, crab, *guitarras*, sardine, turtle, and many other kinds. There is much wild game for hunting and fowling; and there are many large, grassy pastures. The Indians paint themselves white, and black, and dark London blue. This color comes from certain very heavy blue stones, which they grind very fine, and, dissolving the powder in water, make a stain, with which they daub the face and make on it lines which glisten like silver ribbons. These stones seem to be of rich silver ore, and the Indians told us by signs that from similar stones a people living inland, of form and figure like our Spaniards,<sup>2</sup> bearded, and wearing collars and breeches, and other fine garments like ours, secured silver in abundance, and that they had a name for it in their own language. To ascertain whether these Indians knew silver, the general showed them some silver bowls and a plate. They took it in their hands and spun it around, and, pleased by the sound, said it was good, and was the same as that possessed and valued highly by the people of whom they had told us. Then he put in their hands a pewter bowl, but when they struck it the sound did not please them and, spitting, they wanted to throw it into the sea.<sup>3</sup>

The people of whom the Indians told us might have been

<sup>1</sup> The Peninsula. See Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> The Spaniards of the Oñate Expedition had recently entered New Mexico, and the Indians perhaps referred to their activities.

<sup>3</sup> In the official diary this incident or one very similar is related as occurring on the San Buenaventura coast. See Vizcaino's diary, p. 88, above.



foreigners, Hollanders or English, who had made their voyage by the Strait of Anian and might be settled on the other coast of this land, facing the Mediterranean Sea of California. Since the realm is narrow, as has been said, it may be that the other sea is near that place; for the Indians offered to guide and take us to the place where they say the people are settled. If this is so, it is probable they have large interests and profits there, since their voyage is so long and difficult. Still, it is true that by passing through the Strait of Anian and reaching their land by that latitude, their voyage is only half as long as that from the port of San Juan de Ulúa to Spain. This will be clearly seen from evidence furnished by the globe. In this case, it will be to his Majesty's interest to endeavor to assure himself of the fact: first, in order to know the route, and secondly, in order to expel from there such dangerous enemies, lest they contaminate the Indians with their sects and liberty of conscience, by which great harm to their souls will follow, whereby instructing them and leading them in the paths of the true law of God will be made very difficult. Besides this, his Majesty will be able to secure many other advantages, as I shall show later.

## XI.

After we left the Port of San Diego we discovered many islands placed in a line, one behind another.<sup>1</sup> Most of them were inhabited by many friendly Indians, who have trade and commerce with those of the mainland. It may be that they are vassals of a petty king who came with his son from the mainland in a canoe with eight oarsmen, to see us and to invite us to go to his land, saying that he would entertain us and provide us with anything which we needed and he possessed.<sup>2</sup> He said that he came to see us on account of what the inhabitants of these islands had reported to him. There are many people in this land, so many that the petty king, seeing that there were no women on the ships, offered by signs to give to everyone ten women apiece if they would all go to his land, which shows how thickly populated it all is. And besides,

<sup>1</sup> Particularly the Santa Bárbara Islands. See Vizcaino's diary, p. 83, above.

<sup>2</sup> See Vizcaino's diary, *ibid.*

all along, day and night, they made many bonfires, the sign in use among them to call people to their land. Since there was no convenient port where the ships could be secure in the country whence this petty king came, the acceptance of his invitation was deferred until the return voyage.

Thereupon we went forward with our voyage, and at the end of some days arrived at a fine port, which was named Monterrey.<sup>1</sup> It is in latitude 37°, in the same climate and latitude as Seville. This is where the ships coming from the Philippines to New Spain come to reconnoitre. It is a good harbor, well sheltered, and supplied with water, wood, and good timber, both for masts and ship building, such as pines, live oaks, and great white oaks, large and frondose, and many black poplars on the banks of a river that near by enters the sea and was named the Carmelo.<sup>2</sup> In climate, in birds and game, in variety of animals and trees, in everything it is essentially like our Old Spain. When the ships from China arrive at this place they have already sailed four months and they come in need of repairs, which in this harbor they can make very well, and with perfect convenience; therefore it would be a very good thing for the Spaniards to settle this port for the assistance of navigators, and to undertake the conversion to our Holy Faith of those Indians, who are numerous, docile, and friendly. And from here they might trade and traffic with the people of China and Japan, opportunity for that being favorable because of propinquity.

