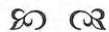


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Relation of the Voyage of  
Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo,  
1542-1543

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## INTRODUCTION

WITH the discovery of the South Sea by Balboa the Spaniards began to make their way northwest along the Pacific coast. By 1543 the entire coast line had been run from Panamá to Oregon, not to mention the discoveries on the western shores of South America. In conducting these voyages along the seaboard of the northern continent the leading part was played by Hernando Cortés, but the work was brought to a culmination, in the exploration of the California coast, by the viceroy Mendoza.

Cortés had scarcely made himself master of the central valley of Mexico before he sent his lieutenants in all directions to follow up reports and rumors of other rich provinces. In 1521 Olid subdued Michoacán, lying to the westward, and in the following year a shipyard was established at Zacatula, on the South Sea, as a base for maritime exploration. Other maritime bases were soon provided at Tehuantepec and Navidad, as well as farther south on the coast of Central America. Among the leading motives for coastwise exploration were rumors of rich districts such as the Amazon Island and the Seven Cities to the northward, and a belief in the existence, in the same direction, of a strait leading from the Atlantic to the Pacific.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Interest in the Amazon Island is illustrated by Cortés's instructions given at Colima in 1524 to his relative, Francisco Cortés, whom he orders to continue exploration, "because I am informed that down the coast which borders the said villa there are many provinces thickly inhabited by people and containing, it is believed, great riches, and that in these parts of it there is one which is inhabited by women, with no men, who procreate in the way which the ancient histories ascribe to the Amazons, and because by learning the truth regarding this and whatever else there is on said coast, God our Lord and their Majesties will be greatly served" (Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Documentos Inéditos*, XXVI. 153).

Interest in the strait is illustrated by a letter of Cortés to the Emperor, written in October, 1524. It states, "I saw that nothing more remained for me to do but to learn the secret of the coast which is yet to be explored between the Rio Pánuco and Florida . . . and thence the coast of the said Florida northward to Bacallaos [Newfoundland]; for it is deemed certain that on that coast there is a strait which passes to the South Sea; and if it should be found, according to a certain map which I have of the region of the archipelago discovered by Magellan by order of your Highness, it seems that it would come out very near there; and if it should please God that the said strait be found there, the voyage from the spice region to your kingdom would be very easy and very short, so much so that it would be less by two-thirds than by the route now followed, and that without any risk to the vessels coming and going, because they would always come and go through your dominions, so that in case of necessity they could be repaired without danger wherever they might wish to enter port."<sup>1</sup>

Misfortunes caused delay in the enterprise of exploration on the South Sea, but in 1527 Saavedra was sent up the coast and reached Santiago. In 1531 conquests by land were extended to Culiacán by Guzmán, who was led north by rumors of the Amazon Island and of the Seven Cities. After several years of interruption, Cortés again pushed north by water. Hurtado de Mendoza, sent by the conqueror in 1532, reached Rio Fuerte. In the following year Jiménez discovered the Peninsula of California. In 1535 Cortés himself led a colony to Puerto de la Paz, but within a few months the enterprise was abandoned.

Renewed interest in northward exploration was aroused by the reports given by Cabeza de Vaca, who reached Culiacán in 1536, after six years of wandering across the continent.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I. 5, foot-note.

In 1539 Friar Marcos, sent by Mendoza by land, reached what he called the Seven Cities of Cibola (Zuñi). His reports caused new enthusiasm, and Mendoza, Cortés, and Pedro de Alvarado all prepared to win honors in further exploration. Cortés in 1539 sent Ulloa northward with three vessels. He ascended to the head of the Gulf, sailed round the extremity of the Peninsula, and reached Cabo del Engaño, in latitude 29° 56'. This voyage made known the peninsular character of California. Mendoza in 1540 sent out the Coronado expedition, in the course of which Alarcón explored the lower Colorado River, Cárdenas discovered the Grand Canyon, and Coronado marched northeastward as far as central Kansas. Alvarado prepared a fleet and formed a partnership with Mendoza for northern discovery, but was killed in 1541 in the Mixton War. His death left the fleet in the hands of Mendoza, who in 1542 sent a part of it across the Pacific to the Philippines under Villalobos, and the rest up the California coast under Cabrillo, in the hope of finding the northern strait, and thereby a new route to Europe. It is the diary of the last-mentioned expedition which is given hereinafter.

Of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, commander of the expedition, little is known except that he was a Portuguese by birth and a skilled mariner.<sup>1</sup> There are indications that he had been with Cortés in the conquest of Mexico, and later with Alvarado.<sup>2</sup> For the expedition the *San Salvador*, flagship, and the *Victoria*, a *fragata* or frigate, were equipped. As chief pilot went Bartolomé Ferrello (Ferrer, Ferrel); as pilot Bartolomé Fernández; and as masters, Antonio Carrera and S. Remo. Concerning Ferrello, who became commander after the death of Cabrillo, little is known except that he was a native of the Levant. Of the outfit Davidson writes: "The vessels were

<sup>1</sup> "Persona muy platica en las cosas de la Mar" (Herrera, *Historia General*, dec. VII., lib. V., cap. III., p. 89).

<sup>2</sup> Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I. 133; Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I. 340.

smaller than any of our coasting schooners. They were poorly built and very badly outfitted. Their anchors and ironwork were carried by men from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific; they were manned by conscripts and natives; were badly provisioned, and the crews subject to that deadly scourge of the sea, scurvy.”<sup>1</sup>

The start was made on June 27, 1542, from Puerto de Navidad, a port twenty miles above Manzanillo, in latitude 19° 13'. The vessels returned to the same point on April 14, 1543, nine and one-half months later, having explored the entire Pacific coast to latitude 42½°, all that part of the voyage above Cabo del Engaño being in unknown waters.

On July 3 Cabrillo reached the southern extremity of the Peninsula, and on the 19th Magdalena Bay, called in the diary Puerto de San Pedro. On August 5 he anchored at Cerros Island, near the northern limits of Ulloa's exploration. On August 21 he discovered Port San Quentín. Going ashore next day, he took formal possession of the country in the name of the king and viceroy, in honor of which ceremony the harbor was named Puerto de la Posesión. The Indians here made signs which were understood to mean that they had seen Spaniards before—men with beards, dogs, and Spanish weapons—and that they were now five days inland. To communicate with these men, if perchance the report were true, Cabrillo left a letter to be delivered by the Indians. In all probability the report was genuine, and referred to Coronado's party, which was now in the interior.

On September 28 Cabrillo discovered “a port enclosed and very good, to which they gave the name of San Miguel.” It was the beautiful San Diego Bay. Here again they were told by the natives of Spaniards in the interior. While at this

<sup>1</sup> Geographical Society of the Pacific, *Transactions and Proceedings*, second ser., IV. (1907) 13.

place a storm arose, the first they had encountered, but the harbor was so good that no damage was done.

Continuing up the coast, they discovered and named Santa Catalina and San Clemente Islands, which they called San Salvador and La Victoria, in honor of the vessels. Santa Monica Bay they called Bahía de los Fumos. Reaching San Buenaventura (Pueblo de las Canoas) on October 10, Cabrillo again went ashore and took formal possession of the country. Here once more they heard of white men in the interior, and at a venture despatched to them a letter.

Leaving San Buenaventura on the 13th, they sailed west through the Santa Barbara channel, anchoring at Rincón, at the Carpintería, above Point Goleta, at Cañada del Refugio, and at Gaviota Pass, and on October 18 reached Point Concepción, at the western extremity of the channel. As they passed they noted Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa Islands to their left, but, supposing them to be only one, named them La Isla de San Lucas.

At Point Concepción their real difficulties began. Encountering a strong northwest wind, they stood off from the shore and distinguished San Miguel and Santa Rosa Islands, to which they now gave the plural name of Las Islas de San Lucas. Making port at Cuyler's Harbor on San Miguel Island, they took formal possession, calling it Isla de la Posesión. While here Cabrillo suffered a fall and a broken arm. Rounding Point Concepción in an attempt to continue north, they encountered another storm and returned to the Indian town of Cicacut, or Pueblo de las Sardinias, at Gaviota Pass.

Weighing anchor again on November 6, they succeeded in rounding Point Concepción, and sailed up the coast in sight of Santa Lucía Mountain. Standing out to sea in a heavy southwester shortly before reaching Point Pinos, which they sighted, they did not make land again till November 14, having passed and missed the Bay of Monterey, Point Año Nuevo,

Half Moon Bay, the Golden Gate, and Drake's Bay. On the way up the vessels became separated in the storm. Fair weather returning, the flagship stood in toward the coast in search of her consort, and on November 14 sighted land near Northwest Cape (Cabo de Pinos), in latitude  $38^{\circ} 31'$ , near Fort Ross. Next day the two vessels were reunited.

Turning south, driven now by a storm from the opposite direction, on November 16 they discovered Drake's Bay, in latitude  $38^{\circ}$ , calling it Bahía de los Pinos. Running rapidly southward, again missing the Golden Gate, but noting on the way the Gulf of the Farallones, the Santa Cruz Mountains (Las Sierras Nevadas) and Black Mountain (Cabo de Nieve), on the night of the 18th they were opposite Point Pinos. On the 23d they put in again at Cuyler's Harbor (Puerto de la Posesión) on San Miguel Island. Since they had found no shelter after leaving Northwest Cape, above Point Pinos, and had missed Monterey Bay, it is inferred that they could not have run very near the coast on the return voyage.

