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The Voyage of  
Francisco de Ulloa,  
1539

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## CHAPTER I

### VOYAGE OF FRANCISCO DE ULLOA

Ulloa was the first navigator of whom we have any knowledge to reach the northwest coast of America, using that term in its broadest sense as representing the coast from Cabo San Lucas, indefinitely to the north.<sup>1</sup> The map of Santa Cruz which Cortés filed with his *acta* of possession of that country indicates that some ship belonging to him had previously discovered that cape and even sailed in the Pacific a hundred miles or so to the north of it. Indeed Cortés once claimed to have discovered the cape himself. No other record exists, however, of such explorations; there is only a vague hint to a similar effect in Ulloa's account of his voyage. The instructions which Cortés issued to him are unfortunately lacking and we are therefore forced to assume what the objects of the expedition were from incidental remarks of Ulloa and statements made afterwards by Cortés. When Cortés returned from Santa Cruz he took with him some Indians to be taught Spanish so that they could act as interpreters. Ulloa had one of these with him and made persistent efforts to get hold of Indians to question regarding the country. It is to be regretted that he found none who could be understood as we then would certainly have obtained much information about the objects of the expedition from the questions put to them. According to Cortés the hope or expectation of discovering the "Seven Cities," or at least securing from the natives information regarding them, was the principal one.

When Ulloa set sail it is probable that all the real knowledge Cortés possessed regarding the country to the north was that which he had obtained directly or indirectly from Cabeza de Vaca and his companions. If they had no more to say than what Cabeza de Vaca wrote in his account of the journey he certainly had very little, as even at this day it is practically impossible to ascertain from this how they reached the Rio Yaqui. That river had been discovered by Diego de Guzman, one of Nuño de Guzman's lieutenants in 1533, but it would appear that Cortés was not aware of that fact until sometime afterwards. From the stress which he afterwards laid on the voyage of Hurtado de Mendoza, who he said, had reached a point as far north as 27° on the coast of Sonora sometime in 1532, he evidently made this the basis of his claim to have made the northernmost discovery on that coast. It is not likely that he even reached that far north when he went over to the coast from Santa Cruz in search of food. His map shows the Rio San Pedro y San Pablo, evidently the Sinaloa, and a short stretch of coast to the north of it. He afterwards claimed that when the Indians he took back with him from Santa Cruz had learned Spanish they told him about the "Seven Cities" and gave him the same information regarding them which Niza brought back. He even alleged that he had pre-

viously passed that information on to Niza whom he had expected to send out with some expedition to the north. Niza denied this *in toto*<sup>2</sup> and the improbability of the story has not failed to attract the attention of all the defenders of that visionary Franciscan. It seems almost impossible to believe from the knowledge subsequently acquired of the Indians at the southern end of the Peninsula of California, that they could have possessed any information whatever of the communities in central New Mexico or eastern Arizona. That those on the Rio Yaqui and perhaps farther south in Sonora had some knowledge of these towns seems certain and if Cortés' Indians had come from that part of the country we might give greater credit to his assertions. As it is, the only certainty is that he was acquainted with Cabeza de Vaca's story.

From our present knowledge of the geography of the country the sending of an expedition up the Pacific to hunt for the "Seven Cities" or even information about them seems foolish, but at that time the lower end of the Peninsula of California was believed to be an island and as the coast of the mainland extended in a northerly direction there was good reason for believing that by following it some reliable news might be obtained of Cabeza de Vaca's walled towns.<sup>3</sup> A full realization of the distance of these from the Pacific was not obtained until much later.

Ulloa had under his command three ships, the *Santa Agueda* of perhaps 120 tons, the *Trinidad* of 35 and the *Santo Tomás* of 20.<sup>4</sup> Three Franciscan friars accompanied the expedition, Fray Antonio de Meno, Fray Raimundo (perhaps Anyelibus)<sup>5</sup> and Fray Pedro de Ariche. Meno returned on the *Santa Agueda* and Fray Raimundo was to have been sent by Mendoza on the second Alarcon expedition and therefore must also have returned. None of the early chronicles of the Franciscan Order mention any of the names, nor is any record of them to be found in the numerous *relaciones de servicios* of this period examined. To the *actas* of possession are appended the signatures of various of the important members of the party. Five of these presented *informaciones de servicios* some time between 1547 and 1550: Francisco Preciado (the author of the account in Ramusio); Francisco de Terrazas the younger; Juan de Montañó; Gonzalo Hidalgo de Montemayor, and Martin de Espinosa.<sup>6</sup> All except Preciado had previously accompanied Cortés on his expedition to Santa Cruz. The pilots were Juan Castellon and Pedro de Bermes.

In the storm which the little fleet encountered August 27, the *Santo Tomás* began to make water and soon disappeared. She was under the command of a pilot named Manuel Alfonso who apparently only had a crew of three or four men. At either Santiago or Acapulco the pilot landed a negro to advise Cortés of what had occurred, but he was seized by Rodrigo Maldonado who, Cortés, afterwards claimed, had been placed in the port for that purpose.<sup>7</sup> Cortés even asserted that Maldonado had tortured the negro in the effort to extract some information from him about Ulloa's movements, and when unable to accomplish this followed the vessel on the coast with some men waiting for her

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to come to land.<sup>8</sup> The *Santo Tomás* finally turned up off the bar of Tehuantepec sometime in November and anchored, waiting to enter the port. One of the severe northers so common there struck her and she was obliged to cut her cable and run before it, leaving her boat behind. Unable to anchor along the coast the pilot took the ship to Guatulco where two officers came on board and took him prisoner. They also carried away his sails, the tiller and the oars, leaving the small vessel in a dangerous plight.<sup>9</sup> These were afterwards returned by Mendoza's order on the complaint of Cortés.<sup>10</sup>

Having gone up the Gulf of California as far as they could the other two ships following the coast of the peninsula south, rounded Cabo San Lucas and reached the Isla de Cedros in January, 1540. Ulloa, even after the greatest efforts, found it impossible to proceed any farther than some point on the mainland just to the north of that island. April 5 he sent back the *Santa Agueda* with an account of his voyage up to that date and sailed north again with the *Trinidad*. Preciado, who returned on the *Santa Agueda*, wrote a short account of the return voyage, especially remarking the great number of whales near Cabo San Lucas and the kelp at the Isla de Cedros. Of those on board he only mentioned the captain, Juan Castellon, and Fray Antonio de Meno, or Melo as he called him. The *Santa Agueda* reached Santiago de Buena Esperanza April 18 and departed for Acapulco four or five days later. Up to May 17, when Preciado finished his account, he had heard no more news of her.

Did Ulloa himself return? The evidence that he did is both positive and circumstantial. Bernal Diaz del Castillo stated definitely that he returned to the Puerto de Xalisco and was afterwards stabbed by one of his men.<sup>11</sup> Cortés himself in his memorial written after the Argel campaign alleged that Ulloa had returned because Mendoza had prevented him from sending relief to him,<sup>12</sup> and again in 1543 in an answer to an interrogatory in Madrid about the daughter of Antonio Cordero, one of his pilots who had been accidentally killed during the expedition to Santa Cruz, he affirmed that Ulloa had carried her off and referred to him for further information, a proof that he at that time thought that Ulloa was still alive.<sup>13</sup> At the end of Richard Hakluyt's translation of Preciado's account is a statement not found in the Italian text that Ulloa discovered Cabo del Engaño in  $30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  and then returned on account of a shortage of provisions. As no mention of the cape occurs in the narrative, it would naturally be assumed that Hakluyt had information that Ulloa had discovered it after having left Isla de Cedros April 5. The statement is not very convincing, however, as, although Hakluyt may have learned this from some Spanish friend or now lost document, it is more probable that it was simply one of his numerous interpolations based on the known fact that someone had discovered and named Cabo del Engaño about that time.

The circumstantial evidence is much more abundant and perhaps even more convincing. The first recorded *acta* of possession by Cabrillo was made north of Punta Antonio, the modern name for what was probably Cabo del Engaño,

thus furnishing us with some evidence that he, who certainly had some map showing Ulloa's discoveries, thought that Ulloa had gone nearly that far north. A further bit of strong circumstantial evidence exists in the fact that among the *relaciones de servicios* made before 1550 in Mexico, not one of the hundreds so far examined mentions the fact that Ulloa was lost, not even those of the five who stated specifically that they had accompanied him. One of these at least, Francisco de Terrazas, should have gone on with him as he was the *veedor*. In the short account of the expedition written after the return of Alarcon in November, 1540, it is not said that Ulloa was lost.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, the cartographical documents perhaps furnish the strongest evidence. On all the early maps showing the results of this expedition, two names occur not found in either the Ulloa or Preciado accounts: Cabo del Engaño and Los Cazonos. In neither of these accounts is there any mention of any cape which might deserve the name of "false," and if Los Cazonos was simply a nickname for the islands which Ulloa named "San Esteban," that is, Cedros and Natividad, that nickname must have occurred in some other account.<sup>15</sup> As far as can be made out, the two vessels never reached farther north than 30°, that is, half a degree or less north of the Isla de Cedros, and far removed from the Cabo del Engaño which appears on the maps of Sebastian Cabot and Battista Agnese.<sup>16</sup> If the Cazonos were not the Islas de San Esteban they must have been either the San Benitos or islands still farther north, none of which were discovered before the *Santa Agueda* departed from Cedros. Besides the maps just mentioned, there is another by Diego de Homem, dated 1568, which displays Ulloa's names, as well as others north of Cedros not shown on the above mentioned maps. This affords proof that there had been some expedition on that part of the coast. As the *San Pedro*, the only other vessel to pass along this coast between the time of Ulloa's voyage and 1568, did not stop there, it seems probable that we have in Homem's map some traces of the return voyage of Ulloa. On this hypothesis he would have started south in early July naming places in the following order: San Juan (Gualberto), July 12; Los Apóstoles (the separation of), July 15; Magdalena, July 22, and Santa Ana, July 26. It might appear then that he had reached as far north as 32° or 33°.<sup>17</sup>

As opposed to this cumulative evidence we have a positive statement from Herrera that he never returned. It is not impossible, however, that Herrera, who drew his information from Preciado, may have misinterpreted, as many others have done, the remark of Preciado at the end of his account that he had not heard any more of the *Santa Agueda*, and thought that this referred to Ulloa.

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*The Narrative of Ulloa*



In the great city of Tenochtitlan,<sup>18</sup> Mexico, in this New Spain, on the twenty-ninth day of the month of May in the year of Our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and forty, before the very noble Señor Juan de Burgos, *alcalde ordinario* for their Majesties of this said City of Mexico and in the presence of me, Alonso Diaz de Gibrleon, notary for their Majesties, and registered notary public of this said City of Mexico, appeared in person Francisco Sanchez de Toledo, on behalf of the Señor Marqués del Valle, and presented a written petition, as follows:

Very noble sir: I, Francisco Sanchez de Toledo, major-domo for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle, and on behalf of the said Marqués, appear before your honor and declare that I have need to make certain authorized transcripts of certain documents which Captain Francisco de Ulloa is forwarding to my said principal, concerning the new land and the discovery on which my said principal sent him; and because I desire to send these to the said Marqués and fear lest they may be torn or lost or wet or burned, I therefore petition and entreat your honor to have them copied in clear legal form, and to authorize and legalize each copy as fully as may be, delivering same to me to present wherever my principal's interests may require.

The said written petition having been so presented in the said manner, the said *alcalde* received into his hands a written relation and seven acts of possession, and saw that they were not torn or cancelled or in any respect suspicious, and said that he ordered, and did order me the said . . . [About five lines torn off] . . . ordered me, because the inspector has it so, and drawn by my hand, from which your lordship will not learn much more than from this one, except the course and how the coast runs and its inlets and outlets; wherefore I refer your lordship to this map, which I forward with this narrative.<sup>19</sup> It was made by this pilot who is going with me.<sup>20</sup> He and the other one have disagreed on the latitudes. The narrative is in accordance with the latitude determined by him because I consider him to be a man who knows what he's about, especially in the matter of latitude. Furthermore, he keeps his astrolabe and instruments carefully corrected and in good order, which is not the case with Juan de Castellon's. For this reason I have been guided by them.<sup>21</sup>

With this narrative will be found seven acts of possession taken for your lordship of lands through which we passed.