The land of this country is very fertile and has good pastures and forests, and fine hunting and fowling. Among the animals there are large, fierce bears, and other animals called elks, from which they make elk-leather jackets,<sup>3</sup> and others of the size of young bulls,<sup>4</sup> shaped and formed like deer, with thick, large horns. There were many Castilian roses here. There are pretty ponds of fresh water. The mountains near this port were covered with snow, and that was on Christmas day. On the beach was a dead whale, and at night some bears came to feed on it.

There are many fish here, and a great variety of mollusks among the rocks; among them there were certain barnacles,

<sup>1</sup> December 16.

<sup>2</sup> See Vizcaino's diary, p. 91, above.

<sup>3</sup> *Cuiras*.

<sup>4</sup> See Vizcaino's diary, p. 91. Possibly the antelope.

or large shells, fastened to the lowest part of the rocks. The Indians hunt for them to extract from them their contents to eat. These shells are very bright, of fine mother-of-pearl.<sup>1</sup> All along this coast, there is a great abundance of sea-wolves or dogs,<sup>2</sup> of the size of a yearling calf. They sleep on the water, and sometimes go ashore to take the sun; and there they place their sentinel in order to be secure from enemies. The Indians clothe themselves in the skins of these animals, which are healthful, fine, beautiful, and convenient. Finally, I will say that this is a good and commodious port, and might be settled, but this should be done in the way which I shall set forth hereafter.

## XII.

We set sail from here after dispatching the admiral's ship to New Spain with the news of what had been discovered and with the sick who were unfit for service. Among them returned Father Tomás de Aquino, one of the three religious who were going in this fleet, because he had been ill many days, and in order that the sick might have someone to confess them should God desire to relieve them of this life. Our departure in quest of Cape Mendocino was made on the first Sunday after Epiphany,<sup>3</sup> of the year 1603. On the coast we noted the port of San Francisco,<sup>4</sup> where in times past there was lost a ship from China which was coming with orders to explore this coast. I believe that much of the wax and porcelain which the vessel carried is there to-day. And we arrived at Cape Mendocino<sup>5</sup> in latitude 42°, which is the highest latitude at which the China ships sight land. Here, because of the severity of winter in this climate, and of the cold, and the stiffness of the rigging, and because almost all the crew were ill, the sails were lowered. The captain's ship got into the trough of the sea, and, as it could not be steered, the currents that

<sup>1</sup> Clearly the abalone.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the sea lion instead of the seal proper.

<sup>3</sup> January 5. See Vizcaino's diary, p. 94. The day of sailing is given there as Friday, January 3.

<sup>4</sup> Drake's Bay, called San Francisco by the Cermeño expedition. See Vizcaino's diary, p. 94.

<sup>5</sup> January 12, according to Vizcaino's diary, p. 95.

run to the Strait of Anian whose entrance begins here, carried it little by little toward land. In eight days we had ascended more than one degree of latitude, which was up to  $43^{\circ}$ , in sight of a cape that was named San Sebastian.<sup>1</sup> Near it empties a river that was called Santa Inez.<sup>2</sup> No one landed here, as all the crew were very ill, only six persons being able to walk. Here the coast and land turns to the northeast, and here is the head and end of the realm and mainland of California and the entrance to the Strait of Anian. If on this occasion there had been on the captain's ship even fourteen sound men, without any doubt we should have ventured to explore and pass through this Strait of Anian, since all were of good courage to do this. But the general lack of health and of men who could manage the sails and steer the ship obliged us to turn about toward New Spain, to report what had been discovered and seen, and lest the whole crew should die if we remained longer in that latitude.<sup>3</sup>

