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VENEGAS (Miguel) A Natural and Civil History of California: An accurate Description of that Country, Its Soil, Mountains, Harbours, and Seas; its Animals, Vegetables, Minerals, and famous Fisheries; Customs of the Inhabitants, their Religion, Government, and Manners; their Conversion to the Christian Religion by the missionary Jesuits; Accounts of the several Voyages and Attempts made for settling California; Actual Surveys of that Country, its Gulf, and Coast of the South Sea, from the original Spanish . . ., FIRST EDITION IN ENGLISH, *with a frontispiece and 4 engraved plates, pages (19), 455; (7), 387, 2 vols., 8vo, contemporary binding, 1759*

Sabin 98845. Not in Kress. The *History* was compiled from the manuscript of Marcos Burriel, and it extends from the earliest discoveries and accounts of the country and expeditions, the attempts made for its settlement, and the surveys carried on by the Spaniards. It contains five valuable appendices in the fourth part: Gomara's description of the outward voyage of Vizcaino's narrative of his voyage of 1602 for surveying the western coast; Couper's account of surveying the eastern coast; Woods Rogers' description of California; and extracts relating to California from Anson's circumnavigation of 1740.



Women of California Frontispiece to Vol. I.



Men of California.

A NATURAL and CIVIL
H I S T O R Y
O F
CALIFORNIA:

C O N T A I N I N G

An accurate Description of that COUNTRY,
Its Soil, Mountains, Harbours, Lakes, Rivers,
and Seas; its Animals, Vegetables, Minerals,
and famous Fishery for Pearls.

T H E

CUSTOMS of the INHABITANTS,
Their Religion, Government, and Manner of Living,
before their Conversion to the Christian Religion by
the missionary Jesuits.

T O G E T H E R W I T H

Accounts of the several Voyages and Attempts made for
settling California, and taking actual Surveys of that
Country, its Gulf, and Coast of the South-Sea.

I L L U S T R A T E D W I T H

Copper Plates, and an accurate Map of the Country and
the adjacent Seas.

Translated from the original Spanish of MIGUEL VENE-
GAS, a Mexican Jesuit, published at Madrid 1758.

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

V O L I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JAMES RIVINGTON and JAMES FLETCHER,
at the Oxford Theatre, in Pater-Noster-Row. 1759.

P R E F A C E.

THE country of California, taking that denomination in its most extensive sense, has been long discovered; notwithstanding which, it was till lately, but very imperfectly known. Other nations have visited its coasts as well as the Spaniards; but as they only touched upon them, a true and full description of this vast region could be expected from the Spaniards alone. The first accounts published by them, represented it truly, and as it is, a peninsula; but upon the authority of a Spanish chart, found accidentally by the Dutch, and of the authenticity of which, there never were, or indeed could be, any proofs obtained, an opinion prevailed, that California was an island, and the contrary assertion was treated even by the ablest geographers, as a vulgar error. The famous Delisle very judiciously controverted this notion, and very ably as well as very ingeniously, shewed that there

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were not lights sufficient at the time he wrote for the decision of the point. In this indeterminate state, the thing stood till the beginning of the present century, when father Kino published his discovery, founded on his passage by land, from New Mexico into California; by which it appeared that the Vermillion sea was no more than a gulf or bay, though of a large extent, and that California was really a peninsula, as the earlier Spanish writers had described it. Thus we see that old opinions, more especially when they are grounded on matters of fact, are not to be hastily rejected, that inquisitive and even judicious men are capable of being misled; and that the authority of actual discoverers, in questions of this sort, is singly to be regarded.

In consequence of its being so imperfectly examined, several other contradictions, or at least seeming contradictions, have been advanced concerning it. There are relations, which make the coasts of California intolerable, from the piercing cold. There are again accounts, which say these coasts are insupportably hot. Some represent it as a region sterile, void of wa-
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ter, and not only unimproved, but unimprovable chiefly from this defect. Others speak of it, as fruitful, pleasant, and having very fine rivers. Complaints are made of its shores, as difficult and dangerous, embarrassed with rocks and shoals, and without so much as tolerable ports. In opposition to these, we find it celebrated for a fine beautiful country towards the sea, into which several large rivers fall, at the entrance of which are many large and fertile islands, and both in them and the continent, several safe and very commodious havens. The variations are as great, in reference to the worth, as in regard to the face of this extensive peninsula; if we rely on some writers, it is a poor barren despicable tract, which scarce deserves the protection it has met with. Yet as good judges, and who had equal opportunities of being acquainted with it, alledge, that it is capable of various kinds of cultivation, that there are incontestible marks of its containing rich mines, and that there is a profitable pearl fishery upon the coast. The inhabitants also have been painted in the most different colours, as ignorant, brutish, and irreclaimable by some, and

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on the contrary, as docile, courteous, and hospitable, by others. As applied to different places, and under different circumstances, there is little of falshood in any of these accounts, but taken generally there is as little in them of truth.

But the principal point that has been always had in view, with respect to this country, is its boundary towards the north, which has never yet been ascertained. There has been mention made of a country, and of a strait of Anian, which is supposed to separate it from Asia. Others have affirmed, that California continually stretching to the north west, approached very near to the north east of Tartary, and that the straits of Anian were to be sought on that side. Some again have affirmed, these straits are altogether imaginary, and have talked of proofs, founded on facts, that Indians, converted to the christian faith by the Spaniards, have passed by land into China, the truth of which however, has been deservedly questioned. Many think there is an open sea between the north east of Asia, and the north west of America, while others are persuaded, that this is only true in part, and that
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though there may be a sea, yet that this sea has in it a multitude of islands of different sizes. All these, however, are no better than conjectures, upon which no great stress is to be laid, and therefore we must wait for the solution of the question, till the same spirit of discovery that brought us first acquainted with the Indies and with America, reveals to us, with equal certainty, whether it is sea or land, or a mixture of both, that intervenes between those two mighty continents.

It is requisite to observe, that this is far from being a matter of idle speculation, so far from it, there are very few disquisitions that can be justly stiled of greater consequence; as rational beings, it concerns us to have a perfect and complete notion of the globe which we inhabit, and we see that in this respect, providence has very wisely given the spur of curiosity, to the pursuit of what is our real interest. As the subjects of a maritime power, we have the greater concern in it, since every discovery of this kind must affect our navigation or commerce, nearly or remotely. But with respect to this before us, it is of the utmost importance, since all our at-

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tempts for the finding a north west passage, have been only in other words, finding a new rout to the coasts of California, which if we are ever happy enough to find, will open to us a short way, as well to a new Indies as to the old. Now the surest means of making such a discovery effectually, is by proceeding from the known to the unknown; and therefore the first plain, proper, and natural step, is to attain a clear and exact account of California, so far as it is discovered, which we could only hope from the Spaniards, and which this author has given us in the fullest, plainest, and most accurate method that we could possibly desire. This is the sole object, this is the true merit of the book, which though not a work of amusement and entertainment, is full of instruction and information, and in that light, no doubt, will be a most acceptable present to the publick, as will sufficiently appear, if we consider the plan of this writer's performance.

He divides his treatise into four parts. In the first, he discourses of the name, situation, and extent of California, that is, taking it in the strict sense, for so much
of

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of this peninsula, as the Spaniards have hitherto reduced. He gives us an account of the gulf, its coasts, and islands. He enlarges upon the soil and climate, the natural history, the pearl fishery, and the manna of this country, which is a new discovery. Then follows a very distinct and curious detail of the nations and languages, the tempers and manners of the Californians, with their policy in peace and war, and lastly, he treats of their religion; in respect to which he observes, that those who resided on the continent, were, when the Spaniards found them, entirely free from any idolatrous notions, had few or no ceremonies, and yet had some very singular speculative opinions, but that it was otherwise in the islands, where, through the arts and frauds of a particular race of men, the people were grievously enthralled in superstitious slavery.

The second part contains the history of California, from the time of its first discovery, to the sending thither the jesuits. This discovery was made by order of the famous Hernan Cortes, who went thither in person in 1536, and landing in the
gulf,

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gulf, bestowed upon it his own name, or rather the Spaniards have since called it in honour of that great captain, Mar de Cortes, as well as the Vermillion sea, or the gulf of California. Our author traces very exactly the several attempts that were made from time to time, for obtaining a more perfect knowledge of the extent and produce of this peninsula, the different projects formed for this purpose, both in Old and in New Spain; their repeated disappointments, and the causes of those disappointments, interspersed with many judicious and sensible remarks, which shew the extreme difficulty of executing any great design, the conduct of which depends upon the approbation, orders, and instructions, that are to come from a country at a great distance.

The third part comprehends the reduction of California by the jesuits, and their transactions to the present time. He informs us that the court of Spain, and its viceroys in the Indies, tired out with a multitude of fruitless, expensive, and tedious expeditions, had abandoned all further thoughts of this matter, so that the prosecution of it was intirely owing to
father

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father Eusebio Francisco Kino, who, being sent as missionary into the adjacent province of Sonora, formed a resolution of trying to penetrate into this deserted country from thence. The first missionary of this order however, who passed over into this region, was father Salva-Tierra in 1697, and a few years after father Kino penetrated, according to his original design, into California by land, and became thereby assured, as we have before observed, that it was not an island but a peninsula. The jesuits from this time down to the present, have had the sole direction of affairs, civil as well as ecclesiastical, in California, and have prosecuted their discoveries, converted the Indians, made small settlements, cultivated some spots of ground near them, and with great diligence and perseverance, have brought some little vineyards to such perfection, as to produce wine not inferior to that of Europe. Our author gives a particular, precise, and distinct account of all these transactions, so that it may be truly said, that though the history of this part of the world is not big with many great events, yet we have it as clearly and as correctly
told,

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told, as we can possibly desire. It is very singular in its nature, and affords us a very complete view of the policy, of the order, and of the method of reducing nations, to become nominal subjects of the crown of Spain, and really so to themselves. It exhibits likewise the true notions, which induce the Spanish government to make use of the fathers in this way, and to permit them to make those acquisitions by art, which themselves had ineffectually attempted by force. The author intersperses very free reflections, not only on the errors of particular administrations; but on the capital, and if we may so speak, constitutional faults in the Spanish system; in consequence of which, some of their richest settlements are burdensome, and the great wealth in the bowels of the country is made the cause of the misery and poverty of its inhabitants. Reflections, which the judicious reader will peruse with profit and pleasure.

The fourth and last part contains some additional pieces, referred to in the body of the work. Among these, is the famous voyage of captain Sebastian Vizcaino, in 1602, in which there is a very
curious

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curious and particular account of the west coast of California; this is followed by a description of the east coast, from a voyage made in the year 1746. Then come extracts of captain Woods Rogers and lord Anson's voyages, with the author's remarks upon them, more especially on the latter, in which he undertakes to controvert several matters of fact, in respect to which, the writer of that work, he says, was misinformed; in this, as indeed throughout the whole book, the author shews himself a zealous subject of the crown of Spain, and an avowed apologist for the jesuits. He is, however, a writer of a very different kind, from the rest of their panegyrist. He does not run out, as commonly they do, into long flights of high-flown oratory, but delivers every thing in a grave uniform stile, very suitable to this kind of history, is very careful in pointing out his authorities, regular in the detection of facts, and in respect to these, (those regarding religion excepted) shews himself equally judicious and cautious, and alike free from prejudice and credulity. He seems to be sensible that his subject did not require, and without visible impropriety, could

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could not admit many ornaments, instead therefore of these, he sometimes, but not very frequently, inserts prudential and political observations, relying, however, chiefly on exactness and veracity.

There are, notwithstanding, in the following sheets, not only many new and curious, but some very striking and surprising, some deep and interesting points, which cannot fail of awakening the attention of the British reader. He will here discern that the Spaniards are in the same condition with some other nations, they are not unacquainted with the nature of those political maladies, which gradually consume them, or ignorant of effectual remedies, though they want the power to apply them. He will see that Alberoni's system extended even to California, and that by embracing the commerce of the East, as well as the West-Indies, he meant to restore the vigour of the Spanish monarchy, by reviving a regular circulation through all its members. He will learn that the Spaniards have a well grounded fear of being invaded, even in these distant parts, by a nation, from whom in the judgment of the most penetrating politician,

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politician, they would have been thought, half a century ago, in no greater danger than from the inhabitants, if there be any, in the moon. He will be informed, that the discovery of a north-west passage, is far less problematical there, in the opinion of those, who, from their situation, are the ablest judges, than it is here, and that the dread of seeing the English form an establishment in the remoter parts of this country, and connecting it with their other colonies, is so far from being thought an impossible, that it is held by those who have the best means of knowing, to be a very probable thing. Lastly, he will see it made plain to a demonstration, that while the Spaniards have the hard task imposed on them, of settling, improving, and fortifying the very wildest, and worst parts of this country; the English, if they should ever think of making any attempt, may seat themselves in a pleasant climate, fruitful soil, and in regions well peopled, from whence they may, with certainty, command the most valuable branches of commerce that have been hitherto discovered, with the fairest prospect of adding speedily to these, many others, and those perhaps yet more profitable than are hitherto unknown.

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A
NATURAL and CIVIL
HISTORY
OF
CALIFORNIA.

PART I.

Description of CALIFORNIA, with
an account of its inhabitants.

SECT. I.

Of the Name, Situation, and Extent of
CALIFORNIA.

THE country which we are going to describe, is distinguished in the maps by three different names; California, New Albion, and the Iilas Carolinas: but the most ancient is that of California, being found in Bernal Diaz del Castillo, an officer who served under the famous Cortez, in the conquest of Mexico, and who published a history of that astonishing expedition. It must however be observed that the name Cali-

ifornia is, by this gentleman, limited to one single bay. It acquired the name of New Albion, from the famous English admiral sir Francis Drake, who, in the year 1577, being then on his second voyage round the world, touched at this country. New Albion implies the same as New England, or New Britain, Albion being the ancient name of the island we now call England. The name *Islas Carolinas* was not given to this country till near a century after, in honour of Charles II. of Spain, when, by his order, the conquest of California, then thought an island, and the others adjacent, were undertaken with a force equal to the enterprise. This name is used by father Henry Scherera, a German jesuit, in his new Atlas; by M. de Fer, in a small Atlas of the Spanish dominions, and which he presented to king Philip V. on his accession to the throne; and also by other geographers, in their Atlases and particular maps. But that famous expedition being rendered abortive, the name has not generally prevailed.

The name by which this country is at present known, is that of California, an appellation given to it at its first discovery. Some use the name in the plural number, calling it the Californias, intending probably to include that part thought the principal island and the

the largest in the world, together with a multitude of lesser islands which surround it on all sides. But it being now known, that this country is no island, but joined to the continent of America, as we shall presently shew, propriety requires, that the word should be used only in the singular number, in conformity with the military historian above-mentioned.

I could wish to gratify the reader with the etymology and true origin of a name which from the oddness of its sound, the real misfortunes which the first discoverers met with in that country, and the great riches it is supposed to contain, has greatly excited the curiosity of the inhabitants both of New Spain and Europe. But in none of the various dialects of the natives could the missionaries find the least traces of such a name being given either to the country, or even to any harbour, bay, or small portion of it. Nor can I subscribe to the etymology of some writers, who suppose this name to have been given it by the Spaniards, on their feeling an unusual heat at their first landing here, and thence called the country California, a compound of the two Latin words *calida fornax*, a hot furnace. I believe few will think our adventurers could boast of so much literature; for tho' Del Castillo praises Cortez for his being not only a good humanist,

but also an excellent poet, and had taken the degree of bachelor of laws; we do not find that either he or his captains took this method in giving names to their conquests. I am therefore inclined to think that this name owed its origin to some accident: possibly to some words spoken by the Indians, and misunderstood by the Spaniards; as happened, according to a very learned American, in the naming of Peru; and also, as we shall shortly shew, in giving name to the nation of Guaycura.

From the name, let us proceed to the situation. For the better understanding of which, I suppose America to be divided into two parts, South and North; the former reaching from the isthmus of Panama to Cape Horn, which vast country is possessed by his catholick majesty, and divided into two vice royalties, namely Peru and Santa Fe; the latter beginning from the same isthmus, and extending to the North Pole. But in the latter, all the Spanish possessions are under the single vice-royalty of Mexico, which is divided into the four following audiences; that of the island of St. Domingo, or Isla Espanola, that of Mexico, that of Guadalaxara, and that of Guaeimala. Besides these, there is also that of the Philippine islands, the govern-

government of which is also within the viceroyalty of New Spain, tho' the islands themselves are so far from being a part of North America, that they lie in Asia, near the coast of China.

But we shall only mention the audience of Guadalaxara, on which depend all the countries northward of the province of that name, and also some tracks on the west of Mexico; that is, all the northern provinces of this part of America, one of which is California, the subject of this treatise.

The celebrated geographer John Bleau*, who is followed by several others, comprehends, under the name of California, those immense tracks lying west of New Spain and New Galicia: and comprehended between the northern parts of South America, and the streights of Anian: and thus under the name of California he comprehends New Mexico, the Apaches and others. But he is certainly mistaken in giving such an extent to California. This province, properly speaking, is a peninsula

* Johannes Bleau, *America, quæ est geographicæ Blavianæ, pars quinta, liber unus, volumen undecimum.* (Amstelædami 1662.) pag. 79.

“ California communiter dicitur, quidquid terrarum
 “ Novæ Hispaniæ, atque Novæ Galliciæ ad occidentem
 “ objicitur, quæ sanè latissimè patent, & ad extremos
 “ Americæ meridionalis terminos & fretum, quod vulgò
 “ Anian vocant, pertinent.

in the most northern part of America, hitherto discovered by the Spaniards, in the Pacifick ocean, or the South sea; or a large point of land issuing from the N. coasts of America, and extending to the south-east, being washed on both sides by the Pacifick sea, beyond the tropick; so that the south point of it lies in the Torrid Zone, and nearly opposite to the province of Guadaluaxara, on which it depends. On this point is the famous cape de San Lucas; as likewise that de la Porfia, betwixt which is formed the bay of St. Barnabas. The western coast of California runs to the northward, is washed by the Pacifick ocean above mentioned, and extends 22 degrees to Cape Blanco de San Sebastian: and the eastern or inward coast of California, on an accurate examination, appears to reach 10 degrees, till it meets with the great river Colorado. Between these two coasts is the peninsula, or the neck of land called California; and the arm of the sea between the eastern coast of the peninsula and the continent, is called the gulf, or bay of California, which, in some places 60, in some 50, and in some 40 leagues broad, between cape San Lucas and the Rio Colorado, discharges its waters into this gulf, where both the coasts unite, as we shall afterwards more particularly observe.

Thus

Thus California is a part of N. America, washed on the east by a gulf of the same name; and on the west by the Pacifick, or South sea; lying within the three limits already mentioned, Cape de San Lucas, the river Colorado, and Cape Blanco de San Sebastian.

I have mentioned Cape San Sebastian, as the farthest limit of California on its western coast; not that the coast actually terminates there; it unquestionably stretches itself much farther to the northward: but because we have little or no knowledge, either of the coast itself beyond that cape, the sea to the westward of it, or the immense countries to the east; and rather than amuse the reader with the uncertain accounts given us of both, I thought proper to assign a known limit; and such is the above-mentioned cape.

As to its geographical situation, there would be nothing left to desire, were the latitudes and longitudes of the above three limits well ascertained. But except the jesuits, very few have staid in California a sufficient time for making such observations; which, if performed with sufficient accuracy, especially those relating to the longitude, require time, instruments, and leisure. Among the missionary jesuits there have been, and still are,

many who might have performed them with a precision, sufficient to have given satisfaction, even to the curiosity of our age. But these, besides other distresses, labour under the same want of mathematical instruments, as is seen in other countries less sequestered from the commerce of the world. This is one of the particulars which many missionaries, brought up in the bosom of science and useful arts, have to offer as a sacrifice to their Creator in this solitude; and it is very unjust to reproach them with what enhances their merit: and much more so, if they can recriminate upon us, that our ignorance is inexcusable; it being owing to the neglect of these very Europeans who make such loud complaints. But till we have the comfort of seeing the approach of that happy time, when we shall no longer vex each other with complaints of this nature, we must defer the accurate determination of the above limits; for I must confess that I cannot offer any thing with certainty: I shall not however, from a fear of committing some small error, forbear saying something, which at least may afford room for correction and amendments. And here I shall mention the most modern discoveries which have come to my knowledge, omitting those made in more distant times,

as their authority has been invalidated by later observations.

The latitudes being more easily determined, the generality of geographers, navigators, and particular narratives agree, that San Lucas lies in 22 degr. 32 min. of N. latitude. The river Colorado in 32 degr. 30 min. and Cape Blanco de San Sebastian in 43 degr. 30 min. of the same latitude. Some indeed differ a little in their accounts of the latitudes of these three places; and it were to be wished, that observations could be made with that accuracy the subject deserves; but in settling the longitudes of these three points, there is an astonishing difference. A skilful missionary of California says, in his narrative, that Cape San Lucas lies in 145 deg. W. longitude from the common meridian of the isle of Ferro, which is the same as in 215 deg. longitude reckoning from the E. in the usual manner. This undoubtedly is a mistake of the amanuensis; for the farthest eastern point of Siberia, being in 205 deg. E. longitude, * computed from the same meridian, the consequence would be that the difference between the meridian, passing through the said point of Siberia, and that of Cape San Lucas,

* This is the longitude assigned to the said cape by capt. Bering, whom the czar, Peter the great, sent on a voyage to discover the communication of Asia with America.

would

would be but 10 degrees, which is quite incredible, or to speak more properly, impossible. On the contrary, Mexico and Acapulco, which are nearly under the same meridian, are usually placed in 274 deg. from the common meridian. This is confirmed in the chart of the coasts of the South sea, by that celebrated sea officer don George Juan, who places Acapulco in 105 deg. W. longitude from the meridian of the royal observatory at Paris, which is equal to 275 deg. longitude from the common meridian. According to this, Mexico and Acapulco would not be above 60 deg. longitude from Cape San Lucas, which is doubtless an error. Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, who, besides being a missionary thirty years in these countries, was an eminent mathematician, places the mouth of the river Colorado in 250 deg. longitude. And this is assigned in general to California by don Joseph Antonio de Villa Senor y Sanchez, though, on comparing this with the latitude, which he there sets down, it will appear to be meant of the neighbourhood of Cape San Lucas. Monsieur de Fer also places in 250 deg. what he calls the great river of Coral, which I think can be no other than the Colorado. The same geographer places Cape San Lucas 254 deg. longitude, and Cape Mendocino in 233.