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Record and narrative of the voyage and discovery which, in the name of Our Lord, was made after this, your lordship's fleet, had left the Puerto de Acapulco, July 8, 1539; as far as this, Isla de Cedros,<sup>22</sup> where I now am, on April 5, 1540.

First, with the ships (which God preserve), one called the *Santa Agueda*, another the *Trinidad*, and the other the *Santo Tomás*, we left the Puerto de Acapulco on July 8 with fair weather, although some heavy showers fell and there was much wind, so much that we were somewhat hard pressed as we sailed along the coast. On reaching the locality of Punta de Motin on Wednesday, the 16th of the said month, as we sailed there there was a little wi . . . . . [About eight lines gone].

. . . . . the capstan, well Our Lord was pleased to permit us to recover without any loss all the sails and cordage and everything else that went overboard.

Next day at dawn we put ourselves into the best condition we could to continue our voyage, but it was not so good but that the breaking of these masts proved a considerable handicap during our voyage, especially since there befell us some seven or eight days of calms and little wind. We arrived at the Puerto de Santiago de Buena Esperanza<sup>23</sup> on Sunday, 7th [27th] of the said month.

We were twenty-six days in this port, repairing the damage the *Santa Agueda* had suffered, awaiting the supplies they were to give us, and taking on water and wood and other things necessary to our voyage.

After we had done as above stated in this port, and the supplies had come, we left on Saturday, August 23, and as we were putting out at ten o'clock at night, the wind turned contrary in such manner that we were compelled to return to our anchorage. At dawn the wind blew favorably again so that we again weighed, and as we sailed with fair weather, fifteen leagues beyond the Islas de Xalisco, on a Wednesday, 27th of this month of August, we were caught in a storm which lasted more than twenty-four hours. It occasioned us some difficulty, especially the *Santo Tomás*. Wracked by the wind and waves, she began to make water, and so badly that those aboard could not keep it down, according to what they told me, shouting to me that they were sinking and could not keep afloat. God grant that this may not be true, and that they are there, safe!<sup>24</sup>

I answered them, encouraging them the best I could and urging them to exert themselves, to fear not and to work that night as best they could, that I would follow them and repair the ship when the storm was over, since at that moment our fortune permitted nothing more. And, if the storm separated us that night, I bade them meet in the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz,† where your lordship was, for they knew that it was a known harbor, safe for the whole fleet to enter and leave without any difficulty or danger, as was no other we could make on that coast. When I had told them this, they stood away on the

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course I had laid down and I remained behind waiting for the *Santa Agueda*, which was coming up last, in order to speak her and order her what to do, if we were to follow the other vessel.

I could not speak her, because Castellon (who was steering her) invariably endeavored to keep away, so that I could not speak him; for which reason and others which I will report to your lordship I did not dare to leave this ship this night to follow the other, but, on the contrary, I stood by her all that night, watching her, that she might not play me some trick of the sort which are played, for there was wind and opportunity for it. When the next day dawned I spoke him and gave him orders to follow the course and the route taken by the other ship, which he was able to do without difficulty, for the weather was now fair and the wind suitable for doing so. We stood away and without stopping sailed as far as it seemed to us the other ship could have gone, which was until we arrived in the vicinity of El Guayaval.<sup>25</sup>

Seeing that we had not found the ship, nor did she appear on all that coast, we drew near the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz,<sup>†26</sup> to see if she had gone, or was going there, as I had told them on August 29. We arrived off Santiago<sup>27</sup> and Isla de las Perlas<sup>28</sup> on the 31st of the said month. We went about these islands with calms and fair weather and contrary winds for eight days, unable to make the port. We made it on Sunday, September 7, and we could have made it the Saturday before, except that the pilot Castellon made a mistake in entering and grounded the *Santa Agueda* in the shallows at the entrance.<sup>29</sup> We were all that day and the next getting her off and bringing her into the said port. Our Lord granted that she should come off without any detriment or damage.

We were in this Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz<sup>†</sup> two days, taking on water and wood and other things, and timber which we needed, all of which we did without difficulty or contradiction from the natives, and even without seeing a man of them, except three or four whom we saw at the entrance, on the height of the hill which is by the little inlet your lordship will recall. We saw a smoke or two inland at a good distance from us.<sup>30</sup> We found the headquarters and camp which your lordship had there all destroyed and without a sign of a house or anything else of what we had left, except some pieces of pottery and demi-johns lying about. Everything was burned, as the posts of the houses showed, which we found underground. We found certain campsites at a distance from this camp, abandoned many days before, it seemed, and somewhat inland on the river.<sup>31</sup>

Seeing that the ship of which we had come in search was not in the port, nor had arrived there in the two days we were there, nor in the eight we were before the entrance to this port, and that during this time there had been some weather favorable to her coming, we weighed on September 10<sup>32</sup> and stood away for the Rios de San Pedro y Pablo, to see if we could find her in either of them or along the coast. We arrived off the said rivers at noon, the 12th of



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the said month.<sup>33</sup> Finding that the ship was not in these rivers we continued on our way northward along the coast, running in and out, as the contour of the coast required.

Eight leagues beyond these rivers we found a very large river with two mouths, which poured a very great quantity of white water into the sea, in such amount that it was distinguishable four or five leagues out to sea.<sup>34</sup> According to the men who tried it, it did not taste as salty as sea water. Here they made us a smoke signal, but we paid no attention to it, for it seemed to us that it was very near the Rios de San Pedro y San Pablo; it was already known what sort their inhabitants were, and we did not wish to lose the wind, which was fair and favorable to the prosecution of our voyage. This river is in latitude  $27^{\circ} 15'$ .<sup>35</sup> We named it "Rio de Nuestra Señora," for we found it on her day.<sup>36</sup> We continued on the same courses, and sixteen leagues beyond this river found an open bay which the land formed. We desired to enter this to see it and what there was inside, but we could not come up within two leagues of the land for the sea was so shallow that there was not more than a fathom or a fathom and a half [of water]. Seeing that we could not bring the ships nearer, I sent a boat with certain seamen and landsmen to inspect it, and they saw it was a bay, as above stated. It had within it three large estuaries, full of mangroves, which led into the land. One entered toward the east, another toward the northeast, and the other toward the north-northeast. We named it "Los Esteros de la Cruz†," because it is near a high hill which we had so named the day before. It will be recognized by these estuaries and by its latitude of  $28^{\circ}$ .<sup>37</sup>

This day we saw ten or twelve Indians on the shore. Because of the distance we could not see what sort they were, but they seemed to us to be naked people. At night they made us two or three fire signals on the coast. This same night, before midnight, we weighed, continuing the same course.<sup>38</sup>

Twenty-five leagues beyond these estuaries we came upon the mouth of a river or lake or inlet, and it, too, poured white water into the sea. I think it is a river rather than anything else, because there were some big dry trees across the mouth, which are probably those it brings down when it runs high. We wished to enter it but found no channel. It seemed to us to carry a good volume of water. It is in latitude full  $29^{\circ}$ . They made us a smoke signal. We named this river "San Francisco," for we saw it on his day, or the evening before.<sup>39</sup>

We went forward along the coast on our course, and eighteen leagues beyond this river we found a port which is the best seen to this day, according to all the seamen in this fleet and even according to the landsmen. We went into this port to inspect it and see what there was in it. When inside we saw another estuary which ran inland more than two leagues toward the north. The entrance is very deep and clean and clear. Once inside, this harbor is enclosed on all sides and so sheltered from the sea that the sea cannot be seen

from within it, except from near the entrance. It has five or six fathoms of water everywhere, and a very clean sandy bottom, all of the same depth and cleanliness. This principal harbor has within it many other ports and indentations, as large as itself, as deep and as clean. They are such and so excellent that as many ships as it may be desired to anchor can lie here safely with any cable, no matter how slender. Because of these secondary ports we called this harbor "El Puerto de los Puertos," and the bay in which it is "La Bahía de la Posesion," for here was taken the first possession for your lordship on this voyage.

This harbor has two entrance channels, formed by an island at the mouth of it, both of them very clear, deep and clean. One enters north-south and the other east-west. It can be identified by the bay in which it lies, which is indeed large and pronounced, and by its latitude of  $29^{\circ} 45'$ .<sup>40</sup> We were in it examining it for two days, and saw no people nor sign of any except some old charcoal on the beach, charred many days before. While we were exploring the ports within this port we found in one of them two or three campsites abandoned many days previously, of the same sort as those of the Indians of the Puerto y Baía de Santa Cruz, where your lordship was. A little narrow, little used path came up to them from the interior. In these camps we found half a clay pot. The character of the land around this port and of all we could see of it is poor—very poor. Perhaps it is because it is all high mountain ranges, or bare rock, without trees or green except some cactus<sup>41</sup> and shrubs of the kind which grow around the Baía y Puerto de Santa Cruz†. Seeing that there were no people in this port, nor did it seem likely that the interior was inhabited by people different from those the campsites suggested, I took possession for your lordship<sup>42</sup> and we went on, in order to make the most of the favorable wind.

The land we left behind, from the Rios de San Pedro y San Pablo to this Puerto de los Puertos—sixty-two leagues—is very low land, sandy, with few hills, such as there are being very small. The sea is not very deep; a league and two leagues from shore we did not find in all this distance more than eight to fifteen fathoms.

We weighed from this Puerto de los Puertos on Friday, September 19, sailing north, in and out, as the contour of the coast guided us. Seventeen leagues from this Puerto de los Puertos we found a little uninhabited island, a league or two from the mainland in latitude full  $30^{\circ}$ .<sup>43</sup>

Following the said course, thirty leagues beyond this little island we entered a strait formed by the mainland and an uninhabited island, which was four leagues wide and twelve long. There is very deep water between it and the mainland. It lies in latitude  $31^{\circ}$  and at its entrance there are two little islets. We named it "Estrecho de San Miguel," for we passed through it on his day.<sup>44</sup>

Having passed through this strait, following the said course for thirty leagues, in latitude  $32^{\circ} 45'$  we saw at sea six or seven white, high sharp rocks for which reason we named them "Los Diamantes."<sup>45</sup> Four or five leagues

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past them we commenced to find the water white, like river water, and as we sailed through this water we saw land to the southwest, eight or nine leagues from us. Thinking that it was an island we went to it to see it and to learn what it was. The nearer we came to it the less depth we got, to such extent that we found ourselves in four or five fathoms and the sea all reddish and turned to mud. Because the water was shallow where we were and the water turbid, we anchored, to find a way to draw nearer that land. We did not find it nor could we get nearer than we were, it being more than two leagues away. Therefore, this same day, it being then late, we turned back to the mainland to see if between it and this other land we might find deep water in order to continue on.