With this decision and agreement the return voyage was begun. It was made by coasting along shore with favorable winds, exploring all the ports, bays, and inlets that we had sighted on our outward voyage.<sup>4</sup> As the northwest wind is so usual and continual on this coast, one can easily come from Cape Mendocino to the port of Acapulco in one month, if the pilot knows how to choose the correct routes at the proper times, as I set them down in an itinerary which I made for this voyage. The course which we took on our return was along the coast, and so near it that everything on it was seen with great clearness and distinctness.<sup>5</sup> The Indians, as they saw us pass at a distance, sent up columns of smoke and other signals to attract us; and wherever we landed they gave indications of their good natures and intelligence, hence it ap-

<sup>1</sup> Father Ascensión is again careless with his latitudes. Cape San Sebastián was estimated as at or near  $42^{\circ}$  and Cape Blanco, reached by the *Tres Reyes*, in  $43^{\circ}$ . See Vizcaino's diary, pp. 95, 96, 101.

<sup>2</sup> By the Vizcaino diary and the Planos this river, not named, was placed below Cape Mendocino. See Vizcaino's diary, p. 102, note.

<sup>3</sup> See Vizcaino's diary, p. 96, note 1, for an account of the *junta* which decided to return.

<sup>4</sup> See Vizcaino's diary, p. 97, note 1, for a statement regarding the exploration made on the return.

<sup>5</sup> Yet they missed San Francisco Bay.

peared to us all that they might easily and with very little labor be taught our Holy Catholic faith, and that they would receive it well and lovingly. But this should be done with great prudence and in the manner that our Master and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, taught us in his Holy Gospel.

As to how persons should be sent to new lands for the conversion of the heathen Indians, I wrote a brief treatise, which I sent to the king, our lord, Philip III. In it I discuss what ought to be done that the people may be converted and that his Majesty may with just title become the lawful emperor and lord of their lands; and to this I refer the reader. Nevertheless, as there I have treated of the general instruction for all, here, for the sake of greater clearness, I will set forth briefly what his Majesty can and ought to do for the conversion of the Indians of this great realm of the Californias in particular, and to pacify their lands and become lord over them with good conscience, as will be seen by beginning with number 23<sup>1</sup> below of this little treatise.

Finally, returning to our voyage, I will say that we returned to the port of Acapulco on March 22,<sup>2</sup> of the year 1603, having passed through great labor and severe illness, of which died the number of people that I mentioned at the beginning; and I made a full report of all that happened on the voyage, and a map of the situation of this realm.

### XIII.

#### *The Method to be observed in Subduing and Settling the Realm of Californias.*<sup>3</sup>

All this realm of the Californias can be pacified and settled, and by this means and by the preaching of the Holy Gospel its natives can be led to the fold of our Holy Mother, the Roman Catholic Church, and converted to our Holy Catholic Faith. Now, in order that this may become an accomplished fact, and that his Majesty may effect it at a moderate ex-

<sup>1</sup> A mistake for 13.

<sup>2</sup> On page 108 he gives the date as March 21, as does the Vizcaino diary, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> The following is an excellent outline of an ideal missionary "pacification" of a new Spanish frontier.

pense, that which must be commanded, ordered, and provided is as follows :

There should be prepared and equipped in the port of Acapulco two small vessels of two hundred tons burden, and a frigate, with boats and skiffs for their service ; and they should be abundantly supplied with stores and munitions of war, as well as with food, rigging, canvas, and everything that may seem necessary for settling in infidel and heathen lands.