On San Miguel Island, which the natives called Ciquimuymu, Cabrillo's party spent the winter from November 23 to January 19, two months of almost continuous storms. On January 3 Cabrillo died, as a result of his fall while on the same island before. In his honor the place was named Isla de Juan Rodríguez.

The command now fell to Ferrelo, who made another attempt at northward exploration. Weighing anchor on January 19, 1543, to go to the mainland for supplies, he was driven by a storm among the islands for eight days, after which he returned to the port on San Miguel Island.

On January 29, before heading north, Ferrelo went to Santa Rosa Island to recover some anchors which he had left at that place in the storm. Remaining there till February 12, on that day he went to Cicacut (Gaviota Pass), whence he returned to Santa Cruz Island for greater security. Start-



ing out again on Sunday the 18th, he sailed southwest, standing out to sea five days. At the end of that time, and after running about one hundred leagues, he stood in again, in an endeavor to reach Northwest Cape (Cabo de Pinos), the northwestern limit of Cabrillo's voyage.

On the morning of the 25th, after having been driven in a storm for three days, he saw the object of his search. Toward night Punta de Arena was sighted, in latitude  $38^{\circ} 57'$ . Running before the wind all night, next morning he was opposite King's Peak (Cabo de Fortunas), in latitude  $40^{\circ}$ . He continued before the wind during the 27th, but at night it veered toward the west and he ran south in a high sea, with lowered sail. At daybreak of the 28th the wind shifted to the southwest again, and Ferrelo once more ran north. That day he observed latitude  $43^{\circ}$ , which Davidson corrects to  $41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . Scudding again before the storm that night, next day, March 1, he reached his farthest north. Ferrelo gives the latitude  $44^{\circ}$ , which Davidson corrects to  $42\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , placing the limit of the voyage about at Rogue River, Oregon.<sup>1</sup>

In the afternoon of the 28th a heavy rain-storm from the north occurred and the return voyage began. On March 3 they passed Point Arena and Northwest Cape. On the night of the 4th the vessels separated, and were not reunited till they reached Cerros Island, three weeks later.

On the 5th the flagship was off San Miguel Island, but could not put into port because of a storm; accordingly it sought shelter on Santa Cruz Island. From here it crossed over on the 8th to San Buenaventura, in search of the consort, but returned on the 9th. On the 11th it reached San Diego Bay, where it waited six days for the other vessel. Setting sail on the 17th, it reached Todos Santos Bay on the

<sup>1</sup> Davidson thinks they did not see land above Punta de Arena (Geographical Society of the Pacific, *Transactions and Proceedings*, second ser., IV. 16). In this he is borne out by the diary.

18th, Puerto de San Quentín on the 19th, and Cerros Island on the 24th. Here, on the 26th, it was joined by the *fragata*. The latter vessel had passed by San Miguel Island in the storm on the night of the 4th or the 5th, and had taken shelter at Santa Rosa Island.

Leaving Cerros Island together on April 2, on April 14 the two vessels put into Puerto de Navidad, whence they had set out in the previous June.

Regarding Cabrillo's voyage as a feat of navigation under difficulties, the following quotation from Navarrete is apt:

Those who know the coast which Cabrillo discovered and explored, the kind of vessels in which he undertook the expedition, the rigorous season during which he pursued his voyage in those intemperate climes, and the state of the science of navigation at that period, cannot help admiring a courage and intrepidity which, though common among sea-faring Spaniards of that time, cannot be appreciated in our day, when the navigator is fairly dazzled by the assistance furnished him through the wonderful progress of the arts and sciences, rendering his operations easier and supplying him with advantages which, as they were lacking to the early discoverers, make their courage and perseverance as portentous as their discoveries. Perhaps it is failure to realize these considerations, added to ignorance of our history, which has led some foreign writers to belittle the merit of Cabrillo.

The source of most of what is known of the Cabrillo expedition is the diary hereinafter published, although Herrera and Navarrete give a few slight additions from other sources.<sup>1</sup> The authorship of the diary is not known with certainty. It has been attributed to Ferrelo and also to Juan Paez,<sup>2</sup> with whom the weight of the evidence seems to be.

<sup>1</sup> Antonio Herrera, *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano*, decada setima (Madrid, 1728), lib. V., caps. III., IV., pp. 89-91; Martín Fernández Navarrete, *Relacion del Viage hecho por las Goletas Sutil y Mexicana* (Madrid, 1802), Introducción, pp. xxix.-xxxv. It is clear from Herrera's language in places that he used the Paez diary.

<sup>2</sup> Lowery, I. 340, note; Bancroft, *History of California*, I. 69, note; Henshaw in Wheeler, *Report upon United States Geographical Surveys*, vol. VII., p. 294.

The diary was published in Spanish in 1857 by Buckingham Smith in his *Colección de Varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida y Tierras Adyacentes* (London), pp. 173–189, from an unsigned contemporary manuscript in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, among the papers transferred from Simancas, *legajo* 9 of Descripciones y Poblaciones. Another Spanish version was printed in 1870 by Pacheco and Cárdenas in their *Colección de Documentos Inéditos* (Madrid), XIV. 165–191. This text is from an unsigned manuscript in the Archivo General de Indias, Patronato, *est.* 1, *caj.* 1. In the title given it by the editors the authorship is ascribed to Paez. This text and that of Buckingham Smith seem to be from the same original, though there are numerous unimportant differences of spelling, accentuation, and capitalization, the text in Pacheco and Cárdenas being modernized in these respects. Another manuscript copy is in the Muñoz Collection. It bears an annotation ascribing the narrative to Paez. The differences between it and the Buckingham Smith copy are noted by Navarrete on the copy which Smith used.<sup>1</sup>

An English translation by Richard Stuart Evans, made from the Buckingham Smith text, was published in Wheeler, *Report upon United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian* (Washington, 1879), VII. 293–314. The title there given is “Translation from the Spanish of the Account by the Pilot Ferrel of the Voyage of Cabrillo along the West Coast of North America in 1542. With Introductory Notes by H. W. Henshaw.” Another translation, based on Evans’s, but with some differences “in critical passages where important issues were involved,” was published in 1886 by Professor George Davidson in his study entitled “An Examination of some of the Early Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America, from 1539 to 1603,” printed in the *Report of the Superintendent of the U. S.*

<sup>1</sup> *Col. Doc. Florida*, p. 189.

*Coast and Geodetic Survey* for 1886 (Washington), pp. 160–241. Numerous inaccuracies and defects in form in the foregoing versions made it seem best to prepare a new translation for this work, which has been done, but with due acknowledgment of indebtedness to my predecessors.

The most important contribution toward the identification of places named or noted by the diary is that by Professor Davidson cited above. Davidson had rare opportunities for this work, and he made excellent use of them. In my identifications and assignments of latitudes I have followed him throughout unless otherwise stated, and I hereby acknowledge my obligation to this great scholar. Davidson made a map identifying the places named by Cabrillo and Vizcaino with modern names.

To the student of exploration the diary is of the first importance. On the whole the record is very good. This is evidenced by the fact that Davidson was able to identify with practical certainty some seventy of the points mentioned by the diary along the coast. Paez's distances are only approximate, and in general his latitudes are too high, those on the coast of Upper California requiring correction from half a degree to a degree and a half. To the student of ethnology the diary is of great interest as the record of the first contact of white men with the Indians of California above latitude 30°.

The translation is based on the Buckingham Smith text, in *Col. Doc. Florida*, pp. 173–189. An awkward feature of the diary, which could not be avoided in the translation without taking too great liberties, is the indiscriminate and sometimes confusing use of the first and the third person. Likewise, tenses are often confused.

## RELATION OF THE VOYAGE OF JUAN RODRIGUEZ CABRILLO, 1542-1543

*Relation or Diary of the Voyage made by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo with two Ships, for the Discovery of the Passage from the South Sea at the North, from the twenty-seventh of June, 1542, when he left the Port of Navidad, to the fourteenth of April of the following Year, when he returned to it, having gone as far as the Latitude of Forty-four Degrees; with the Description of the Coast, Ports, Bays, and Islands which he Examined, and their Distances, on the Whole Extent of that Coast.*

JUAN RODRIGUEZ set sail from the port of Navidad<sup>1</sup> to explore the coast of New Spain on the 27th of June, 1542.

Between the port of Navidad and Cape Corriente,<sup>2</sup> forty leagues, it took him a day and a night, with a southeast wind.

From Wednesday until the following Thursday they held their course along the coast thirty-five leagues.

Sunday, July 2, they sighted California. On account of the weather, which was not very favorable, it took them almost four days to cross over. On the following Monday, the 3d of the same month, they anchored at the Point of California.<sup>3</sup> Here they remained two days, and from here they went to the port of San Lucas<sup>4</sup> on the following Thursday and took on water. During these days they did not see a single Indian.