We found a channel two leagues from the mainland, eight fathoms deep, into which its two tides flooded every twenty-four hours in their order, flood and ebb, without falling off a jot and with a flood and an ebb current so strong that it was marvelous. When the tide ran out it left dry, and when it flooded it covered more than two leagues which lay between where we were and the mainland. We anchored in this channel because it was late to go forward, in order next day to see what thing this was and where it ended.<sup>46</sup>

The next day, Monday, September 28, we wished to continue on but as the day dawned, it being low tide, we saw the whole sea where we must pass, between one land and the other, closed with shoals, and in addition to this we saw, between one land and the other, many summits of mountains, the bases of which we could not see for the earth's curvature.<sup>47</sup> Since for these reasons we could not go ahead I landed on a sand-bar nearby and took possession for your lordship. This done, we came out of that channel with the tide and stood away southwest, to pass around the land which we saw there, in order to continue our voyage on the other side of it.<sup>48</sup>

This inlet and reddish sea are in 34°. We named it the "Ancon<sup>49</sup> de San Andrés y Mar Bermejo," because it is that color and we arrived there on the day of San Andrés.<sup>50</sup> It is 104 leagues from El Puerto de los Puertos. The character of the land—of that which comes down to the sea—is poor, very poor. It may be because for sixty leagues beyond El Puerto de los Puertos it is very high land, all stone — sheer rocks — without any verdure or green thing. The sea off these coasts is quite deep. The rest of the country as far as the Ancon de San Andrés and Mar Bermejo is very level land, all sand, and the sea is shallow one and two leagues off shore. In all these 104 leagues we did not see a person or sign of any; I do not believe that such land can be inhabited. We weighed from Ancon de San Andrés and Mar Bermejo on Sunday, September 28,<sup>51</sup> and stood away southeast to make around the land, in which direction we had to seek a passage on the other side of it, to continue our voyage.<sup>52</sup>

On the same course and coast, thirty-six leagues from this Ancon and Mar Bermejo, four leagues ahead of where we were, we saw what looked like a very

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large smoke signal, and because we were all desirous of seeing the people of these lands, believing this to be a smoke signal, we took careful note of its situation and next day stood away for it, in order to see what sort of people they were who made it. When we reached the place, according to the observation we had taken, we found a very large bay which had a high sandy islet at the mouth of it, off which we anchored. I entered between the islet and the bay in a boat and went to the place where we had located the smoke signal. While we were in the bay we saw another smoke signal where the first had been, and very near to us, on the same hill which was at the mouth of the bay. We were all astounded to see the smoke and not to see fire nor people who had made it. We thought it must be some volcano and I wanted to go up to it to see. While we were looking over the bay and reconnoitering to see if there were any people who might do me damage, I saw in my presence and in that of all those who were with me a great lot of sand fall from the hill at the mouth of the bay. The dust it raised ascended so high and so dark that truly it looked like smoke.

Seeing that this was what we had thought to be a smoke signal, but was not such, nor were there any people or any possibility that the land was inhabited, for it seemed to us to be very dry and sterile and without any virtue or verdure, since it was all very high ranges of the sort of stone of which they make knives in New Spain, and seeing that it was not smoke which had seemed smoke to us, nor was there any likelihood of there being people in the land, I spent this day exploring the bay and observing its character. I found it to be a port as fine and big as could be. Once inside, it is so closed in on all sides that the sea is not visible. The bottom is clean and of any depth those who enter it wish to seek. It has two large clean entrances, free of obstacles, formed by the island. Inside we found so many seals that were I to say there were a hundred thousand I think I would not be exaggerating. For this reason we named it "El Puerto de los Lobos." One entrance bears northwest-southeast and the other northeast-south-southwest. It can be identified by the latitude of  $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  in which it lies, and by the sand islet at its mouth which makes it so good a port. This islet is high and noticeable.<sup>53</sup>

The character of the land from Ancon de San Andrés and Mar Bermejo, whence we stood away for this port, is high and bare, of wretched aspect without any verdure. The sea is deep.

While we were riding this night off the mouth of this bay, waiting for wind to sail in continuance of our voyage, we saw a fire two leagues from us. I therefore stayed where I was anchored until next day, in order to go to see the people who had built it. As soon as day broke—it was October 3—I went there in a boat, and, having reached the place where the fire was, before we landed we saw on shore an old man and another young man with three or four boys. Seeing us approaching them, the young man demanded of one of the boys his bows and some arrows which he had left at a little distance. When

the boy had fetched them, he took the bow and tried it, apparently to see if it were strung. He and the rest stood still where they were, without any harm or fear, although we were coming close to them. Seeing them so assured we thought they must not be alone but rather had some ambuscade laid, and that their assurance was a ruse. Therefore we chose not to land near them, although we might have done so; instead, we drew away to another place, in order to reconnoiter a gully where they were and certain bushes back of them. When we had so reconnoitered we landed and went toward them. They stood still until we had come within twenty or thirty paces of them. Finding us so near, they arose and the old man came toward us, placing his hand before his eyes like one who protects his sight from the sun. The rest began to flee up a high hill and presently the old man started after them. We seized him to see him and what manner of men he and the rest were, and to find out if he could understand the Indian we brought from the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz. He spoke another language. The rest were naked people without any clothing, garments or covering. Their hair was cut two or three fingers long.

They had a little enclosure of woven grass without any cover over the top, where they lodged, ten or twelve paces from the sea.<sup>54</sup> We found inside no sort of bread nor anything resembling it, nor any other food except fish, of which they had some which they had killed with well-twisted cords which they had and with some thick hooks made of tortoise shell bent in fire, and with others, smaller, made of thorns. They kept their drinking water in certain skin pouches which we thought must be the stomachs of seals. They had a little raft which they must have used in fishing. It was made of canes tied in three bundles, each part separately, and then all tied together, the middle section being larger than the laterals. They rowed it with a slender oar, little more than half a fathom long, and two small badly made paddles, one at each end. We judged these people to be nomads, possessed of little intelligence.<sup>55</sup>

Seeing that they were of this quality and that we could not by any means learn from them anything concerning the land, we released him and gave him back everything that was in their camp and other things we carried, and he returned to his people. We embarked to return to our ships which were more than two leagues out. When we had hardly drawn off a bowshot from where they were, two of the boys who had fled came down to the shore to draw the raft into safety. We arrived at our ships quite late and tired, and after difficulty, for the wind blew hard against us and the sea grew very rough. In this camp where these Indians were there were rabbits, hares<sup>56</sup> and coyotes.<sup>57</sup>

No less worry and weariness did we endure this day on account of the *Trinidad*, which stood away before daybreak to continue on our course, as on other occasions we were wont to do. Because she was at some distance from the vessel in which I was, she did not see the fire that I saw nor did I have a chance to inform her of it. Therefore she kept on, thinking that I also was continuing on the course, and she was lost from view. I thought that she saw me remain-

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ing behind and that she would return, although she had the wind against her, and that to do so she was standing out to sea in order to turn and come up along the coast with the seabreeze. Therefore I did not wish to go after her and so not go to see the Indians. After I returned aboard I did not wish to sail, in order not to miss her in the night.

Next day, October 4, we sailed on our voyage southeast in search of the ship. We followed the coast, in and out, according to its contour. It was so dark this day, so thick and foggy, that we could not have seen the ship even had we been close upon her nor could she have seen the vessel in which I was; therefore, I hardly sailed at all this day or night in order not to miss her. The following day and night it was the same sort and manner of weather, and neither did we sail. The third day dawned dry and clear and Our Lord was pleased to permit us to find the ship. We came together again and I spoke those who were aboard her, blaming them for having been careless and for having sailed without me. They gave as their excuse the understanding above set forth. I warned them not to be careless in the future and we continued on our voyage.

On the same course,<sup>58</sup> ten leagues from the Puerto de los Lobos, we came upon an uninhabited island about fifteen leagues long and six wide.<sup>59</sup> It lies parallel to the mainland, two or three leagues away and is the same sort of land as the mainland and belongs to it.<sup>60</sup> In the mainland there is a great bay, in which we anchored, to take possession there and to see if there were any people different from those we had seen, and to see if there was water we could take in a river which empties there, for we were in need of water. We found no people, only some few traces of them, many days old, nor did we find water we could take. I took possession for your lordship and we re-embarked to continue our voyage. This bay is in latitude  $30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ .<sup>61</sup> We named it the "Baia de San Marcos," for we arrived there on his day.<sup>62</sup>

From this bay to Puerto de los Lobos, whence we weighed when the ship was lost, as above described, it is twenty leagues. At night we saw some fires, far apart. The character of the land is the same as the preceding and the sea is deep.

While we were anchored in this Baia de San Marcos, waiting for wind to sail, we saw two fires more than a league apart, and in order to see the people who built them we remained without making sail the next day and went to see them. Arriving where one of the fires was, when we were still a bowshot away from the place we saw two men, tall, naked and of good appearance, with bows and arrows in their hands. When they saw us approaching them they went behind some stakes where they lived, making believe they were squatting and hiding, as if lying in wait for us. They did this to delay our landing while they got away and placed their women and children in safety. Seeing that we drew near in order to land, they fled up a hill where they lived in two enclosures made like the others we had seen. There were tracks there of ten or twelve persons, some small and some large, probably their women and children. Here

we found no sort of bread nor anything resembling it. They kept their drinking water in the stomachs of fish. We found a bowl like the small ones found among the people of the Baia y Puerto de Santa Cruz and this led us to conclude that this land and people are all one. We went some distance inland to inspect the character of the country and to see if there were more people besides those we had seen. We found none, nor any better country than that left behind us. There were some trails which ran along the coast, narrow and little travelled, there were rabbits and hares and many tracks of coyotes. Having seen these things, as related in this paragraph, we returned to take boat again for our ships and make sail. This we could not do that day as the wind was contrary.

Then, next day, Wednesday, October 8, with little wind and sometimes calms, we stood away between this land and the island on a southeast course. After six or seven leagues we disembogued between this land and another.<sup>63</sup> Six leagues farther on we found another uninhabited island, which measures nine leagues long and five wide and is five or six leagues from the mainland.<sup>64</sup> There are two or three other little islets between this island and the one behind at the Baia de San Marcos. Eighteen or nineteen leagues farther on, we found another uninhabited island, five or six leagues long and two or three wide,<sup>65</sup> and four leagues beyond this, another of the same sort and size.

On Sunday at dawn,<sup>66</sup> while between this island and the mainland, a man came out from the mainland towards the ship on a raft. He came out a cross-bowshot from land and, on reaching there, stood up on his raft and remained there, still, looking at our ships. Presently, after he had looked them over, he spoke certain words in a loud voice and returned whence he had come. A little while after, he came out again from where he had gone with four others on four more rafts. Talking among themselves, they came half again nearer than he had come who came the first time, and he who had come the first time led the way. Having arrived at this distance, they began to shout in a language which the Indian we brought from the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz did not understand, nor did they understand him. So they remained a long time without being willing to come nearer although we called them by signs and showed them things to barter and to give them, to which they paid little heed.

Seeing that they would not come up and were returning whence they had come, I went out after them in a boat to see if I could take some one of them so as to give him things and release him. I overtook the one who seemed to be of more importance than the others, for he was the one who came nearest and talked the most—the one who had come out first on the first raft—and when we came up with him he left his raft and dived into the sea and swam. I kept after him for more than half an hour but could not capture him, for every time the boat reached him he dived under the bow and after quite a while came up beyond the stern. Although we exerted ourselves to turn the boat quickly and go after him again, he had meanwhile rested, floating on the water,

in order to do the same thing again; and so he kept it up with good spirit and without weakening in the least until he had so tired us out that those who rowed the boat could no longer start it going. His companions came to his assistance on the other rafts, and seeing that we could not take him I returned to the ships.

He and the others whom this day we saw on the rafts and on land, eight or ten men, were naked people of good appearance. Their hair was trimmed two or three fingers long. Altogether they had two or three bows with arrows. The rafts of canes on which they came out were larger than the first I described above, but of the same make and style. They rowed with the same sort of sticks and paddles. We remained this day in this vicinity, for we had not the wind to proceed. The Indians walked about upon the beach. They made us a smoke signal and a fire at night.

The channel between this island and the mainland, where these Indians were, is in latitude  $28^{\circ} 40'$ , and we named it "Pasaje de Belen,"<sup>67</sup> because when the Indian called to his companions for help, he said "*Belen!*" It is thirty-six leagues from this Pasaje de Belen to Baia de San Marcos, behind it.<sup>68</sup> At night while between Baia de San Marcos and Pasaje de Belen we saw a few fires, far apart. The character of the land is poor like the preceding, except in the vicinity where these Indians were, where there appeared to be a little more verdure. Seeing that these people and those whom we had seen previously were all of one kind, and that this land and the Baia de Santa Cruz were also all one, to judge by the appearance of the people and the trend of the land and its appearance, and finding ourselves so near it and thinking it likely that between it and where we were there could not be anything of any more account, we stood away for there on a southwest course,<sup>69</sup> running in and out, as the contour of the coast required.