While these things are being provided and prepared, there should be raised in Mexico as many as two hundred soldiers, care being taken that they should be good seamen, and also that they be old soldiers, expert and experienced as well in arms as in seamanship, in order that all, uniformly and without distinction, may aid in everything as occasion may offer. And let care be taken that they be good and honorable men in order that on the journey both on sea and land there may be peace, union, and brotherhood among all. Plenty of men of these parts and talents will very easily be found in Mexico if his Majesty will increase their pay in proportion as the double service they have to render demands, and if their pay and allowance be given them punctually when due.

The duty of raising this troop should be assigned to one or two captains, good Christians and God-fearing men, and persons of merit, who have served his Majesty faithfully on other occasions, in war on land as well as in the fleets at sea. To them should be entrusted the appointment of officers to accompany them, who should be persons they are satisfied will perform their service in a Christian and careful manner, and men of experience, who know how to fulfill the offices committed to them, for on these officers depend the good order and discipline of the soldiers. This expedition must be entrusted to a person of courage and talents, of long experience, and accustomed to such charges, in order that he may know how to treat all with love and dignity, and each one individually as his character deserves. Let care be taken that such a person be God-fearing, scrupulous in his conscience, and zealous in the service of his Majesty and in the things relating to the conversion of these souls. To a person of these qualities can be given the office of general of the armada, to whom all, both captains and soldiers, will be subject, and



whom they will obey in everything, and whose orders they will follow.

To the general, captains, soldiers, and all who go on this expedition, must be given express order and command that they shall hold themselves in strict obedience and subjection to the religious who are in their company, and that without their order, counsel, and advice, war may not be made, or the heathen Indians be otherwise molested, even if they should give occasion, in order that by this means matters may be conducted with peace and Christianity, and with love and quiet, which is the method to be used in the pacification of that realm, and in the preaching of the Holy Gospel, to which end and aim these expenses and preparations are directed. Not to do this, but the contrary, will be to waste everything, to lose time, and to render the expenditure ineffectual, as has been found by experience many times in this New Spain, in other conquests and pacifications of new lands, whereby God our Lord has been more injured than served.

#### XIV.

The religious who should go on this expedition are the Discalced of Our Lady of Carmel, the ones to whom are intrusted by his Majesty the conversion, instruction, and teaching of the Indians of this realm of the Californias. On this first entrance there should be six religious, four priests and two lay brothers; and it will be requested of the superiors of this order, in the name of his Majesty, that those whom they assign and appoint for this voyage be persons such as the occasion and enterprise demand, holy, affable, full of love and wisdom, that they may know how to counsel, guide and direct these souls, and to deal with such cases as may present themselves conformably with sound Catholic doctrine.

By observing the indulgences and benefits which the Supreme Pontiffs have granted in favor of new conversions, for their greater increase, these holy friars, with their piety, modesty, simplicity, and religious graciousness, will succeed in winning the wills and hearts of both general and captains, as well as of all the soldiers, in order thereby to lead them in the holy path of virtue; and may they with loving arguments per-

suade and admonish all, before embarking, to confess their sins and receive the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, with all the devotion and inclination possible, offering their souls and lives to the service of his divine Majesty, asking of him success for their voyage and expedition. By doing this, with the proper spirit and devotion, the religious will make themselves lords over the hearts and wills of all, and will have authority over all to keep them in peace, love, and unity; and if perchance there should be any dissension among them, they will calm it at once with discretion, and thus animosities, vexations, and enmities, and the mutinies, insurrections, and disobedience to superiors which ordinarily occur on such enterprises, will be avoided.

These religious will be provided with everything necessary for their voyage, such as vessels for saying mass and administering the sacraments, books and vestments and, in particular, something in the way of delicacies that they may have wherewith to give to the sick if there should be any. Likewise, there should be taken on board at the cost of his Majesty a quantity of trifles, Flemish trinkets, such as beads of colored glass, artificial garnets, hawks' bells, mirrors, knives, cheap scissors, Parisian tops, and some articles of clothing.