<sup>1</sup> Navidad is a port on the coast of Mexico in lat. 19° 13', and twenty miles west-northwest from the harbor of Manzanillo. "This is the port in which were built the ships which discovered the Philippine Islands and with which, as I have said, Cape Mendocino had been discovered. It was to this port that the ships from China used to come before that of Acapulco was discovered" (Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I. 696).

<sup>2</sup> Cape Corrientes, lat. 20° 25'. Reached on June 28 (Herrera, *Historia General*, dec. VII., lib. V., cap. III.).

<sup>3</sup> Probably Cape Pulmo, lat. 23° 23'.

<sup>4</sup> San Lucas Bay, lat. 22° 52'. Herrera states that on July 2 they were in lat. 24° and examined the Puerto del Marqués del Valle, which they call "de la Cruz" (*Historia General*, dec. VII., lib. V., cap. III.).

They say that this port is in twenty-three degrees. From the point to the port the coast is clear and soundable; the land is bare and rough.

They left the port of San Lucas on Thursday, at night, and on the following Saturday, the 8th of the same month, they anchored under Trinidad Point,<sup>1</sup> which is in twenty-five degrees. It must be about five leagues from San Lucas. The coast is clear, without any irregularity. Inland are seen high, bald, and rugged mountains. They remained at anchor here until the following Wednesday, on account of contrary winds from the west-northwest.

On Wednesday, the 12th of the said month, they left there. At the port of Trinidad<sup>2</sup> a harbor is formed by an island<sup>3</sup> which is there; and it is a good port, sheltered from the west-northwest winds. The port of the island is at its head, on the southeast side. It is a clear and soundable port, but it contains neither water nor wood. The island must be ten leagues long and two leagues wide. They cast anchor that night.

They set sail on the following Thursday, and passed the port of San Pedro,<sup>4</sup> which is in twenty-five and one-half degrees. In this port there is neither water nor wood. Its passage is southeastward. It affords good shelter from west winds. They went sailing along the coast, which forms a large bay,<sup>5</sup> the head of which is in twenty-six degrees. The land is low, with sand dunes, the coast white and clear. They went sailing along it with favorable winds up to twenty-seven degrees, and on Wednesday, the 19th, they landed at a port which they found. Having gone ashore, they found a road used by the Indians and followed it the distance of an arquebus shot, when they found a spring. The interior of the country is level, bare, and very dry. They named it the port of Madalena.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cape Tosco, lat. 24° 17', and 130 miles from Cape San Lucas. "There must be some omission in Ferrelo's narrative wherein he gives the distance of five leagues from Cape San Lucas to Cape Tosco. The actual distance is 43 leagues along the coast" (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 162).

<sup>2</sup> Santa Marina Bay, lat. 24° 20'.

<sup>3</sup> Santa Margarita Island, lat. 24° 17'.

<sup>4</sup> Magdalena Bay, lat. 24° 32'.

<sup>5</sup> *Ensenada*. Evans generally renders this word as "creek." Davidson changes the translation here to "gulf."

<sup>6</sup> Pequeña Bay and Point, lat. 26° 14', thirty leagues from Santa María Bay.

From the Bay of San Martín<sup>1</sup> to this port it must be about forty leagues.

On the following Thursday, the 20th of the same month, they left this port and sailed along the coast with contrary winds, and about six leagues from it they found anchorage behind a point which they call Santa Catalina Point.<sup>2</sup> And thus they continued sailing along the coast; and on the following Tuesday, the 25th of the said month of July, they discovered a large bay in twenty-seven and one-half degrees. They made very little headway these days on account of the contrary winds. They anchored in this port and named it the port of Santiago.<sup>3</sup> It must be about twenty-three leagues from the port of Madalena. Five leagues from the port of Santiago there are some very dangerous, rocky shoals, which are invisible except when the sea breaks over them. They are a league from the shore, and are in a little over twenty-seven and one-half degrees. They are called Habre Ojo.<sup>4</sup> They continued sailing along the coast by the same course up to twenty-eight degrees, where they cast anchor in the shelter of a headland. Here there are groves of trees, the first which they had seen since leaving the Point of California. From this headland to the port of Santiago, at its northwestern point, it must be about twenty-three leagues. There are high, rugged mountains with some timber. We named the point Santa Ana.<sup>5</sup> About a league from shore there is a small island.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Santa Maria Bay, lat. 24° 44', four leagues northwestward from the entrance to Magdalena Bay. The diary mentions Puerto de la Madalena and Bahía de San Martín in the reverse order of that in which Cabrillo reached them.

<sup>2</sup> San Domingo Point and anchorage, lat. 26° 19', thirteen miles west-northwest from Pequeña Bay.

<sup>3</sup> Ballenas Bay, lat. 26° 45', under Abreojos Point, seventy-six miles from Pequeña Bay and fifty-four from San Domingo Point.

<sup>4</sup> Abreojos Rocks, lat. 26° 46', three miles west-southwest from Abreojos Point. Navarrete identifies Santiago with Abreojos, but it is seen that the diary distinguishes between them (Navarrete, *Sutil y Mexicana*, Introducción, p. xxix.). "Abre ojos" means "open the eyes," or "look out!"

<sup>5</sup> Asunción Point and anchorage, lat. 27° 7', forty-seven miles in a straight line from Abreojos Point. Navarrete places Puerto de Santa Ana far out of its order in the journey (*Sutil y Mexicana*, Introducción, p. xxix.).

<sup>6</sup> Island of San Roque, lat. 27° 9'. Discovered by Ulloa but not then named. It is only a mile long and half a mile wide.



On Thursday, the 27th of the same month, they left the said port of Santa Ana and went to anchor about six leagues from there in a port which they named Puerto Fondo<sup>1</sup> (Deep Port), because of its great depth, for near the shore it was thirty fathoms; it is clear. Next day they left this port, but three times returned to take shelter in it from contrary winds, and remained in it until the following Monday.

On Monday, the 31st of the said month, they left the said Puerto Fondo and anchored that night about eight leagues<sup>2</sup> from there; next day they continued their voyage.

Tuesday, the 1st day of August, they departed from there and went about ten leagues, when they cast anchor in a port which they named San Pedro Vincula.<sup>3</sup> This port is in sight of Zedros Island. It is in a little over twenty-eight and one-half degrees. The land is high, rough, and bare. From California to this point we have not seen a single Indian.

On Wednesday, the 2d of the month, they left this port; the wind was contrary and they proceeded, beating; they went to cast anchor at an island which is southeast of Zedros Island and four leagues from it. This island, which they called San Esteban,<sup>4</sup> is west of the extremity of the point of the mainland, and its coast runs from northwest to southeast. It is a league from the mainland. From this point the coast of the mainland turns east-northeast and forms a bay so large that the land is not visible. Between the island and the mainland there is a good channel, but they have to pass close to the island because there is a reef underneath which extends a fourth of a league from the point. There is much vegetation on the water which grows on the bottom and is fastened below. This island is northwest of San Pedro Vincula. It must be about three leagues in circumference. We remained at this island, with contrary winds, until the following Saturday, the 5th of the said month of August. It has a good port on the

<sup>1</sup> Table-Head Cove, or San Pablo Bay, lat. 27° 11', about ten miles from Asunción Point.

<sup>2</sup> Bay of San Christóval, eight miles east of Morro Hermoso.

<sup>3</sup> Port San Bartolomé, lat. 27° 39', eleven and one-half leagues from Table-Head Cove.

<sup>4</sup> Natividad Island, lat. 27° 53', discovered by Ulloa but not named. Its southern part is three leagues from Cerros Island (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, pp. 173-174).



southeast side. There is good fishing with a hook, and there are many birds.

They left the island of San Estevan on Saturday, the 5th of August, and went to anchor at the island of Zedros,<sup>1</sup> where they remained until Thursday, the 10th of the said month, taking on water and wood. They found no Indians, although they found signs of them. The leeward point of this island, on the south side, is in twenty-nine degrees, and it has on this south side good ports, water, and wood. On this side it is bare, for it has only some small shrubs. The island is large, high, and bare, and trends almost from east to west; on the south side it must be about twelve leagues long.

They left the island of Zedros on Thursday, the 10th of the said month of August, to continue their voyage, and followed the curve of the mainland, sailing north. They went this day about ten leagues, and on the Friday following they went to anchor at a harbor which they called the port of Santa Clara.<sup>2</sup> It is a good port. They went ashore and found four Indians, who fled. This port is in thirty degrees, scant. It is northeast of the island of Zedros, and from the port toward the bay this coast runs from north-northwest to south-southeast. The coast is clear and soundable; the land is bare, and is not rough; it has plains and valleys. They remained in this port till Sunday, the 13th of the said month, on account of the foul winds.

On Sunday, the 13th of said month, they left this port and sailed along the coast with light winds, casting anchor every night; and on the following Tuesday they anchored under a point which forms a bay which is in thirty and one-half degrees. It affords little shelter. They called it Punta del Mal Abrigo<sup>3</sup> (Point of Poor Shelter).

<sup>1</sup> Cerros Island, lat. 28° 2' at its southernmost point. It was discovered by Ulloa and named by him La Isla de los Cedros, but the name became changed to Cerros, because it has numerous high peaks (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 174).