We weighed from Pasaje de Belen on October 13, and arrived at the Puerto y Bahia de Santa Cruz on the 19th. Between Pasaje de Belen and this place there are some little uninhabited islands of wretched aspect and of the size which your lordship will see by this map. At night we saw some fires ashore, few and far apart, like the preceding. The land showed a little more verdure and the nearer we came to the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz the greener the land looked to us.

*[As the account given by Ulloa in the two preceding paragraphs is very brief and omits to take notice of one of the essential facts about the expedition, there is inserted here that part of Chapter VI of the Preciado account, as translated by Hakluyt, which covers the interval between October 13 and October 19.]*

At our coming out of these openings<sup>70</sup> we began to finde a Bay with a very great haven, environed with divers small hilles having upon them greene woods and pleasant to behold.<sup>71</sup> In this bay and strand were two small Islands neere unto the shore, one of the which was like unto a table about halfe a league in bignes, and the other was a round hill almost as big as the former. These Islands served us onely to content our sight, for we passed by them without staying, having but a slacke wind on Munday morning: all which day we followed our course with the foresayd slacke winde, and within a while after it



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became flat contrary, so that we were constrained to anker at the sayd point of the sayd haven;<sup>72</sup> and on Tewesday at breake of day we set sayle, but made but little away all the day, because the winde continued contrary, although but very weake. The night following wee were becalmed a little beyond the point of this haven; but about midnight wee began to have a fresh gale, and on Wednesday in the morning wee were seven leagues distant from that point. This countrey shewed (as it was indeede) more plaine then the rest, with certaine small woody hilles, and within the other point which was before descried, the situation seemed to be more pleasant and delightsome then the rest which we had passed. And at the uttermost end of the point were two small Islets. The sayd Wednesday about nine of the clocke the winde blew a good gale, and we sayled by evening between seven and eight leagues, and came over against a land not very high, where wee saw certaine creekes or breaches not very ragged, into every of which a river seemed to fall, because the soyle was very greene, and had certaine trees growing on it farre bigger then those which we had found before. Here the Captaine with five or sixe men went on shore, and taking possession passed up one of those rivers, and found the footing of many Indians upon the sand.<sup>73</sup> On the bankes of that river they saw many fruitful trees, as cherry-trees and little apple-trees,<sup>74</sup> and other white trees: they found also in the wood three or foure beasts called Adibes, which are a kind of dogs. The same night wee set sayle with the winde off the land, which blew so freshly, that it made us to strike our foresayle; and on the sixteenth of October at nine of the clocke we came neere unto a point of certaine high mountaines, on which day being Thursday we made little way, because the winde ceased, but it rose againe in the night, whereupon by the breake of day on Friday wee came before the sayd point being sixe or seven leagues off. The land seemed to bee very mountainous with certaine sharpe points not greatly clad with grasse, but somewhat bare. On our left hand wee saw two Islands, the one of a league and a halfe, the other not so much, and it seemed that we drew neere to the port of Santa Cruz, whereat we were sory, because we were alwaies in good hope to find some out-let into the maine Ocean in some place of that land, and that The same port was the same out-let, and also that by the sayd coast we might returne to the foresayd haven of Santa Cruz, and that we had committed a great error, because we had not certainly sought out the secret, whether that were a Streit or a river which we had left behind us unsearched at the bottome of this great sea or gulfe.

All Friday and the night following we sayled with a scante winde, and on Saturday at breake of day we were betweene two points of land which make a bay, wherein we saw before and behinde foure or five great and small Islands.<sup>75</sup> The land was very mountainous, part whereof was covered with grasse, and part was voide. Within the land appeared more mountaines and hills, and in this place we were come neere unto the haven of Santa Cruz, which is all firme land, except it be divided in the very nooke by some streite or great river which parteth it from the maine, which because we had not thoroughly discovered, all of us that were employed in this voyage were not a little grieved. And this maine land stretcheth so farre in length, that I cannot well expresse it: for from the haven of Acapulco, which standeth in seventeene degrees and twenty minutes of latitude, wee had alwayes the coast of the firme land on our right hand, until we came to the great current of the white & red sea: and here (as I have said) we knew not the secret of this current, whether it were caused by a river or by a streit: and so supposing that the coast which wee had on our right hand was closed up without passage, wee returned backe againe, alwayes descending Southward by our degrees, untill wee returned unto the sayd haven of Santa Cruz, finding still along the coast a goodly and pleasant countrey and still seeing fires made by the Indians, and Canoas made of Canes. We determined to take in fresh water at the haven of Santa Cruz, to runne along the outward Western coast, and to see what it was, if it pleased God. Here we rested ourselves, and eat of the plummes<sup>76</sup> and fruits called Pithaias;<sup>77</sup> [This day being Saturday the winde increased, and wee had sight of the Isle of pearles, which on this side of the gulfe appeareth with a deepe valley all covered over with trees, and sheweth much fairer then on the other side],<sup>78</sup> and wee entred into the port of Santa Cruz on Sunday the 18 of October and stayed there eight daies to take in wood and water resting our selves all that while, that our men might strengthen and refresh themselves. Our captaine determined to divide amongst us certain garments of taffata, with clokes and saies, and a piece of taffata, and likewise ordained, that wee should goe on land to catch a couple of Indians, that they might talke with our interpreter, and that we might come to the knowledge of their language. Whereupon thirteene of us went out of our ship by night, and lay in ambush in a place which is called The well of Grijalva,<sup>79</sup> where we stayed untill noone betweene certaine secret wayes, and could never see or descrie any one Indian: wherefore wee returned to our ships, with two mastive-dogs which we carried with us to catch the Indians with more ease: and in our returne we found two Indians hidden in certaine thickets, which were come thither to spie what wee did: but because wee and our dogs were weary, and thought not on them, these Indians issued out of the thickets, and fled away,

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and wee ranne after them, and our dogges saw them not: wherefore by reason of the thicknes of the wilde thistles,<sup>80</sup> and the thornes and bryars, and because we were weary, we could never overtake them: they left behinde them certaine staves so finely wrought that they were very beautifull to behold, considering how cunningly they were made with a handle and a corde to fling them.

We remained in this Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz from October 19, when we entered, to the 29th, taking on water and wood we needed, and timber for certain necessary repairs aboardship. During this time we made some expeditions inland and other efforts to capture some Indian from whom to learn something of the country,<sup>81</sup> but were unable to do so, because, inasmuch as they had suffered the first time we came there, they retired into safety inland so that we could not get a man of them.<sup>82</sup>

We weighed from this Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz on Wednesday, October 29, for the south coast as your lordship ordered, and as we were leaving the port the pilot of the *Trinidad* was careless, and because of the current, which was then running to sea, he grounded the ship on one of the channel shoals. We expended some effort in an attempt to get her off at once in order that she might not be damaged, but were unsuccessful for the tide was ebbing. It ran out so quickly that she was left dry. Seeing that we could not get her off, we propped her up on all sides for the time being, that she might not fall over, until the tide should flood again, and so we held her up and brought her off at nine or ten at night. She had suffered no damage. We did not leave that night as soon as we had brought her off, although the wind was right, because we preferred to await daylight to see the way out more clearly. As soon as it was day we sailed and came out at our good pleasure.

As we were sailing with a favorable wind six or seven leagues beyond this port between Isla de Santiago<sup>83</sup> and the mainland, the wind blew contrary and some rain fell, and we were this day and night beating between the island and the mainland. Seeing that we could not go forward and that the wind and sea were rising, we returned to shelter at the point<sup>84</sup> which projects from this land towards Isla de Perlas.<sup>85</sup> The next day was better weather, more propitious to our voyage, and we made sail. On arriving at the same place between Isla de Santiago and the mainland, the weather again turned rough and contrary with the same rains, so that we hove to that night until next morning at daybreak, when we returned to the mainland coast to seek an anchorage in which to anchor in order not to lose ground. While we were at anchor the wind and sea rose so that we were obliged to raise the anchor and seek shelter in the place whence we had first sailed. As we were setting out thither the wind changed, becoming favorable to our voyage, and with it we proceeded. As we were sailing, it shortly shifted again to contrary and blew against our continuing, but suitable to our seeking the said shelter.

Because the wind was unstable, changing quarter every little while, night caught us between this Isla de Santiago and the mainland. It was so dark and fearful, with wind, thunder, lightning and some rain, the wind at times contrary,

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now one way and now the other, that at times we thought we were going to be lost. Some said they saw San Telmo. Whatever it was I did see, I saw it on the *Trinidad*, where it appeared. It was a shining object on the top of the main mast. I do not assert whether it was a Saint or some other thing, but whatever it was, devout thanks did it get and Our Lord was pleased that the weather improved shortly and turned calm and clear and we came to shelter in the place where first we had sought it.<sup>86</sup> We remained at anchor there the next day, without sailing, resting from the exertion of the night before. Having rested this day, as above stated, and seeing that the wind was somewhat propitious to our voyage, we sailed with a favoring wind, on Tuesday, November 4,<sup>87</sup> and arrived in two days at the point of the other, the south coast of this land, fifty leagues from where we set out and in latitude full 23°.<sup>88</sup> All these lands are high and green; at night we saw some fires.

Arriving at this point and in this latitude of 23°, whence we were to commence the exploration of this coast,<sup>89</sup> we stood away on Friday, November 7, on a northerly course, running in and out, as the contour of the coast required. With little wind and occasional calms we sailed fifteen leagues in five days. During the night calms separated us from each other. This we regretted greatly, for presently a little wind blew fresh with some rain, and because the other ship was separated from the one in which I was, we remained on the coast without sailing to see if she would come up, as according to our reckoning she was behind us.<sup>90</sup>

Seeing that the day was passing, that she did not appear and the sky was so overcast that even were she only a short distance from us we could not see her, we stood out to sea to see if we could discover her or she us, and in order to burn lights at night that she might come up or we go to her if she burned lights for us. We did not see her that day nor did she come to the lights that night. Next day, finding myself without her, I was in great tribulation, for the wind had blown a bit strong that night and it seemed to me that because of it we might become so separated that we would not get together again. Seeing that for three days it had been calm, when day dawned and it grew light and she was not to be seen on all that coast nor at sea, I made my reckoning and found it reasonable to suppose that she was behind us. Although some of the seamen disagreed with my opinion we turned back to find her and Our Lord was pleased that when we had gone two leagues we found her. We came together again with much rejoicing among all aboard our ship, and also aboard the other one who had felt no less apprehension than we had. We anchored this day near shore for the wind was contrary.

We weighed next day, Friday, November 14, and as we sailed along the coast with little wind and occasional calms,<sup>91</sup> the next Sunday we met a storm out of the north, in the face of which we returned to take shelter on the coast, for the land protected us somewhat. While we were so anchored the weather improved and the wind blew propitious to our voyage. We again weighed,

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and as we were beginning to sail we were struck by another storm, also out of the north, so violent that it did not permit us to return to the land to find shelter, but, on the contrary, carried us to sea and kept us there from Monday to Wednesday by the fury of the gale. Thursday dawned fair, so much so that we lay becalmed. We remained this day where the storm left us, the ships separated one from the other, unable to come together or to make any headway.