These things should be divided among the religious and soldiers, so that in places where they may go on shore or where they may choose sites for settlements in the lands of the heathen, they may distribute them, with signs of love and good will, in the name of his Majesty, in order that with these pleasing gifts the heathen Indians may come to feel love and affection for the Christians, and may realize that they are coming to their lands to give them of that which they bring, and not to take away their possessions, and may understand that they are seeking the good of their souls. This is a measure of great importance, to the end that the Indians may become quiet, humane, and peaceable, and obey the Spaniards without opposition or repugnance, and receive with pleasure those who go to preach to them the Holy Gospel and the mysteries of our Holy Catholic faith; to the end, moreover, that the Indians may be grateful and thankful, and, in recompense and pay for what is given them, may assist with what-



ever of value they may have in their land, things to eat as well as other articles, as they did with us.

With this preparation, the soldiers and religious should embark in the ships provided, no woman going or embarking with them, to avoid offenses to God and dissensions between one another. With the ocean currents that run toward the entrance of California, even if winds favorable to navigation should fail, one can within a month at the most succeed in landing in the Bay of San Bernabé, which is at Cape San Lucas and the extremity of California, the point best fitted for the first settlement.

## XV.

After a landing is made in the Bay of San Bernabé, effort should be made at once to establish the camp in the place that seems most convenient; and it should be of such a style and plan as that some of the houses may serve as a guard and protection to the others. First of all a church should be built, in order that there the priests may celebrate mass every day; and it would be very holy and well if immediately on entrance into this realm the general with his captains and all the soldiers should confess and receive the sacrament, for this would be a very good beginning for making the entrance in proper form, and for following out, with the aid and favor of our Redeemer and Lord Jesus Christ, that which is attempted, namely, the pacification of the realm and the conversion of its inhabitants to our holy Catholic faith.

As to the location of a stronghold to serve as a castle and watch-tower and as a defense in adverse chances, it should be a strong location, high and commanding; and if a secure passage could be made from it to the sea it would be very advantageous as a means of receiving aid or of sending for aid by sea in case any necessity should arise. The Portuguese have generally done this way in the places where they have established themselves in India, and the observance of this stratagem and precaution has succeeded very well with them. This castle and stronghold should be stocked with artillery carried there for that purpose, together with other defenses customary in such fortresses; and in it should be

kept the arms and supplies. Above it there should be a watch-tower in which there should be continually a guard or sentinel, in order that all coming and going to the camp may be carefully watched; for when in lands of heathen Indians, although they may have declared themselves friendly and peaceable, they must not be trusted much; rather, one must live with them and among them with great circumspection, vigilance, and watchfulness, and be gracious and kindly, with wisdom and prudence, showing them love and all good treatment, regaling and giving them gratis of the trifles which, at his Majesty's expense, may have been taken for the purpose of coaxing and winning them.

Besides these buildings, a trading house should be erected, whither the Indians may repair to barter with the Spaniards for whatever they may desire, and in order that they may trade and bargain among themselves; for thereby their communication with us will be greatly facilitated and love and friendship thus engendered.

From this place, with the ships, frigate, and other vessels, they can send to the land of Culiacan,<sup>1</sup> which is a settlement of Christians, or to the islands of Macatlan,<sup>2</sup> or to the pueblo of La Navidad,<sup>3</sup> to bring from there whatever may seem necessary both for the settlement of the land and for sustenance, such as cows, sheep, goats, mares, and hogs, which in two or four days at the most can be sent alive from one side to the other, as the sea lying between is about fifty leagues in width, and is safe and smooth. These animals will grow and multiply as well in this land, since it is suitable for that purpose and is fertile. Likewise it will be possible to cultivate fields of wheat and maize, and to plant vines and gardens, in order that sustenance may be had from within and it may not be necessary to carry it from without. The Indians can be taught and instructed to do the same, and will take everything well, seeing it redound to their advantage.

<sup>1</sup> See Vizcaino's diary, p. 55, above, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> Mazatlan. See Vizcaino's diary, p. 55, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> See Cabrillo diary, p. 13, note 1.