Captain

Captain Woods Rogers places Cape San Lucas, in 114 deg. W. longitude from the meridian of London, which is the same as 134 from the common meridian. In the Acapulco ship taken by the English, admiral Anson, was found a map of the South sea, in which Cape San Lucas was placed in 23 deg. E. longitude, the first meridian being that passing through the mouth of the river San Bernardino, in the Philippine islands; the harbour of Acapulco in 134 deg. from the same, according to which there is only 12 deg. difference between Acapulco and San Lucas; and cape San Lucas must lie in 263 deg. longitude. The famous geographer monsieur d'Anville differs 10 deg. in the longitude of the river Colorado, placing it from farther Kino, in 100 deg. W. longitude from the common meridian of Ferro; that is 260 of longitude, according to the common method of computation. The same geographer places Cape San Lucas betwixt 94 and 95 deg. of the same W. longitude, which answers to betwixt 265 and 266 of longitude from the same meridian. Mr. Henry Ellis, an English gentleman, one of the adventurers, who lately sailed from London, in search of a north passage to the South sea, by the way of Hudson's-bay, places Cape Blanco near Mendocino, in 124 degrees W. longitude from London, which is equal

equal to 144 of the common long. Monsieur Bellin, an engineer in the French navy, lays down Cape San Lucas in 265 degrees of longitude, Cape Mendocino in 245, and the river Colorado in 260. Lastly, the above-mentioned officer, don George Juan, in some tables of longitude and latitude of the coasts of America, which he himself took from the best charts used by the South sea pilots, and which he was so kind as to communicate to me, places Cape San Lucas in 263 deg. 50 min. common longitude. Cape Mendocino in 249 deg. 49 min. and the river Colorado in 251 deg. 49 min. In such a variety of opinions, which can we prefer? and possibly it was this which occasioned the prudent reserve of father Fernando Conzag, who, in the year 1746, took a particular survey of the eastern coast of California, up to the river Colorado, in order to determine, with accuracy, its situation, and the dispute relating to its junction with the continent, has not ventured to set down the long. in his maps. However, in this which I have drawn, I have ventured to depart from his respectable example, having set down the longitudes I thought resulted from weighing the different facts and observations on which those were founded; and flatter myself, that if they are erroneous, they will be of some use

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in making the corrections which observations may hereafter shew to be necessary.

S E C T. II.

Account of the gulf of California, its coasts, and islands.

It has been the earnest desire of the jesuits, since their first entrance into California, to take an exact and particular view of the outward or W. coast of this peninsula, which is washed by the Pacifick Ocean, or South sea. But hitherto a thousand inconveniencies and difficulties have hindered them from executing this laudable design, except in some places only, of which we shall give an account in its proper place. Previously to the entrance of the jesuits, many discoveries had been made of this coast; but none so accurate as that in 1602, under general Sebastian Vizcaino, by order of Philip III. A narrative of this voyage was written by Antonio della Ascension, a bare-footed Carmelite, who accompanied the general, and of which Juan de Torquemada has made a faithful extract, too large indeed to be inserted here, but too important to be omitted, and therefore a copy of it will be placed at the end of this work; where the curious may at their leisure read the most certain accounts

counts we are possessed of, relating to this western coast. In the mean time, to avoid repetitions, we shall pass over the description of it, and proceed to give an account of the sea or gulf of California; and of the contiguous coasts in which it is inclosed.

This gulf is an arm of the Pacifick sea, intercepted between Cape de Corrientes on one side, and Cape St. Lucas on the other; that is, betwixt the two coasts of New Spain and California, till it joins the mouth of the great river Colorado. It has a near resemblance to the Adriatick, a branch of the Mediterranean formed by the coast of Italy, and that of Dalmatia in Greece. The ancient discoverers called it *Mar Barmejo*, and *Mar Roxo*, the Red sea, from its resembling in form, and sometimes in colour and appearance, the gulf of Arabia, which runs from Suez, betwixt the coasts of Africa and Asia, and is celebrated for the Israelites passing it on foot. It has also been called *Mar de Cortes*, in compliance with the solicitude of the conqueror of the Mexican empire, in order to augment the glory of his enterprizes. The more modern missionaries give it the name of *Seno Lauritano*, in honour of our lady of Loretto, the protectress and patroness of that mission. Likewise *Mar del Oriente*, because it lies to the eastward of California,

fornia, and for a contrary reason they give the name of Mar de Poniente, or West sea to the Pacifick ocean, which, in respect of the gulf of Mexico, lies to the northward. Accordingly, under that extensive name, it is now called Mar del Zur, or the South sea.

The Cape Corrientes lies in two deg. of latitude less than Cape St. Lucas: yet, as from it the coast of new Spain takes a different direction, the gulf is generally said to begin from these two capes, the mouth of the sea of California being intercepted between them. Cape Corrientes, according to don George Juan, lies in 268 deg. 10 min. east long. from the meridian of the isle of Ferro, and in 20 deg. 20 min. north lat. Northward of this cape, on the coast of new Spain, besides the parts of less note, are the bay of Valle de Vanderas, at a small distance from the cape; and in almost 22 deg. north lat. Matanchel harbour; and beyond it the mouth of the river St. Jago, with some small isles near it. Twenty leagues west of this part of the coast, in the middle of the entrance of the bay of California, are four small islands, called San Juan and the three Maries. Along the same coast are four rivers, San Pedro, Acaponeta, the name also of a town lying in 22 deg. 10 min. N. lat. Cannas, which divides the kingdom
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of new Galicia from the province of Cinaloa, and the diocess of Durango from that of Guadalupe; and the Chiametla in the province of the same name, facing which is the island of Santa Isabel. Afterwards we meet with the rivers Masatlan, with the islands of the same name, and of those of Galicia forming the harbour of St. Sebastian; and in the sea, the island de los Bendos. On the continuation of the coast is Punta Negra, which projects a great way into the sea, and the rivers of Piafla, Elota, Tavala, and Culiacan, which gives name to a town and province in the lat. of 25 deg. north, as does that of Cinaloa, in about 26. Not far distant, in the sea, is a vast rock, or rather small island. Opposite to this coast, are the bay of Santa Maria, the river and port of Ahome, in 26 deg. 30 min. lat. the river Puerte, the largest of any in these provinces, the Esteros, and the port of Santa Lucas, formed by an island, and a little beyond, in almost 28 deg. and within sight of the mine mountain, de los Frayles and the river Mayo, which discharges itself into the harbour of Santa Cruz.

On the other side of the river Mayo begins the province of Ostimuri, extending 40 leagues to the river Chico, in which is inclosed part of the Pimeria Baxa. On the east is the bay of
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Santa Cruz, the creeks of St. Martin, and St. Bartholomew, and the Punta de Lobos. About 29 deg. the river Yaqui, or San Ignacio falls into the sea, forming Yaqui harbour, betwixt the villages of Belen and Raun; and which for its several conveniencies, is the most frequented by the California barks. From this river begins the province of Sonora, which is of a vast extent up the country; and this side of the continent was the last conquered by the Spaniards, and converted by the jesuits. In following the coast are found the harbour of Xavier, the bay of San Joseph de los Guaymas, and the river de Sonora, the name of the whole province.

From this part, as far as Caborca, which is 90 leagues from the river Yaqui, the coast, on account of its being very barren and rocky, has the appearance of a desert, all its inhabitants being a few Indian Seris and Tepocas, who are all totally heathens, or very imperfectly instructed in christianity. It contains the great bay of San Juan Baptista, near which is the island of San Augustin; and farther to the westward, that of San Estevan. Further to the northward is the island of San Pedro, near the coast of the Seris. A little beyond falls into the sea, the small river which waters the mission of the Concepcion de Caborca, a tract

of land lying up the country about two leagues from the sea. This was the last christian settlement formed in the province of Pimeria Alta, within the government of Sonora, and lies in 31 deg. N. latitude. But in 1751 the Indians, insensible of their happiness, revolted and destroyed it, and the two missionary jesuits settled there, suffering a glorious martyrdom. Not far from this stream, father Eusebio Francisco Kino discovered an harbour, which he called Santa Sabina; and near the shore, a small island, about three leagues in length, to which he gave the name of Santa Ines. In the remaining part of the coast, from 31 deg. many geographers, both ancient and modern, placed the rivers Coral, Tizon, Santa Clara, Amgouche, Perlas, and Lajas, the shoals, with other capes and harbours. But father Kino, who made several tours along this country, and was a very accurate observer, from the river Caborca, to the Colorado, met with nothing worth inserting in his maps, except the rivulet of Santa Clara, which runs into the sea. Passing by the skirts of the mountains of that name, called by the same father del Carrizal and San Marcelo, in lat. 31 deg. 30 min. he was so far from meeting with any such rivers, that he has inserted only one piece of water from Santa Clara to the river Colorado; which
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he calls Tres-Ojitos, or three little eyes, and is situated near the abovementioned rivulet of Santa Clara. Relying therefore on father Kino's narratives and maps, it may be confidently affirmed, that from the brook of Santa Clara, the bearing of the coast alters, running directly from E. to W. for the space of half a degree; where it again winds to the north. The rest of the coast is all a barren sand, as far as the river Colorado, which, as we have before observed, falls into the sea in 32 deg. 30 min. north latitude. Above this there can be none of the above-mentioned rivers, this being the utmost limit of the gulf, where the eastern coast of California, and that of the continent of New Spain join with the banks of the above river.

Of all the rivers in the vast extent of the vice-royalty of Mexico, this is the largest. Its mouth at its entrance into the gulf, being near a league in breadth. In it are formed three small islands, which by reducing it into channels, increases the rapidity of its currents. According to the accounts of father Kino, who, from the commencement of the mission of Pimeria Alta, in the close of the last century, and beginning of the present, sailed up the river Colorado several times; and according to the testimony of father James Sedelmayer, a missionary of Caborca and Tubutama, who, in

his indefatigable zeal, likewise entered that river several times since the year 1744, particularly in October 1748. The river Colorado runs directly N. and S. from the 34th degree, till it loses itself in the sea. About the 35th degree, it receives the large river Gila, and runs in one continued stream N. E. and S. W. to about the 34th degree, which is also the course of the Colorado, till the junction of the two rivers, and its banks are so far inhabited by this nation of the Alchedomas. The course of the Gila, from the country of the Apaches is E. and W. and before its influx into the Colorado, it is enlarged by the river Assuncion, a name given by friar Sedelmayer to another large river which he met with besides the Gila, and which is joined by two other smaller rivers, by him called Rio Salado, and Rio Verde. The river Gila is about 100 leagues from the last missions of Sonora and Pimeria; and consequently above 600 leagues N. of Mexico.

It now remains to give a description of the gulf on the side of California, its western coast. The gulf begins from the bay of St. Barnaby, is inclosed betwixt two capes; the most southern of which is that of St. Lucas; and the inward called Porfia, into which the little river flowing thro' the mission of St. Joseph de Los Coras falls. Within the gulf is the bay of

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Las Palmas: and beyond that, another called Serralvo; and also an island in the middle of the sea facing it. From hence the coast runs to the northward inclining to the west, as far as the heights of Santa Cruz, and the island Rosario, where it runs due west; and afterwards winding from north to south, forms a point of land in the gulf, which runs from south-west to north-east; and opposite to this point is the island de St. Spiritu Santo. This cape forms the spacious bay de la Paz, lying in 23 deg. 30 min. north latitude, in which is the harbour Pitchilingues, and near it a vast number of small islands. This bay was the place where admiral don Ifidro de Otondo y Antillon arrived in his first voyage to California; and here he continued four months, till the 31st of March 1683. Afterwards he sailed about 60 leagues to the northward, namely, as far as the bay de los Dolores; in the language of the country called de Apate; and facing its coast lies the island of San Joseph, and others called Las Animas, San Diego, Santa Cruz, Montalvan, and Catalana. Immediately after, the coast forms the bay of San Carlos, which is entirely surrounded with small islands. And beyond the coast of Malibat is Loretto-bay, before called San Dionysio, and in the country Idiom Concho; in which, as we have before observed, is the first mission

founded in California, and consecrated to our lady of Loretto, the protectress and patroness of this conquest. It lies in the latitude of 26 deg. north. In this bay are the small islands of Montferrat and San Marcial; also that of Carmen, which is larger and farther up the gulf. Betwixt this and the coast of Ligui lies the island of Los Danzantes; and farther up, those of San Cosme, San Damain and Coronados.

Not far from these islands, and that called La Mestiza, the sea forms the little bay of San Bruno, in which are several islands called San Juanico; and where admiral Otondo pitched his camp. Beyond a point of land projecting into the sea, to which its figure has given the name of Pulpito, begins the bay of Comondu, facing which is the island of San Ildefonso. From this part, the sea, running directly N. and returning immediately from N. to S. forms another point of land resembling that of La Paz above-mentioned, but narrower, betwixt which and the coast is Concepcion bay, but the mouth of it is obstructed with a cluster of small islands; its latitude is about 27 deg. About two leagues from this bay, the river Mulege enters the bay of California, and beyond it is Cape San Marcos. Opposite to the cape, in the middle of the
streight,

streight, lies the island of Tortuga, or Tortoise island; and on the S. side those called the Tortuguillas, or the little Tortoises, and on the N. others called the Galapagos, or Snails: hence the coast stretches away a little inclining to the N. to Cape Virgenes, as the neighbouring chain of mountains is called; among which, in the year 1746, were found several volcanos. Beyond this cape the coast inclines more to the W. At a small distance is the harbour of Santa Ana, and three leagues further San Carlos, which lies in 28 deg. of N. latitude. Here, on the 9th of June 1746, father Fernand Confago, by order of father Christoval de Escobar, provincial of New-Spain, came up with four canoes, in order to take a survey of the remaining part of the coast terminated by the river Colorado. Beyond the harbours of Trinidad, San Barnabe, and San Juan, and the cape and bay of San Miguel de la Pepena, is cape San Gabriel de las Almejas, or St. Gabriel of the Muscles, a promontory so dreaded by all navigators on this coast, that they have nicknamed it Punta de sal Sipuedes, or Point Escape keep off if you can. The latitude of this cape is 29°. 30'. N. Beyond this point of land is an infinite number of islands, which, or account of the trouble and danger arising from

the multitude of them, are also called *Islas de Sal-fi Pueds*. The greatest place of note along the coast, is the bay of San Raphael, and betwixt it and San Gabriel is the island of San Lorenzo, together with others of a smaller magnitude. Further up is the bay of Las Animas; and that of Los Angeles, from whence the coast continues to San Juan and San Pablo, which with the large island of Angel de la Guarda forms the canal of de las Ballenas, or Whales; so called from the great numbers of them seen there. Beyond the bay of San Luis Gonzaga, and that of the Visitacion, the coast lies due N. and S. to the bay of San Phelipe de Jesus, forming in the intervals the harbours of Santa Isabel and San Fermin, and from beyond San Fermin and San Buena-ventura it is covered with marshes, and lies S. W. and N. E. or between the N. and E. from the mouth of the Colorado, to the utmost limit of the gulf of California, as we have before remarked.

S E C T. III.

Description of the country of CALIFORNIA,
with an account of the nature of its soil.

It may be confidently affirmed, that till the beginning of this century, no European had pene-

penetrated into the inland parts of California; and consequently what account any one pretended to give of it, must have been only uncertain inferences from the little he had observed on the coast. However from a desire of alleviating, in some measure, by strange and surprising accounts, the uneasy sensations arising from the miscarriage of the enterprises for its conquest, and the pleasure with which the attention and wonder of the hearers flatters the relator, as one who has been an eyewitness of such strange things, stimulated many at their ignominious return from those expeditions to court popularity, palliate miscarriages, and render their company acceptable by a fruitful invention of fables. The frequent repetition of these opened a door for improvement and emulation. The last who arrived, thought themselves obliged to add some circumstances of greater terror and wonder, than what had been related by the first adventurers: and this they did with the less caution, as their narratives could not be easily disproved.

Even the jesuits themselves could not give an entire and authentick account of this peninsula on their first arrival; it was a work of years for them to penetrate into the inland parts, and take at leisure a survey of it, in
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order to give the world a just account. What errors would that person commit, who should describe the nature and qualities of Spain, when his observations had been confined to a small part of its coast? I shall not therefore repeat the erroneous accounts of former adventurers, but lay before the reader, what is ascertained by repeated modern accounts.

The length of California from cape San Lucas to the northern limit already conquered, is about 300 leagues: besides which, about a district of a league has been partly known and described.

Its breadth is small in proportion to its length; for at cape San Lucas it is only 10 leagues, in some places 20, in others 30, and in others 40, from one sea to the other, according to the windings of both coasts. From the extent of the country, there must naturally be a difference in the temperature of the air, and the qualities of the soil. But it may be said in general, that the air is dry and hot to a great degree; and that the earth is barren, rugged, wild, every where over-run with mountains, rocks, and sands, with little water, and consequently unfit either for agriculture, planting, or graziery. But to speak a little more particularly; for the space of 20 or 30 leagues from cape San Lucas, the air
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is of a more kindly quality, the ground less barren and rugged, and little currents of water more frequent than in the other parts. From hence to the garrison of Loretto, which is near the center of the conquered part, the heat is in general excessive, the mountains craggy, and the earth dry and barren. In the remaining part of the conquered country to the furthest missions, the air is more moderate, so that at some seasons of the year water freezes; but the wild disposition of the country is the same. From the 28th degree, as far as has been discovered along the coast of the peninsula, the soil is not so rugged and full of rocks: yet with no abatement of its remarkable sterility. Father Kino however, who crossed the river Colorado, between 34 and 35 degrees, and took a very careful survey of the countries to the west of this river, betwixt the channel of Santa Barbara, Puerto de Monte Rey, and Cape Mendocino, assures us, that there are level and fruitful tracts, interspersed with many delightful woods, plenty of water, fine pastures, and as proper a country for making settlements as can be desired. This account is confirmed by what general Vizcaino met with on the sea coast of those tracts; and still more recently by father Taraval's own experience on the coast of San Xavier: and

in the opposite islands de los Dolores, which form the above named channel of St. Barbara. Both agree that these coasts, either with regard to the air, or plenty of fruits, have little or no affinity with the other parts of California.

The idea therefore which from good authority is to be formed of California as discovered for near 300 leagues up the country, is not very advantageous: but, notwithstanding this country in general is rugged, craggy, and barren, and the air disagreeable and unhealthy; yet near the coast there are several spots that may be greatly improved by agriculture, and would produce all the necessaries of life. The vicinity of the sea with its vapours moderates the heat of the atmosphere; the sides of the mountains send forth currents of water, without which, indeed sowing would often fail, on account of the little rain, and the uncertainty of it. Lastly, it is not without plains both for pasture and tillage. Even in the center of California there are some vallies and rising grounds of a tolerable soil, having springs for drinking and watering the grounds. In these parts it is that the poor Californians have their dwellings; and here likewise are the
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Cabeceras* of the missions, and the villages within their visitation.

It has been a maxim always to build these cabeceras near rivers and waters, to induce the Indians to live in towns, and thereby habituate them to a christian and social life under laws. But along the whole inward coast from Cape San Lucas to the river Colorado, there are only two streams, and these but small, the first passes through the mission of San Joseph del Cabo, and discharges itself into the bay of San Bernabe; the second is the Muleje, which waters the mission of Santa Rosalia, and runs into the gulf of California, in the latitude of 27 deg. The other missions are near some springs, whose waters generally do not reach the sea, unless in times of great rain. Others do not fall into the gulf, but into the Pacifick sea on the western coast; but as no accurate observations have been made on this head, I will not venture to say any thing further about the rivers, as it must be uncertain.

Monfieur de Fer and other modern geographers place on this coast, and in the latitude of 26 deg. near Cape Santa Apollonia, the port of San Martin, that of Anno Nuevo, and

* This is the name of the principal town, in which usually resides the missionary, who generally has several small villages under his care.

the river of Santo Thomé, with this particular, that they were discovered in the year 1648. This was the æra of admiral Otondo's expeditions, in which father Kino accompanied that officer; and though I do not find in the narratives of that expedition, that Otondo ever went on shore, only to visit the harbours of the eastern coast and the gulf; yet from the ardent curiosity of father Kino, and the great concern he had in the affairs of California, I cannot think that he could be mistaken in any particular relating to the discovery: that father Kino, both in his large manuscript map, and likewise in the lesser impression, places the river of Santo Thomé, as rising between 26 and 27 deg. of N. latitude, and after crossing the whole peninsula, discharging itself into the South sea, in the 26 deg. and forming at its mouth a large harbour, which he calls Puerto de Anno Nuevo, being discovered in the year 1685. On both sides of the river are christian villages, as is evident from their names, Santiago, Santo Innocentes, San Juan, San Estevan, Reyes, Noche-Buena, Thebayda, and San Nicholas; yet in the accounts of that time, I do not meet with any intelligence of this discovery, to which I must add, that in the subsequent relations, no mention is made of any such river, settlements, or harbours,
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though even little brooks are taken notice of. These, and several other reasons, induce me not to pronounce decisively: and many other difficulties of the same nature occurring about this outward coast, I beg leave for want of more recent and exact information, to refer the reader to the narrative of general Vizcaino's voyage inserted at the end of this work.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Beasts, Birds, Insects, Fishes, Shells, Trees, Fruits, Plants, Minerals, and Pearls, found in CALIFORNIA and its seas.