This night at midnight another storm blew up as violent as the preceding ones. It worried me greatly because I had not my ships together to keep them upon one course. The night was dark and tempestuous and therefore each was obliged to go her own way, as the wind drove, and this we did. When day broke I found myself minus the other ship. This afflicted me more sorely than it had on preceding similar occasions, for it seemed to me too much bad luck to lose her so many times, and I feared lest there might have befallen her some disaster such as is wont to happen in such weather.<sup>92</sup> This day we beat back and forth while the wind lasted, to see if we could see her and that she might see us. Seeing that we did not see her nor find her, we came to the coast to see if we could find her there. She was not there nor did she come up. As she did not come up nor appear, we continued our voyage along the coast, Saturday, the 22nd of the month, to go to a certain latitude where I had told them to rendezvous if by any chance we became separated.

We sailed with little wind and occasional calms, and eight days after we had lost the ship I arrived at dawn in a great bay which lies in latitude 25°,<sup>93</sup> which is where I had, as stated, told the pilots of the fleet we were to await each other fifteen days, if we became separated,<sup>94</sup> and in that bay I found the ship. Our rejoicing corresponded to the need we had of each other, and the situation warranted. We remained at anchor in this bay all the day on which we met, without sailing, to tell each other why we had separated one from the other. We had no wind to do more.

When we had come together she said she had been awaiting us there for five days and that she had been brought thither by a very strong current in a very short while, without being able to help herself, and that she had found very good water. This pleased us greatly for we were much in need of water. She gave us news of a very large lagoon, off which we were, and of the entrance to it.<sup>95</sup> This lagoon is so large that it is twenty or twenty-five leagues around, and the mouth is so wide and so deep that ships of any size can enter. This lagoon is inhabited, as it appeared and will presently be related. Having so come together, as above said, we sailed for the place where the water was on Thursday, November 27. As we were setting out a north wind blew, so fierce and furious that we could not make the land where the watering-place was. On the contrary it drove us so far to sea that with difficulty we could hardly make back to the land at the point where we left it. This same day, a little before midnight, we made it three or four leagues below the point from which

we had sailed. We rode at anchor that night, all the next day and the next until noon, when the wind dropped and blew so that we could go to the watering-place. We went on Saturday, the 29th of the month,<sup>96</sup> but we could not reach it that day. We anchored half a league from it because it was night and found little depth.

Next day we sailed, and with the small boats went to see the water and discovered the channel by which the ships had to come up to it. While we were so engaged a smoke signal was made on land, which amazed us, for in all the time the *Trinidad* was there she had seen no people nor sign of any. When those who were in the boats sounding the channel saw the smoke they went to it to see what it was. They saw six or seven Indians who were making it, who fled on seeing that they were drawing near the land.

Next day, Monday, December 1, we brought the ships up to the watering-place and landed to fill.<sup>97</sup> Before disembarking we saw four or five Indians on a high hill watching us. After we had disembarked, while setting out our sentries we saw twelve or fifteen others on some hills. While we were taking water this day two bands of these people assaulted us at vespers. One came down the side of a hill straight to the watering-place. The other attacked from above by way of certain steep gullies near us. These Indians approached so crouched and hidden, one from the other, that our sentries did not see them—could not see them—until they were very near. They hardly gave us time to climb the height, although we took it so fast that they did not arrive there before us. They attacked us with such marvellous spirit and ferocity and with such a rain of arrows, javelins and stones, that they did not permit us to show a face from under our bucklers. Our Lord was pleased that we should resist their first onslaught, and we broke them up and they fled, although at the expense of two or three of us and Becerrillo, whom they wounded.<sup>98</sup>

After we had broken them up, they separated in three different directions and stationed themselves in three places on the hill near us whence they could do us damage, and from there they fired javelins, arrows and stones at us. Those on the hill, as soon as they went up it, got together and began to walk about, singing and dancing, with their bows in their hands. We were unable to decide why they did this. It must have been to indicate that they had held us in little esteem, or to honor some one of themselves who perhaps had conducted himself better than the rest, as is customary among them. Seeing that both bands stayed where they were and continued to try to do us damage, we formed into two parties. One remained on guard to see that they did no harm to those who were filling water, and we of the other party fought with those who came nearest to us from the hour they attacked us until night separated us.

They gave us plenty of work this day, and the hardest was to take the hills where the two bands were, whence they offended us without risk to them and at our cost. The taking of these hills was a relief to us and an assurance of safety, for in addition to our then being in a position to offend them without

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ourselves being offended, they lost heart and withdrew from us and we gained courage, especially upon taking the last, which was the stronger and better and had rocks in abundance, with which they waged the principal war on us and did the most damage. This last stronghold taken we stopped. The Indians who were on it and the other hills withdrew whither they saw fit and formed little parties, say six or seven men in each group, and so assembled they sat down and built their fires and were quite at their ease. We did not know whether or not they did this to lead us to believe that they were going to remain, or to protect themselves from the cold, for it was very cold. In this manner they remained quiet until it commenced to grow dark, when they began to depart, each carrying a burning brand in his hand. When they had all gone, we advanced, as we had not dared to do before, lest they might think we were fleeing and take heart and do us damage as we embarked, which they could have done, for the place where we had to embark lent itself to it. We embarked with difficulty because it was night and the sea rough. When we arrived aboard the wounded men and the dog received attention, and we issued orders as to the manner in which we were to fill the water we lacked.

The people who came and waged war on us this day were naked people of medium appearance.<sup>99</sup> Some had long black hair and all the rest wore theirs cut two or three fingers long. Many of them wore hanging about their necks shining shells of the kind in which pearls grow. In their ears they wore pieces of wood two inches thick. Their arms were slender bows (?),<sup>100</sup> taller than they, arrows of cane or wood with flint points and some lances. This same day, before they attacked us, I went up on a very high hill which overlooks the lagoon of which they had told me, to inspect it and see if there was anything else in the land. Nothing more was to be seen than the size and beauty of the lagoon above described.

The next day, Tuesday, the 2nd of the month, we brought the *Trinidad* nearer up to the watering-place than she had been, in order to be able to protect ourselves with the artillery if the Indians should return. We did nothing this day except to come up to take the watering-place, nor did we attempt more, except to go with a small boat to see the lagoon and the entrance to it. They went into this entrance and found it clear and very deep, and the lagoon to be such and as large as has been said.<sup>101</sup> In it they found very large rafts made of canes and bigger than the boat in which they were, according to those who went there. They found some people on its shores who disputed their landing every time they came near shore with the boat. The entrance to this lagoon is to the north, and it lies in latitude 25°. It will be identified by a prominent and recognizable point of land which comes out into the sea. It was here we found the *Trinidad*, and therefore we called this point "Punta de la Trinidad,"<sup>102</sup> and named the lagoon "La Laguna de Santa Catalina."<sup>103</sup>

Then, the next day, Wednesday, the 3d of the month, all the men who were able came out armed and equipped as best they could, and landing with

due precaution the sentinels took up their positions in such manner that they could attack without being attacked, even if the people came. We filled the water we needed without any difficulty or contradiction from the natives, even without seeing a man of them, big or little, and so returned to the ships.

Then, next day, Thursday, the 4th of the month, I took possession for your lordship,<sup>104</sup> and we sailed in continuance of our voyage standing away on a northwest course. Eight or ten leagues farther on this course we came upon a beautiful bay, which was ten or twelve leagues around and one across the entrance.<sup>105</sup> It is inhabited by the same sort of people as the preceding Laguna de Santa Catalina. I did not wish to stop in it for I was somewhat indisposed, and because it seemed to me there was nothing more to see here than at the last place. We continued on our voyage.

Having sailed twenty or twenty-five leagues from this bay along the coast, the wind blew so entirely contrary that we could not advance at all. In order not to lose ground, we anchored off shore and rode at anchor for three days, awaiting wind to enable us to sail. During these days we saw six or seven leagues inland many and large smoke signals, far apart, in such numbers that they were three or four leagues in extent. They lasted all the time we were there and much longer, as afterwards appeared. At the end of these three days, one Thursday, the 11th of the month, early in the night, the weather grew so rough that it broke the cables by which we were anchored and we were compelled to abandon our anchors and to sail, putting out to sea. We managed this with great difficulty, for the wind was a cross-wind, and in the direction in which we could get out we had a point of land to pass. Our Lord was pleased that we should double it and get away without danger, though not without the hard work above described, because in addition to having to double the point, the wind and sea rose so that we were hard pressed.<sup>106</sup>

Seeing that day dawned with the same sort of weather prevailing and growing constantly worse, and that it presented no indication of immediate cessation, we returned to shelter twenty leagues back behind a sandy beach near Punta de la Trinidad. Here, awaiting an abatement of the storm and for weather propitious for our voyage, we lay from this Friday when we reached there, the 12th of the month, until the following Monday, the 15th. Then, seeing that the weather continued to grow worse, we dropped down to Punta de la Trinidad to be more sheltered and to fill water, for we had drunk it up.<sup>107</sup> We arrived there this same day. The next day, Tuesday, we towed the ship *Trinidad* up near the watering-place (for the wind did not serve us), in order to fill water in safety and to make use of her if it should be necessary.

As we were arriving and were already near the watering-place, four men appeared upon a hill, and shortly, on other higher hills, a few more Indians, who stationed themselves near the first who had come down to the shore, and posted themselves over the watering-place, the rest behind them, except three or four who remained in certain positions watching and protecting the others.

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As they were so standing sentry, some sailors came near them to drop an anchor. The Indians spoke to them and made signs to them to come ashore where they would give them a shining shell which they showed them, of the sort in which pearls grow, which they wore hanging about their necks. The sailors indicated to them by signs that they did not wish to do so, and two or three of them came swimming out to a rock, which lay somewhat out to sea between them and the sailors. They sank an arrow into the rock and on top of it hung the shell they offered and withdrew. When they had done this, they again made signs to the sailors to go after the shell. They did not wish to do so but rather returned to the ship. When the Indians saw that they had not wished to take the shell, they again went out to the rock, took the arrow and the shell and came swimming with them. Sinking the arrow in the buoy above the anchor which the sailors had dropped, they went back.

Seeing their actions and that apparently they did not wish to give it unless we went after it to get it, I took it and went to land where the Indians were, with certain articles of barter to give them. By signs I had them draw a little nearer than they had been, and indicated to them that I wished to give them those things which I showed them and that they should come for them. They would not, but rather made signs that I should go to the rock to which they had come first and put them there for them. I did so and had a man swim out and place some little things there for them. He did this and I motioned to them to go for them. They answered me to withdraw further than I was and they would. I withdrew and they came out and took them and went ashore.

When they had come out on land, all assembled to see what those things were which we had given them. Presently, when they had seen them, they sent them inland by a messenger in the direction of the lagoon and made signs to us with their hands that they were going and would return. We thought they said that they were going to show those things to the rest of the people and to summon them, according to what happened later. Having despatched this messenger, they again came out to the rock in the water and again placed another shell there and a few little skeins of strings,<sup>108</sup> like those the Indians of the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz wear on their heads, which I again sent to get, leaving other things there in exchange. I ordered the man who took these things out to call them, to see if finally he could get them to come up to him. This he did but they desired no conversation with him. On the other hand they made signs to him to return and to me to withdraw farther than I was and then they would come after our gifts. This was done and they took them. Presently they again came out to the rock and hung on the arrow a diadem, such as some of them wear on their heads, made of woven thread, very thick, all covered with fine red feathers, well tied and fastened in, in such manner that it looked more like thread with little black feathers standing up along the edges.<sup>109</sup> It was as much as five fingers or more wide in the middle,



the ends pointed. I had it fetched and went to the ship for dinner for I felt more need of dinner than I did of their bestiality and barter.

Seeing that I went aboardship, they all retired together to a little hill where they had first been, and a little while after reaching there they all got up and began to walk about, singing and dancing, and making all manner of signs of rejoicing. A little while after they had done this, they again got up from where they were seated, and with much loud outcry and rejoicing began to run and jump about very rapidly from one part of the hill to another, without any arms. This rejoicing over, which was soon, they sat down again and from time to time called out to us, summoning us to resume bartering.