## XVI.

Besides what is said above, the Spaniards in this place will be able to establish fisheries for pearls and other fish, of which there is abundance, to send to New Spain, to sell in Mexico. Very good salt-works can be established; likewise they can work mines, of which there are some near by, as I have said in number VIII.<sup>1</sup> These things being settled with the peace, love and good will of the natives, the religious will give their attention to their ministry, and make a beginning and commencement of converting the Indians, in the way which may seem best to them, founding with great prudence and gentleness the new Christian church to be planted there.

And it would be well to bring from New Spain Indian minstrels, with their instruments and trumpets, that the divine services may be celebrated with solemnity and pomp, and to teach the Indians of the land to sing and play. Likewise it would be well and proper to choose from among the Indians some of the brightest, selecting among the young men and boys such as appear the most docile, talented and capable; and they should be taught and instructed in the Christian doctrine and to read the Spanish primers, in order that along with the reading they may learn the Spanish language, and that they may learn to write and sing, and to play all the musical instruments;<sup>2</sup> because a good foundation makes the edifice firm, and according as care is given in this matter to the beginnings, so will the middle parts and the ends be good.

It is a very easy matter, by this method, to teach the children our language, and they, as they grow up, will teach it to their companions and to their children and families, and in a few years all will know the Spanish language, which will be a very great boon; for they will not lack ministers to teach, guide, and direct them in the path leading to heaven and to their salvation. From here they can continue the planting of settlements of Christians and of the Indians who may be scattered through the mountains, draw-

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to Sierra Pintada or del Enfado. See p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> For instruction given Indians in Spanish missions, see Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, I. 99-102, 123-125.

ing them to the settlements with love, suavity, and gentleness; taking care that the Christian soldiers do not disperse themselves so much that the guard will be diminished and impaired, so that, if the Indians, instigated by the evil one, should try to effect some uprising or to rebel against the Spaniards, there may be someone who can make resistance, and hold them in line, and even punish their insolence if the case demands it.

## XVII.

In number VIII. I told how with very little trouble it would be possible to explore a certain land that is near here, on the coast of the South Sea, called the land of Enfado, or Pintada. I say that I believe that it has very rich silver ores. This can be explored by land, for it is near, and it might be developed if the ores proved to be of high grade and easily worked; and should they be rich and profitable, the expense which may have been entailed by building this fleet and bringing it to this country might be reimbursed from the fifths of the silver and pearls secured belonging to his Majesty. And this, once established, will necessarily bring great profits to his Majesty and to his royal patrimony, and great increase to his estate, with which there can be sent to this realm whatever number of people may seem to be necessary to pacify and settle it, and the ministers necessary for the conversion and instruction of the natives.

Before making the second settlement, it is well that with the two ships all the Mediterranean Sea of California be explored, examining everything on the coast running from Culiacan to Quivira, as far as the Strait of Anian, to see what rivers, ports and inlets there are on it; as well as along the coast encircling the realm of California,<sup>1</sup> until Cape Mendocino is turned, with all the rivers, ports, bays, and straits which there may be in its whole extent; and to learn on the way where and how are settled the strangers which the Indians said were in the realm near there and in their lands, as I have mentioned above in number X.,<sup>2</sup> and, also, to try

<sup>1</sup> That is, the eastern coast of the island of California.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 117.

to acquire knowledge and information of what the country contains.

By making this exploration with proper care and diligence it will be learned at once what there is along the sea and its coasts, and what people and wealth the region contains; and in what places settlements of Spaniards can be made, from which the religious may go to preach the Holy Gospel and convert souls to our holy Catholic faith. It will be learned, likewise, in what place and region is situated the Tizon River, which comes from New Mexico, how it is situated, what advantages it possesses, and what the distance is from there to the Spanish pueblos;<sup>1</sup> for if it is as they say, and as I mentioned in the last chapter of the report which I made of this exploration, his Majesty could order it settled, so that by this route supplies might be taken to the people of that realm. And from the settlements could be brought to them the necessary live stock and supplies, both for settling the coast and for sustenance. For it is said that it is no more than fifty leagues from one place to the other.