From this extensive title, I hope the reader will not expect a complete history of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms in California. I well know that natural history has always been the favourite study of the wise in every civilized nation. I know also the present application of the learned to the experimental knowledge of nature, and the countenance it so deservedly receives from the European princes; of which the galleries of curiosities, musæums, gardens, laboratories, theatres, academies, and innumerable books are such splendid monuments. I know the satisfaction which arises in the breast of a curious reader, at meeting with
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any novelty in this science, as may reasonably be expected in the accounts of countries remote and little known. I know that nothing should be omitted relating to the natural history, as nothing is more pleasing to persons of taste; possibly the Supreme Being, in order to the investigation of the wonders of his power has inspired men with this taste, knowing the eagerness with which they desire to search into, and explain every phænomenon of nature; or it is the design of Omnipotence in inspiring the minds of men with this desire of contemplating the works of his hands, that we may thence acquire some faint idea of his greatness. I also see with admiration the labours of many foreigners, in illustrating the natural history of the American colonies of their respective nations; as the late admirable president of the royal society in England, sir Hans Sloane *, mrs. Maria Sybilla Mirian, who undertook a voyage from Holland to Surinam, to obtain a

* *Catalogus plantarum, quæ in insula Jamaica sponte provenient vel vulgo coluntur, cum earundem synonymis & locis natalibus, adjectis aliis quibusdam, que in insulis Maderæ, Barbadoes, Neves, S. Christophori nascuntur, seu prodromus Historiæ naturalis Jamaicae, Londini, 1695, in fol. Voyage to the islands of Madeira, Barbadoes, Neves, St. Christopher's and Jamaica, with the natural history of these countries, &c. London 1707. two vols. in fol. with 274 copper-plates.*

more accurate knowledge of the insects of that country. Laet and Briy, Dutchmen; Joceline and Walker, Englishmen; Lerio, a Frenchman; Pison, Markgrave, and Rochfort, Dutchmen; Ligon, an Englishman; Cornuto, an Italian in the French service; Bannister, an Englishman; Vernon and Crieg, Englishmen; Labat, a French Dominican; Thibeth, a French Franciscan; Catesby and Clayton, Englishmen; Barrera la Fitau and Charlevoix, Frenchmen; and many others to be found in the botanical bibliothecas of Seguiet and Linnæus. I remember the diligent cultivation of this study in Spain, even in the time of the Moors, and much more since the establishment of the useful arts and sciences, when Pliny was read in schools: and there was an emulation among the learned, in illustrating that author with notes, as Nunnius, Stran, Gomez, de Castro, Ponce de Leon; whilst this artful knowledge was farther improved by the valuable writings of Laguna, Valles, Herrera, el Prior, Deza, Rios, Salinas, Val de Cebro, Funes, Velez, Vargus, Villafane, Barba, and many others, mentioned with honour in the Spanish libraries. Nor am I ignorant also with what precision the products of America have been illustrated by Monardes and Oviedo, but especially by the late father Joseph d'Acosta, a je-

fruit, whom that elegant writer, father Feyjoo, justly stiles the Pliny of America: and here I must not omit the famous Francisco Hernandez, sent to America as well as Acofta, by Philip II. who left in the Escorial library seventeen large volumes of descriptions, of which father Claudio Clemente says, * “ Qui omnes
 “ libri, & commentarii, si prout affecti sunt, ita
 “ forent perfecti, & absoluti Philippus Secundus
 “ & Franciscus Hernandez, haudquaquam
 “ Alexandro, et Aristoteli, in hac parte con-
 “ cederent.” But of these we have only extracts, taken by father Ximenes, and Nardo Recco, physician to Philip IV. I also with pleasure see the general applause given to illustrations of the natural history of our American dominions in this century: as those of father Fevillee †, and Plumier ‡, who were sent to America at the expence of the king of France. The description of the plants of the Philippine islands by father Camello; those of the river

* Bibliothecæ Escuralis descriptio: Appendix ad tractatum Musæi, sive bibliothecæ instructio, &c. Lugduni, 1635. 4to.

† A minim, also mathematician and botanist, who published a valuable piece entitled, the History of the medicinal plants, used in Peru and Chili, Paris 1714. 4to. Sequel of the same, Paris 1725.

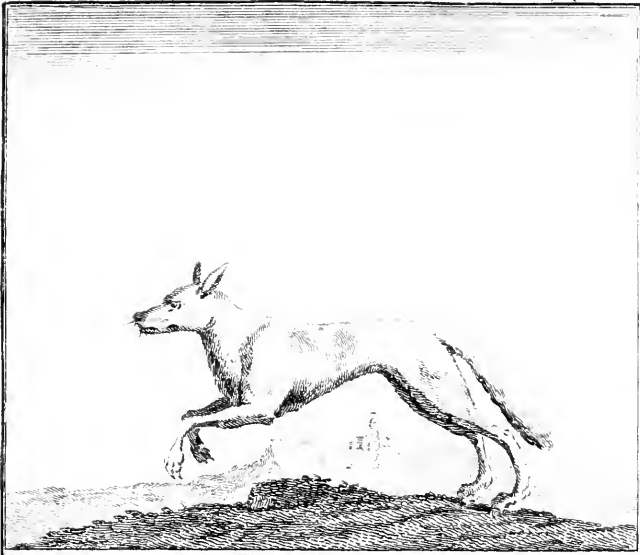
‡ Description de plantes d’Amerique, folio. Also, Nova Plantarum Americanarum genera, Paris 1703.

Oronoco by father Gumilla, in his excellent work, intituled Oronoco Illustrado; and lastly those which occur in the Relation del Viago a los Reynos del Peru, by don George Juan and don Antonio Ulloa, in company with the academicians of France, to ascertain the true figure of the earth. To conclude, I know the impatience with which the literary world is expecting the observations of monsieur Jussieu, who was sent by his most christian majesty with the above academicians; and who stayed behind in America several years, purely to illustrate the natural history of that extensive country. All these particulars lie before me, and I have related them not so much to defend me from the complaints of the learned, as to incite persons of capacity living in Spain, to silence the loud complaints of Linnæus, on the want of good accounts*. And likewise to those that live in America, that they would remove the cause of such reproaches, by exerting themselves to gratify this noble curiosity.

* Linn. Biblioth. Botanica, part. viii. Floristæ, § viii. Hisp. pag. 96. Hispanicæ Floræ nullæ nobis innotuerunt, adeoque plantæ istæ rarissimæ in locis Hispaniæ fertilissimis minus delecta sunt. Dolendum est, quod in locis, Europæ cultioribus tanta existat nostro tempore barbaries botanices! Paucissimas istas plantas, quæ nobis in Hispania & Portugalia constant, debemus curiosis class. iii. Tournefortio & paucis aliis.

In the mean time, I shall be ranked among those who increase the above complaints in imitation of the learned Muratori, in his *Notitia del Paraguay*. For in expectation of more punctual and particular informations, my intent here is only to give a general idea of the subjects mentioned in the title.

In California are now found all kinds of domestick animals, commonly used in Spain and Mexico; for tho' the missionaries met with none such, they have since been transported from New Spain, for horses, mules, asses, oxen, sheep, hogs, and goats, and even dogs and cats have been found to thrive well in this country. In California are two species of wild creatures for hunting, which are not known in Old or New Spain. The first is that which the Californians in the Monqui tongue call *Taye*. It is about the bigness of a calf, a year and a half old, and greatly resembles it in figure, except in its head, which is like that of a deer, and the horns very thick, resembling those of a ram: its hoof large, round, and cloven, like that of an ox: its skin is spotted like the deer, but the hair thinner, and it has a short tail: the flesh is very palatable, and to most tastes exquisite. The second species differs very little from a sheep, but a great deal larger, and more bulky: these are of two colours, white and black, both well



The Tays or Californian Deer.

well covered with excellent wool. The flesh of these is not less agreeable, and they wander in droves about the forests and mountains. Here is also plenty of deer, hares, rabbits, and wild goats, though the Indians kill great numbers in their huntings; but the coyotes are scarce. This is a Mexican word, and in New Spain the name of a peculiar species of wild dog, in some particulars resembling the foxes of Spain, especially in their arts and stratagems; though their figure is very different. Some leopards also have been seen here, and are the same creatures with those called lions in the kingdom of Mexico. A few years since some Indians killed a wolf; and all their countrymen affirmed, that it was the first they had ever seen of that kind: which proves that there are few of them, the Indians being continually hunting in the forests. Goats, cats, and wild hogs are frequently found among the mountains. Father Torquemada observes, that about Monte Rey are very large bears, an animal something like a buffalo, and a creature very different from the tyger, as will appear from the following description he has given of it: it is about the bigness of a steer, but shaped like a stag; its hair resembles that of a pelican, and is a quarter of a yard in length; its neck long, and on its head are horns, like

those of a stag ; the tail is a yard in length, and half a yard in breadth ; and the feet cloven like those of an ox. The same father relates, that in the bay of San Bernabe, near Cape San Lucas, tygers are found, and that the Indians, among other things, brought the skins of them to the Spaniards.

But the greatest curiosity in this particular, which has been found in California, is a kind of animal exactly resembling a beaver, if not actually a species of that creature. Father Sigmundo Taraval saw several during his journey, in the year 1733, to the island de los Dolores, in a part called San Andres, four days and a half journey from the mission of San Ignatio. They found such numbers of them together, that the seamen killed above twenty of them, following them only with sticks. Some of the skins of these creatures the father sent to Mexico. He supposes these animals to be amphibious, like the beaver ; but says nothing of that skill and regularity so much admired in the structures which the Canada-beavers build along the rivers for their habitations.

With regard to snakes and terrestrial insects, besides the common species, here are also those which usually abound in hot countries, as vipers of different kinds, efts, scorpions, spiders, scolopendras, crickets, pismires, and lizards ;
and

and one of the accounts adds, tarantulas, but without any mention that its bite is attended with the remarkable frenzy succeeding that of the tarantulas of Calabria. Lastly, though the heat in California is generally excessive, yet even the moist parts do not abound with those mischievous insects, the bugs, niguas *, and others, both common and peculiar to America.

Of birds there is an infinite variety. Among those which serve for the table, are turtles, herons, quails, pheasants, geese, ducks, and pigeons. The birds of prey are vultures, hawks, falcons, ossiphrages, horn-owls, ravens, and crows, which in New Spain are called in the Mexican dialect, zopilotes; and another kind called auras, of excellent use in keeping the cities clean, leaving no dead carcase in the streets, whither they repair early every morning. With regard to night birds, there are owls, and many others of a smaller kind, not seen in any other parts, nor mentioned by any naturalists; nor have the narratives of the jesuits supplied us with a description, or even

* Very small insects, which lie hid in the dust, leap like fleas, and work themselves into the feet or legs of those that go barefoot; where they breed so wonderfully, that they are scarce to be got out again, and sometimes there is no destroying them without cauterizing or cutting off the part.

the name of them. California has a great variety of singing birds, especially of those kinds found either in Old or New Spain, as larks, nightingales, and the like, most of which are adorned with beautiful plumages. Father Torquemada says, "that about the harbour of Monte-Rey are bustards, peacocks, geese, thrushes, swallows, sparrows, gold-finches, linets, quails, partridges, blackbirds, water-wagtails, cranes, vultures, and other birds, resembling turkey-cocks: the latter were the largest we ever saw, the distance from one wing to the other being seventeen palms. He adds, that there are cormorants, gulls, and mews." The same author says, that in the island of Assumpcion they saw great numbers of a particular species of gulls, which, as they are found in several parts of California, it may not be improper to insert here the description of them, by friar Antonio della Assumpcion. "The gulls live on pilchards and other small fishes; but they are equal to a very large goose in size, their bill a foot in length, and their long legs resemble those of the stork; their beak and feet are like those of a goose. They have a vast craw, which in some hangs down like the leather bottles used in Peru for carrying water; and in it they put their captures to carry them to their young ones. The friendly

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ly disposition of these birds is something surprising; for they assist one another, as if they had an unadulterated use of reason. If any one is sick, weak, maimed, or otherwise disabled from going in quest of food, he is plentifully assisted by others, who lay it before him: of this I myself was an-eye witness in the island of San Roque, where I accidentally found a gull tied with a string, and one of his wings broke; around this maimed bird lay heaps of excellent pilchards, brought thither by its companions: and this I found was a stratagem practised by the Indians, to procure themselves a dish of fish; for they lie concealed, while the gulls bring these charitable supplies; and when they think that little more is to be expected, they seize upon the contributions." Such are the mysterious ways of providence for the support of his creatures!

As the air and qualities of the earth are not uniform in all parts of California; so neither are they in the production of trees and plants. The point of the peninsula towards Cape San Lucas is more level, fertile, and temperate than any other, and thence more woody. In the other parts, even to the furthest missions on the east coast, no timber has hitherto been discovered large enough for rafters; and if any churches or other buildings are
found

found roofed with wood, it has been brought by sea from Cinaloa. In the territory of Guadalupe alone are found large quantities of timber, and of this the sloop called el Triumpho della Cruz was built, in order to make a futher discovery of the gulf, as we shall mention in the sequel. Father Torquemada, and father Ascencion, indeed say, that in the bay of Magdalena on the outward coast, there is a spot of ground near the sea covered with large trees, which the Indians use for building their fishing barks. The mountains all over this vast tract, are totally bare of verdure, as the Sierra Pintada; or at most only covered with small shrubs, briars, and low trees; but many of them have excellent fruit, some common to Europe, and others peculiar to America. These however, are most frequent along the coasts, where they enjoy the benefit of water, especially on the banks of rivers and lakes; where there are also rushes, osiers, and sedges. Some willows and palm-trees are also found on the banks of rivers, especially towards Cape San Lucas.

But among the plants and shrubs which most abound in California, the principal is the pithaya, a kind of beech, the fruit of which forms the great harvest of the poor inhabitants here. This tree is not known in Europe,

and differs from all other trees in the world; its branches are fluted and rise vertically from the stem, so as to form a very beautiful top; they are without leaves, the fruit growing to the boughs. The fruit is like a horse chestnut, and full of prickles: but the pulp resembles that of a fig, only more soft and luscious. In some it is white, in some red, and in others yellow; but always of an exquisite taste: some again are wholly sweet; others of a grateful acid. And as the pitahaya is very juicy, it is chiefly found in a dry soil: but its most valuable quality is its being a specifick against the distemper de Loanda. California has also great plenty of red junas, called in New Spain, junas japonas, and a particular species of fig. Father Ascencion says, "That the bay of San Barnabe abounds with various trees, as fig trees, lentisks, pitahayas, an infinite number of plum trees, which, instead of resin or gum, yield a very fine and fragrant incense in great quantity. What taste these plums have, I cannot say from my own experience: but they who have been in California, greatly commend them." In fact, it is not only in this bay, but in many other parts near the western coast, that these plum trees abound, the fruit of which is carefully gathered by the Indians. The incense or resin transudes from these and
other

other trees so copiously, that it is used mixed with tallow for paying bottoms of ships. The mountains and forests yield the mezcal, and according to Torquemada the maquey; the roots of which boiled is a principal ingredient in the mexcalli, a kind of food which the natives presented the Spaniards at the bay of San Francisco. Here are also wild vines, together with a great variety of small plants and herbs. One species of them called pita, supplies the Indians with thread for making their nets and other uses; and from different herbs they make with admirable skill and elegance, a kind of plates and baskets. The inhabitants on the banks of the river Colorado make of the same herbs little tubs or bins, called coritas, which generally hold about two bushels of maize: and with these they transport their goods from one shore to the other without being in the least damaged by the water, they themselves swimming behind and shoving these vehicles along before them. Other herbs also serve them for food; especially three kinds, all of them frequent in New Spain: the first is yuca, a large thick root, which they cut into slices and express the juice; afterwards it is made into broad thin cakes, and eaten instead of bread. The second is the Camotes, which are very sweet and palatable.

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The third is the gicamas, which in taste exceed those of Mexico: there is scarce an herb or root which they do not apply to some use. Father Francisco Maria Picolo, one of the first missionaries that went among them, relates, that they have above fourteen different kinds of seeds which they use, though he mentions only these three; the red frixoles, or kidney beans; the canamones, or hemp seed, and alpiste, a kind of canary seed. Besides these trees and roots, here are others which have been transplanted by the missionaries from the continent, and most of them with very good success, especially in those parts where they have the conveniency of water; so that the banks of the rivers, canals, and watering places are decorated with olives, fig trees, and vines; and in some parts, the latter have thrived so well, as to afford a wine, equal to the best in Europe. Father Juan de Ugarte, whom we shall have occasion frequently to mention hereafter, brought hither almost every kind of fruit trees growing in New Spain; and having planted them in a soil properly prepared on the coast of San Miguel, and kept daily watered, they all flourished; the same success attended the experiments made with wheat, maize, French beans, melons of both kinds, garvanzo, or a kind of pease, and all sorts of escau-

esculents, where-ever they could be sown and cultivated. It is also proper to observe, that in the countries not hitherto reduced, lying between the river Colorado and the coasts of Monte Rey to Cape Mendozino, both the fathers Kino and Juan de Torquemada relate, that there is a great number of large trees, holms, pines, and black and white poplars.

We have not hitherto had any particular account of its minerals; but some intelligent persons are of opinion, that the Sierra Pintada and other parts abound with metals, as they exhibit all the marks and appearances of gold and silver mines. Capt. Woods Rogers says, that some of his men saw on the coast of California several heavy, glittering, shining stones, which they imagined to contain some valuable metal; but it was then too late to search for them, or even to carry them on board for a further examination. It is indeed natural to suppose, that there are many very rich mines in California, as the opposite coast in the provinces of Sonora and Pimeria are known to abound with them; for in the year 1730 a vein was discovered on an eminence, not far from the garrison of Pimeria, the ore of which, with a little labour, yielded so large a quantity of silver as surprised the inhabitants of New Spain; and it remained some
time

time a question, whether it was a mine, or treasures hid by the Indians. Some have also been discovered which contain veins of other metals: rock salt is also found here, of a whiteness equal to crystal, and samples of it have been carried to Mexico.

But if the soil of California be in general barren, the scarcity of provisions is supplied by the adjacent sea; for both in the Pacifick ocean and the gulf of California, the multitude and variety of fishes are incredible. Father Antonio de la Ascencion, speaking of the bay of San Lucas, says, "With the nets which every ship carried, they caught a great quantity of fish of different kinds, and all wholesome and palatable: particularly holybush, salmon, turbot, skates, pilchards, large oysters, thornbacks, mackarel, barbels, bonetos, soals, lobsters, and pearl oysters." And, speaking of the bay of San Francisco on the western coast, he adds: "Here are such multitudes of fish, that with a net, which the commodore had on board, more was caught every day, than the ship's company could make use of: and of these a great variety, as crabs, oysters, breams, mackarel, cod, barbels, thornbacks, &c." And in other parts he makes mention of the infinite number of sardines, which are left on the sand at the ebb, and so exquisite,
that

that those of Laredo in Spain, then famous for this fish, do not exceed them. Nor are fish less plentiful along the gulf, where to the above-mentioned species father Piccolo adds, tunnies, anchovies, and others. Even in the little rivulets of this peninsula are found barbels and crayfish: but the most distinguished fish of both seas are the whales; which induced the ancient cosmographers to call California, Punta de Balenas, or Cape Whale: and these fish being found in multitudes along both coasts, give name to a channel in the gulf, and a bay in the South sea.

From the fish, I shall next proceed to the amphibious and testaceous kind. Of the former here are very few except the beavers above-mentioned, if they are such, and the sea wolves, or, as some call them, sea lions: these frequent some of the shores, and the desert islands of both seas.

The most remarkable among the testaceous kind, is the tortoise; several kinds of wilks and other turbines are thrown up by the sea, in such numbers, that, in some parts, the shore is quite covered with them. On the coast of the South sea are some small shell fish or conches peculiar to it, and perhaps the most beautiful in the world: the lustre exceeding that of the finest mother of pearl, and appearing

ing through a transparent varnish of a most vivid blue, like the lapis lazuli. It is thought that were these imported to Europe, the aqua marina would be no longer valued: these are univalves, and consequently different from the shell fish in which the pearls are found, the latter being bivalves, like our oysters. They are called *madres perlas*, and found in California, or rather as father Piccolo says, along the whole coast, and especially the adjacent islands, where there are so many banks of them, that they may be counted by thousands. And this abundance of pearls has rendered California so famous, that great numbers of persons during the two last centuries, stimulated by avidity after this treasure, have visited California, searched every part of the gulf, and are still continually resorting hither with no other view, than that of enriching themselves by these pearls. The oysters in which they are found lie in great numbers on banks in the gulf, and commonly called *hostias*. “The sea of California, says father Torquimada, affords very rich pearl fisheries, where in three or four fathom water the *hostias*, or beds of oysters may be seen as plain as if they were on the surface of the water. He adds, that it was a practice among the Indians to throw the oysters into the fire, by which

means the pearls were destroyed ; for they used only the flesh of the fish : but the avidity of others has communicated its flame, even to this simple people ; who are now eager to get, and careful to keep, what they have seen so highly valued by foreigners. This fishery is carried on by divers ; but as the water in the gulf is not very deep, it is attended with less labour and danger, than those on the coast of Malabar and other parts of the East Indies, if we may judge from the narratives given us of them. Great numbers resort to this fishery from the continent of New Spain, New Galicia, Culiacan, Cinaloa, and Sonora : and the many violences committed by the adventurers, to satiate if possible their covetous temper, have occasioned reciprocal complaints : nor will they ever cease while the desire of riches, that bane of society, predominates in the human breast.