After dinner, in order that they might not be afraid, I got into a boat alone, with only the necessary rowers and the Indian from the Puerto y Baia de Santa Cruz,<sup>110</sup> and we went to see them to find out if the Indian could understand them. As we arrived, I made them signs to go out to the rock where we had traded before and they left their arms and went out to it. As before, I had certain things placed on the rock, so that they should come up to where the Indian was, that he might speak to them. They came and approached with considerable fear although they were quite safe. The Indian spoke to them and said many things to them which they answered by signs, like people who did not understand. So they were a long while engaged without being able to comprehend each other. I regretted this not a little for I should have liked to learn something of them, especially what sort of people they were and how much intelligence they possessed. They seemed to me to possess little. At this juncture the messenger arrived, whom I said above they had sent inland toward the lagoon, and when he had come up to those who sent him and had spoken with them, they despatched another with as great haste as they had the first. I saw that he carried some of the things I had given, among which was a collar of tiger (?) skin I had given them.

A little while after this messenger left, he returned, and with him a little band of people. Presently another band arrived, who were much painted from the knee up in black and white. In truth from a distance they looked well, especially when one did not know what the paint was. On coming up to where the others were, they all laid down their arms and began to sing and dance and to point to us with their hands, raising and lowering them in sign of all sorts of rejoicing. Some, who probably felt themselves to be finer figures or of more account than the others, began to leap and advance, to indulge in antics and to show their mettle. After they had all arrived and gone through their ceremonies and pageantry, as above stated, they joined those who were there first, and laying aside their arms and coming near the rock, we renewed our bartering in the same order and manner as before. Among those who had come last was one very much painted, wearing on his head a diadem like the one they had given me. He was seated on some rocks (?)<sup>111</sup> somewhat apart from the rest, who ran to him and carried to him everything I gave them. It seemed

to me he must be the principal person to whom they had sent the messengers.

After I had been with them awhile in this trading and had thoroughly seen their number and condition, I left them and went to rest and to summon my companions, that they might see them, if they wished, and amuse themselves with them, for, in order not to alarm them, I had preferred to take with me no one but the inspector. A little while after I had come back, some went to see them and I went with them, lest they go further than was advisable. When we had arrived where they were, we summoned them and renewed our trading as at first. When they had seen them well we returned to our ship. We told them by signs to go away and to come the next day and this they did. This day what we got from them were many tail feathers of owls,<sup>112</sup> some little shells of the kind in which pearls grow, some small skeins of thread of the sort they wear on their heads, a belt or girth, which looked as though it were meant to go around the body, made of some black beads, some mantles of cords,<sup>113</sup> on the ends of which were many deer hoofs for rattles,<sup>114</sup> and a diadem of the kind described.

Then, next day, the 17th of December, we landed before dawn to fill water and to take possession of certain heights before the Indians should come to occupy them, because from one of them they could do us damage. When we had so occupied them and while we were filling water a little band of people came along the beach, at about nine o'clock, from the direction of the lagoon. On arriving about half a bowshot from us they stopped and all laid down their arms and made a signal of peace, which was to raise a little banner of white feathers which they carried. We reassured them by signs. This done, they went up a hill which was near us and again made a sign that they wished to resume trading as on the preceding day, which sign was to raise an arrow with a shell on it, of the kind they gave us, and to tell us by signs that they wished to come up to put it at a point midway between us and them. We indicated to them by our motions that they should so place it. They replied for us to withdraw farther than we were, although we were at a good distance from them and between us was such a good-sized gully that to climb up it many times one needed to wear as few clothes as they wore. Not satisfied with this they made us signs to sit down and squat lower and to make the dogs we had with us lie down. We did as they asked.

This done, two of them came up (with great fear, we fancied), sank their arrow where they had indicated and returned mighty fast up a hill to where the rest were. After this, they made signs for us to go after it, and so he<sup>115</sup> went to get it and put something else in its place in exchange. I bade him call them and reassure them, to see if they would get over their fear and come up to him and take from his hand what I gave them, but they would not. On the contrary, they were very careful to see if he carried any weapon. As he carried one and the Indians saw it, they immediately bade him lay it aside, so he could not carry any weapon, except a dagger up his back which they

did not observe. He went and took what they had left on the arrow, on which he placed what he carried and withdrew a little and commenced to speak and to call them, but he could not persuade any of them to come to take anything from his hand, although, after a long time and after he had greatly reassured them, they came within fifteen or twenty paces of him, which we did not consider very near. So he was engaged until after midday with them, giving them what he had and receiving from them what they gave, which was merely more such valuable jewels as we had obtained the day before.

When we had filled the water we wanted we bade them by signs to withdraw farther, indicating that we wished to go to eat and that they should permit us to embark. They understood us and complied and all withdrew to the highest part of the hill and we began to embark. When the water was already aboard and some of the men were in the boats, one of the lookouts we had stationed saw coming over some hills another band of people, all with bows and arrows in their hands. He warned me, and I had the men who were in the boats come ashore again and again take up the post we had held before for it was suitable to our defense. When we began to prepare and get ready to see what the Indians intended, the first lot, who were already there, began to talk to us and tell us not to be alarmed as the others were not coming to do us harm.

Those who first arrived took up their position on a hill near us and made the same sign the first had made when the trading began. To both we answered to their taste and these had the same assurance of their personal safety as the first. When we had traded with them a little in the things already described and in the same order and manner, we bade them by signs join the first party, and told the first party to summon them. Both parties comprehended us and complied. When they were assembled, a few of the first-comers drew near and began to go about, singing and dancing, every man taking into his hands those weapons with which nature equipped him. These must be a dirty people of wretched habits, for, in addition to this evil dance, they made other evil and dirty signs to the man who was trading with them. Being so assembled and we being tired and weary with having spent the whole day with them in barter and bestiality, we gave orders to embark in such fashion that they would not damage us. In this we employed a ruse with them. Seeing us embarking, they all came down to the cliffs by the sea and began to call us. We replied that we were going to eat and would return, so that they might not think that fear had dictated the manner of our embarkation. When we were aboard they called us various times by signs, to which we responded that when we had eaten we would return, as above said.

Seeing that we delayed they were minded to fire a few arrows at the ship. We paid no heed to them for we did not know whether they did this in jest or in earnest, but not satisfied with this, many of them waded waist deep into the water to fire arrows at certain sailors who were in a boat raising an anchor

so that we might sail and go to join the other ship which was at some distance. They shot many arrows at them and made a lot of noise, with yelling and harsh sounds. In view of this and of the bad treatment we received from them the first time we arrived here,<sup>116</sup> and the fact that their trading and friendly overtures had been directed to the end of playing us some trick, if they could and should find us susceptible, and also in order to protect the men in the boat, I decided to let them have some punishment, or him upon whom it might fall, in consideration of their conduct, past and present. We let loose on them a few shots<sup>117</sup> from the ship, which did some damage and would have done more, but, thinking that the skies were falling on them, upon hearing the shots and seeing some among them fallen, they fled in a fashion worth seeing. Without waiting for anybody, each man ran on his own account in the direction in which he thought he could escape or hide from us the quickest, and thus in no time at all they were all out of sight in the gullies, so that we saw not a man of them, neither here nor in any other place during the time we were about. After we had gone this we rejoined the other ship which was in a well-sheltered place, and remained there from the said Monday when we had arrived, the 15th of the month, until the following Sunday, the 21st, when the wind gave us a sample of weather favorable to the continuance of our voyage.

We weighed from this watering-place and Punta de la Trinidad to resume our voyage on Sunday, as above said, and as we were sailing along the same coast with little wind and sometimes contrary, we arrived, after five days on the said course, in the vicinity where we lost the anchors when we took refuge there in the bad weather,<sup>118</sup> and here saw the same smoke signals in the same fashion and manner as before. We were astounded to see that they lasted so long, especially since at night enough dew fell to quench all the fire in the world.

We went on,<sup>119</sup> and sixty leagues from this smoke were caught in a storm from the northeast<sup>120</sup> when in sight of three islands near the mainland. This storm was such as to drive us so far that we lost sight of both mainland and islands.<sup>121</sup> When the storm had left us, not a little weary and ill-treated, we turned to the coast in order to continue to see what it offered. We were seven days getting back to it after this storm left us, and arrived off it in latitude full 30°, <sup>122</sup> twenty-five leagues forward of the point whence the storm drove us from it. Two or three nights before we came up to the land we saw fires on the shore. We did not anchor, because when about to do so we decided that the weather would be wretched and rough, for which reason we did not dare anchor. Rather, we stood out to sea, and as we did so, the weather grew so much worse that we were forced to turn back to seek shelter, and avail ourselves of these three islands, above mentioned, which we had left behind twenty leagues away. We did not wish to see what they were when we passed them, for they seemed to us to be of little value and of wretched aspect, and we did not wish to lose favoring weather.<sup>123</sup>

We arrived at them and came up to the principal one on a Saturday, January 9 of the year 1540, and just as we anchored and found shelter there,<sup>124</sup> a north wind blew so cruelly and so hard, bringing on such darkness and clouds and fog with it in the sky and over the land, that even in the shelter where we were, which was not bad for that wind, we were hard pressed, and I truly believe that if we had been caught at sea we would have been in danger. When this bad weather passed and gave us an opportunity to get the boats out of the ships and go to land, we did so, to see if there were any people and if we could get water and to put into the ships a little ballast which we needed.<sup>125</sup> On the land we found traces of large and small people, not recent but old, rather, which looked as though left in a rainy season. This astonished us not a little, for it seemed to us impossible that in such a poor kind of land there could be a living thing upon it. Exploring it, we found water in some gullies but not such in quantity or quality that we could fill the water we needed. Having seen the poor character of the land and that we could not fill water there, we took on the ballast we needed and re-embarked.

After we had been six or seven days in this shelter, the weather cleared and became somewhat propitious for our voyage, so that we weighed and stood away east, to sail around this island on the other side which we had not seen.<sup>126</sup> When we had gone two or three leagues with little wind and occasional calms, four Indians of the island came out to us on a wooden raft.<sup>127</sup> They came near and retired when they had looked us over. We did not wish to seize them and hold them aboard in order not to delay us or cause them displeasure. Presently we discovered the point of that island where it turns north.<sup>128</sup> Here a few rocks project into the sea, off which were five or six rafts of fishermen, in which were ten or twelve men fishing, and to the right of them was a little hill on which a few of the people who inhabited that land appeared.

We concluded therefore that there must be people there, and to see them and to find out if there was water here, for we needed water, we anchored in that place before doubling the point. When we had anchored and come to a stop, all those who were fishing at sea withdrew to the other side of the rocks, in which direction it seemed they had their lodging. Half an hour or an hour after they had arrived (it was after sundown and night was falling), five men on a raft came out of their settlement toward us and drew up to within a bow-shot from our ships. At this distance they stopped and began to speak to us loudly in high voices, and we to them, in languages such that if they little understood us still less did we understand them. After vociferating a bit, it being now night, they returned and went to their camp and so did the rest who were on the hill.

Then, next day, Thursday, the 15th of January, we remained quiet until noon, unable to go forward for lack of wind. Half an hour after sun-up five rafts came out from the island, from the place whither it seemed the people had retired, which carried one and two and three and four and five men inside.

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They went out to sea (a good deal farther out than we were), and without any indication of fear or fright, to judge by their reposeful manner, fished until nine or ten o'clock and then returned to their settlement. Later, after midday, the wind blew so that we could double the point and depart. We did so and discovered the place to which they had withdrawn; there they lived, and here we anchored.

On seeing us anchored the men, boys and women gathered up their miserable belongings and went inland. Some of the men remained in the place and some on the shore and some on a hill. When we had anchored, we went ashore quickly to see those people and to see if we could find any water, in order not to lose the wind which was good. On seeing we were going there, the Indians all came up to the place where we were about to land and began to speak loudly and insolently and to forbid us by signs to advance. We made signs to them to keep quiet and that we did not intend them any harm nor had other purposes than to seek water. The more we reassured them the more arrogant did they become. Finding that no signs or arguments prevailed to reassure them we landed against their will.