Personally, I think it will be very well that the pacification of the realm of New Mexico should begin at the port of Tizon River, since it is said that the best and richest settlements are on that border; for near there are the Lake of Gold,<sup>2</sup> and the pueblos of the Crowned King (Rey Coronado), and many people. For the preservation of the settlement on the Tizon River it will be very important that opposite it, in the realm and on the coast of California, another Spanish settlement be made, that they may communicate and trade one with another, and lend aid in case of need. Thereby each will stimulate the other to discover new lands and riches, and all may enjoy very good pearl fisheries and mineral wealth, those of New Mexico enjoying the wealth from the Lake of Gold, and those of the Californias that from some rich mountains which are on that border or near it and have an abundance of rich silver ore. Both of these God created for the service of man, as lures, I think, so that in the interest of these temporal things the king, our lord,

<sup>1</sup> Of New Mexico.

<sup>2</sup> For reference to the Laguna de Oro, see the documents of the Espejo and Oñate expeditions, pp. 156, 184, 186.

might send his vassals to discover and enjoy them, and, in their company, friars and ministers of the Gospel to undertake the conversion of those natives.

### XVIII.

Of the reports brought back by those who may go on the ships for this exploration, both of what they may have seen and what they may have heard and learned, one may be given to his Majesty and his Royal Council of the Indies, that he may provide and order what is most fitting to his royal service and to the aggrandizement of his royal crown. I think it would be a matter of great importance to all these western nations of his Majesty if the navigation of the Strait of Anian should be discovered for Spain, as well as the rich city of Quivira, and the position of the realm of Anian, which is understood to be continuous with the realms of China. This will be discovering here another new world, to the end that in all of it may be preached the Holy Gospel, and the conversion undertaken of the many souls throughout its whole extent who live without religion or knowledge of the true God or of his most sacred law. Since all have been ransomed by the most precious blood of Our Redeemer and Lord Jesus Christ, it is a very great pity that they should be condemned for want of this light and the knowledge of the truth. May His most Holy Majesty, for He created them and died for them, grant that to so many and various nations of lands so remote and as yet undiscovered, knowledge be given of His most holy law, that they may receive and believe it, and that by means of holy baptism their souls may be saved, and that they may enjoy it.

As this realm of the Californias becomes pacified and its natives become converted to our holy Catholic faith, the Spaniards can go on settling other districts and places suitable for effecting the conversion of souls, and affording them profits and advantages; for if the Spaniard does not see any advantage he will not be moved to do good, and these souls will perish without remedy if it is understood that no profit will be drawn from going there. But if they are lured by self-interest they will go on discovering new lands every day, so



much, indeed, that it will be necessary to keep them in check lest the forces be weakened, as I have already observed above. If it should seem best to his Majesty, he can command that his Spaniards go by land to settle, some at the port of San Diego, of which I have treated in number X., and others at the port of Monterey, of which I have treated in number XI.; for to endeavor to go by sea to settle there will be a very great and difficult task, on account of the head-winds that prevail along that coast, and because of the great difficulty of sailing there, as I have seen and experienced.<sup>1</sup>

### XIX.

As time and occasion offer themselves for dealing with the Indians, the Spaniards will have opportunity to learn how to treat them and how to conduct themselves toward them, and on what occasions and for what causes they may make war upon them, or aid the friendly Indians against their enemies and opponents. Of this I treated at length in a tract which I composed in regard to these things, entitled, "Concerning the method to be observed in preaching the Holy Gospel to the heathen Indians," which is in a preceding part of this notebook. There I state that it is not meet that any war should be made upon the Indians without the counsel and consent of the religious whom the general, captains, and soldiers accompany, in order that everything may be done with devotion and a Christian and pious heart, and the gospel preached with peace, suavity, quietude, love, and sweetness, as our Master and Redeemer Jesus Christ commands us, of which I treated in paragraph VII.