Father Piccolo observes, that in the months of April, May, and June, there falls with the dew a kind of manna, which becomes inspissated on the leaves of the trees. He adds, that he tasted it, and though not so white as sugar, it had all the sweetness of it. The good father talks according to the common opinion, as if the manna dropped from the sky. But botanists are agreed, that it is a juice exuding from the plants themselves in
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the same manner as gums, incense, balsams, resins, &c. It is no wonder that the trees of California should exfudate manna, since many parts of Spain produce it in an astonishing plenty; and for medical uses, equal to that of Calabria, or Sicily. This was an advantage formerly little known in Spain, but his majesty on the representation of the royal college of physicians at Madrid in 1752, gave orders, that two of its members should make a further examination of the produce of manna: these were don Joseph Minuart, and don Christopher Velez*. The former was sent among the mountains of Avila, and the latter among the Pedroches, or seven towns of Cordova, situated among the mountains of Andalusia: and that its virtues should experimentally be proved, by exhibiting it to the patient in the hospitals. And it has been found that Spain alone produces manna, sufficient to supply the whole world; for not only an incredible quantity of it is gathered in the parts above-mentioned, where it is formed

* This valuable person, to the great loss of botanical improvements in Spain, died at Madrid in 1753. His moral virtues, extensive knowledge, and consummate experience in all parts of natural history, which made his correspondence valued by the learned of several nations, seemed, according to human judgment, to render him worthy of a longer life.

about the dog-days, but likewise in the mountains of Asturias and Galicia, Cuenca, Aragon, Catalonia, and the other provinces, where they call it mangla; but hitherto it was only used by the bees in forming their combs.

S E C T. V.

Of the different Nations and Languages of CALIFORNIA.

The word nation generally speaking, has a different import in America, from what it has in Europe; though even in the latter it is not always used in the same sense. In Europe it is applied to those who inhabit a certain extent of country, or live under one government, whether their language be the same or not. In America, there being among the unconquered Indians neither distinction, limits of province, nor demarkation of divisions, as was found in the two empires of Mexico and Peru, all using the same language, they account one nation; whether they live near one another, or are dispersed in different rancherias or places of abode: or, if there be any difference in the idiom, but very small, some languages being only dialects of another, so that they understand one another. But when the lan-
guage

guage is so different that they cannot understand each other, then they are said to be of different nations. Sometimes indeed the nations do not derive their name from the language they speak, but from the part of the country they inhabit, or some other circumstance of the same kind.

With regard to the nations inhabiting California, there have been variety of opinions, as there was also concerning their languages. Some missionaries have told us, that there are six different languages spoken in this peninsula : others say there are only five. But father Taraval, and some others, say there are no more than three. This difference arises from languages having been judged different by some, whilst others examining more particularly into them, have found that they were only dialects of the same language ; the difference being too little to make any distinction between them.

Among the various opinions this has occasioned among the narratives, the preference, I think, is due to father Taraval, as none was better acquainted with all those countries ; and he was an eye-witness of every thing he asserts. The languages, says this judicious missionary, are three, that of Cochimi, Pericu, and Loretto. From the latter two dialects have been formed, namely, Guaycura and Uchiti.

The variation indeed is such, that a person unacquainted with the three languages, would be apt to conclude, that there were not only four, but five. The Indians understand one another in words, signifying the same thing, in the the three languages of Loretto, Guaycura, and Uchiti; but these are very few. Those who are of opinion that these three variations have been formed from two languages, conclude that there must have been four. The principal nations yet discovered on the peninsula, speak the languages above-mentioned, and divide it into three parts, almost equal to each other. The first towards the south, from Cape San Lucas, to a little beyond the Puerto de la Pas, is inhabited by the Pericu nations; the second from La Pas, to beyond the garrison of Loretto, by that of the Monquis; and the third from Loretto northward, as far as is discovered, by the Cochimi nation. It must, however, be observed, that in the territories of one nation or language, there are usually rancherias or settlements of other languages and nations; and these general nations are subdivided into tribes or families. One language also has often different names, and the rancherias, and lesser nations, as we have already observed, usually take their name, not from the language, but other circumstances.

In order to proceed with all possible perspicuity, and amidst such intricacy to avoid error and confusion, it must be remarked, that in the mission of Loretto Concho, which is the seat of the royal garrison, and the capital of all the missions, they have particular words by which they call the nations of the peninsula, relatively to the part in which they live. The Indians to the south of this territory, they call Edu, Eduu, or Edues; the general name for themselves is Monqui, or Monquis: and the more northern inhabitants they call Laymones. These three names having their origin in the capital, are pretty well known all over California. But as different persons sometimes use one name, and sometimes another, a great deal of confusion may easily result; and therefore we must observe, that the Edues are the same with the southern Pericues, though the name of Edues not only includes these, but likewise some branches of the general name of Loretto, or the Monquis. The Laymones are the same as the northern Cochimies, though the name of Laymones also extends to some rancherias of the same inland nation of Monqui or Loretto.

The nation of the Pericues or Edues, which I have said inhabit the most southern part of California, towards Cape St. Lucas, is sub-

divided into several tribes, of which the most numerous is that of the Coras, originally the name of one rancheria only; but afterwards given to some villages, and to the river which discharges itself into St. Barnaby-bay. The nation of Loretto has no proper name in the Indian tongue, including its whole extension: and therefore to denote it in general, we use the name of the principal of its branches, or districts, the Monquis. But, besides these, there are others who have their names from the difference of their dialects, the parts where they live, and other incidents. Of these, the most remarkable are the Uchiti inhabiting the neighbourhood of the bay and town of La Pas: and the Guaycuras, which reach from La Pas along the coast of the gulf, to the borders of Loretto. The Monquis themselves are divided into Liyues, Diduis, and other lesser branches. They who think the Guaycura and Uchiti are languages different from that of the Monquis, are also of opinion that they are different nations, and not branches of the same. However, we shall follow father Taraval, who considers them as one general nation and language. The most numerous of all the nations is, that of the Cochimies or Laymones: and, indeed, hitherto the utmost limits of their language are not known.

known. This nation is likewise divided into several branches, who have their small variations in the idiom, termination, and pronunciation: and the like is observable in the most northern mission, consecrated to St. Ignatius; in the whole remaining coast to the river Colorado; and, on the opposite western coast, in the part called San Xavier, and the island de los Dolores.

These are all the nations which hitherto have been reduced; but the nation and language of the Cochimies, seem to extend beyond the last mission of San Ignacio. But besides those already converted, others have been discovered on the continent of Pimeria, who must not here be omitted, as belonging to California. Father Kino relates, that in his journey from the Pimeria, to the Colorado, and passing that river, at the place where it receives the waters of the Gila, he found along its banks, on the Californian side, the nations of the Bagiopas, the Heabonomas, the Iguanas, and Cutguanes or Cueganas. In his map he places the Bagiopas, about the mouth of the Colorado, and the Heabonomas a little above them, on the east side of that river, opposite to the Yumas and Quiquimas, which inhabit the west. The same father, a little above the conflux of the Gila and Colorado, to the west of the former, and

and east of the latter, found the nation of the Alchedomas, dwelling along the west side of the Colorado, in numerous, large, and populous rancherias; they also inhabit the banks of the river Gila, contiguous to them. He adds, that a Cocomaricopan assured him, that on the other side of the river Colorado, towards California, lived another nation, called Cuculatos, but so unknown, that he could get no satisfactory account of it. The other nations inhabiting the countries between the river Colorado, Monte Rey, and cape Mendozino, and the remaining country, along these coasts, are almost utterly unknown, so that nothing can be affirmed of them with certainty, which the candour, due to the publick, requires.

Of all the nations hitherto discovered, the Californians are at least equal to any in the make of their bodies. Their faces also are far from being disagreeable, though their daubing them with ointments, painting them, and boring holes through their nostrils and ears are very great disadvantages. Their complexion indeed is more tanned and swarthy than that of the other Indians of New Spain. But they are in general robust, vigorous, and of a healthy countenance. There is no appearance, that the Californians have hitherto had any knowledge of the wonderful contrivance
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of letters, by which we converse with the ancients, and preserve the transactions of former ages. Nor had any of the American nations the least idea of so noble an invention. It must however be owned, that the Peruvians had something very nearly equivalent to it in their quipos, or strings of different colours, which with a sagacity really surprising, they preserved their traditions and antiquities, and applied them to several other uses necessary in society. A more particular account of these quipos is given by father Acofta, Garcilaso, and Martin Murua, whose manuscript so highly commended by don Nicholas Antonio, is yet preserved in the library of the jesuits college at Alcala de Heneras in Old Spain; and several copies of it are in other places.

The Mexicans made use of symbols and hieroglyphicks, by which they painted events, and sufficiently indicated an admirable genius; and by this means they preserved the knowledge of their religion, laws, and history, and even the rights of particular families. Their chronology, cycles, and computations cannot be considered without astonishment. Some account of their hieroglyphicks and painted memorials may be seen in Gomara, Dias del Castillo, Acofta, Herrera, Torquimada, Solis, Betancourt, and almost all others who have treated of

the affairs of Mexico, particularly father Kircher, Gemelli Careri, mr. Purchas, and other foreign authors.

Had the Californians been acquainted with the use of letters, we should easily have discovered whether the founders of the American nations passed from Asia to the continent or not: and whether this happened before, or since, the invention of characters in Asia and Europe. We should also have been able to have formed some reasonable conjecture with regard to the particular nation of the first peoplers of this extensive continent.

Of all the parts of America hitherto discovered, the Californians lie nearest to Asia. We are acquainted with the mode of writing in all the eastern nations. We can distinguish between the characters of the Japanese, the Chinese, the Chinese Tartars, the Mogul Tartars, and other nations extending as far as the bay of Kamfchathka; and learned dissertations on them, by mr. Bayer, are to be found in the acts of the Imperial academy of sciences at Petersburg. What discovery would it be to meet with any of these characters, or others like them among the American Indians nearest to Asia? But as to the Californians, if ever they were possessed of any invention to perpetuate their memoirs, they have entire-

ly lost it : and all that is now found among them, amounts to no more than some obscure oral traditions, probably more and more adulterated by a long succession of time. They have not so much as retained any knowledge of the particular country from which they emigrated ; so that both the Edues or Pericues, and the Cochimies or Laymones could give no farther account, than that they heard their ancestors came from the north ; and this might be concluded without their information, California being on all sides environed with the sea, except on the north, where it joins to the continent. Besides, there is little reason to think, that the first settlers came hither by sea ; nor can they give any account of the time when they came hither ; for their stupidity and ignorance are so great, that they do not appear to have among them any means of distinguishing the years, or the intervals of times, as the Mexicans did, by means of their cycles of fifty years. They indeed seem something better acquainted with the occasion, on which their ancestors removed from their native settlements in the north, down into California : which, according to their tradition, was owing to a quarrel at a banquet, where the chief men of several nations were met. This was followed by a bloody battle ; and the side
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which was defeated, flew towards the south, and were eagerly pursued by the victors, till they sheltered themselves among the forests and mountains of this peninsula.

Others say the quarrel was only between two great men, who divided the nation into two opposite factions; and after a great slaughter, one obliged the other to seek for safety among the mountains and islands of the sea: this is all the information the missionaries have been able to procure, with regard to the origin and emigration of the Californians. And here it may be observed, how free they are from the vanity of many polished nations, who affect to trace their origin from remote countries, and to decorate their ancestors with many plausible and pompous stories. It seems indeed something strange, that they should acknowledge themselves the descendants of persons obliged by a superior force to quit their country, when they might easily have pretended to be the offspring of conquerors; though there are not wanting two illustrious examples among the ancients of the like candour; the two noble states of Rome and Carthage, boasted of deriving their origin from persons who had been driven from their country; the former from the conquered Trojans, and the latter from Tyrian fugitives. But be this as it may,

may, the most probable conjecture is, that these nations, and all others in America, have passed over from Asia since the dispersion of nations and the confusion of tongues. Tho' it may at the same time be affirmed, that hitherto there has not been found in any of the American nations on either side of the equinox, one single, authentick, and clear monument, of their being originally from Asia, or of their supposed transition into America. Nor is there in the furthest parts of Asia, to which the Russians have hitherto penetrated, the least vestige, or tradition, that the inhabitants had ever any communication with, or knowledge of, the Americans.

S E C T. VI.

Of the temper and manners of the CALIFORNIANS; and of their government in peace and war.

To those who have seen any of the American nations, and observed their genius and disposition, it would be sufficient to say in general, that the ancient inhabitants of California did not in the least differ from them; except those of the two empires of Mexico and Peru, in which, as there was a greater union and intercourse, so the fruits of it were seen in the cultivation

tivation of their reason, in their laws, policy, and military conduct, and in the other branches of government, as well as in the reciprocal and friendly dependencies on one another. But all the other American nations differ very little, either in capacity, disposition, or customs. The characteristicks of the Californians, as well as of all the other Indians, are stupidity and insensibility; want of knowledge and reflection; inconstancy, impetuosity, and blindness of appetite; an excessive sloth and abhorrence of all labour and fatigue; an incessant love of pleasure and amusement of every kind, however trifling or brutal; pusillanimity and relaxity: and in fine, a most wretched want of every thing which constitutes the real man, and renders him rational, inventive, tractable, and useful to himself and society. It is not easy for Europeans, who never were out of their own country, to conceive an adequate idea of these people. For even in the least frequented corners of the globe, there is not a nation so stupid, of such contracted ideas, and so weak both in body and mind, as the unhappy Californians. Their understanding comprehends little more than what they see: abstract ideas, and much less a chain of reason, being far beyond their power; so that they scarce ever improve their first ideas; and these are in general

neral false, or at least inadequate. It is in vain to represent to them any future advantages, which will result to them, by doing or abstaining from this or that particular immediately present; the relation of means and ends being beyond the stretch of their faculties. Nor have they the least notion of pursuing such intentions as will procure themselves some future good, or guard them against evils. Their insensibility, with regard to corporeal objects which lie before them, being so great, that it may easily be conceived, what sentiments they can have with regard to rewards and punishments in a future life. They have only a few faint glimmerings of the moral virtues and vices; so that some things appear good and others evil, without any reflection: and though they enjoyed the light of natural reason, and that divine grace which is given to all without distinction, yet the one was so weak, and the other so little attended to, that, without any regard to decency, pleasure and profit were the motives and end of all their actions.

Their will is proportionate to their faculties; and all their passions move in a very narrow sphere; ambition they have none, and are more desirous of being accounted strong than valiant: the objects of ambition with us,

honour, fame, or reputation, titles, posts, and distinctions of superiority, are unknown among them; so that this powerful spring of action, the cause of so much seeming good and real evil in the world, has no power here. The most that is observed in them, is some sensibility of emulation; to see their companions praised or rewarded rouses them, and is indeed the only thing which stimulates, and prevails on them to shake off their innate sloth. They are equally free from avarice, that destructive passion which makes such havoc in polite nations. The utmost extent of their desires is to get the present day's food without much fatigue, taking little care for that of the ensuing day. As for furniture, it consists wholly in their instruments, mean as they are, for fishing, hunting, and war. Lastly, what pursuit of wealth or eagerness in acquiring estates can be expected among them, who have neither house, field, nor divisions of lands; and who know no other rights, than that of being the first in gathering for their use the spontaneous productions of the earth.

This disposition of mind, as it gives them up to an amazing languor and lassitude, their lives fleeting away in a perpetual inactivity, and detestation of labour; so it likewise induces

duces them to be attracted by the first object, which their own fancy, or the persuasion of another, place before them: and at the same time renders them as prone to alter their resolutions with the same facility. They look with indifference on any kindness done them; nor is even the bare remembrance of it to be expected from them. Their hatred and revenge are excited by the slightest causes: but they are as easily appeased, and even without any satisfaction, especially if they meet with opposition. For though courage seems the only thing they value, it may with truth be said, that they have not the least notion of true bravery. Their rancour and fury last no longer than while they meet with no resistance. The least thing daunts them; and when once they begin to yield, their fear will induce them to stoop to the basest indignities. As, on the contrary, by obtaining any advantage, or if the enemy becomes disheartened, they swell with a most extravagant pride. In a word, the unhappy mortals may be compared to children, in whom the developement of reason is not completed. They may indeed be called a nation, who never arrive at manhood. Their predominant passion is suitable to such an unhappy condition, in which they make so little use of reason, I mean a violent fondness for

all kind of diversion, pleasure, festivals, games, dancings, and revels, in which they brutishly waste their miserable days. However, in the Californians are seen few of those bad dispositions, for which the other Americans are infamous. No inebriating liquors are used among them; and it is only on their festivals that they intoxicate themselves, and then with the smoak of wild tobacco. What little every one has is safe from theft; quarrels are rarely known among them; and the several members of a rancheria live in great harmony among themselves, and peaceably with others. All their malice and rage they reserve for their enemies. And so far are they from obstinacy, harshness, or cruelty, that nothing could exceed their docility and gentleness: consequently they are easily persuaded to good or evil.

The government of the Californians cannot be supposed to exceed the short limits of their capacity; there being among them, as we have already observed, neither division of lands or possessions, and consequently no succession to immoveables, nor any other claim of patrimonial rights; nor, on the other hand, any complaints of illegal intrusions. Every nation or language consists of several rancherias, more or less in number according to the fertility of the soil; and each rancheria of one or more families

families united by consanguinity. But when the missionaries came among them, neither the rancherias nor the nations had a chief or superior, to whom they paid obedience, or whose authority they acknowledged by any kind of tribute or external ceremonies. Every family governed itself according to their own fancy; and the natural obedience from sons to fathers was very little, after the former were able to provide for themselves. The forcerers and jugglers, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, were possessed of some kind of superiority; but this lasted no longer than the time of their festivals, or during the time of sickness, or other incidents, which excited their fear or superstition. However, in the rancherias, and even in the nations the missionaries found one, two, or more, who gave orders for gathering the products of the earth; directed the fisheries and the military expeditions, in case of a quarrel with any other rancheria or nation. This dignity was not obtained by blood and descent, nor by age, suffrages, or a formal election; the necessity of applying for instruction to one or more few, in some common exigency, rendered it natural, that, with a tacit consent, he who was brave, expert, artful, or eloquent, should be promoted to the command; but his authority was limited to terms imposed by the fancy of those, who,

without well knowing how, quietly submitted to him. This leader, or casique, conducted them to the forests and sea coasts in quest of food; sent and received the messages to and from the adjacent states; informed them of dangers; spirited them up to the revenge of injuries, whether real or feigned, done by other rancherias or nations; and headed them in their wars, ravages, and depredations. In all other particulars every one was entire master of his liberty.

The dress throughout the whole peninsula, from Cape San Lucas to the last mission of San Ignacio, was uniform; for the males, whether children or adults, went at all times totally naked. But amidst this naked similarity, there was some diversity in the ornaments used by every nation. The Edues towards Cape San Lucas decorated their heads with strings of pearls braided with their hair: with these they interwove small feathers, the whole forming an ornament, which at a distance resembled in some measure a periwig. Those of Loretto generally wore round their waste a slight girdle; and on their forehead a curious fillet of net work: to these some added a neckcloth with some well wrought figures of nacar; and sometimes small round fruits like beads, which, in some measure, resembled a rosary hanging on
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their breast, of which possibly they might have had some knowledge in former times, at the first arrival of the jesuits. They also adorned their arms with the same works, as with bracelets. The Cochines of the north usually kept their hair short, except a few, who let some locks grow to their full length. If they did not use pearls like those of the south, they had a more splendid ornament, a kind of diadem, or crown formed of several bands of nacar. To compose this, they first detached the mother of pearl from the shell, gave it a fine polish on both sides; and by means of a flint severed it into pieces of six or eight lines in length, or two or three in breadth. At the extremities of these were small holes for forming them into a circular shape adapted to the head; the little bandlets of nacar hanging down on all sides. This kind of diadems was also anciently wore by the southern Edues, who formed them of small white round snail shells, resembling pearls, and made a fine appearance. Probably this occasioned the false opinion of sir Francis Drake, who, as father Esquerer relates, believed the Indians offered him the crown and scepter of California.