<sup>2</sup> La Playa María Bay, lat. 28° 55', about seventeen leagues northeast of the north end of Cerros Island.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Point Canoas, lat. 29° 25', or, possibly, Bluff Point, lat. 29° 34'. "Working back from San Geronimo Island, one of these points must be that which Cabrillo intended to designate as Mal Abrijo" (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 178). Navarrete identifies Punta del Mal Abrigo with Point Canoas (*Sutil y Mexicana*, Introducción, p. xxix.).

On the following Wednesday they sailed along the coast, against a strong northwest headwind, and remained in shelter that night without making any headway. The following Thursday they continued amid heavy rains, headwinds, and calms, so that they did not make land. The following night they encountered a heavy west-northwest wind and sought shelter. The following Friday they sailed with favorable winds and found themselves six leagues to the windward of the Point of Mal Abrigo. Thus they continued until the following Saturday, the 19th of the said month, when they cast anchor at a small island which is half a league from the mainland. It must be about ten leagues from the Point of Mal Abrigo. It is in thirty and one-half degrees. It has a good anchorage and good shelter. They called it San Bernardo.<sup>1</sup> It must be about a league long from north to south. The coast of the mainland runs from north-northwest to south-southeast. It is a clear coast. The interior of the country looks very good and level; there are good valleys and some timber, the rest being bare. During these days they saw no sign of Indians.

On Sunday, the 20th of said month of August, they left the island of San Bernardo and approached Point Engaño,<sup>2</sup> which must be about seven leagues from this island, and is in thirty-one degrees. From the point toward the island the coast runs from north-northwest to south-southeast. At Point Engaño the land is not high, and it appears to be good and level; the mountains are bare. We saw no sign of Indians. And thus they sailed along until the next Monday, following the coast to the north and northeast; and about ten leagues from Point Engaño they discovered a good port, in which they cast anchor and took on water and wood. It is in thirty-one and one-half degrees. It is a port suitable for making any kind of repairs on ships, placing them in a secure spot.<sup>3</sup>

On the following Tuesday Captain Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo

<sup>1</sup> San Gerónimo Island, lat. 29° 48', eight leagues from Bluff Point and thirteen from Point Canoas.

<sup>2</sup> Punta Baja, lat. 29° 56', eight and one-half miles northwest of San Gerónimo Island. Herrera calls it Cabo del Engaño (*Historia General*, dec. VII., lib. V., cap. III.).

<sup>3</sup> *Poniendoles a monte*.

went ashore, took possession there in the name of his Majesty and of the most Illustrious Señor Don Antonio de Mendoza, and named it port of La Posesion<sup>1</sup> (port of the Possession). He found a lake which has three large<sup>2</sup> . . . . ., and found some Indian fishermen, who forthwith fled. They captured one of them; giving him a few presents they released him and he departed. The interior of the country consists of high and rugged land, but it has good valleys and appears to be good country, although bare. They remained in this place until Sunday, the 27th of said month, repairing the sails and taking on water. On Thursday they saw some smokes and, going to them with the boat, they found some thirty Indian fishermen, who remained where they were. They brought to the ship a boy and two women, gave them clothing and presents, and let them go. From them they could understand nothing by signs.

On the Friday following, on going to get water, they found in the watering place some Indians who remained quiet and showed them a pool of water, and a saline which contained a large quantity of salt. They said by signs that they did not live there, but inland, and that there were many people. This same day, in the afternoon, five Indians came to the beach; they brought them to the ships and they appeared to be intelligent Indians. Entering the ship they pointed at and counted the Spaniards who were there, and said by signs that they had seen other men like them, who wore beards, and who brought dogs, and crossbows, and swords. The Indians came smeared over with a white paste on the thighs, body, and arms, and wore the paste like slashes, so that they appeared like men in hose and slashed doublets. They made signs that Spaniards were five days from there. They made signs that there were many Indians, and that they had much maize and many parrots. They came covered with deerskins; some wore the deerskins dressed in the way the Mexicans dress the skins which they use for their *cutaras*.<sup>3</sup> They are a large and well-

<sup>1</sup> Port of San Quentín, lat. 30° 24', twenty-seven miles northwest of Punta Baja, and five or six miles southwest of the village of San Quentín.

<sup>2</sup> Blank in the original.

<sup>3</sup> *Cotaras*, an Americanism meaning a kind of Indian footwear; also applied to Indians' clothing in general. Rendered "cutters" by Evans.

featured people. They carry their bows and arrows like those of New Spain, the arrows being tipped with flints. The captain gave them a letter to carry to the Spaniards who they said were in the interior.

They left the port of La Posesion on Sunday, the 27th of the said month of August, and, continuing their course, they discovered an island two leagues from the mainland. It is uninhabited; there is a good port in it; they named it San Agustin; it must be about two leagues in circumference. They continued thus along the coast with light winds, holding to windward, until the following Wednesday, the 30th of the said month, when they encountered a heavy northwest wind which forced them to seek shelter at the island of San Agustin.<sup>1</sup> On this island they found signs of people, and two cows' horns, and very large trees which the sea had cast there; they were more than sixty feet long and so thick that two men could not reach around one of them. They looked like cypresses; and there were cedars. There was a great quantity of this timber, but this island contains nothing else except a good port. They remained at this island until the following Sunday.

On Sunday, the 3d of the month of September, they left said Island of San Agustin and continued sailing on their course; and on the following Monday they cast anchor at the shore,<sup>2</sup> about seven leagues to the windward, on a coast running north and south. At once they continued their course, sailing with favorable though light winds on a coast running north and south, until Thursday, the 7th of said month of September, when they went to cast anchor in a bay which the land forms. Here the coast ceases to run north and south and turns to the northwest. At this bay there is a large valley; the land is level at the coast, and inland there are high mountains, and rough land which appears to be good. All the coast is bold, with a smooth and shallow bottom, for at half a league they were at anchor in ten fathoms. About here there is much vegetation on the water.

On the following Friday, the 8th of said month, they sailed with light winds, working to windward, and encountering ad-

<sup>1</sup> San Martín Island, lat. 30° 29'.

<sup>2</sup> San Ramón or Virgin's Bay, lat. 30° 49'. Eight or ten miles inland is the old mission of San Vicente (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 188).

verse currents. They went to anchor under a headland which forms a cape and affords good shelter from the west-northwest. They named it Cape San Martin.<sup>1</sup> It forms a spur of land on both sides; here end some high mountains which come from behind, and here begin other small mountains. There is one large valley, and many others; apparently the land is good. The port is in thirty-two and one-half degrees. It is a clear port and soundable. Its direction from the island of San Agustin is north.

While at this Cape of San Martin they went ashore for water and found a small lake of fresh water, where they got a supply. To this watering place came forty Indians with bows and arrows. They could not make each other understood. The Indians were naked; they brought roasted maguey<sup>2</sup> and fish to eat. They are large people. Here they took possession. They were at this cape until the following Monday.

On Monday, the 8th of said month,<sup>3</sup> they left Cape San Martin and sailed some four leagues on a coast running north-northeast-south-southwest, and from there the coast turns northwest. The land is high and bare. Next day they sailed along a coast running from northwest to southeast a matter of six leagues. All this coast is bold and clear. The next day they sailed, with foul winds, a matter of four leagues, still on a coast running from northwest to southeast. On the land there are high broken mountains. On the following Thursday they cast anchor about three leagues farther on, under a headland which extends into the sea and forms a cape on both sides. It is called Cabo de Cruz<sup>4</sup> (Cape of the Cross); it is in thirty-three degrees. There is neither water nor wood, nor did they find a sign of Indians.

Having departed from Cabo de la Cruz, because of headwinds they found themselves on the following Saturday two leagues from the same cape on a coast running from north-northwest to south-southeast. At the shore they saw Indians

<sup>1</sup> Point Santo Tomás, or Cape San Tomás, lat. 31° 33'. Navarrete identifies this with Cape San Quentín (*Sutil y Mexicana*, Introducción, p. xxx.).

<sup>2</sup> See Espejo documents, p. 170, above, note 5. <sup>3</sup> The eleventh, of course.

<sup>4</sup> Grajero Point, or Banda Point, lat. 31° 45'. The date of anchoring, according to Herrera, was the 14th (*Historia General*, dec. VII., lib. V., cap. III.).

in some very small canoes. The land is very high, bare, and dry. All the land from California to here is sandy near the shore, but here begins land of another sort, the soil being reddish<sup>1</sup> and of better appearance.

On Sunday, the 17th day of the said month, they sailed on in continuation of their voyage, and about six leagues from Cabo de Cruz they found a good and closed port. To reach it they passed a small island<sup>2</sup> which is near the mainland. In this port they took on water from a small lake of rain-water. There are groves of trees like silk-cotton trees, excepting that they are of hard wood. They found thick and tall trees which the sea brings. This port is called San Mateo.<sup>3</sup> The land appears to be good; there are large savannahs,<sup>4</sup> and the grass is like that of Spain. The land is high and broken. They saw some herds of animals like cattle, which went in droves of a hundred or more, and which, from their appearance, from their gait, and the long wool, looked like Peruvian sheep. They have small horns a span in length and as thick as the thumb. The tail is broad and round and a palm long.<sup>5</sup> This place is in thirty-three and one-third degrees. They took possession here. They remained in this port until the following Saturday.