It is well founded in reason and justice that, since the king makes this expedition at his own expense, no other than his own Spanish subjects should undertake it, for they are earning their wages, and they run like faithful vassals to fulfill the orders and mandates given them, not departing in the least from them, as is the practice of Spanish soldiery everywhere; and for this and other reasons, which I have set forth in the treatise mentioned, paragraph V., it is well that his Majesty should

<sup>1</sup> This suggestion forecasts the method of settling California pursued by the Portolá and Anza expeditions, of 1769 and 1775.

make these pacifications at his own expense, and that he should commit them to no one else. And in order that the soldiers may go with subjection and obedience to their superiors, the Spaniards who may be sent by his Majesty on this expedition for the pacification and settlement of this region should be warned that they go not to win land or vassals for themselves, but for the monarchs of Castile, who send them; for it is not right that his Majesty should make rewards of pueblos, or of Indians who are being pacified and converted to our holy faith, to any Spaniard, however great services he may have rendered his Majesty in these realms.<sup>1</sup> For his Majesty will not be able to do so with a good conscience, and it will cause the total ruin and destruction of all the Indians, as happened in the beginning, when all these realms of New Spain were conquered, and as was experienced in the Windward Islands and on the Tierra Firme, as the Bishop of Chiapa, Don Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, relates and discusses at very great length in a treatise<sup>2</sup> written in regard to this point, namely, that it is not fitting to give the Indians in *encomienda* to the Spaniards. He proves it with great erudition, and I refer to it in the treatise cited in paragraph XII.

## XX.

Our very Catholic and most Christian King Philip, king of Spain and supreme emperor of the Western Indies, by reason of the sovereign rule he exercises over them, is obliged in conscience and in justice, and by human and divine law, to procure the conversion of all the Indians of the Western Indies, the obligation being the greater toward those realms already known and discovered, as is now this realm of the Californias, which has been treated of here; since it is already known and discovered, and the people in it are known, and since it is known how apt and inclined they are to receive our holy

<sup>1</sup> Father Ascensión makes it plain here as elsewhere that he favors the supremacy of the religious in the pacification. He clearly does not favor proprietary *entradas* like that of Oñate, nor *encomiendas*, which were granted in New Mexico.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas's *Brevissima Relacion de la Destruccion de las Indias* (Seville, 1552).



Catholic faith. And here I have discussed the manner by which his Majesty will be able at very little cost to send people to pacify this realm and to preach the Gospel to the natives, to convert them to our holy faith.

This obligation of his Majesty to hasten to the conversion of these souls, devoting to it all care, solicitude, and diligence, even if it be at a great expense to his royal estate, is treated of by the Bishop of Chiapa, Don Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, in a book<sup>1</sup> entitled "A Treatise proving the sovereign empire and universal principate which the monarchs of Castile and Leon hold over the Indies," to which I refer in the treatise cited, paragraph I. This being granted, I do not know what security his Majesty can have in his conscience for delaying so long to send ministers of the Gospel to this realm of the Californias. By coming to their aid, conscience will be satisfied and obligation fulfilled. It can be done with ease and little cost, and the result will be the winning of so many souls for God, while to his Majesty will follow increased rewards in heaven, and on earth the lordship over a new world and infinite riches. May God our Lord dispose his mind so to lend aid as will please Him best. Amen.

Written in the convent of San Sebastian, of the Order of Discalced Carmelites, in the City of Mexico, on the 12th of October of the year 1620. And to give it greater credence I signed it with my name.

Fray ANTONIO DE LA ASCENSION.

<sup>1</sup> The reference is evidently to Las Casas's *Treynte Propositiones muy juridicas*, etc. (Seville, 1552).