The women, though in some parts they went naked like the men, according to father Ferdinando Confage, who observed that this

custom prevailed in the bay de Los Angeles, between the last mission of San Ignacio and the Rio Colorado, yet they in general shewed a great attention to that decency, which is so necessary to the defence of their virtue ; and to such a degree, that even their infants of the female sex were not without a proper covering. After the settlement of the garrison of Loretto, they expressed great offence, when they observed any neglect of this in the daughters of the Spanish soldiers. The most decent in their cloathing were the women of the Edues towards Cape San Lucas. In this district is a certain species of palm trees, different from those which produce dates ; and from these the Indian women procure materials for their petticoats. In order to which, they beat its leaves as we do flax, till the thread or filaments are separated, which, after this preparation, if they are not finer than those of flax, they are at least better and softer than those of hackled hemp. Their garments consist of three pieces ; two of which form a petticoat, reaching from the girdle to the feet, and the third a short cloak or mantelet, which covers the body from the shoulders. These pieces are not woven, but the threads are fastened at the top with one another as in fringes, and hang down in very close and thick skains
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and tufts. And though they make a sort of linen of these jutas or palm threads, they only use it for bags, in which they keep their instruments. The Indian women of Cape San Lucas wear their hair long, loose, and spread over their shoulders : but their head dress is the same with that generally used by all the women of California. It consists of a piece of net work made of the above-mentioned palm threads ; and when they cannot procure these, of mezcales and other herbs. These nets however, are made with such ingenuity, that the soldiers of the garrison likewise use them. They also make very slightly necklaces of nacar interspersed with small shells, pieces of sedge, pearls, and the stones of fruit : the ends of the necklaces hang down to the waist ; their bracelets are of the same fashion and materials. Inventions which their fondness for ornament, and a desire of making an attracting appearance suggested to the rude people of this corner of the world.

The women of the northern parts wear a different and meaner garment, being covered only from the waist to the knees ; before they have a petticoat made of very thin pieces of sedge cut off at the knots, and about the size of a straw. These they fasten together with mescal threads. This petticoat, if it may be called

called such, hides those parts which nature has taught them to conceal; but does not defend them from the inclemencies of the weather. When they cannot procure sedge, they make use of an apron, or petticoat made of the mescal threads hanging down in the same manner; but the hinder part is made with a piece of the skin of a deer, or any other beast which their husbands have killed. In some few places it is the custom to cover their bodies with mantelets of the skins of sea-wolves, hares, foxes, and other beasts. One of the highest festivals among the Cochines, according to father Francisco Maria Piccolo, was the day in which they annually distributed the skins to the women. All the neighbouring rancherias, he tells us, met at an appointed place, and there, with branches of trees and bushes, erected a spacious arbour, from which they cleared a broad and level way for racers. Hither they brought the skins of all the beasts they had killed that year; and laid them as a carpet along the course. None but the Casiques and chiefs were admitted into the arbour; and when the banquet, which consisted of game, fish, and fruit, was over, they inebriated themselves with cimarron, or wild tobacco. At the entrance of the arbour, one of the forcerers used to take his place, dressed in the habit of ceremony,

mony, and, with wild vociferations, proclaimed the praises of the hunters. In the mean time, the other Indians run to and fro in a frantick manner on the skins; while the women, who assisted at this ceremony, sung and danced with equal transport. This continued till the orator was quite spent, when the harangue concluded, and together with it the races. The Caciques then came out of the harbour, and distributed to the women the skins for their cloathing that year; and this distribution was celebrated with fresh rejoicings. The foundation of all this festivity was, that these poor women were acquainted with no greater ornament than the skin of a deer, though it scarcely covered their nakedness, with any tolerable degree of modesty.

The men, however, were such strangers to that virtue, that they looked upon those principles as ignominious and disgraceful, which required their being cloathed; and, accordingly, in the several missions and settlements, formerly made in California, when the fathers or soldiers offered the Indians cloaths, they either refused them, or afterwards threw them away. Indeed, their idea with regard to cloathing, was so different from the rest of the human species, that, according to father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra, they were highly affronted when the

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the father first directed them, to cover, at least, what modesty requires, not being in the least sensible of any indecency from their being naked: and it caused among them as much laughter, to see one of their countrymen cloathed, as a monkey dressed like an officer would among us; of which the fathers had a diverting instance: a missionary, lately arrived at his mission, cloathed two little boys, which he entertained in his house, first to teach him the language, and afterwards to serve him as catechumens. The father himself was at the pains of cutting out, making, and fitting the cloaths for them. When the lads first went abroad in their new dress, it occasioned such indecent mirth, that the boys, ashamed at being thus the ridicule of their countrymen, pulled off their cloaths, and hung them on a tree. But being unwilling to shew themselves ungrateful to the father, and at the same time to avoid being reprimanded, they determined to divide his kindness, going in the day time naked, among their relations, and at night dressed themselves to return to the father.

The houses of the Californians make no better appearance than their habits. Those of every rancheria are only wretched huts, near the few waters found in this country. And as there is a necessity of removing to other places in
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quest of subsistence, they easily shift their station. Where-ever they stop, they shelter themselves under the trees, from the scorching heat of the sun in the day time, and in some measure from the coldness of the night, and the inclemency of the weather. In the severity of the winter, they live in subterraneous caverns, which they either made themselves, or found in the sides of mountains. The people near Cape San Lucas, make huts of the branches of trees, like those of shepherds, which they doubtless learned from seamen, who have been obliged to lie at anchor some time off the cape. In the other parts of the country their houses are only a little space, inclosed with stones laid upon one another, half a yard high, one square, and without any covering but the heavens: dwellings indeed so scanty and mean, that an European tomb would here be reckoned a palace. For within this small precinct, they have not room to lie at full length; so that they sleep in a sitting posture. In the cabeceras, indeed, some, to please the fathers, have made themselves houses, if they may be called such, of adobe or unburnt bricks, covered with sedge; but few live in them, nor is there a possibility of bringing them to it; for they shew the greatest uneasiness, when obliged to live under any covering: an evident proof that

that the greatest part of what are called the necessaries of life, arise purely from fancy, example, and custom:

It is true, they stand in no need of large rooms for depositing their furniture, and the various implements of a wardrobe, for which the greatest part of the houses among us is taken up. With so little furniture, and so few utensils do the Indians content themselves, that in removing, they take them all on their shoulders; for they consist only of a boat, a dart, a dish, a bowl made in the shape of a high crowned hat, a bone which serves them for an awl in making it, a little piece of touch-wood for kindling a fire, a pita net, in which they put their fruit and feeds, another in the shape of a purse or bag, fastened to a kind of prong across their shoulders, in which they carry their children, and lastly, their bow and arrows; to which some, who affect elegance, add a shell for drinking. Those who live near the coasts have also nets for fishing. This furniture the women carry, when they remove from one place to another; the men have only the bow and arrows with their appurtenances, as flints and feathers for the arrows, and nerves for the bows. But to secure them, and at the same time, not to incommode them in their march, they make holes in their ears, where they

they hang a large case which holds every thing they carry. The men likewise carry a small bit of wood for procuring fire, which is soon done by rubbing it between their hands. The men also carry the boats, but it is the womens task to mend them : they make them of the bark of trees ; and every part of the workmanship, the shaping, joining, and covering them is admired even by Europeans ; and they sometimes use them for fetching and preserving water, and sometimes for roasting their grains and fruits, but are obliged to keep them in continual motion, that they may not burn. Their bowls, cups, and pots, they use for eating and drinking ; and likewise the hats or head pieces worn by the women against the severity of the weather. It seems strange, that they never thought of using clay for these utensils, by hardening it in the sun or fire ; but nothing of this was found among them, they being totally ignorant of any such method, till they were taught it. The men likewise make the nets for fishing, for gathering the fruits, and for carrying the children, and even those worn by the women. But in this particular, they shew such exquisite skill ; making them of so many different colours, sizes, such variety of workmanship, that it is not easy to describe them. Father Taraval says,

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“ I can affirm that of all the nets I ever saw in Europe and New Spain, none are comparable to these, either in whiteness, the mixture of the other colours, or the strength and workmanship, in which they represent a vast variety of figures.” The women however, have so far a hand in these nets, that they spin the very fine thread, which they procure from herbs, and another coarser sort of threads from the palms and mezcales. Of the fine thread they form the net work for the head, the other parts being made of a mixture of both sorts; as are likewise all the other kinds, together with those curious and closely braided girdles or fillets, used by the nation of Loretto.

The Edues, or southern Pericues, admitted a plurality of wives, who took care of the sustenance of the family, and were very diligent in bringing to their husbands a sufficient quantity of fruits from the forest to keep them in a good temper. For if once they were discarded, which depended wholly on his humour, few were found who would take them: so that the more wives a husband had, he was sure to be the better provided for; a particular, which chiefly contributed to keep up this brutal custom. The nation of Loretto were something more moderate, the chief men among them never exceeding two wives, whilst the com-
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monalty contented themselves with one. Adultery was accounted a crime which justly called for revenge, except on two occasions; one at their festivals and routs, and the other at their wrestling matches amongst the rancherias; as on these occasions it was the scandalous privilege of the victor. Among the Cochimies of the north, scarce any such excess was known: and a missionary, speaking of his district, says, that amidst the unbounded freedom of these Indians, one does not see among them any debauchery or illegal amours: which he attributes to the uncomfortable life they lead among the mountains in hunger, cold, nakedness, and the want of every thing desirable. The manner of negotiating their marriages in the nation of Loretto, was to present the bride by way of earnest with a batea or jug, in their language called olo, made of mezcale thread. Her acceptance of it denoted her consent: and on her part, she was to make her return in a net for the head; and this reciprocation of presents confirmed the marriage. In other nations, the agreement was concluded at the end of a ball, to which the lover invited the whole rancheria; but after all this solemnity of the contract, any slight motive annulled it; and even in nations, among whom polygamy was not allowed. The Ca-

lifornians had adopted that absurdity, which is so much laughed at in the accounts of Brazil, that the women after delivery, used immediately to go to some water and wash themselves and the child; and in other particulars to observe no manner of caution, going to the forest for wood and food, and performing every other service the husband wanted: whilst he in the mean time lay in his cave, or stretched at full length under a tree affecting to be extremely weak and ill; and this farce continued for three or four days. Mothers were frequently known to destroy their children, in any scarcity of food, till the venerable father Salva-Tierra to put a stop to this unnatural practice, by ordering, that a double allowance should be given to women newly delivered. It was also an established custom among them, like that in the Jewish law, for the widow to marry the brother, or nearest relation of the deceased.

The time of gathering the pitahayas was their vintage: and they celebrated it with particular mirth and rejoicings. “The three pitahaya months, says father Salva-Tierra, resemble the carnival in some parts of Europe, when the men are in a great measure stupified or mad. The natives here also throw aside what little reason they have, giving themselves up
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to feasting, dancings, entertainments of the neighbouring rancherias, buffooneries, and comedies, such as they are: and in these, whole nights are spent to the high diversion of the audience. The actors are selected for their talent of imitation; and they execute their parts admirably well." As to their dances, says the father, "there is a great variety of them, and the performers acquit themselves with much agility and gracefulness. We kept our Christmas here with equal pleasure and devotion, some hundreds of Indian catechumens being present, and above one hundred children performed their dances. These are very different from those of the nations of the other coast, they having above thirty of them representing some essential part of their military discipline, fishery, travelling, burying, hunting, marrying, and the like: and a child of three or four years old will shew as much joy at his having performed his part well, as young men of warm emulation and judgment; a particular, with which we were very much entertained, and could not forbear admiring."

As practice naturally produces perfection, their excellence in these kinds of dances is not to be wondered at, it being their whole occupation in time of peace. They dance at their weddings; on any good success in their fish-

ing or hunting; at the birth of their children; at a plentiful harvest; at a victory over their enemies, and on any other occasion, without weighing the importance of it. To these festivities the rancherias usually invite one another; and likewise often send challenges for wrestling, leaping, running, shooting with their bow, and trials of strength; and in these and the like sports, days and nights, weeks and months were often spent in times of peace. But these tranquil seasons were subject to frequent interruptions by wars, factions, and feuds of some nations and rancherias against others. The end of these commotions was not the acquisition of fame, or the enlargement of their territories, but usually in revenge for affronts, or injuries among private persons: or sometimes they arose from more substantial causes, when a rancheria or nation went to fish, hunt, or gather fruits, where another had a kind of right by prescription. The manner of revenge was to commit some hostility, or do some damage to the person chiefly offending; or, if he was beyond their power, to do it to his kindred or rancheria: after this all made the cause their own: and if they did not think themselves able to give battle to their enemies, they applied to other rancherias with whom they were in friendship for succour. The man-

manner of declaring war was with a frightful noise, ordering every one to provide great quantities of reeds and flints; taking care that this declaration should reach their adversaries, that by terrifying them, they might obtain the easier victory: when they came to action they set up a shout, and engaged without any regularity, except in relieving the bodies in the front, when they gave way, either as quite spent, or for want of arrows; which were made of reeds, with sharp flints for their points, but not poisoned; though we may suppose it was not from generosity, but their ignorance of any kind of poison, no deleterious plant being as yet known in the whole country. When the engagement became close, they made use of a kind of wooden spears with the points sharpened and hardened in the fire: and these did equal execution, with those pointed with steel. The victory was gained not so much by address, conduct, strength, and courage, as by keeping up their spirits against their innate fear, or inspiring the enemy with it. Thus their disputes and private injuries continued to increase till they became general, and broke out into a formal war, in which numbers on both sides were slain, and many of the rancherias in the south have been totally destroyed by these intestine quarrels. Nor

are those of Loretto and the northern free from disturbances, but they never carry their revenge to such excess, especially those of the north, who are observed to be of a more noble disposition and clear understanding. They are likewise more mild and sociable; having little of the obstinacy and vindictive temper of their countrymen.

S E C T. VII.

Of the ancient religion of the CALIFORNIA NS.

The most interesting subject for curiosity, and which requires the greatest accuracy and attention in treating of it, is the ancient religion of the Californians. And the use to be made of such researches in favour of our holy religion, may be seen in the famous bishop Huet's *Demonstratio evangelica*, where, with amazing erudition, he enumerates the different sects, ancient and modern, of all nations in the world, to increase, from their darkness, the lustre of the christian dispensation. On the other hand a faithful representation of the shadow of death, in which these Indians lay immersed, will heighten the greatness of the divine goodness, in bringing them into the bosom of his church, and leading them in the way

way to happiness, from their total ignorance of religion; which was even attended with many temporal evils. These accounts may further be compared with those, which the curious are already possessed of, relating to the sects and religion, not only of the Mexicans, Peruvians, and other inhabitants of America, but of the most eastern nations of Asia, the Japanese, Chinese, Tartars, Corees, Manchees, the people of Kamschatka, and Jacukt. This is however one of the articles, where no possible attention can give entire satisfaction; but will leave many uncertainties and imperfections.

All relations agree, that hitherto no idolatry has been found among the Californians. They neither worshipped any creatures, nor had any representations, or images of false deities, to whom they paid any kind of adoration. Nor had they among them any temples, oratories, altars, or any other place set apart for religious exercises. Indeed no such thing was known there, no outward profession of religion in festivals, prayers, vows, expiations, or any publick or private marks of addresses being made to God, or even of any knowledge of him; so that they did not distinguish themselves in the least from the savage, and deplorable blindness of their neighbours, the Indians

in the opposite coast of Cinaloa, of whom father Rivas says, that scarce any trace of religion was to be found among them, nor did their external performances shew the least knowledge of God. The accounts however, mention, that there was among them a series of speculative tenets, which must surprize the reader. For they not only had an idea of the unity and nature of God as a pure spirit, and likewise of other spiritual beings ; but also some faint glimmerings of the Trinity ; the eternal generation of the logos, and other articles of the Christian religion, though mixed with a thousand absurdities. And this light was so clear in them, that some missionaries have been induced to think, that they were descended from a people which had formerly been christians. In these tenets however, there was some difference among the principal nations, and that the reader may have the better idea of them, I shall faithfully copy some fragments of narratives which I have in my hands.

One of the missionaries speaking of the southern Edues or Pericues, gives the following account of their religious principles. There is, say they, in heaven, a lord of great power, called Niparaya, who made the earth and the sea ; gives food to all creatures ; created the trees and every thing we see ; and can
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do whatsoever he pleases. We don't see him, because he has no body as we have. This Niparaya has a wife called Anayicoyondi: and though he makes no use of her, as having no body, he has had three sons: Of these one is Quaayapp, i. e. man; and Anayicoyondi was delivered of him in the mountains of Aca-ragui; though others say, that it was among some red mountains in the road from San Jago de los Coras, and which they call Cunimniici. Quaayapp has been with them (the southern Indians) and taught them. He was very powerful, and had a great number of men: for he went into the earth, and brought people from thence. At length the Indians through hatred killed him: and at the same time put a wreath of thorns on his head. He is dead to this day; but remains very beautiful, and without any corruption. Blood is continually running from him: he does not speak as being dead; but he has a tecolote or owl which speaks to him. They further say, that in heaven there are many more inhabitants than on earth: and that formerly there were great wars in that place: a person of eminent power, whom some learned men call Wac, and others Tuparan rose up against the supreme lord Niparaya, and being joined by numerous adherents dared to stand a battle with him. But was totally defeated
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by Niparaya, who immediately deprived Wac Tuparan of all his power, his fine pitahayas, and his other provisions; turned him out of heaven, and confined him and his followers in a vast cave under the earth: and created the whales in the sea to be as guards, that they should not leave their place of confinement. They add, that the supreme lord Niparaya does not love that people should fight; and that those who die by an arrow or spear do not go to heaven. But on the contrary Wac Tuparan wishes that all people were continually fighting; because all who are killed in battle go to his cave. There are two parties among the Indians; one siding with Niparaya, and are a serious discreet people, open to conviction, and readily listen to the christian truths which are enforced upon them from their own tenets. The other party is that devoted to Wac Tuparan; and are of very perverse dispositions, forcers, and unfortunately very numerous. These partisans of Wac Tuparan have several opinions peculiar to themselves, and entirely monstrous: as that the stars are shining pieces of metal; that the moon was created by Cucunumic, the stars by Purutabui, and the like. Hitherto from the narratives of the dogmas of the Edues or Pericues, the tenets of the Loretto nation, which is an assemblage of Laymones, Monquies,

Monquies, Vehities, and Guacuros; living, as we have already observed, in the middle part of California, are sufficiently explained in the following fragment. They have no word in their language signifying heaven, but they express it by the general word notu, which signifies above or high. They also say, that in the north part of heaven lives the spirit of spirits, which they call Gumongo: he sends pestilences and sicknesses, and in former ages sent down to visit the earth another spirit, to whom they give the name of Guyiaguai. He was no sooner come, than he began to sow the land with pitahayas, the most common fruit in California; and likewise made the creeks along the coast of the gulf, till he came to a vast stone in a very spacious creek near Loretto, called by the Spaniards Puerto Escondido, where he resided for some time. Here the other inferior spirits, his attendants, used to bring him pitahayas to eat, and fish which they caught in the creek. Guyiaguai's occupation was to make vestments for his priests, who, in their language are called dicuinochos, of the hides which were offered to him. After some time Guyiaguai continued his visitation, sowing pitahayas, and making creeks along all the coast of the Loretto nation; and, as a memorial, left a painted table, which the dicuino-

chos

chos or priests make use of at their entertainments. They add, that the sun, moon, and the morning and evening stars were men and women; that every night they fell into the western sea, whence they are under a necessity of swimming out by the way of the east: that the other stars were lights made in heaven by that visiting spirit and his attendants; and that though they became quenched by the sea water, he went toward the east to light them again. It would be very tedious to enter into a further detail of the many absurdities of the same kind, which were imposed on this unhappy people by their stupid or designing priests.

The nation of the Cochimies is not only the most numerous and extended, but they have likewise the best genius, and less extravagant opinions, and brutality in their customs; their behaviour is remarkably courteous, and they never break their word. “ They believe, says a missionary, that there is in heaven a lord, whose name in their language signifies he who lives; that without a mother he had a son, to whom they give two names: one of which imports perfection or end of clay; the other signifies the swift. Besides him they say there is another, whose name is, he who makes lords; though they give the name of lord to all the three; yet

yet when asked how many lords there are, they answer one, who made the heaven, the earth, the animals, the trees and fruits, also man and woman. They likewise have some notion of devils, saying that the great lord, called he who lives, created certain beings who are not seen, who revolted against him, and are enemies both of him and mankind: to these they give the name of lyars, ensnarers, or seducers. They add that when men die, these deceivers come and bury them, that they may not see the lord who lives." These and some others of the same kind were the tenets of the Cochimies; which I could wish to relate at length, being confident that the converted Indians had no design of imposing on the missionaries in telling them that before their conversion they held opinions in some respects the same with those I have just related. I could likewise wish that I was able to write them in the very words of their languages, with their true and accurate signification, as from thence we might judge whether it is not reasonable to conclude, that some storm or other accident carried to the coasts of California, some Europeans or inhabitants of the Philippines, of whom no memory now exists among the Indians; and these finding themselves among barbarians, endeavoured to
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instill into them the mysteries of the christian religion; and that those instructions, in process of time, became more and more disfigured, till the arrival of the missionaries. It is now above two centuries since the coast of California has been visited by Europeans; the inhabitants of Mexico from the western coast of New Spain, have frequented the gulf of California to fish for pearls; and others have arrived at the western coast by the way of the South sea. And therefore among a variety of accidents, either as punishment, or from misfortune, one or more may have been obliged to remain among the Indians. It is known that some ships have left Mulattoes and Mestizos at Cape San Lucas. Father Juan de Torquemada tells us, that the Californians shewed no manner of surprize at the sight of negroes, there being some of that cast among them, the race of those who had been left by a ship from the Philippine islands. The same author mentions the adventure of the pilot Morera, who, being left on shore near Cape Mendozino, by the famous navigator sir Francis Drake, after some years, fortunately arrived at the mine-garrison of Sombrerete; the like accounts are to be met with in ancient narratives: and so lately as the year 1741, the Russians were obliged to leave on the same coast of America, and at a higher latitude,

latitude, part of a ship's company who had failed on a discovery *: all which gives room to believe, that some Europeans, under a similar disaster, had not the same good fortune to arrive at a country peopled with Europeans, after wandering over vast tracts inhabited by barbarians: but on the contrary, were obliged to pass the remainder of their days among them. And what regard and authority would not an European of any tolerable capacity, acquire among such a stupid race. But till we can produce facts sufficient to clear up these points, we shall pass to other particulars less subject to doubts and uncertainties.