On Saturday, the 23d of said month, they left said port of San Mateo and sailed along the coast until the Monday following, when they must have gone about eighteen leagues. They saw very beautiful valleys and groves, and country both level and rough, but no Indians were seen.

On the following Tuesday and Wednesday they sailed along the coast about eight leagues, passing by some three islands

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Evans's translation.

<sup>2</sup> The Todos Santos Islands, lat. 31° 48'.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the *ensenada* in Todos Santos Bay, lat. 31° 51' (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 190). Navarrete also maintains this opinion (*Sutil y Mexicana*, Introducción, p. xxx.).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Evans's translation.

<sup>5</sup> Henshaw remarks: "The animal here described seems to have been the product of about equal parts of fact and imagination. Without the wool the account would apply tolerably well to the antelope (*Antilocapra americana*), which it probably was. The only animal with a woolly fleece indigenous to this region is the mountain goat (*Haplocerus montanus*), but this animal inhabits only the highest mountains, and hence could not have fallen under the observation of the Spaniards" (*Voyage of Cabrillo*, in *Wheeler's Report*, vol. II., Archæology, p. 304).



completely denuded of soil.<sup>1</sup> One of them is larger than the others. It is about two leagues in circumference and affords shelter from the west winds. They are three leagues from the mainland, and are in thirty-four degrees. They called them Islas Desiertas<sup>2</sup> (Desert Islands). This day great smokes were seen on the land. The country appears to be good and has large valleys, and in the interior there are high mountains.

On the following Thursday they went about six leagues along a coast running north-northwest, and discovered a port, closed and very good, which they named San Miguel.<sup>3</sup> It is in thirty-four and one-third degrees. Having cast anchor in it, they went ashore where there were people. Three of them waited, but all the rest fled. To these three they gave some presents and they said by signs that in the interior men like the Spaniards had passed. They gave signs of great fear. On the night of this day they went ashore from the ships to fish with a net, and it appears that here there were some Indians, and that they began to shoot at them with arrows and wounded three men.

Next day in the morning they went with the boat farther into the port, which is large, and brought two boys, who understood nothing by signs. They gave them both shirts and sent them away immediately.

Next day in the morning three adult Indians came to the ships and said by signs that in the interior men like us were travelling about, bearded, clothed, and armed like those of the ships. They made signs that they carried crossbows and swords; and they made gestures with the right arm as if they were throwing lances, and ran around as if they were on horseback. They made signs that they were killing many native Indians, and that for this reason they were afraid. These people are comely and large. They go about covered with skins of animals. While they were in this port a heavy storm occurred, but since the port is good they did not feel it at all.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Evans's translation.

<sup>2</sup> Los Coronados Islands, lat. 32° 25'. Henshaw thought that they were San Clemente and Catalina, but manifestly without good grounds (*Voyage of Cabrillo*, p. 305).

<sup>3</sup> San Diego Bay. The extremity of Point Loma is near lat. 32° 40'.

It was a violent storm from the west-southwest and the south-southwest. This is the first storm which they have experienced. They remained in this port until the following Tuesday. The people here called the Christians Guacamal.

On the following Tuesday, the 3d of the month of October, they departed from this port of San Miguel, and on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, they held their course a matter of eighteen leagues along the coast, where they saw many valleys and plains, and many smokes, and mountains in the interior. At nightfall they were near some islands which are some seven leagues from the mainland, but because the wind went down they could not reach them that night.

At daybreak on Saturday, the 7th of the month of October, they were at the islands which they named San Salvador<sup>1</sup> and La Vitoria.<sup>2</sup> They anchored at one of them and went ashore with the boat to see if there were people; and when the boat came near, a great number of Indians emerged from the bushes and grass, shouting, dancing, and making signs that they should land. As they saw that the women were fleeing, from the boats they made signs that they should not be afraid. Immediately they were reassured, and laid their bows and arrows on the ground and launched in the water a good canoe which held eight or ten Indians, and came to the ships. They gave them beads and other articles, with which they were pleased, and then they returned. Afterward the Spaniards went ashore, and they, the Indian women, and all felt very secure. Here an old Indian made signs to them that men like the Spaniards, clothed and bearded, were going about on the mainland. They remained on this island only till midday.

On the following Sunday, the 8th of said month, they drew near to the mainland in a large bay which they called Bay of Los Fumos,<sup>3</sup> (Bay of the Smokes), because of the many smokes

<sup>1</sup> Santa Catalina Island, lat.  $33^{\circ} 26\frac{1}{2}'$  at Isthmus Cove. It is eighteen miles long and twenty-three and one-half miles from Point Lasuén (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 194). Navarrete identifies San Salvador with the San Clemente, and La Victoria with the Santa Catalina.

<sup>2</sup> San Clemente Island. The latitude of the southeast head is  $32^{\circ} 49'$ . This and the foregoing island were named after the ships.

<sup>3</sup> Santa Monica Bay, named from Sierra Santa Monica. Latitude of Point Dume, on the north side,  $34^{\circ}$ . He landed near the point, where there were large villages of Indians to a very late date (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 196).



which they saw on it.<sup>1</sup> Here they held a colloquy with some Indians whom they captured in a canoe, and who made signs that toward the north there were Spaniards like them. This bay is in thirty-five degrees and is a good port, and the country is good, with many valleys, plains, and groves.

On the following Monday, the 9th of the said month of October, they left the Bay of Los Fuegos (the Fires), and sailed this day some six leagues, anchoring in a large bay.<sup>2</sup> From here they departed the next day, Tuesday, and sailed some eight leagues along a coast running from northwest to southeast. We saw on the land a pueblo of Indians close to the sea, the houses being large like those of New Spain. They anchored in front of a very large valley on the coast. Here there came to the ships many very good canoes, each of which held twelve or thirteen Indians; they told them of Christians who were going about in the interior. The coast runs from northwest to southeast. Here they gave them some presents, with which they were greatly pleased. They indicated by signs that in seven days they could go to where the Spaniards were, and Juan Rodriguez decided to send two Spaniards into the interior. They also indicated that there was a great river. With these Indians they sent a letter at a venture to the Christians. They named this town the Pueblo of Las Canoas.<sup>3</sup> The Indians dress in skins of animals; they are fishermen and eat raw fish; they were eating *maguey* also. This pueblo is in thirty-five and one-third degrees. The interior of the country is a very fine valley; and they made signs that in that valley there was much maize and abundant food. Behind the valley appear some very high mountains and very broken country. They call the Christians Taquimine. Here they took possession and here they remained until Friday, the 13th day of said month.

On Friday, the 13th of said month of October, they left the pueblo of Las Canoas to continue their voyage, and sailed

<sup>1</sup> "Around it" (Davidson, *ibid.*).

<sup>2</sup> The anchorage off Laguna Mugu, lat. 34° 5', fifteen miles west of Point Dume and nineteen miles by coast line from San Buenaventura.

<sup>3</sup> "Pueblo of the Canoas," at San Buenaventura, in lat. 34° 17'. "The name Taquimine seems to be the original of the present Hueneme, and is locally referred to the name of a celebrated chief" (Davidson, p. 198). Navarrete locates this town on San Juan Capistrano Bay (*Sutil y Mexicana*, Introducción, p. xxxi.).

this day six or seven leagues,<sup>1</sup> passing along the shores of two large islands. Each of them must be four leagues long, and they must be about four leagues from the mainland. They are uninhabited, because they have no water, but they have good ports. The coast of the mainland trends to the west-northwest. It is a country of many savannahs and groves. On the following Saturday they continued on their course, but made no more than two leagues, anchoring<sup>2</sup> in front of a magnificent valley densely populated, with level land, and many groves. Here came canoes with fish to barter; the Indians were very friendly.

On the following Sunday, the 15th day of the said month, they continued on their course along the coast for about ten leagues;<sup>3</sup> all the way there were many canoes, for the whole coast is very densely populated; and many Indians kept boarding the ships. They pointed out the pueblos and told us their names. They are Xuco, Bis, Sopono, Alloc, Xabaagua, Xocotoc, Potoltuc, Nacbuc, Quelqueme, Misinagua, Misesopano, Elquis, Coloc, Mugu, Xagua, Anacbuc, Partocac, Susuquey, Quanmu, Gua,<sup>4</sup> Asimu, Aguin, Casalic, Tucumu, and Inepupu.<sup>5</sup>

All these pueblos are between the first pueblo of Las Canoas, which is called Xucu, and this point. They are in a very good country, with fine plains and many groves and savannahs. The Indians go dressed in skins. They said that in the interior there were many pueblos, and much maize three days' journey from there. They call maize Oep. They also said that there were many cows;<sup>6</sup> these they call Cae. They also told us of people bearded and clothed.

<sup>1</sup> To the "Rincón," lat. 34° 22', four leagues west of San Buenaventura.

<sup>2</sup> Anchorage off the Carpintería, lat. 34° 24', about a mile west of Sand Point.

<sup>3</sup> Anchorage four or five miles west of Point Goleta, eleven miles west of Santa Barbara lighthouse, in lat. 34° 25'.