The Indians, seeing that we were going to land, armed themselves with many stones and great clubs which they employed with both hands, and with much spirit and determination prepared to prevent our landing. They did prevent it for a while, in such manner that as we landed they did us plenty of damage with the stones. No matter how well we protected ourselves with our bucklers, they landed plenty of them on us, and with them wounded some (and severely), and knocked out others. They pressed us hard. The sailors were to blame for it, because when the stones fell they faltered and weakened in such fashion that for a while they made us good targets for the stones. The Indians did not escape without paying as the larger share fell to them. Our Lord was pleased that when we had shot a few of them<sup>129</sup> we landed, but not because they withdrew from the water's edge even after all the damage some of them had received. Rather, if with good will they disputed our landing, with even better they came upon us as we landed and so determinedly that they waded into the water to receive us with their stones and clubs. With these they dealt us such mighty blows that when they struck a buckler they shattered it, and he who got off lightest found the arm which had held the buckler sore for many a day. So they held for a while, fighting foot to foot with us, and then we broke them and they fled, carrying off with them a good tale to tell. In addition to the wounded and those who were shot (who were quite a few), one died right there.<sup>130</sup>

When we had so broken them up and the affair described had occurred, we went some distance inland to seek water. We found none, for it appeared that they brought their drinking water from a distance in the paunches of seals. While we were looking about for water at some distance from the sea in some gullies, we came upon everything that the women and boys had removed from

the settlement, as above related. This convinced us that they must have been extremely frightened since they abandoned everything they possessed so far from us. To judge by the way the loads lay, by the manner in which they were scattered about, each dropped what he was carrying where he stood when he heard the news. We looked to see what these things were, what sort of things these people had and for what they were used, and we found nothing except some seal-skins<sup>131</sup> in which they slept and protected themselves from the cold, some seals' paunches in which they had water, fishing lines and hooks made of the thorns of certain cactuses<sup>132</sup> and some fish they had killed to eat. Having inspected this miserable rubbish, inasmuch as we did not find water,<sup>133</sup> we returned to see the settlement where they had been.

It consisted of some enclosures, no more nor less than we had seen before in other places. They had five or six rafts which they used in fishing, made of pine or cedar timbers, as long as twelve or fifteen feet, and so big that a man could hardly reach around them. The part under water is rounded and where the people stand on them they are flat. They are not hollow in any part. On each side, to maintain the balance, there are bundles of many cedar poles closely tied together, as long as the canoes themselves. They rowed them with paddles two or three palms long and about three fingers across, at the end of each being a three-cornered triangular piece of wood of this shape [here is sketched in an arrowhead] five or six fingers from point to point.

Having seen all this, we embarked and continued our voyage the next day, Saturday, the 17th of the month, sailing for the mainland coast, whence the weather had driven us.<sup>134</sup> As we sailed, with little and contrary wind and occasional calms, this same night we encountered a storm from the northwest, so violent that it separated the ships from each other and compelled us to return to take shelter in the same place from which we had weighed. One ship, the *Santa Agueda*, arrived there next day at midday, and the *Trinidad* when it was night. We did not anchor nor did we have to take shelter, for the weather improved and became almost calm, with some changes favorable for continuance of our voyage. When the ships had come together, we continued on our way, and while sailing the following day little calms succeeded which lasted two or three days. These and some current which runs there again separated us and the ships lost sight of each other. Finding ourselves so separated from each other, we returned towards this island, to meet there again, for so we had agreed.<sup>135</sup> Our Lord was pleased that the same day we turned back to hunt each other, we met on the island's coast, eight or ten leagues forward of the point where we had separated. In this vicinity was another settlement of people.

On observing them, we anchored near them,<sup>136</sup> to see them and to look for water, as above said. Seeing us anchored, five or six men came out of the settlement on three rafts and came up to the *Trinidad*, which was nearest. They came up to her without any fear or alarm and those aboard gave them articles

of barter and the Indians gave them fish. They exchanged these things from hand to hand. So they were engaged for a little while, giving and taking. The Indians gave signs of being well pleased with the men aboardship. While they were so occupied their comrades called them from the land and they departed. Shortly after they arrived the same three rafts came out again and stood out a little farther to sea to fish. After they had fished a little while, one of the rafts came up to the *Trinidad* with three men, who began by signs to bid them give them things in exchange for the fish. Those aboard the *Trinidad* made them signs to come alongside and they would do it. They came up and they did so, and so they were busied a while trading their fish. They returned to land and shortly after they reached there two other rafts came out, one with four men and the other with two. They came alongside and gave us a little water which they carried in a paunch, which we had by signs told them to bring. We gave them beads in exchange.<sup>137</sup> On the raft on which the four men came, there was one older than the rest, who did not row but rather issued orders to them what to do and what to say to us, and took what we gave them. We thought he must be of more importance than the others. After they had been there a while they drew off, and when they had gone a little distance from us they began to speak insolently in high voices, especially those of the raft where this older man was, and from this they threw two or three small stones at us. I think they bade us depart, for so they indicated by signs.

Then, next day, Wednesday, January 21, to find out if there was water in that Indian encampment, we landed at dawn in order to occupy the shore before the Indians should see us, so as not to give them cause or opportunity to act toward us as the first down below had done, and so as not to do them any harm. When we were landing, as soon as they saw us, five men of pretty wretched aspect came out from the settlement, two of them with two little bows with which they could hardly have killed sparrows, one with a little rod in his hands, and the other two with clubs little more than half a fathom long. So they came on, and we were thirty men and had three dogs. They advanced on us with as much spirit and ferocity as though in number and quality they had been us, and we they. They began to make such threats and menaces by word and gestures, that, really, it seemed they wanted to eat us, and, moreover, that they had the power to do so. The more signs we made them to be still the more arrogant they became, to such an extent that they were silly enough to stand foot to foot with us, throwing many stones and menacing us with the clubs and pointing their arrows at us. Every time they did any of these things they painted themselves with some little cakes of white earth they had in their hands, marking their legs, arms and breasts. The more arrogant they grew the more they daubed themselves.

Finding that neither argument, the signs of peace we made, nor the considerable patience we had with them prevailed, and seeing ourselves annoyed



as much as they were annoying us, we decided to drive them away by setting the dogs on them to bite some of them and frighten them, and so get rid of them without doing them more harm. We did this and the dogs seized two of them. One was the old man who I have said above had gone out on the raft the day before and had seemed to me to be of more importance than the others. After the dog had seized him he was just as fierce and obstinate as before. We could do nothing with him, for no kind treatment could reassure him or reduce him to reason, any more than if he had been a brute animal. After the dogs had seized them and handled some of them roughly, we made them understand what they had not wished to understand before, which was that we had not come to offend them but only to seek water. They conducted us to a little watering-place in a gully where they drank. It seemed to us to be such a small quantity that we could not fill all we needed. When they had shown us this and were reassured, we gave them some articles of barter and released them and they went away happy.

This done, we came to see the settlement they had, which was no more nor less than the preceding had been. Here in a cave, at its door in the sun we found an old blind man covered with a seal-skin, so old that he was all white and dry with age and so shrivelled that he could not control his members. It seemed to the Reverend Father fray Remundo, who was with us, that because of the childishness he saw in him, his age, and that he was without sight or strength or possibility to do evil or harm, it was well to baptize him and make him a Christian, and he did so.<sup>138</sup> This done, we embarked in our ships and this day we dropped half a league farther south to look at some gullies which appeared big to us and likely to offer water. In one of them we found water, so good and abundant that it sufficed to fill us to capacity, although with hard work, for the water was somewhat distant from the sea and had to be carried on our backs.<sup>139</sup>

Then, next day, Thursday the 23rd [22nd] of the month, we filled the water of which we had need at our pleasure, without any contradiction on the part of the natives, even without seeing a man or any fire or sign, either then or afterwards in all the time we were about this island, which was not a little while as appears from what I have related and shall relate presently. While we were filling and as we were finishing a northeast wind blew, which forced us to hurry to embark and make sail, and come to seek shelter from it in a better haven seven or eight leagues away behind the point of the island at the foot.<sup>140</sup> As we made sail the weather cleared and we did not arrive at the shelter whither we were going, but, on the contrary, continued on our voyage toward the coast of the mainland with little wind and occasional calms. After we had sailed two days and may have gone eight or ten leagues in this time, on the third day, Sunday, January 25, the day dawned dark with wind almost athwart and much rain.<sup>141</sup> With this weather we ran until the afternoon to see if it would change. The farther the day wore on the worse the weather

grew. The wind blew athwart and became so strong and the sea so high that we were hard pressed and were forced to return to take shelter at the island whence we had set out. Here we arrived the next day, Monday, the 22nd [26th] of the said month, and remained there until the 31st, when the wind blew somewhat more propitious for a resumption of our voyage. We left this island and shelter where we were, on the 31st of the month, as above stated, when we had some weather suitable for it, to again continue on our way. We stood away for the watering-place where we had first filled in that island in order again to replace the water we had drunk up.

As we weighed anchor and began to sail, the wind again blew contrary, although not so strong as before, but strong enough to prevent us from reaching the watering-place in the two days we worked to get there. Seeing that we could not come up, especially with the *Santa Agueda*, we put aboard the *Trinidad* (because she made better headway against the wind) all the empty casks and all the men available, with a view to filling water. Although with difficulty, the next day at midday or before, she came up to where the watering-place was and filled all that was wanted. This same day she rejoined the other ship, which was beating off shore, waiting. When we had rejoined, we anchored off the coast to deliver to the *Santa Agueda* the water the other brought her and to fetch aboard some fire-wood which we needed. We got it and until Thursday, February 5, awaited weather to sail.

We again sailed from this place, where we took on this water and wood on Thursday, February 5, when we had a sample of suitable weather, as I have said above, and as we were sailing on our course as before, that same day as we set out, the wind again blew contrary and as strong as on other occasions, so that we were forced to return whence we had weighed. This was such that, if it had caught us at a distance from land and separated, it would have treated us badly. We anchored this day and resumed our wait for the weather to abate and the wind to blow propitiously for our voyage until Sunday, February 8, when we again got some sign of favoring wind, but it lasted as short a while as it had before. Again we weighed on this day as above said and stood away on a course for the mainland which we had so many times followed. Sailing with little wind and an occasional calm, we arrived there in three days' time, on the 11th of the month,<sup>142</sup> and anchored in the same vicinity from whence we had returned the first time the storm drove us back to that island.<sup>143</sup>

While we were anchored, awaiting wind to enable us to sail, heavy rains fell after midnight, with a high wind which blew across from the land. This gave us so much work to do that we had to double our cables and anchors. Our Lord was pleased that this should not last more than two or three hours, when the wind shifted to northwest and we could make out to sea and get away from the cross-wind in which we were. When we had got to sea the wind and the sea rose so that we were hard pressed. We sought shelter several times, to see if it would blow over that we might continue, and again we beat back and

forth from one place to another in an effort not to drop back, as the weather was causing us to do. Lying to and beating about, we passed three days struggling against the weather and waiting for the wind to change. It did not change, and seeing that it had not and that we had been brought—forced—back to near the island from which we had sailed, we put in there for shelter on Saturday, February 13 [14], and waited there for the weather to clear. We took on what water and wood we had used up and remained until Wednesday, March 3, when we again got a showing of favoring weather as on other occasions.<sup>144</sup>

Again we sailed to continue our voyage, on Wednesday, March 3, and as we began to sail the wind dropped to calm and a current took us and carried the *Santa Agueda* close to shore without our being able to prevent it. With great difficulty we drew her off with the boats and with a little wind which blew and helped us. With this wind we sailed little more than half a league, and when we turned the point of the island toward the north, we found the wind so strong against us that it compelled us to return for shelter to the point, where we arrived at nine at night. We were there until the 8th of the month, when the wind gave signs of favoring us, as on other occasions it was accustomed to do.