Their edues or priests were what might be expected from this shadow or imitation of religion. These edues were called by the name of their two sects, Tuparan and Niparaya: those of Loretto called them Dicuinochos, and the Cochimies Vamas or Guasmas. In the narratives they are frequently called Hechiceros or forcerers; and in conformity to them, we shall also make use of the same name. But it is not therefore to be thought that these poor creatures had any commerce, or entered into a compact with apostate spirits, or that they received any instructions from them, as they audaciously declared, and were too readily be-

* See Part. iv. append. 7 of this work.

lieved, not only by Indians, but likewise by some Europeans. It is known that the same extravagant credulity obtained here, which not long since deluged the old world, with regard to the ancient pagan oracles. But the most sagacious missionaries, after plain and convincing proofs, affirmed them to be arrant impostors and cheats, pretending to hold intelligence with those spirits, the existence of which as we have observed, was believed by the Californians. This suppositious commerce with spirits, or even with the devil himself, procured them great authority among that simple people; and this reverence they strengthened by certain ceremonies and gestures; and the introduction of many mystical rites. The whole intention of their deceits was interest, the people imagining that success was to be acquired, and calamities prevented by bringing them the best of the fruits they gathered, and of what they caught in fishing or hunting. This was a principle carefully inculcated into them, the Hechiceros sometimes thundering out threatenings of sickness, disaster, and failure of harvests: at other times persuading them to give liberally, by feeding them with magnificent hopes of affluence and the most desirable enjoyments. For they affirmed that they were possessed of knowledge and power sufficient to accomplish all this

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this, by means of their friendship and intercourse with the invisible spirits. What also strengthened this authority was their being the only physicians from whom they could hope to be relieved in their pains and distempers: and whatever was the medicine, it was always administered with great ostentation and solemnity. One was very remarkable, and the good effect it sometimes produced, heightened the reputation of the physician. They applied to the suffering part of the patient's body the chacuaco, or a tube formed out of a very hard black stone, and through this they sometimes sucked, and other times blew, but both as hard as they were able, supposing that thus the disease was either exhaled or dispersed. Sometimes the tube was filled with cimarron or wild tobacco lighted, and here they either sucked in, or blew down the smoke, according to the physician's direction: and this powerful caustick sometimes, without any other remedy, has been known entirely to remove the disorder. In the other transactions of life, the Hechiceros practised variety of deceits, and pretended to an unlimited power: and it was no difficult task to gain an absolute ascendant over these poor people, whose stupidity and ignorance opened so wide a door to their inseparable companions timidity and superstition.

The Indians of the nation of Loretto had schools, whereby these professors instructed their youths in the above opinions, and some other needless puerilities : but recommended to them as truths of great importance. In order to this, their pupils attended them to caves or solitary places, at a distance from the woods : and there they taught them to form certain figures on tablets, and when perfect in these, they were taught others as children in our schools are taught to write. This remained a secret for some years, till the reverend father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra, observed that when the time of gathering the pitahayas arrived, all the boys about the garrison of Loretto suddenly disappeared, and from one of these he drew the secret ; but not without many artifices : for notwithstanding the stupidity in which they are brought up, they can on occasion dissemble and be reserved : for silence is one of their professions.

But the authority of the Californian priests on no occasion appears with such splendour as on the publick feasts, celebrated by a whole nation, or a single rancheria, or family. There are no sacrifices, nor any other ceremony which has the least appearance of worship, either of the Divinity, or those spirits they have some confused idea of ; but the whole consists in

eating, drinking, dancing, talking, and laughing. However the presence of the priests makes them considered as religious solemnities: for they indeed act the chief part, and dress themselves in their habits of ceremony, which are only used on extraordinary occasions. This consists of a large cloak covering them from their head to their feet, and entirely composed of human hair. Their head is adorned with a very high plumage made of the feathers of hawks, and in their hands they hold a monstrous fan formed out of the larger feathers. The southern Edues, when they cannot procure feathers, adorn, or indeed rather disfigure, the head with the tails of deers, and the Cochimes add two strings of the hoofs of the same beast; one as a chain round the neck, and the other as a girdle. The ridiculousness of the garb is still heightened by daubing their bodies over with red, black, and different colours; so that the reader's own fancy will easily represent what figures they must make. These open the entertainment with sucking the chacuaco, till they are become frantick and almost drunk with the smoke. Thus intoxicated, they begin the oration on their tenets, which is delivered with wild gestures and frightful vociferations. They pretend themselves to be inspired by those spirits which the nation acknowledges, and in their

name denounce to them whatever their frenzy or interest suggests. To give the greater weight to their embassy, they sometimes pretended that they were the very spirits in which they believed: at others that they had been in heaven and conversed with the deities: and to prove it produced the flesh of a deer, or a piece of skin and an herb, with which they said it was in their power to kill whom they pleased. But their most usual device was to hold up in their hands some little tablets of wood made with great labour, for want of iron tools of mesquite, or another hard wood called *Una de Gato*, on which were painted some grotesque figures, affirmed to be the true copy of the table, which the visiting spirit left with them at his departure to heaven: and these figures were the same which the Loretto professors taught the boys at their private academy. Whilst these frantick preachers were haranguing, the others were feasting and dancing, and being inflamed by gluttony, intemperance, and dancing, the whole concluded in the most abominable gratification of their appetites, all mingling indiscriminately, as if determined to violate every principle of shame, reason, and modesty.

Though these feasts were often without any necessary motive; yet those made at the gathering of the pitahayas, for a victory, for the distribution

tribution of the captures of fish, and the deer skins, greatly surpassed the others in solemnity : but that on boring the ears and nostrils of the children exceeded all. To these all the women and men resorted : the ornament of wearing pearls from their nostrils to their ears being common to both sexes. The shrieks of the children on these occasions, incited the fathers to greater and louder shouts, in order to suppress any sympathy with the cries and tears of their children. At these feasts, the priests or impostors, did not omit exercising that authority which they owe to the fear of the people, celebrating, according to their private passions, some as brave and generous ; upbraiding others as cowards, factious, and wicked, and even enjoin them certain penances : the most customary of which was fasting or abstinence ; laying their commands on them to forbear for a certain time to taste of this or that fruit, fish, or beast. Sometimes a whole rancheria came under the sentence, when they were either to fast alternately, or every one was enjoined to abstain from some particular thing : so that the fast might be general. This was not the only method of chastising them ; they also ordered them to clear ways along the highest mountains, for the more easy descent of the visiting spirit when it came to see them. And at cer-

tain distances to lay a heap of stones where it might stop and rest itself. But what cannot be read without horror, is, that these inhuman impostors sometimes even ordered them to throw themselves down from a precipice: and though they must necessarily be dashed to pieces, such was the blindness and dread of these poor creatures, that it was very seldom their orders failed of being executed, either willingly or by force. Besides this the hechiceros raised contributions on all, by means of two tributes: and these were paid with a punctual willingness. The first was the best of their fruits and captures at hunting and fishing; the second, the tribute of hair, of which were made the cloaks of ceremony used only at their solemnities; and which with their other ornaments were committed to the care of a particular person, who was to keep them in a remote and private place. This tribute the children paid in return for their instruction, and the adult, who had been sick, if they recovered, in gratitude for their cure; and if not, for their care after death: for the Californians are not forsaken by their priests; on the contrary, they redouble their cares, and extend them to the whole rancheria; but when the distemper arrives at such a height, that herbs, juices, the chicuaco, and simarron or tobacco, avail nothing, they

they assemble all the patient's relations, that he might die with the greater uneasiness. In the first place, if the patient have a daughter or sister, they cut off the little finger of her right hand, pretending thereby that the blood either saved the patient, or at least removed from the family all sorrow for his death; but was in reality an additional cause of pain and grief: then followed the visits from the whole rancheria, who, after talking to him, and being acquainted with his desperate condition, set up a confused howling; sometimes covering their face with their hands and their hair, and repeating this ceremony from time to time divided into separate companies; and all in the presence of the dying person. The women increased the horror of these howlings with passionate cries and exclamations, setting forth the merits of the patient, in order to move the greater compassion. The howling being over, the patient requests the company to suck and blow him in the same manner as the physicians had done: and this last friendly office is performed by every one; sucking and blowing first the part affected, and afterwards all the other organs of the senses with the utmost force they are capable of; as this and the force of the cries indicates their degree of affection for the deceased. In the mean

time, the doctors thrust their hands into the patient's mouth, pretending to pluck death forcibly out of his body. The women still continuing their outcries, give the patient many severe strokes, in order to awake him, till betwixt one uneasiness and another they deprive him of life: and as soon as he is found senseless, they immediately proceed to bury or burn him, making no difference, but chusing the most convenient. The funerals are immediately performed without any preparations, amidst a continuance of the same howlings, and without any singularity, only burying or burning with the patient all his utensils. So little did they enquire into the reality of his death, previously to the burning or interment, that one day father Salva-Tierra, being near San Juan de Londo, and hearing the lamentations and seeing the fire, hastened to the spot, where he found them just going to burn a man, who by his motions he could perceive to have still some remains of life. He snatched him from the fire, and in time recovered him, reproving their inconsiderateness and barbarity.

Thus have I given a brief detail of the religion of the ancient Californians. In the islands formed by the channel of Santa Barbara, along the western coast, which was discovered by general Viscaino; and in others at a small distance

tance from these, visited in 1733, by father Taraval, who called them de los Dolores, there is some difference in religious affairs, which I shall relate in the very words of the author. Father Torquemada, speaking of the island of San Catherine, says, “ In this island are several rancherias or communities, and in them a temple with a large level court, where they perform their sacrifices ; and in one, the place of the altar, was a large circular space, with an inclosure of feathers of several birds of different colours, which I understood were those of the birds they sacrificed in great numbers : and within the circle was an image, strangely bedaubed with a variety of colours, representing some devil, according to the manner of the Indians of New Spain, holding in its hand a figure of the sun and moon. It happened that when the soldiers came to see this temple, they found within the said circle two crows, considerably bigger than ordinary : and at the approach of the Spaniards they flew away, but alighted among the rocks in the neighbourhood : and the soldiers seeing them of such an uncommon largeness, fired their pieces and killed them. At this, an Indian who had attended the Spaniards as a guide, fell into a perfect agony ; I was informed that they believed the devil spoke to them in these crows, and

and thence beheld them with great veneration. Some time after, one of the religious going that way, saw some Indian women washing fish along the shore, in order to dress them for their families; but some crows came up to them, and with their beak took the fish from their hands, whilst they observed a profound silence, not daring so much as to look at them, much less frighten them away. Nothing therefore could appear more horrible to the Californians, than that the Spaniards should shoot at these respectable birds." Father Taraval, in the manuscript account of his voyage and discoveries in the year 1732, says of the island de la Trinidad, " That the governor was likewise its priest, i. e. forcerer or hechicero, though he had others subordinate to him: so that every community had its civil and spiritual officer. On their heads they wore such a grotesque variety of things, as at once moved pity and laughter. His decalogue was as follows, ' That they should not eat of their first hunting or fishing, under pain of being disqualified from hunting or fishing hereafter. 2d, That they should not eat of some certain fish. 3d, That they should forbear eating some particular parts of the game, and these were the best and fattest, saying, that this fat was that of dead old men; and that by eating it old age would
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immediately come upon them. Thus the best pieces fell to the share of the old hechiceros, alledging, that as they were already advanced in years, they had nothing to fear on this head. 4. That they should not gather certain fruits, nor take some species of fish (and both of these were the best) as they would do them a great deal of hurt; but that nothing injured old people. 5. That if they caught any stag or fish of an extraordinary size, not to offer to eat it, as belonging to the hechiceros. 6. That they should not look at the seven stars, as they would thereby draw on themselves many misfortunes and calamities. 7. That they should not look towards the islands of the north; for that whoever stood and looked at them, would fall sick and die without remedy. 8. That they should be mindful of their ancestors, and make feasts in commemoration of them. 9. That in very hot weather, all should come out and pay their salutations to the sun, who would not then molest them in their huntings and fishings; but on the contrary render every undertaking prosperous. 10. That they should believe in their hechiceros: but this was too difficult a task; for no sooner were they returned to the mission, than they began to laugh at such absurdities.' His articles of belief were of a piece with his precepts. The principal

cipal deity was the demon, in honour of whom some festivals were celebrated. The chief reason brought for these entertainments to his honour was, because the forcerers told them, that it was the demon who had given them, and would continue to give them children. These feasts were in a manner required by their deity. Others they made in honour of their ancestors, on whom they conferred the same name as on the demons. The form of his apotheosis or canonization, was as follows: the hero of the solemnity was represented by the branches of several trees, placed on an eminence; after which they danced before this image, and then imagined him completely canonized.

Their pontificalia used on these occasions, were first a wig as long as a canon's cope, made of the votive hair of sick persons. Round their neck they wore a string of deers feet, and another as a girdle round their waist. In their hands they held a large fan composed of a great variety of feathers, and a tube made of a very hard stone, for sucking the patients in the manner formerly described. All the particulars, except the hairs and the tube, are entirely different from those rites of the Californians; which I have on that account mentioned, omitting other things which obtain among both."

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Though the islands and tracts to which these accounts relate, have little correspondence and intercourse, yet they are within sight of one another. In such a vicinity, it is surprising there should be so remarkable a difference in so essential a point as religion. But so I find it in the narrative, which however I do not pretend to impose upon the reader as an incontestible authority.

A

NATURAL and CIVIL

HISTORY

OF

CALIFORNIA.

PART II.

Account of CALIFORNIA till the
first arrival of the Jesuits.

SECT. I.

The first accounts of the Pacifick or
South-sea.

IT is surprizing that during the course of so many ages, the globe which we inhabit should be so imperfectly known: and that some of the human species should have known nothing of others inhabiting the same. The 15th century is justly distinguished in Europe, for the first revival of arts and sciences: and among the consequences of that revival, it has the honour of reckoning the discovery of countries, the great extent of which entitled it to be called the new world. Spain being now freed from the dominion of the Moors, and the whole
country

country united in two kingdoms; those of Castile and Portugal, not only employed its victorious arms in Europe and Africa, but likewise sent its fleets on the ocean, which had been till then so much dreaded. The East Indies, whose riches had filled Europe with their fame, from the most remote antiquity, in that century acquired additional reputation from the rich commerce of its products and manufactures, carried on from the Levant by the Venetians, Genoese, and Florentines. The ancient geographers also, especially the Greeks, which now began to be read, together with the accounts of Marco Paulo, a Venetian and other travellers; and likewise the relations of some natives of those countries who came into Europe, and whose discretion and probity left no room to question their veracity, added an additional glory to that country. But though more solid proofs of the riches of India, together with its spices and other goods were brought into Europe, not only the conquest, but even an immediate commerce was impracticable to the Europeans, who, knowing of no way thither by sea, were under a necessity of carrying on the traffick for eastern goods with the Mahometans, as being masters of all the interjacent countries. The Portuguese, who with inconceivable boldness and perseverance had discovered and surveyed

veyed the western coast of Africa, as far as Guinea, and from thence to the Cape of Good Hope, did not doubt but they should at last find a secure passage through the ocean to India. In confidence of this, in the year 1487, they sent several persons by land to acquaint themselves with the eastern countries; and especially those of Prester-John, a prince reputed to be very powerful and a christian. They likewise solicited the pope for a perpetual grant of all the land which should be discovered in the ocean from Cape Boxador to India inclusively.

Whilst the Portuguese were employed in seeking an eastern passage to India, the kings of Castile who had made themselves masters of several islands in the ocean, and prosecuted their claims to the conquest of Guinea, sent Christopher Columbus, on the discovery of new countries to the westward, he having proposed to find a new and shorter way to India and the Spice islands. In effect, this wonderful man, either from the reading ancient authors, or the papers of a certain pilot, either knew, or formed a conjecture that there were some countries or islands to the west of the Canaries or Azores: yet he little thought that India was at so great a distance from the extreme coasts of Africa and Spain. On the contrary, from the authority of ancient geo-

graphers and philosophers, he concluded that the terraqueous globe was much less than in reality it is; that the passage from Spain to India, was not long in itself; and that by this way, he should much sooner reach Cathay, and the island of Cipango, of which Marco Paulo, the Venetian, gives such an alluring description. Accordingly he made the offer to the kings of Portugal and England, but was disappointed at both courts: this and the maps of Paulo Pysico, the Florentine, to whom he communicated his thoughts, who confirmed him in his plan, may be seen in the history of this great man, written by his son Fernando Columbus, the worthy historian of such a father. Afterwards in the year 1492, Columbus sailed a new course, and after discovering the islands of Lucaya, Cuba, Hispaniola, and others, he returned to Spain, and with unparalleled glory entered Lisbon on the 4th of March 1493, Don Juan III. king of Portugal, as became a prince of his religion and generosity, not only rejected with indignation the proposal of some great men among the Portuguese, to put this illustrious navigator to death, but conferred great honours on him. However on a supposition that the islands discovered lay within the dominion granted him by the pope, he transmitted a spirited complaint

plaint to the king of Castile, and ordered a fleet to be fitted out, and sent to those parts. The king of Castile found means to suspend this resolution; and in the mean time, the incomparable queen Isabella, procured a brief from pope Alexander VI. granting to her kingdoms of Castile and Leon, any discoveries made by her subjects: and it was the same pope, who, to avoid injuring the Portuguese, made the famous division of the world between these two kingdoms, by a line of demarcation drawn north and south 100 leagues west of Cape de Verd, and the Azores. This expedient not satisfying the king of Portugal, their catholick majesties, with the consent of the pope, by a treaty made at Tordesillas in 1494, removed the line of demarcation 270 leagues farther west of the said Cape and islands.

On the conclusion of this treaty, admiral Columbus, and other Spaniards prosecuted their discoveries, the extent and richness of which, only served to inflame the thirst after the treasures of the East Indies, of which such magnificent accounts were current all over Europe. What increased it even more, was the arrival at Lisbon in the year 1499, of the great Vasco de Gama, from his successful discovery of India, being the first who ventured to double the Cape of Good Hope; and thus
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opened the way to the East Indies. At that time an opinion prevailed in Spain, that there was a streight through which the gulf of Mexico communicated with another vast sea to the southward. Admiral Columbus assured their catholick majesties, that nothing should be wanting on his part to find it out: and accordingly in the year 1502, he sailed a fourth time to the westward, and discovered the coasts from the islands of Los Guanacos, and the gulf of Honduras beyond Porto Bello, without meeting with any streight, as indeed it was impossible he should, there being no streight thereabouts, but an isthmus of land, which has since been called the peninsula of Panama. Some say that it is to this voyage we owe the first accounts of the South sea, whilst, according to others, those coasts had been discovered three years before by Vicente Yanez Pinzon, and Juan Diez de Solis. Fernando Columbus, who accompanied his father in this voyage, contradicts that opinion, and adds, that it was not till the year 1508, that Pinzon and Solis coasted along these parts, though they endeavoured to assume the honour of being the first discoverers; and to defraud the admiral of his just reputation: and to this end altered the names which he had before given to some parts. However this be, it must be owned that before
this

this fourth and last voyage of Columbus, he had some knowledge of the South sea, as the opinion of the streight he went in quest of, though founded on a mistake, supposes such a sea. This his son does not conceal: and it is not improbable that some Spaniards, of whom no memory remains, having before coasted along the gulf of Mexico, either in quest of countries or gold, they were informed by the inhabitants of the isthmus, that on the other side not far off was a sea: and this gave rise to the story of the streight. However it is certain that these confused and ambiguous accounts were the first we had of the South sea.

This was not the only course attempted at that time to India, by the way of America. So early as the year 1495, several Spaniards, English, Danes, and others *, steered northward in quest of such a passage. The like attempt was in vain prosecuted during the two following centuries and a half; and in England is now carrying on with greater ardour than ever; though very probably the event will be the same. A search after the junction of these seas, was also undertaken in another part, with a perseverance which at length was crowned with success. As Columbus had discovered in his third voyage, in the year 1498, the continental coast of Paria towards the south, se-

* See Mr. Ellis's voyage to Hudson's bay.

veral Spaniards fitted out ships to prosecute these discoveries: among which, Per Alonso Ninno, a native of Palos, who, in the year 1599, discovered Cumana, and the coasts as far as Venezuela, and his countryman Vicente Yanez Pinzon, with Arias Pincon his cousin, in the year 1500, came to the mouth of the great river of the Amazons, which is 80 leagues in breadth, and from thence coasting further along Brasil, and doubling the Cape of San Augustine, came into the sea, which receives the river de la Plata; and gave hopes of finding that way the so much desired passage to India.

The king of Portugal, likewise with a view of finding a shorter passage to that country, which afforded such inestimable funds for commerce, than that lately discovered by the Cape of Good Hope, after having in the same year 1500 sent to the north of America, Gaspar de Corte Real, who landed on the Tierra de Labrador, and gave his name to some islands; in the following year 1501, sent to the southward, America Vesputio, a Florentine, who without the least reason, has been so fortunate as to give name to the fourth part of the world. This navigator, after passing the abovementioned cape of St. Augustine in Brasil advanced to within 40 degrees of the equi-

equinoctial; and thus arrogated to himself the first discovery of that cape and the sea; though the year before, as we have observed the Pincones had reached it, unless there be in this case the same fraud, which Columbus's son complains to have been committed in prejudice of his father. Other authors attribute the first discovery of Brasil to Pedro Alvarez Cabral: but we shall detain the reader no longer on this subject.