<sup>4</sup> A note in Buckingham Smith, p. 189, states that the last two names are united in the manuscript, thus: Quanmugua.

<sup>5</sup> The Indians of this coast were of the Chumashan linguistic stock. The name is from that of the natives of Santa Rosa Island. For a discussion of civilization and divisions of the group, see H. W. Henshaw and A. L. Kroeber in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, I. 296-297, and the authorities there cited.

<sup>6</sup> Henshaw thinks the animal here referred to was the bison (*Voyage of Cabrillo*, p. 307, note), but it was more probably the elk, plentiful in California in early days, which is not true of the bison.

This day they passed along the shore of a large island<sup>1</sup> which must be fifteen leagues long. They said that it was very densely populated and that there were the following pueblos: Niquipos, Maxul, Xugua, Nitel, Macamo, and Nimitapal. They called this island San Lucas. From here to the pueblo of Las Canoas it must be about eighteen leagues. The island must be about six leagues from the mainland.

On Monday, the 16th of the said month, sailing along the coast, they made about four leagues, and cast anchor<sup>2</sup> in the afternoon in front of two pueblos. All this day, likewise, many canoes came with the ships and made signs that farther on there were canoes much larger.

On the following Tuesday, the 17th of the said month, they made three leagues,<sup>3</sup> with favorable winds. Many canoes went with the ships from daybreak, and the captain kept giving them many presents. All this coast which they have passed is very thickly settled. The Indians brought for them many sardines, fresh and very good. They say that in the interior there are many pueblos and abundant food. They ate no maize. They were dressed in skins, and wore their hair very long and tied up with long strings interwoven with the hair, there being attached to the strings many gewgaws<sup>4</sup> of flint, bone, and wood. The country appears to be very fine.

On Wednesday, the 18th of the said month, they proceeded along the coast until ten o'clock, seeing that all the coast was populated; and because there was a fresh wind and canoes did not come to them, they drew near to a headland which forms a cape like a galley, and named it Cape Galera.<sup>5</sup> It is in thirty-six degrees, full. And because a strong northwest wind struck them they stood off shore and discovered two islands, one large, probably about eight leagues long from east to west, the other about four leagues. They are inhabited, and

<sup>1</sup> The three islands, Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa, and San Miguel. They overlap each other and were thought to be one. They afterward discovered that they were separate. See entries for January, 1543.

<sup>2</sup> Anchorage off the Cañada del Refugio, 34° 27', twenty-one miles from the Santa Barbara lighthouse.

<sup>3</sup> To the anchorage off Gaviota Pass, twelve miles east of Point Concepción, lat. 34° 28'.

<sup>4</sup> *Dagas*.

<sup>5</sup> Point Concepción, lat. 34° 27'.

in this small one there is a good port. They are ten leagues from the mainland. They are called the Islands of San Lucas.<sup>1</sup> From the mainland to Cape Galera the coast runs west-north-west. The district from the pueblo of Las Canoas to Cape Galera is a densely populated province and is called Xexu. Many languages distinct from each other are spoken in it. They have bitter wars with one another. From the pueblo of Las Canoas to Cape Galera it is thirty leagues. They remained in these islands until the following Wednesday because it was very stormy.<sup>2</sup>

On Wednesday, the 25th of said month, they left these islands, setting out from the one which was most to windward. It has a very good port, which within gives shelter from all storms of the sea. They called it La Posesion.<sup>3</sup> This day they made little headway because there was no wind. The following midnight they were struck by a wind from the south-south-west and west-southwest, with rain, which put them in peril, because it was an on-shore wind and they were near land, and they were unable to double the cape on one tack or the other. At vespers the following Thursday the wind drove them off-shore, to the south, whereupon they continued on their course some ten leagues on<sup>4</sup> a coast running from north-northwest to south-southeast. All this coast is inhabited and the country appears to be good. That night they held out to sea because the wind was on-shore, and on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday they sailed with contrary winds, beating about from one side to the other, without being able to make headway. They were in thirty-six and one-half degrees, and ten leagues from Cape Galera. They continued also on Monday, and on

<sup>1</sup> San Miguel, and then Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa as one. "They had already seen the Island of Santa Rosa, as part of the Island of Santa Cruz when they overlapped and were named San Lucas. Now they discover San Miguel separated from the Island of Santa Rosa, which was supposed to be the western part of San Lucas" (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 204).

<sup>2</sup> Herrera says: "During the eight days that they remained in the port they were well treated by the Indians, who go naked and paint their faces after the manner of Axedrèz" (*Historia General*, dec. VII., lib. V., cap. III.).

<sup>3</sup> San Miguel Island. The latitude of the anchorage is 34° 3'. After Cabrillo's death Ferrelo named the island La Isla de Juan Rodríguez. See p. 33. Herrera adds some information at this point (*Historia General*, dec. VII., lib. V., cap. III.).

<sup>4</sup> "To a coast" (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 208).

Tuesday, the 31st of the said month, eve of the Feast of All Saints, tacking back and forth, trying to approach the mainland in search of a large river<sup>1</sup> which they had heard was on the other side of Cape Galera, and because on the land there were signs of rivers. But they found none, neither did they anchor here, because the coast was very bold.

This month they found on this coast the same weather as in Spain from thirty-four degrees and upward, with severe cold in the mornings and at night, and with storms, very dark and cloudy weather, and heavy atmosphere.

On Wednesday, the 1st day of November, at midnight, standing off, they encountered a heavy wind from the north-northwest, which prevented them from carrying a palm of sail, and by dawn it had freshened so that they were forced to seek shelter, and they therefore went to take refuge under Cape Galera. There they cast anchor and went ashore; and although there was a large pueblo which they call Xexo,<sup>2</sup> because wood did not appear to be close at hand they decided to go to the pueblo of Las Sardinias,<sup>3</sup> because there the water and wood were close and handy. This shelter under Galera they called the port of Todos Santos.<sup>4</sup> On the following Thursday they went to the pueblo of Las Sardinias,<sup>5</sup> where they remained three days, taking on water and wood. The natives of the country aided them and brought the wood and water to the ships. This pueblo of the port of Sardinias they call Cicacut; the others, between there and Cape Galera, are Ciucut, Anacot, Maquinanoa, Paltatre, Anacoat, Olesino, Caacat, Paltocac, Tocane, Opia, Opistopia, Nocos, Yutum, Quiman, Micoma, Garomisopona. The ruler<sup>6</sup> of these pueblos is an old Indian woman, who came to the ships and slept two nights on the captain's ship, as did many Indians. The pueblo of Ciucut appeared to be the capital of the rest, for they came there from other pueblos at the call of this ruler. The pueblo which is at the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Purísima, or Santa Inez, emptying just north of Point Argüello.

<sup>2</sup> The Indian village at El Coxo anchorage.

<sup>3</sup> The Sardines.

<sup>4</sup> El Coxo anchorage, lat. 34° 28'.

<sup>5</sup> Indian village at Gaviota Pass, lat. 34° 27'. This is the place where they secured so many sardines on October 17. (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 208, where a slight error in chronology occurs.)

<sup>6</sup> *La Señora*.

cape they call Xexo. From this port to the pueblo of Las Canoas is another province which they call Xucu.<sup>1</sup> Their houses are round and very well covered clear to the ground. They wear skins of many kinds of animals. They eat oak acorns, and a seed the size of maize. It is white, and from it they make tamales; it is a good food. They say that in the interior there is much maize, and that men like us are going about there. This port is in thirty-five and two-thirds degrees.

On Monday, the 6th of said month of November, they left the said port of Sardinas; that day they made almost no progress, and until the following Friday they sailed with very light wind. That day we arrived at Cape Galera.<sup>2</sup> During all this course they could make no use of the Indians who came aboard with water and fish, and appeared very friendly. They have in their pueblos large plazas, and have an enclosure like a fence; and around the enclosure they have many blocks of stone set in the ground, and projecting three palms above it. Within the enclosures they have many timbers set up like thick masts. On these poles they have many paintings, and we thought that they worshipped them, because when they dance they go dancing around the enclosure.

On the following Saturday, the day of San Martin, the 11th of the said month of November, they held on their course, sailing along the coast,<sup>3</sup> and that morning found themselves twelve leagues from the cape in the same place where they had first arrived. All this day they had good wind, and they journeyed along the coast from southeast to northwest, making twenty leagues. All this coast which they ran this day is bold and entirely without shelter. All along it runs a chain of very high mountains. It is as high at the seacoast as in the interior, and the sea beats upon it. They saw no settlement nor any smokes, and all the coast, which has no shelter from the north, is uninhabited. They named these mountains the Sierras de San Martin.<sup>4</sup> They are in thirty-seven and one-half degrees. Their northwest extremity forms a cape

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere said to extend from San Buenaventura to Point Concepción.

<sup>2</sup> Point Concepción, lat. 34° 27'.

<sup>3</sup> Driven by a southwester (Herrera, *Historia General*, dec. VII., lib. V., cap. IV.).