We weighed from this place where we were, on the 8th of the month, as above related, and as we began to sail the same current caught us and separated us from each other, carrying the *Santa Agueda* to sea and the other to land. When we had been so separated the wind again turned contrary as before and so strong that it caused us difficulty, especially the *Santa Agueda*. Because it caught her at sea she got more of it than the other vessel, which was sheltered by the land. For that reason and in order not to return at night to anchor off shore, because it was not a coast suitable for that, the *Santa Agueda* had to stand out to sea until midnight. From this hour on she stood in to land to return to shelter, and both ships reached it next day at vespers, in the same place and vicinity whence we had weighed. Here we remained until the next Friday, the 12th of the month.

We weighed this day to resume our contention, and as we began to sail, having sailed two leagues or a little more, a fog came down in the middle of the day so thick and dark, that while one ship could speak to the other, we could hardly see each other. In two days we reached the mainland coast at a point seven or eight leagues southeast of the place to which we had twice returned, as above said, and we did not anchor there, because the sea was high and the wind strong.<sup>145</sup> Instead, we stood out to sea again and as we sailed the wind rose so that it became necessary for us to return to shelter at the island whence we had set out. We arrived there Sunday, the 14th of the month, at eight or nine o'clock, and anchored a league or a league and a half farther north than the place from which we had weighed when we left there.

The night following the day of our arrival, what with the rough weather

prevailing and because she was not anchored over clean bottom, the two cables with which the *Trinidad* was anchored broke. Finding herself loose, she made sail and stood out to sea to make ready another anchor, which she had left and anchor with it, to recover one of the anchors she had lost. When day broke she did this and recovered one of the anchors. It was the best and most necessary one. The other was lost. Seeing that the weather did not improve, we came to seek shelter farther south in the haven where we always sought it. We arrived on March 17, and remained there until the 24th of the month.<sup>146</sup>

Because I have decided from this haven to send the *Santa Agueda* with this relation, I wish to report to your lordship on the quality of these three islands, called San Esteban,<sup>147</sup> and of the land which we have seen to here from Punta de la Trinidad.

It is as ugly and sterile and of as wretched aspect as the lands south of it. In the whole length of it we saw only the smoke signals above mentioned and a fire far forward of them. We saw no other people nor sign of any, except the fires I said we saw on the coast forward of those islands, and the Indians of this island, who are naked people with holes in their ears. In their habitations we found some hollow pipes, as much as a palm long, made of baked clay, and in them a certain burnt herb which they must use like tobacco. There are some pines and cedars on the tops of the hills in that island, for which reason we called it "Isla de los Cedros." It is the largest and most important of these three Islas de San Esteban. They are in latitude 29° to 30°. I should like indeed to send your lordship an account of the people who inhabit the mainland in this vicinity, but your lordship will realize that the weather has been so strongly against me that we have not had an opportunity. Your lordship need not regret it too much, for I believe—I feel certain—that they are not better than the islanders. Experience suggests as much and the lands lie close together. One may rest assured that if the mainland were of more account than the island there would be some sign of it here. In the island there are rabbits, deer, etc.

Being in this vicinity, as above stated, I had an inspection made of the commissary supplies on hand and found myself with the meat that your lordship will see by the report. Since for all these people the supplies were few, as your lordship will observe, and since I could not proceed on these supplies with all these people, feeling that it was regrettable to have spent so much time and labor without accomplishing what your lordship so greatly desires, and has cost so much, I have determined to go on as far as I can with the ship *Trinidad* and these few supplies and men if God grant me weather and the wind will permit, and to send this ship and these men to New Spain with this report.

To prepare the ship and put her into good condition and provide her with things necessary, we came to seek a suitable place at the south point of this island, where we arrived on Wednesday, March 24, of the most Holy Week.

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We sought such a place all along there and found it on the first day of the most Holy Festival of the Resurrection, on which day we arrived. We were busied in putting the ship into repair and despatching both of them until today, Monday, April 5, when we all clear from this Isla de Cedros, each to proceed upon his respective voyage.

God grant the outcome be such as your lordship desires, whom may it please to advance your illustrious lordship in person and estate through a long period.

I kiss your lordship's illustrious hands.

FRANCISCO DE ULLOA.



Sirs:

I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil), that on the eighteenth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and thirty-nine, the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and commander of this fleet for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, in El Puerto de los Puertos in La Bahía de la Posesion which is in latitude 29° 40', actually and in reality took possession for the Marqués in the name of the Emperor, our master, king of Castile; placing his hand upon his sword and saying that if any person disputed it, he was ready to defend such possession, cutting trees with his sword, moving stones from one place to another and taking water out of the sea and throwing it upon the land, all which was done in token of said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done: Reverend Fathers of the Order of San Francisco, Father fray Remundo, Father fray Antonio de Meno and Father fray Pedro de Ariche; Francisco de Terrazas, inspector; Gonzalo Hidalgo; Diego de Haro and Martin de Espinosa.

Done this day and month of the said year.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, recorded it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this my notarial mark in testimony of the truth. Pedro de Palencia, notary public.

Martin de Espinosa, Gonzalo Hidalgo, Frater Raimundo Anyelibus, Frater Antonio de Meno. Diego de Haro. Francisco de Terrazas.

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I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil), that on the tenth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and thirty-nine the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain of this fleet for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, arrived off the Rio San Pedro y San Pablo,

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which is in latitude  $26\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  on the coast of this New Spain, north of Culiacan, and asked me, the said notary, to bear witness that at the said Cabo de San Pedro y San Pablo he was commencing his exploration with this fleet for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle in the name of the Emperor, our master, and king of Castile.

Witnesses who were present: the Reverend Father of the Order of San Francisco, fray Pedro de Ariche; Francisco Preciado; Pedro de Busto and Martin de Espinosa, belonging to this said fleet.

Done on the day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, record it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark, in testimony of the truth. Pedro de Palencia, notary public.

Martin de Espinosa. Francisco Preciado.

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I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents shall come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil), that on the twenty-eighth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and thirty-nine the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain of this fleet for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca in the Ancon de San Andrés and Mar Bermejo, which is on the coast of this New Spain, toward the north, in latitude  $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , took possession for the said Señor Marqués del Valle in the name of the Emperor, our master, king of Castile, actually and in reality; placing his hand upon his sword, saying that if any person disputed it he was ready to defend it, cutting trees with his sword, pulling up grass, moving stones from one place to another and from there to another, and taking water from the sea and throwing it upon the land, all in token of the said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done: Reverend Fathers of the Order of San Francisco, Father fray Raimundo, Father fray Antonio de Meno; Francisco de Terrazas, inspector; Diego de Haro and Gabriel Marqués.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, recorded it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark, in testimony of the truth. Pedro de Palencia, notary public.

Frater Raimundus Anyelibus. Frater Antonio de Meno. Gabriel Marqués. Diego de Haro. Francisco de Terrazas.

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I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, bear true witness to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil), that on the sixth day of the month of October of the year fifteen hundred and thirty-nine, the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa,

governor's lieutenant and captain of this fleet, for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, took actual possession for the said Marqués in the name of the Emperor, our master, king of Castile, in the Baia de San Marcos, which is southeast of the Ancon de San Andrés of the Mar Bermejo, and in latitude  $30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ; placing his hand upon his sword and saying that if any person disputed it, he was ready to defend it, cutting trees with his sword, pulling up stones and grass, from one part to another and from there to another, and taking water from the sea and throwing it upon the land, all in token of the said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done: Reverend Fathers of San Francisco, Father fray Raimundo and Father fray Pedro de Ariche; Francisco de Terrazas, inspector; Martin de Espinosa; Pedro de Busto and Juan Montaña.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, recorded it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark in testimony of the truth. Pedro de Palencia, notary public.

Martin de Espinosa. Pedro de Busto. Juan Montaña. Frater Raimundus Amilinus. Francisco Terrazas.

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I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, bear true witness to all those whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil), that on the fifteenth day of the month of October of the year on thousand five hundred and thirty-nine, the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain-general of this fleet for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle, actually and in reality for the said Señor Marqués del Valle and in the name of the Emperor, our master, king of Castile took possession at the Rio Carrizal in  $27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ; placing his hand upon his sword and saying that if any person disputed it, he was ready to defend it, cutting trees with his sword, moving stones from one place to another and from there to another, taking water from the sea and throwing it upon the land, all in token of the said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done: Diego de Haro; Gonzalo Hidalgo; Francisco de Terrazas, inspector; Martin Sanchez and Juan Montaña.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, recorded it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark in witness of the truth. Pedro de Palencia, notary of this armada.

Diego de Haro. Gonzalo Hidalgo. Juan Montaña. Francisco de Terrazas.

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I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, bear true witness to all those whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil), that on the first day of the month of December of the year c

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thousand five hundred and thirty-nine, the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain of this fleet for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, actually and in reality took possession for the said Marqués and in the name of the Emperor, our master, king of Castile, in Baia de Santa Catalina at Punta de la Trinidad, in latitude 25°; placing his hand upon his sword, cutting trees with it, moving stones from one place to another and from there to another, all in token of the said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done: Martin de Espinosa; Francisco de Terrazas, inspector; Francisco Preciado; Diego de Haro and Juan Montaña.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, recorded it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark, in testimony of the truth. Pedro de Palencia, notary of this armada.

Juan Montaña. Martin de Espinosa. Diego de Haro. Francisco de Terrazas.

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I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this fleet, bear true testimony to all to whose eyes these presents may come (whom God, Our Lord, honor and preserve from evil), that on the twentieth day of the month of January of the year one thousand five hundred and forty, the very magnificent Señor Francisco de Ulloa, governor's lieutenant and captain of this fleet for the very illustrious Señor Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, actually and in reality took possession for the said Marqués in the name of the Emperor, our master, king of Castile, on Isla de los Cedros in latitude 29½°; laying his hand upon his sword and saying that if any person disputed it he was ready to defend it, cutting trees with his sword, moving stones from one place to another and from there to another, taking water from the sea and throwing it upon the land, all in token of said possession.

Witnesses who were present when this was done: Reverend Father fray Raimundo of the Order of San Francisco; Francisco Preciado; Martin de Espinosa and Pablo Blasco, master of the *Trinidad*.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And I, Pedro de Palencia, notary of this fleet, recorded it as it occurred in my presence and in conclusion made here this, my notarial mark, in testimony of the truth. Pedro de Palencia, notary of this armada.

Frater Raimundus Anyelibus. Martin de Espinosa.

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Said written relation and acts of possession having been presented in the manner aforesaid by the said Francisco Sanchez de Toledo in the name of his said principal, the said *alcalde* took them into his hands, saw that they appeared to be neither torn, cancelled nor in any respect suspicious, and said that he



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ordered me the said notary public, as he did order, to make one or two or more copies of it all, authenticated in legal form and in such manner that they may serve as evidence, and to give them to the said Francisco Sanchez, each of which he said that he, being possessed of authority to so do, did thereby legalize, that it might serve as evidence in court or out of it, wherever it may appear.

And I, the said notary public, at the request and order of the said *alcalde*, made this said transcript of the said documents and gave it to the said Francisco Sanchez de Toledo, in the said name.

Done this day, month and year aforesaid.

And the said *alcalde* signed it here with his name.

Witnesses who were present when this was done and to see this read, corrected and made to agree with the said original: Gerónimo Tirado; Juan de Leiva and Pedro Marqués, transients in this city.

Juan de Burgos, notary for their majesties and notary public. (Rubric)

And I, Alonzo Diaz de Gibrleon, one of the registered notaries of the said City of Mexico, was present in company with the said *alcalde* and the other witnesses when the aforesaid was done, and I had this copy made, which is a true copy, and made here this, my mark [Mark here], in testimony of the truth. Alonzo Diaz de Gibrleon, notary public. (Rubric)