Amidst so many expeditions westward, northward, and southward; it was the year 1513 before our parts of the world had any clear and certain accounts of the South sea. The first European discoverer of it was Vasco Nunnez de Balboa, born at Xerez de los Cavaliers, who being employed in the conquest of Darien and the gulf of Uraba, and guided by the son of the Cacique Panquiaca, passed the chain of mountains, from whence, with inexpressible pleasure, he had a sight of the South sea; and arriving at the shore of the gulf, on Michaelmas-day, he called it by that saint's name: he was a man worthy of great encomiums, as the founder of the vast discoveries in Peru and other places, but who, for his cruelty to the Indians, the God of mercy punished with an unfortunate death. Father Mariana says, that Balboa was a native of

Badajoz; but Gomara makes him a gentleman of Xerez de Badajoz, or de los Cavalleros.

About this time, the Portuguese made a discovery of the Molucca islands, which lie so far eastward, that the Spaniards laid claim to them, with all the remaining part of India towards the east, as within the hemisphere belonging to them, by the demarcation and treaty of Tordecillas. This renewed the ancient quarrels between the two kingdoms, and in the mean time, in the year 1516, Fernando Magellanes, and Ruy Falero, both Portuguese, waited on the great cardinal Ximenez de Cisneses, with a plan for finding a southern passage into the South sea, and through it to the Molucca, and Spice islands. After the death of the cardinal, they laid the like proposal before king Charles, and with five Ships, sailed from San Lucas in the Year 1519.

Magellanes steered towards the south, and having passed cape St. Augustine, he run down along the coast to that famous streight which retains his name, and, after infinite difficulties and hazards, made his way through it into the South sea; this also he happily crossed, and arrived at the Islands de los Ladrones, at present called Marianas: from these he continued his course to those of Luzon, which have
since

since received the name of Philippines, where he unfortunately perished with some of his companions. The others continuing their voyage, came to the Moluccas, and Juan Sebastian del Cano, a native of Gueitaria in Guipuscoa master of the ship *Niçtoria*, returned in the year 1522, from thence to Spain by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, having in the term of three Years, made the first complete voyage round the world; and therefore his ship, with much more reason than the *Argos*, ought to be placed among the constellations.

Thus had the South sea been discovered near the antarctick Pole, and about the equinoctial, but the discovery of it to the north, was still wanting; an enterprize reserved for Hernando Cortes. This hero had subdued the empire of Mexco, and made himself master of the capital, on the 13th of August, 1521. This was immediately followed by offers of submission, from the king of Mechoacan, whose dominions reached to the coast of the South sea. Cortes, as he himself says, in a letter written the following year to Charles V. having had some knowledge of this sea a little before, perhaps from the time of Motezuma, and his thoughts being continually forming new enterprizes, with that magnanimity which will always equal him to the Alexanders and Cæsars.

fars. He sent Spaniards several ways to take a survey of the coasts; and among the momentous cares which employed his mind, he gave orders for building two Caravelas *. So sanguine were his hopes, that he expresses them in the following manner to the emperor: "The accomplishment of this your majesty may conclude, will be of the greatest reputation and service, of any thing since the discovery of the Indies."

In the mean time, a new, though long and difficult passage to the Moluccas, being now discovered in Spain, by the arrival of the ship *Victory*, and a survey having been taken of these, and the situation of the world better determined, the disputes betwixt the kings concerning the right to that part of the East-Indies, became more inflamed. In the year 1523, Charles V. ordered several officers to go in search of a supposed strait, in the isthmus of Panama. Accordingly, Francisco Hernandez and Gil Gonzales Davila, looked for it from that part all along the coast of the South sea. The same year the emperor sent orders to Cortes,

* An old fashioned vessel formerly much used among the Spaniards, very sharp before, but ill-shaped, and the masts leaning forward. Their sails are all triangular, that they keep nearer the wind, than other sails, but are not so commodious to hand.

to search for it in both seas. At that time this could not be done in the South sea, but on the side of the gulf of Mexico, he sent Christopher de Olid, who afterwards deserted with five ships and a brigantine, that he should go with the celebrated Hebueras; and his cousin Diego Hortado had three ships given him, that together with Olid, he might take a careful survey of the whole coast, from Yucaton to Darien. In the year 1524, a congress was held at Badajoz, consisting of ministers of state, civilians, cosmographers, and pilots from Spain and Portugal, relating to the pretensions of both crowns to the Moluccas. After two months debating, the Spanish judges gave sentence in favour of their crown, which was protested against by the Portuguese; thus the congress broke up, after serving only to widen the breach: And the two kings quarrelled about what was in a few years to be, as at present it is, the recompence of the diligence of other nations, and even of their own revolted subjects. But not long after, they came to an agreement, the emperor yielding to the king of Portugal his right to the Moluccas, in consideration of thirty-five thousand ducats. Though this accommodation was strongly remonstrated against, by Pedro Ruiz de Villegas, a famous scholar of Burgos, who acted a capital part in the conferences at Badajoz,

joz, and who was univerfally refpected for his birth, learning, wifdom, and morals.

The emperor, however, in the fame year 1524, and not in 1525 as Gomara fays, fent Eftevan Gomez from Corunna to difcover a paffage to the Moluccas, by the north part of America. This he found impracticable, but he brought home with him fome Indians, and according to Oviedo, who was then living in Toledo, he arrived in that city in 1525. The emperor farther ordered a houfe to be erected at Corunna, for the trade to the Spice iflands; and at the fame port was fitted out a fleet of feven fhips, the command of which was given to Don Frey Gari-Joffre de Loayfa, a commander of the order of St. John, born at Ciudad Real. With thefe he put to fea in September 1525, in queft of the freight of Magellan, in order to pafs thro' it to the Moluccas. The commander fafely reached the South fea, but there he died, and afterwards his fquadron was difabled from purfuing the enterprife. In the following year 1526, Charles V. fent Sebastian Cabot with four carvels, to go the fame courfe to the Moluccas. The end of this expedition was to draw the trade of the fpace iflands, to Panama or Nicaragua: but he went no further than the Rio de la Plata, and returned with as little advantage as reputation.

S E C T. II.

First discovery of CALIFORNIA, and voyages thither, in the time of Hernan Cortes.

We have already taken notice, that in the year 1522, immediately after the conquest of Mexico, Cortes acquainted Charles V. that having in three different parts discovered the South sea, he had given orders for building two carvels and two brigantines. To this end he sent to Zacatula forty Spaniards, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, and seamen, and with them, in a passage of above two hundred leagues across New Spain, he caused to be carried from Vera Cruz, iron, anchors, sails, cables, rigging, pitch, tallow, oakum, bitumen, and other naval stores, purchased there. After all was safely arrived at Zacatula, the magazine took fire, so that nothing was left except the anchors and nails. Yet this did not discourage the firmness of Cortes. He immediately gave orders for purchasing and dispatching the necessary materials, as he himself writes to the emperor, excusing the slowness with which the building of the ships went on, though the whole was at his expence, he had to encounter in Spain, in order to acquire artillery and other
I stores,

stores, the inflexible opposition of the archbishop of Burgos, president of the Indies, and other men of power, of which however he complains. The great hopes he conceived of these ships, and the various schemes of a man, whose mind otherwise must have been sufficiently embarrassed with the new conquest of such vast dominions, cannot be better displayed than by himself, who in a letter to the emperor from Temixtitan or Mexico, the 15th of October 1524, writes thus: "I place a value on these ships beyond all expression, being certain, that with them if it please God, I shall be the instrument of your Imperial majesty's being in these parts, sovereign of more kingdoms and dominions, than have been hitherto known in our nation. May he please to prosper it in his good pleasure, that your Imperial majesty may obtain such an unparalleled advantage: for I believe that when I have performed this, your highness may be monarch of the whole world, whenever you please." In another clause of the same letter, he says, "In the former clauses, most potent lord, I have specified to your excellency the parts whither I have sent people both by land and sea: with which, under the divine favour, I believe your majesty will be greatly pleased. And as it is my continual care and employment, to project every possible way of manifesting and
putting

putting in execution my zeal for the service of your royal majesty; seeing nothing further is remaining, but the knowledge of the coast yet undiscovered, between the river Panaco and Florida, surveyed by captain Juan Ponce de Leon; and from thence to the northern coast of the said country of Florida, as far as the Bacallaos: it being certain that on that coast is a streight running into the South sea: and if it be found according to a true draught which I have of that part of the sea, near the Archipelago, which, by your highness's orders, Magellanes discovered; I am of opinion it will issue very near it. And if it please our Lord, that the said streight joins there, the voyage to the Spice islands will be so convenient for these your majesty's dominions, that it will be two thirds shorter than the present course; and without any hazard to the ships in going or coming, for the voyage will be entirely among the states and countries belonging to your majesty, that on any necessity, they may safely put in where most convenient, as in a country belonging to your majesty, whose flag they carry. Such are my thoughts of the great service which will result to your majesty from this; though I have been at immense expences, and contracted vast debts for the service both by sea and land; for the horses and artillery which I have in this city,

and

and send to all parts, besides daily incidental charges brought in to me; for every thing has been, and is done at my expence. And what increases the burden is, that all necessaries, especially naval and military, bear here such an excessive price, that rich as the country is, the revenue I can draw from it, will not suffice for defraying the vast expences which I am at. However, from the prospect of the advantages shewn in this clause, I postpone to them any streights I may be reduced to: and notwithstanding I protest to your majesty that I raise money for it by way of loan, yet have I determined to send three carvels and two brigantines for this end; though I reckon it will cost me above ten thousand golden crowns: and by this service, I shall crown the other services I have performed: for I look upon it as the greatest service, if the streight I mention be found: and even though it should not be found, there must of necessity be discovered very large and rich countries, to the infinite benefit of your Imperial majesty, and the augmentation of the kingdoms and dominions of your royal crown: and the advantage of this will be the greater, supposing the said streight be not found, that your highness will be informed that there is no such thing; and measures may be taken by which your Imperial majesty may reap advantage from the Spice countries

countries and all others near them. And I myself offer to your highness, if you will be pleased to put the affair into my hands, in the want of such a streight, I will point out a way by which your majesty will reap great advantage. God grant that the squadron may compass the end for which it is designed, namely, to discover the streight, which I am fully persuaded they will do. Because in the royal concerns of your majesty, nothing can be concealed; and no diligence, or necessaries shall be wanting in me to effect it.

“ Thus I think of sending the ships which I have caused to be built, into the South sea, that, God willing, they may by the end of July 1524, sail downwards along the same coast, in quest of the said streight. For if there be any such thing, it must appear either to those in the South sea, or the others in the North; as those on the South are to keep the coast in sight, till they find the said streight, or that the land joins with that which was discovered by Magellane: and the other on the North, as I have said, till they find the land joins with the Bacallaos. Thus, on one side or other, this important question must be solved. I hereby inform your majesty, that by the intelligence I have received of the countries, on the upper coast of the South sea, the sending of these

ships along it, will be attended with great advantage to me, and no less to your majesty. But acquainted as I am with your majesty's desire of knowing this streight, and likewise of the great service the discovery of it would be to your royal crown, I have laid aside all other profits and advantages, of which I have the most certain knowledge, in order to follow entirely this course. The Lord direct it according to his good pleasure; and may your majesty obtain your desire; and likewise mine of serving you."

So far Hernan Cortes; and I would beg leave to ask how the greatest monarch could think otherwise, in a matter of the highest concern to his glory, treasury, and nation? The same year 1524, Cortes had not only sent the squadron already mentioned, under Christopher de Olid; but likewise dispatched two other vessels to take a view of the coasts from Panama to Florida, which are the present coasts of Mississippi or Louisiana, in order to see if he could meet with another streight. Yet is it not known whether in the three following years till 1527, Cortes actually put in execution on the side of the South sea, his intended search for the imaginary streight in the isthmus. In which false belief, he was strengthened in the year 1523, by Pedro de Alvarado, who, in his first memorial, laid before

before Hernan Cortes, and signed at Udatan on the 11th of April 1523, has the following words ; “ They also told me that at five days journey beyond a very large city, which is twenty days journey from hence, this land terminates : and this they positively declare. If so, it is no question with me but this is the streight.” And as little certainty is there whether he sought the other on the north side, by the Coftas de Bacallaos, or those of Newfoundland and Terra del Labrador. Possibly he could not accomplish his designs : for it was in those years he made that journey to the Hibueras, so famous for its fatigues and hardships ; and afterwards the disturbances in Mexico found him sufficient employment. It is also equally uncertain, whether at the time he sent the Zacatula ships along the upper coasts of the South sea towards the North. All that Cortes affirms is this, that by the intelligence he had of those countries and coasts, they would prove very advantageous to him : and in another part of the the same letter, he acquaints the emperor with his preparations for the conquest of the province of Colina on the South sea : and that the great men there had given him information of an island of Amazons, or women only, abounding in pearls and gold, lying ten days journey from Colina : adding, that some of the natives

had actually been there, and concluding with an assurance that he would make all possible enquiry. The island of the Amazons was as chimerical as another province on the river of the Amazons, deriving its name from them. The account of the pearls inclines me to think that these were the first intimations we had of California and its gulf.

However that be, in June 1526, Charles V. wrote to Hernan Cortes from Granada, that he should send the ships he had at Zacatula in search of the Trinity, one of Magellane's ships, and those of the two squadrons of Loayfa and Cabot; and to discover a passage from New Spain to the Moluccas, as he promised in his letters. The order came to hand, and the arrival of Hortun de Alango at Cuatlan on the South coast, having been separated with his tender from Loayfa's squadron, encouraged him to put it in execution. Accordingly he fitted out three ships under Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, who sailed from Civatlan in November 1527. The following year 1528, Cortes came into Spain, but in the mean time, Saavedra's squadron was dispersed and lost at the Moluccas.

The emperor, who was then in Spain, conferred great honours on Cortes; besides the title of marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, he nominated him captain general of New Spain,
and

and of the provinces and coasts of the South sea: and likewise discoverer and peopler of that coast and the island, with a grant of the twelfth part of what he should conquer, for himself and his heirs. These titles and privileges were a fresh incitement to Cortes, for farther expeditions into the South sea. But neither the emperor, nor the empress, who was left regent, the emperor being gone into Italy to be crowned, cared to leave things wholly to his pleasure; so that in October 1529, Cortes signed an instrument which had also the signature of the empress, by which he obliged himself to send ships at his own expence, for the discovery of countries and islands in that sea. The following year Cortes returned to New Spain, and partly from his own disposition and the frequent claims of the performance of his promise, urged upon him by the new audience of Mexico, probably to remove him from that capital, where the presence of that illustrious person gave great umbrage, he first set on foot the building two ships at Acapulco, with which Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, a near relation of Cortes, put to sea from that part in May 1532. This expedition did not prove more fortunate than the former: one of the ships company mutined against Hurtado, and with great difficulty got back to Zalisco; but the other in which Hurtado

failed, was never heard of. Cortes ordered two other ships to be built, in a town of his called Jehhuantepec, and to hasten the equipment of them, he went to the port in person. The two captains were Hernando Grijalva and Diego Becerra de Mendoza, a relation of his, and Ortun Ximenes, a Biscayner, was appointed pilot. They set sail in the year 1534, and the very first night they separated without ever meeting again. Grijalva, after sailing three hundred leagues came to a desert island, which he called Santo Thome, and is believed to lie near the point of California; returning some time after to New Spain. Becerra was of a haughty cholerick disposition, which, by the means of the cruelty and ferocity of the pilot, who could not bear it, proved his ruin, for Ximenes, forgetful of his subordination, entered into a plot with some other malecontents among the sailors, murdered him whilst he was sleeping, and wounded others of his officers. Thus he became master of the ship: and in order to avoid Cortes's resentment, he left on the coast of Xalisco, two Franciscans designed as commissioners, and at their entreaties, he spared the wounded persons, and thus continued his voyage in search of new countries and islands towards the North. But he could not fly from the hand of omnipotence, for coming to that
part

part which has since been called Santa Cruz bay, and seems to be part of the inward coast of California, he went ashore, and was there killed by the Indians, together with twenty other Spaniards. On this disaster, the sailors carried back the ship to Chametla with an account, that it was a good country well peopled and had many pearl beds along the coast. Nunno de Gufman, who was then on the conquest of that country, seized the ship. He had been president of the audience of Mexico, and judge of residencia *, and a sworn enemy to Cortes, whose resolution even so many and great misfortunes could not shake, but was firmly persuaded that the Moluccas were at no great distance from the western coast; and that in the intermediate space, he should meet with rich islands and countries.

In this opinion, he was likewise confirmed by the certain though exaggerated account of the pearls, of which he had heard much talk some years before. This and the contract he had entered into with the empress, determined him to make one last attempt; and not to commit it

* Residencia is the tryal a governor or magistrate undergoes at the expiration of his employment, a judge being appointed to hear every complaint against him: all complainants are summoned to appear; and he is obliged to stay upon the spot for such a time to make his defence.

to captains, but to go himself in person. He gave publick notice of his design, and Spaniards flocked from all parts to accompany him. He fitted out the three ships which he had launched at Tehuantepec, in a manner suitable to an enterprize which he was to conduct in person. These he sent away to Chiametla, whilst himself marched for Mexico by land with a good body of soldiers, officers, and settlers with their families, together with many ecclesiasticks and religious for the conversion of the natives; which, in all enterprizes of this nature, ought to be the capital concern. The vessels arrived at Chiametla, and that of Ortun Ximenes being found along shore empty and plundered, was again fitted up. Here Cortes embarked with all who were willing to follow him. The others on shore being left under the conduct of Andez de Tapia. He steered northward for the gulf, which from that time has been called Mar de Cortes, and is the same with that of California. Here they went in quest of the part where the Indians had killed Ortun Ximenes, and ventured ashore on the first of May 1526. To this place he gave the name of the bay of Santa Cruz: and by some it is thought to be the same as that now called the bay de la Paz, in the eastern coast of California; or at least another on the same coast be-

twixt

twixt cape San Lucas and La Paz, which indeed appears most probable. Being landed, he sent back the ships for the remainder of the people, and the stores and provisions provided at Chiamaetla. But the fleet was so dispersed by storms, that only one reached the place where Cortes remained, and he had few or no stores. This brave man now was very much distressed for want of provisions, the country being every where barren. However, in this exigency, his presence of mind did not forsake him, he immediately put to sea in this ship in search of the others which had been dispersed. He crossed the sea, says Gomara, which is like the Adriatick, and ran along the coast for the space of fifty leagues through infinite dangers; but at length found his ships stranded on the coast. This put a stop to all farther search, and it was not without great labour, difficulty, and danger, that he returned with relief to the bay of Santa Cruz; many had already died of famine, but more by eating to excess at his arrival, notwithstanding his precautions. Cortes, that he might be no longer a spectator of such miseries, went on further discoveries, and landed in California, which is a bay.

These and the above cited words of Gomara prove what we have before observed, that the bay of Santa Cruz, where Ortun Ximenes was
killed,

killed, and where Cortes landed, is in that now called the gulf of California, and likewise proves that this name was properly that of a bay which Cortes discovered on the same coast, and perhaps that now called de la Paz, and used to signify the whole peninsula.

In the mean time, a report was spread through New Spain, that Cortes was dead; and he being considered as the only check upon the Mexican casiques, they all meditated an insurrection. The marchioness Donna Juanna de Zunniga, daughter to the count de Aginlar, and cousin to the duke de Bejan his second wife, immediately dispatched a carvai to get an account of him, and sent letters urging him to return. Soon after this, two other vessels were sent; one was that of Grijalva, who was returned from his expedition; the other newly built at Tehuantepec, with letters both from herself, the audience, and don Antonio Mendoza, the viceroy informing him of the necessity of his presence in New Spain; both with regard to the quiet of the country, and sending to Francis Pizarro the succours which he solicited for Lima, where he was surrounded by innumerable troops of Indians. They entreated and even ordered him to return; which Cortes himself was not averse to, being wearied out with fruitless efforts both by sea and land; and now con-

vinced to his sorrow, that distinguished successes by land, are not an infallible assurance of the like by sea. Indeed he rejoiced at this honourable opportunity of abandoning, without any discredit, an enterprize in which his reputation was at stake; and returned to Acapulco in the beginning of the year 1527, leaving the people in the bay of Santa Cruz, under the command of Francisco de Ulloa, who, seeing the impossibility of subsisting, much more of making any settlement, was not long before he followed his commander back to Acapulco, having either secret instructions for so doing, or acting from his own judgment.

From Acapulco Cortes proceeded to Quauhunahuac, since corrupted into Quarnavaca to meet his spouse; from thence to Mexico to make his report to the viceroy. He immediately gave orders to send the required succours to Pizarro, and dispatched two ships under the command of Hernando Grijalva, from Acapulco to Callos with men, arms, and horses; besides several rich presents in the marchioness's name; all which arrived very seasonably for the conqueror of Peru. The multitude of enterprizes never could embarrass Cortes, nor was he discouraged by the ill success of the first attempts, from the prosecution of those, which, after mature reflection, he concluded to be
 seasonable

reasonable and advantageous. In the spring of the same year, he had again a new expedition on foot, the account of which, as it contains many important articles relative to our design, and confirms several things inserted here, we shall literally copy from Francis Lopez de Gomara.