<sup>4</sup> The Santa Lucía Mountain.



which juts into the sea. It is in thirty-eight degrees. They named it Cape Martin.<sup>1</sup>

At four o'clock this Saturday night, when lying-to at sea about six leagues from the coast, waiting for morning, with a southeast wind, there blew up so heavy a gale from the southwest and south-southwest, with rain and dark clouds, that they could not carry a palm of sail, and were forced to scud with a small foresail, with much labor, the whole night. On the following Sunday the tempest became much more violent and continued all day, all night, and until noon of the following day. The storm was as severe as any there could be in Spain. On Saturday night they lost sight of their consort.

On Monday, the 13th of said month of November, at the hour of vespers, the wind calmed down and shifted to the west, and at once they set sail and went in search of the consort, steering towards the land, praying to God that they might find her, for they greatly feared that she might be lost. They ran to the north and north-northwest with a wind from the west and west-northwest, and at daybreak on the following Tuesday they sighted the land.<sup>2</sup> They had to run until the afternoon, when they went to reconnoitre a very high coast, and then proceeded along the coast to see if there were any port where they might take shelter. So great was the swell of the ocean that it was terrifying to see, and the coast was bold and the mountains very high. In the afternoon they lay-to for shelter. The coast runs from northwest to southeast. They examined the coast at a point which projects into the sea and forms a cape.<sup>3</sup> The point is covered with timber, and is in forty degrees.

On Wednesday, the 15th of said month, they sighted the consort, whereupon they heartily thanked God, for they had thought her lost. They made toward her, and in the afternoon they joined company. Those on the other ship had experienced greater labor and risk than those of the captain's

<sup>1</sup> Point Pinos, in lat. 36° 38'.

<sup>2</sup> Davidson says the land sighted was to the northward of Russian River (*Early Voyages*, p. 220).

<sup>3</sup> The bold, high spur of the coast mountains nearly overhanging Ft. Ross Cove, lat. 38° 31'. Herrera calls it Cabo de Pinos (*Historia General*, dec. VII., lib. V., cap. IV.).

ship, since it was a small vessel and had no deck. This country where they were sailing is apparently very good, but they saw no Indians or smokes. There are large mountains covered with snow, and there is heavy timber. At night they lowered sails and lay-to.

On the following Thursday, the 16th of the said month of November, they found themselves at daybreak in a great bay, which came at a turn, and which appeared to have a port and river. They held on, beating about that day and night and on the following Friday, until they saw that there was neither river nor shelter. In order to take possession they cast anchor in forty-five fathoms, but they did not dare go ashore because of the high sea. This bay is in thirty-nine degrees, full, and its entire shore is covered with pines clear to the sea. They named it Bay of Los Pinos.<sup>1</sup> That night they lay-to until the following day.

The following Saturday they ran along the coast, and at night found themselves off Cape San Martin.<sup>2</sup> All the coast run this day is very bold; the sea has a heavy swell, and the coast is very high. There are mountains which reach the sky, and the sea beats upon them. When sailing along near the land, it seems as if the mountains would fall upon the ships. They are covered with snow to the summit, and they named them the Sierras Nevadas.<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of them a cape is formed which projects into the sea,<sup>4</sup> and which they named Cape Nieve.<sup>5</sup> The coast runs from north-northwest

<sup>1</sup> Drake's Bay, lat. 38°. Navarrete thought this might be Monterey Bay (*Sutil y Mexicana*, Introducción, p. xxxii.). For Drake's anchorage in this bay see W. S. W. Vaux, ed., *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*; J. S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*; Davidson, *Early Voyages*, pp. 214-218; Davidson, *Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on the Coast of California in the Year 1579* (San Francisco, 1890).

<sup>2</sup> Either the limit of Sierra Santa Lucía, near Point Carmel, or the San Martín of the earlier part of the voyage, the former being more likely (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 224).

<sup>3</sup> "It is evident that Ferrelo runs ahead in his narrative to describe in general terms the appearance of the coast range of Mountains from the Gulf of Farallones to Cape San Martin, and then returns to take up the details" (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 224).

<sup>4</sup> The San Francisco peninsula.

<sup>5</sup> "Snow Cape." Black Mountain, lat. 37° 9'. Navarrete says "apparently Point Año Nuevo" (*Sutil y Mexicana*, Introducción, p. xxxii.).



to south-southeast. It does not appear that Indians live on this coast. This Cape Nieve is in thirty-eight and two-thirds degrees. Whenever the wind blew from the northwest the weather was clear and fair.

On Thursday, the 23d of the month, they arrived, on the return, in the islands of San Lucas, at one of them called La Posesion.<sup>1</sup> They had run the entire coast, point by point, from Cape Pinos to the islands, and had found no shelter whatever, wherefore they were forced to return to said island because during these past days there was a strong wind from the west-northwest, and the swell of the sea was heavy. From Cape Martin to Cape Pinos we did not see a single Indian, the reason being that the coast is bold, rugged, and without shelter. But southeast of Cape Martin for fifteen leagues they found the land inhabited, and with many smokes, because the country is good. But from Cape Martin up to forty degrees we saw no sign of Indians. Cape Martin<sup>2</sup> is in thirty-seven and one-half degrees.

Passing the winter on the island of La Posesion,<sup>3</sup> on the 3d of the month of January, 1543, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, captain of the said ships, departed from this life, as the result of a fall which he suffered on said island when they were there before, from which he broke an arm near the shoulder. He left as captain the chief pilot, who was one Bartolome Ferrelo, a native of the Levant. At the time of his death he emphatically charged them not to leave off exploring as much as possible of all that coast. They named the island the Island of Juan Rodriguez.<sup>4</sup> The Indians call it Ciquimuymu; the next they call Nicalque, and the next, Limu. On this island of La

<sup>1</sup> San Miguel Island, lat. 34° 3'. "Ferrelo again runs ahead of events in his narrative in mentioning his approach to the Santa Barbara Islands and then returns and describes the coast from Cabo de Pinos (Northwest Cape at Fort Ross)" (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 224).

<sup>2</sup> Probably Mount Carmel, in lat. 36° 22'.

<sup>3</sup> San Miguel Island. Henshaw remarks: "The three centuries and more that have elapsed have witnessed great changes in the appearance of the island of San Miguel, evidently then well populated. It has become barren and desolate in the extreme by reason of the drifted sand, which lies on it to the depth of many feet and which will doubtless always preserve the secret of Cabrillo's grave" (*Voyage of Cabrillo*, p. 311, note).

<sup>4</sup> San Miguel Island.

Posesion there are two pueblos, one called Zaco and the other Nimollollo. On the next island there are three pueblos, one called Nichochi, another Coycoy, and another Estocoloco. On the third island there are eight pueblos, namely, Niquesesquelua, Poele, Pisqueno, Pualnacatup, Patiquiu, Patiquilid, Ninumu, Muoc, Pilidquay, and Lilibegue.

The Indians of these islands are very poor. They are fishermen, and they eat nothing except fish. They sleep on the ground. Their sole business and employment is fishing. They say that in each house there are fifty persons. They live very swinishly, and go about naked.

They remained on these islands from the 23d of November till the 19th of January. During all this time, which was nearly two months, there were very heavy winter winds and rains. The prevailing winds were west-southwest, south-southwest, and west-northwest. There were very violent winds.

On Friday, the 19th of the said month of January, 1543, they set sail from the island of Juan Rodriguez, which is called Ciquimuymu, to go to the mainland in search of some provisions for their voyage. As they were leaving the port they encountered a heavy wind from the west-northwest, which forced them to seek shelter at the other islands of San Lucas. They anchored at the island of Limun, which they called San Salvador.<sup>1</sup> They were forced to weigh anchor again and depart, because there was no port other than the shelter of the islands. The wind shifted on-shore,<sup>2</sup> and they sailed around these islands eight days with very foul winds, taking shelter from them under the islands themselves; and on the twenty-seventh of said month they entered the same port of the island of Juan Rodriguez where they had been at first. Their greatest difficulty was because the winds were not steady, for they kept changing about from one direction to another. Those most constant are from the west-northwest and west-southwest.

<sup>1</sup> Santa Cruz Island, lat. 34° 2'. This name had already been given to Santa Catalina Island. From Navarrete one would get the impression that this is the same Salvador which he identifies with the San Clemente (*Sutil y Mexicana*, Introducción, p. xxxiii.).

<sup>2</sup> "From all points" (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 226).

Tuesday, the 29th of the said month of January, they set sail from the island of Juan Rodriguez for the island of San Lucas,<sup>1</sup> which is between the others, to get certain anchors which they had left there during a storm, not being able to raise them.<sup>2</sup> They recovered them and took on water.

They left this island of San Lucas on Monday, the 12th of the month of February, not being able to do so sooner because of the bad weather, with winds and heavy snow, which they encountered. It is inhabited and the people are like those of the other island. The Indians call it Nicalque. There are three pueblos on it, called Nicochi, Coycoy, and Coloco. This day they went to the port of Las Sardinias<sup>3</sup> to get wood and other things necessary for their voyage, for there were none on the islands.

On Wednesday, the 14th of the said month, they left the port of Las Sardinias, having secured a boatload of wood. They did not dare remain there longer because of the heavy sea. They did not find so many Indians as at first, nor any fishing at all, because it was winter. The natives were eating acorns from the oaks, and another seed, and raw plants from the field. From here they went to the island of San Salvador,<sup>4</sup> because they were safer there from the storms in setting sail to run out to sea.

On Sunday, the 18th of the said month of February, they left the island of San Salvador with a favorable northeast wind, and ran to the southwest, because they told them that toward the southwest there were other islands. At nightfall of this day, when they were about twelve leagues from the island of San Salvador, they saw six islands, some large and some small. This day a sailor died. On the following Monday, at daybreak, they were at sea about ten leagues to windward of the islands; and with the wind in the west-northwest they stood off to the southwest five days, at the end of which time they had made about a hundred leagues. Finding the winds more violent and a heavy sea, on Thursday, the 22d of said month of February, they turned again toward the land

<sup>1</sup> Santa Rosa Island, lat. 33° 57'.

<sup>2</sup> Davidson thinks that he probably lost his anchors in Becher's Bay (*Early Voyages*, p. 228).

<sup>3</sup> Off Gaviota Pass, lat. 34° 27'.

<sup>4</sup> Santa Cruz Island.

to go in search of Cape Pinos, with a wind from the south-southeast which lasted for three days and became each day more violent. On the following Sunday, at daybreak, they sighted Cape Pinos,<sup>1</sup> and at nightfall of the same day were twenty leagues to windward on a coast running from northwest to southeast. It is bold and without shelter. Not a single smoke was seen on the land. They saw a point<sup>2</sup> which was like a spur of land where the coast turned north-northwest. At midnight the wind shifted to the south-southwest, and they ran west-northwest till next day. In the morning the wind shifted to the west-southwest and became very strong, lasting till the following Tuesday. They ran toward the northwest.<sup>3</sup>

Tuesday, the 27th of said month, the wind shifted to the south-southwest, and continued in that direction all day. They ran west-northwest with foresails lowered, because the wind was high. At night the wind shifted to the west. They ran south all night with but little sail. There was a high sea which broke over them.

On the following Wednesday, the 28th of said month, at daybreak, the wind shifted directly to the southwest, and did not blow hard. This day they took the latitude in forty-three degrees.<sup>4</sup> Toward night the wind freshened and shifted to the south-southwest. They ran this night to the west-northwest, with great difficulty, and on Thursday, in the morning, the wind shifted to the southwest with great fury, the seas coming from many directions, causing them great fatigue and breaking over the ships; and as they had no decks, if God had not succored them they could not have escaped. Not being able to lay-to, they were forced to scud northeast toward the

<sup>1</sup> Northwest Cape, lat. 38° 31' just east of Fort Ross anchorage.

<sup>2</sup> Point Arena, the Punta de Arena of later Spanish navigators, lat. 38° 57' (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 247). Called Cabo de Fortunas by Herrera (*Historia General*, dec. VII., lib. V., cap. IV.).

<sup>3</sup> "They saw the great mountain mass which reaches a height of nearly 4300 feet a little to the northward of Point Delgada at Shelter Cove; and continues as a bold range to the north of Cape Mendocino. They could not have seen Point Delgada because it is low and projected on the base of the coast mountains" (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 230).

<sup>4</sup> "On the 28th of February, 1543, they were out of sight of land, and probably in latitude 41½°, allowing a correction of one and a half degrees to his reported latitude" (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 234).

land; and now, thinking themselves lost, they commended themselves to Our Lady of Guadalupe and made their vows. Thus they ran until three o'clock in the afternoon, with great fear and travail, because they concluded that they were about to be lost, for they saw many signs that land was near by, both birds and very green trees, which came from some rivers, although because the weather was very dark and cloudy the land was invisible.<sup>1</sup> At this hour the Mother of God succored them, by the grace of her Son, for a very heavy rain-storm came up from the north which drove them south with foresails lowered all night and until sunset the next day; and as there was a high sea from the south it broke every time over the prow and swept over them as over a rock. The wind shifted to the northwest and to the north-northwest with great fury, forcing them to scud to the southeast and east-southeast until Saturday the 3d of March, with a sea so high that they became crazed, and if God and his blessed Mother had not miraculously saved them they could not have escaped. On Saturday at midday the wind calmed down and remained in the northwest, for which they gave heartfelt thanks to our Lord. With respect to food they also suffered hardship, because they had nothing but damaged biscuit.

It appears to them that there is a very large river, of which they had much notice, between forty-one and forty-three degrees, because they saw many signs of it.<sup>2</sup> This day in the afternoon they recognized Cape Pinos,<sup>3</sup> but because of the high sea they were forced to run the coast in return in search of a port. They experienced great cold.

On Monday, the 5th of the month of March, 1543, in the morning, they found themselves at the island of Juan Ro-

<sup>1</sup> "They were probably in latitude 42° 30', abreast of Rogue River and working their way back to El Cabo de Pinos; but they must have been seventy miles broad off the coast, which was therefore not visible. The logs were brought down the flooded rivers of this part of the coast; and they always have been a feature off the coast north of Mendocino" (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 234). According to Herrera on March 1 they took latitude and found it to be 44° (*Historia General*, dec. VII., lib. V., cap. IV.).

<sup>2</sup> "On Saturday, March 3, 1543, they were approaching the coast south of Point Arena, but Ferrelo goes back in his narrative" (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 236).

<sup>3</sup> Northwest Cape, lat. 38° 31'.

driguez,<sup>1</sup> but they did not dare enter the port because of the high tempest which caused breakers at its entrance in fifteen fathoms. The wind was from the north-northwest. The entrance is narrow. They ran to shelter under the island of San Salvador<sup>2</sup> on the southeast side. The night before, coming with a high tempest, with only two small foresails, they lost sight of the other ship, and feared that she had been swallowed up by the sea; and they were unable to find her again, even in the morning. They think that they must have been in forty-four degrees when struck by the last storm which drove them to shelter.<sup>3</sup>

On Thursday, the 8th of the said month, they left the island of San Salvador to go to the mainland in search of the other ship. They went to the pueblo of Las Canoas,<sup>4</sup> but did not get any news of her. Here they secured four Indians.

On the following Friday, the 9th of the said month, they left the pueblo of Las Canoas and went to the island of San Salvador, but still did not find the consort.

On Sunday, the 11th of said month, they reached the port of San Miguel<sup>5</sup> but did not find the consort there, or any news of her. Here they waited six days; here they secured two boys to take to New Spain as interpreters, and left certain signals in case the other ship should come here.

On Saturday, the 17th of the said month, they left said port of San Miguel. On the following Sunday they reached the Bay of San Mateo,<sup>6</sup> but still did not find trace of the other ship.

On Sunday, the 18th of said month, in the afternoon, they left this Bay of San Mateo, and on the following Wednesday, the 21st of said month, they arrived at the port of La Posesion,<sup>7</sup> but still found no news of the consort. They waited two days

<sup>1</sup> San Miguel Island, and Cuyler's Harbor, lat. 34° 3'.

<sup>2</sup> Smuggler's Cove, Santa Cruz Island, lat. 34° 2'. "To reach this anchorage he must have sailed along the north shore of San Miguel Island, Santa Rosa Island, and Santa Cruz Island, and rounded the easternmost point of the latter to find shelter from the northwest wind at Smuggler's Cove" (Davidson, *Early Voyages*, p. 238).

<sup>3</sup> The highest point reached was probably 42½°. See note 1, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> San Buenaventura, nineteen miles north-northeast of Smuggler's Cove.

<sup>5</sup> San Diego Bay.

<sup>6</sup> Todos Santos Bay.

<sup>7</sup> Port San Quentin, Lower California.



without entering the port, because they did not dare to enter it on account of the high northwest wind; and because they parted their cable they were forced to weigh anchor.

On Friday, the 23d day of said month, they left the port of La Posesion, and on the following Saturday, at midnight, they reached the island of Cedros;<sup>1</sup> and being there on the following Monday, the 26th of the said month, the other ship arrived at the island of Cedros, whereupon they were greatly rejoiced and gave hearty thanks to God. This ship passed by<sup>2</sup> the island of Juan Rodriguez, striking some shoals at night and they thought they would be lost, but the sailors promised Our Lady to make a pilgrimage to her church stripped to the waist,<sup>3</sup> and she saved them.

On Monday, the 2d day of the month of April, they left the island of Cedros to return to New Spain, because they had no supplies with which to again attempt to explore the coast. They arrived in the port of Navidad on Saturday, the 14th day of the said month of April.

As captain of the ships came Bartolome Ferrel, chief pilot of the ships, in lieu of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, who died on the island of La Posesion. In said ships came<sup>4</sup> . . . . . men.

<sup>1</sup> Cerros Island.

<sup>2</sup> *Paso en*. Evans renders this "put into," while Davidson renders it "passed by." Relying on this expression and the narrative in Herrera, Davidson states that the *fragata* did not make port on San Miguel Island (Isla de Juan Rodríguez) but sought shelter on Santa Rosa Island or San Sebastián (*Early Voyages*, p. 238).

<sup>3</sup> *En carnes*, literally, "naked." I here follow a suggestion made by Father Zephyrin Engelhardt in a discussion with me in regard to pilgrimages.

<sup>4</sup> Left blank in the manuscript.