“ In the month of May, of the same year 1537, Cortes sent three other ships very well provided, under Francisco de Ulloa, who was now returned with all the others. His destination was to proceed along the coast of Culhuacan, which stretches to the northward. The names of these ships were, Sancta Agueda, La Trinidad, and Santo Thomas. They sailed from Acapulco and touched at Santiago de Buena Esperanza, for a supply of provisions. From Guayabal they crossed to California, in quest of a ship, and from thence they proceeded to the Mar de Cortes, by others called Barmejo, and kept along the coast for above two hundred leagues, till the end of it, to which they gave the name of Ancon de San Andres, from their arriving there on the anniversary of that saint. Ulloa took possession of that country for the king of Castile, in the name of Fernando Cortes. Ancon lies nearly in the latitude of 32 degrees: along this coast are many volcanos, the mountains are quite bare, and the country extremely poor. They found here some traces of sheep, namely,

namely, large, heavy, and very crooked horns. Many whales were also seen in this sea. The hooks they use for fishing, are either of wood, fish bones, or the bones of turtles, of which they have great quantities and very large. The men go naked, like the Otomies of New Spain. They wear on their breast some shining shells like nakre. Their drinking vessels are the maws of sea wolves; though they also have them of clay. Proceeding from the Ancon de San Andres along the coast, they came to California; doubled the cape, stood in betwixt the continent and some islands, and proceeded till they again reached the Ancon de San Andres. This cape they called El Cabo del Engano, or cape Deceit; and the winds becoming contrary, and provisions growing short, they returned to New Spain. Thus, after a whole year's absence, they brought no account of any country worth a second visit. Fernando Cortes imagined by that coast and sea, to find another New Spain: but he performed no more than what I have mentioned, either by sea or land, though he himself was present, and did not spare his person. He was filled with a conceit, that there were large and very rich islands between New Spain and the Spice islands. In these discoveries, according to the account he delivered in, he expended two hundred thousand ducats; sending

ſending many more ſhips and men, than what he had at firſt intended; and theſe, as we ſhall hereafter relate, occaſioned his return to Spain. But never man engaged in expences with ſuch chearfulneſs and fortitude, in order to proſecute ſuch uncertain enterpriſes.”

S E C T. III.

Of the expeditions to CALIFORNIA to the year 1600.

The little advantage reaped by Cortes in ſuch hazardous and expenſive expeditions, ſhould naturally have cooled the ardour for new enterpriſes in the north of America, and in the Pacifick ocean: while, on the contrary, the immense riches, which, by the mild and wiſe government of don Antonio de Mendoza, ſeconded by the advice and authority of the marquiſ del Valle, might have fatiated the deſires of new diſcoveries and acquiſitions, and have limited the attention of the government and private perſons, to the improvement and happineſs of that vaſt country, which Spain was now in peaceable poſſeſſion of. But as man was made in the image of God, and by him alone the heart can be filled, ſo he was never known to be perfectly contented with the poſſeſſion of
any

any temporal good, or willing to abandon all further pursuits.

In the same year 1537, came from Mexico to Culiacan, Alvar Nunnez Cabeza de Vaca, famous for his singular adventures, together with his three companions, Costillo, Dorantes, and Estevanico, a negro. Of three hundred Spaniards who landed in the year 1527, with Pamfilo de Narvaez, in the country of Florida, with a design of making a conquest of it, those four only survived; and after wandering ten years with inconceivable hardships, among heathenish nations in the inward parts of America, they at length came to the coast of Culiacan, but naked and so altered, that they perfectly resembled the natives, till being by their tongue known to be Spaniards, proper care was taken of them, and they were sent to Mexico. Here every one was astonished with the account they gave of their adventures, during so long and extraordinary a perambulation; and of the miracles which they said God had been pleased by their means, to work on the sick Indians, even so far as to raise the dead. They likewise affirmed what Alvar Nunnez afterwards wrote in his account to the emperor, viz. that the southern coast abounds with pearls and other riches; and that it was the best part of the country thereabouts. This Alvar Nunnez Cabeza

Cabeza de Vaca, was afterwards appointed to conduct the discovery of the Rio de la Plata, and the first conquests of Paraguay. To this testimony, which received no little weight from their unparalleled wanderings, and the accounts they gave, was added another of still greater force in the following year 1538. Marcos de Niza, a Franciscan, and provincial of the new province of Santo Evangelio, being informed that a lay brother of his order had gone from Culiacan above 200 leagues northward, and passed through countries very well peopled, where he heard surprising accounts of other countries beyond them; he was animated with a zeal for preaching the gospel to these people, and determined to visit them in person. This employed him many months; and at his return he reported that he had met with very good countries, where he was informed of seven large towns, inhabited by civilized nations: that the soil afforded plenty of beasts, grain, and fruits; and the mountains rich metals and gems: adding that not far distant was a remarkably large town called Quivira, with houses seven stories high, and celebrated over all those parts for its richness.

All Mexico was full of this novelty; nothing else was talked of throughout the whole city; where at that time there happened to be a great
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many persons just arrived from Spain, who readily conceived, that now they should find as rich an empire to conquer, as that which had rendered Cortes so famous. The discoveries made a little before in New Spain; those then carrying on in Peru; the general opinion of the riches of the East Indies, which was judged to be at no great distance, and these depositions of the father provincial, and of the companions of Pamfilo de Narvaez, were so many additional motives, from which even those who were by no means easy of belief, could not withhold their assent. Cortes and the viceroy immediately determined to attempt the conquest of this country both by sea and land: but it was soon perceived that their intentions were utterly irreconcilable; each designing it for himself, independently of the other; the one as viceroy; the other in right of his title of discoverer of the South-sea, and of the compact between him and the empress.

The viceroy, though in other things a person of exemplary justice and magnanimity, was not so indifferent in point of honour, that he could calmly behold the carriage of the Spaniards and Indians towards Cortes. The latter, though he lived retired from Mexico, and discontented at his disappointment in obtaining the government

means to maintain his interest and authority without the least diminution : and so artfully did he use it, that he gave umbrage to none of the eminent placemen in New Spain ; and shewed the necessity of his presence, without bringing the least suspicion on his conduct. The viceroy and the audience found, if not a just, at least a favourable opportunity of shewing him that by the privilege of taking an account of the vassals granted him by the emperor, he was then dependent. Another circumstance was the indemnification which Nuncio de Guzman, who had been formerly president, was condemned to make to Cortes, for which several delays were made, partly out of respect to his former office, but more from a declared opposition to Cortes, which he alone had the spirit publicly to maintain ; there had some time been no good understanding between Cortes and the viceroy ; though in the year 1538, they had been reconciled ; but now their recent and ill-cemented accommodation was dissolved. All Cortes's rights were now to be canvassed in courts of justice ; and he saw them decided in a manner very different from that in which he had been used to decide the fates of kingdoms and empires, and found himself more embarrassed among solicitors, counsellors, and attorneys, than among multitudes of enemies in Otumba and

and Mexico : and now, by a melancholy experience, he was convinced how well grounded his opinions were, when some years since he advised the emperor against suffering any of the long robe, from coming over to New Spain.

In the mean time the viceroy Mendoza, imagined to have before him a conquest in which he might acquire greater reputation and riches, than Cortes had in his : and without those sad mistakes, in the cruel treatment of the Indians : so that relying too much on Cortes's patience, and his loyalty as a vassal, he issued orders for two powerful armaments ; one by sea, the other by land, in order to conquer the countries and islands northward of Mexico. The command of the fleet was given to captain Francisco de Alarcon, who was to keep along the coast, and in the latitude of fifty two degrees, to join the land forces, according to the information of the religious. The army was headed by the viceroy in person, Cortes remaining in Mexico, protesting in vain against the enterprise, and complaining that he was injured by it. However the representations of the auditors, and the perplexed state of the government, prevailed on the viceroy to change his mind : and accordingly he conferred the command of the land forces on Francisco Vasquez Coronado. This officer marched from Mexico,

at the head of one thousand chosen men ; and well provided with every thing necessary for a conquest and settlement : his guides were the Franciscans ; and with these he advanced three hundred leagues from Culiacan, by the way of Cinoloa and Valle de Sonora, till after incredible difficulties, he came to the place of his destination. They found seven towns, composing a province or kingdom, called Cibola, in which were only four hundred men : the largest, which is however of the viceroy's country, they called Granada, had two hundred houses of earth and rough wood, but of four or five stories, to which they went up wooden stairs ; and these in the night time were taken away. The country made a very poor appearance, at least to these, who were prepossessed with such magnificent ideas of it, though very fit for producing fruits and grains of all kinds. After some stay, they began to think of Mexico ; but that they might not return empty and without making some attempt, don Garci Lopez de Cardena, went with his troop of horse towards the sea, and general Vasquez Coronado marched to Tigie, on a river where he got intelligence of Patarrax, king of Axa and Quivira, of which countries they gave so pleasing an account, that a body of Spaniards was sent thither, being three hundred leagues further along a level country,

country, but thinly peopled. These arrived at Quivira, which, according to their report, lies forty degrees in a country abounding in beasts and fruits. But its only riches consist in herds of a certain kind of black cattle, which they breed, serving them for food, furniture, and cloaths. Though, according to others, Vasques, from a desire of returning to Mexico, contrary to many others who were for settling there, gave a disadvantageous account of the country. Gomara adds, that along the coast they saw ships with gold and silver gulls at their heads: and concluded that they must come from Cataya or China, as by the signs they made, they had been 30 days at sea. At length thinned by sickness, weakened by hunger, and discouraged by fatigues without advantage, it was determined to return to Mexico, where, after an absence of three years, they arrived in March 1542.

Juan de Padilla and another religious, together with a Portuguese, and some Indians of Mechonau remained at Tiguex; the two religious made a second journey to Quivira, where they and some of the Indians were killed. But the Portuguese had the good fortune to escape, and, after a long time, made his appearance at Panuco.

Such were the transactions of the land forces. In the mean time Francisco de Alarcon put to sea in the year 1540, with the ships under his command; his orders being to join Vasquez Coronado, in the latitude of thirty-six degrees. He steered for California, and being arrived at the place appointed, he long waited to no purpose the coming up of the army, which he could not go in quest of, though he had certain information that they could have joined him in ten days. The term of his instructions was already elapsed, so that setting up several crosses and burying at the foot of them, bottles containing letters, in which were writ the day, month, and year of his coming, he returned to New Spain, and found in the harbour a much greater fleet, and the viceroy's major-dome. Thus ended this naval expedition, without any other remarkable circumstance, than the disgrace of Francisco Alarcon, who before had been a favourite of the viceroy's, and his retreat from Mexico to Cortes's territories, where he soon after died of grief and chagrin.

The viceroy not only employed his authority and wealth in this attempt, which made a great noise till the discovery of the mistake; but by a dextrous stroke of policy, he augmented his power and party, and deprived Hernan Cortes of his chief support. At the time the governor

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and commander in chief in Guatemala, was Pedro de Alvarado, the conqueror and peopler of the fertile province by commission from Cortes, whose fortunes he had followed from the beginning. After settling every thing in this country in the year 1535, he was sent to Peru with seven ships, to assist Pizarro in the conquest of Quito, which in gold and riches was said to exceed Cusco. He returned from this expedition with large rewards from Pizarro and Almagro, who were better pleased with his departure than his assistance, on account of his overbearing temper. This money, with that which he raised in his province, by a cruel oppression of the Indians, put him upon higher thoughts; and as the sacred ties of gratitude and friendship were of little account with him, and consequently he was not to be restrained by the sense of any respect to Hernan Cortes as his chief, he formed the design of clandestinely rivaling him in the discoveries of the South sea. In order to this, he asked a commission from the emperor, who being every day more solicitous about this discovery, and not without some suspicion of Cortes, whom his competitors accused of remissness in performing the contract, which gave an appearance of guilt to his misfortunes, easily granted it. But with a clause in no manner to molest the possession of the Por-

tuguese. On receiving this commission, Alvarado prepared an armament in his province, beyond any which had appeared in those seas under Cortes. He ordered twelve ships, a galley, and some smaller vessels to be built; and provided them well with men, horses, artillery, arms, and provisions. The expence of fitting out this fleet was so large, that besides the greatest part of his substance, and what could be raised in his province, he was obliged to apply to some of his friends to assist him with money. His design was to sail to India and the Spice islands, making discoveries along California and Punta de Vallenias, according to the scheme of his former commander. Having taken upon himself the stile of general of his armada, he brought his ships in 1538 to la Purification, where he was to take in water, provisions, and men. All this was known to the viceroy, who being a declared enemy, concluded that Alvarado would, without much difficulty, relinquish his ancient patron. He likewise, on the other hand, foresaw how greatly it concerned him to bring Alvarado over to his interest, as likewise the dangerous consequences that must follow from his union with Cortes. He therefore sent him a letter by express, to the place of rendezvous: and his forwardness to conclude an association, even exceeded the viceroy's

viceroy's expectation, when, in order to finish it without delay, he sent his major domo Augustine Guerrero and don Lewis de Castilla. And during this congress, Francisco de Alarcon came into Pacificacion harbour, from his expedition to Cibola, as I have before observed.

In order to put a finishing hand to the contract, it was agreed that the viceroy and Alvarado should have a meeting at Chinibitio, a town of Mechoacan. Accordingly, the viceroy went post thither from Mexico. The conferences being ended, they went together to see the armada; and from thence they returned to Mexico, to appoint a commander in chief of the whole fleet; an essential point, but in which they did not agree, each being for putting in a creature of their own. Alarcon was called away to Guatemala, on important affairs relating to the province, and the necessity of making the least dispositions for the enterprize. These preparatives took up a long time; during which, every person expressed his abhorrence of Alvarado's proceedings against Cortes, to whom he was indebted for every thing he enjoyed. This also increased the rancour between the viceroy and Cortes, to the most indecent extremities; and the latter finding there was no redress, to be expected in New Spain, resolved to make a second voyage to Europe, in order to seek it
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from the justice and goodness of the emperor. Accordingly he embarked for Spain, with his two sons in the year 1540; attended the emperor in the unfortunate expedition to Algiers; and after seven years spent in the idle bustle of the court, and anxiety for the dispatch of his affairs, which were designedly prolonged in order to hinder his return, he at length died on the 2d of December 1547, in a manner becoming a christian, at Castilleja de la Cuesta, as he was going to meet his daughter at Cadiz. He was a man truly worthy of immortal reputation, and not inferior to the most celebrated heroes. The few failings he had, are hid by the lustre of his many virtues, political, military, and christian; especially his most ardent zeal for the propagation of religion. If at the time of the conquest the Indians were treated with an unwarrantable severity, he may in some measure be disculpated by necessity, and the fury of his soldiers, which officers often find too difficult to be restrained. But when he acted of himself, the goodness of his heart was always conspicuous: and if in the abovementioned particular, and the slaughter of the great men of Mexico, at the battle of the Hibueras, he is not to be vindicated, yet let us hope that Omnipotence, the just avenger of the weak, was pleased to humble him here, by depriving him during the remainder

mainder of his life, of that success which hitherto had always attended him; and that he should close his life in a chaos of troubles and disappointments.

Cortes being now absent, Pedro Alvarado hastened the dispositions for his enterprise with less reserve. Gautemala was the scene of his preparatives; and when they were finished, he went by land to Puerto de Navidad, in order to embark and take upon him the command of his fleet. Here he received letters from Christopher de Onate, deputy governor of Xalisco, under Vasquez Coronado, who was then at Cibola, informing him that he was surrounded by the Indians; and that unless he speedily came to his relief, he and his people must absolutely perish. It highly concerned the enterprise, that the harbours of Xalisco should be safe; it was also proper to shew this regard to the governor, who was absent on such important services; and much more to the viceroy that had sent him, that Alvarado getting together what horses, arms, and men he could, hastened to the relief of Onate; and came just time enough to save him. However, the Indians continued the war with intrepid animosity, and some of them having posted themselves among steep rocks, Alvarado, with a detachment of horse and foot, attempted to dislodge them. The
Spaniards

Spaniards began to march up the eminence, Alvarado encouraging them by his example. But the Indians rolling down large pieces of rock, destroyed several of our men; and some of the horses, by the steepness of the ground, fell down the precipices. One of these fragments happened to tumble against Alvarado himself, who, being famous for his agility, had alighted in order to shun the danger, but the rock striking his horse, threw him upon his master, so that both rolled down among the rocks; by which he was so bruised, that he died in four days after at Ezatlan, ten leagues from Guadalaxara, and three hundred from Guatemala, in the year 1541. Such was the unfortunate end of Pedro Alvarado, an excellent warrior, but according to some not so good a governor; prosperous during his whole life, and unfortunate in his death; more ambitious of sway however, than of solid praise; bold and licentious in his discourse; but his true principle was interest. He so cruelly oppressed the Indians, that his misfortunes and those of his family have been considered as the consequence of such a conduct. In September of the same year, the city of Santiago de Guatemala was destroyed by a tempest and inundation, in which was drowned his lady donna Beatriz de la Cueva, whose character Dias del Castillo vindicates

dicates against the censures of others. He had two sons, one of which, don Pedro, was drowned in his return to Spain, and don Diego killed in a rencounter in Peru. These three brothers were also equally unfortunate, and all, who, like him, had commanded in the conquest of those countries.

The great fleet was now ready to sail : but like a body without a head, came to nothing, the ships being forsaken, rotted in the harbours. Such was the end of an expedition, which, for so long a time had held in suspense, and even alarmed the new world.

The viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza was extremely concerned at the catastrophe of Alvarada and the loss of his armado, which was out of his power to repair : the expences of his two expeditions by land and sea, being still a great incumbrance upon him. He was however still more affected at the return of Vasquez Coronado without any advantage. This happened, as we have already observed, in the beginning of the following year 1542. Though he was of a spirit too noble to be thrown into despair by the first miscarriages in the prosecution of designs, which he thought useful and glorious ; and he had very much at heart the propagation of the faith, and the preaching of the gospel to other nations. It was likewise his
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firm persuasion, that trade and conquests on that side of the South sea, and in the eastern part of the Indies, without meddling with the Molucas, would be productive of immense advantages to the state. He thought, that great as the difficulties were, they might be overcome, but he was unfortunately deprived of adding to the excellent regulations of his peaceable administration, the fruits of which are certain and substantial, some signal action which might be ranked with the achievements of other personages of the noble house of Mendoza, at that time more than ever fruitful in persons distinguished for arts and arms. Thus, notwithstanding his arrears, and griefs which affected his mind, he heroically determined that same year 1542 to execute three enterprises of equal glory and advantage. The first was to go in person to reduce the Indians of Xalisco and New Galicia, whom Alvarado's death had spirited up to a revolt; and the quelling of whom was the more necessary, as it was only through that province, that the intended conquest towards the North could be carried into execution. The second was to send ships for surveying the outward or western of California and America. The third to send other ships for discovering, and making a settlement in the islands, then called De Poniente or western; and

and since the Marianas and Philippines, as lying much nearer America than the Moluccas.

In the first enterprize he was attended by the greatest part of all the nobility of New Spain; and by his courage, prudence, and mildness, the tranquillity of the whole country was in a little time restored. For the second and third, such ships of Alvarado's unfortunate fleet as had received any damage were repaired. Two of these he sent under the command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese of great courage and honour, and a thorough seaman, to execute the second enterprize. And the 5 others composed a fleet, which he gave Ruy-Lopez de Villa Lobos, a native of Malaga; being a nobleman by birth, and possessed of talents equal to the intention of this undertaking, which was to discover the Philippine islands. He put to sea after the Portuguese, on All saints day, from the harbour de Navidad; and steering directly West, fell in with the Ladrones; proceeding from thence to Leyle Mindanao and others, which compose the Philippine Archipelago. But the conclusion was not answerable; several misfortunes attended him, and after losing most of his ships, and being destitute of assistance, he was obliged to put in at the Moluccas. Here he met with such indifferent reception from the Portuguese, settled at

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Terrenate and Tidore, that he died of grief at Amboyna, in the year 1546. The religious, together with a few laymen, the distressed remains of this expedition, obtained from the Portuguese, the favour of returning to Spain by way of Malacca, Goa, and the Cape of Good Hope.

No other expedition to these islands was undertaken till the year 1564, when Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, accompanied by the celebrated religious Andres de Urdaneta, in the time of the second viceroy Don Luis de Velasco had better success, and made a settlement in the Philippines.

Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, sailed with his two ships from the port de Navidad, the 27th of June, on a discovery of the coast towards the North. He touched at the bay of Santa Cruz in California, otherwise called Puerto del Marques del Valle, since Cortes had been there: this he found in 24 degrees of latitude; and following the western coast, he came to a bay, to which he gave the name of La Magdalena, lying in 27 degrees, and in 32 degrees, he made cape del Engano; that of la Cruz in 33, and that of de la Galera in 36 and a half; and opposite the last he met with two large islands, 10 leagues from the coast, where they informed him, that at some distance there was a
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nation which wore cloaths : in 37 degrees and a half, he had sight of some hills covered with trees, which he called San Martin, as he did also the cape running into the sea at the end of these eminences. Beyond this to 40 degrees, the coast lies N. E. and S. W. and about the 40th degree he saw some mountains covered with snow ; and betwixt them a large cape, which, in honour to the viceroy, who had sent him, he called de Mendoza or Mendozino ; and near it a spacious bay to which he gave the name of de Pinos, from the multitude of pine trees of an extraordinary height growing near it. In January 1543, he arrived at Cabo de Fortuna in 41 degrees, and on the 10th of March, found himself in 44 degrees lat. the cold very intense. This was the utmost limits of his voyage, the want of provisions, and the bad condition of his ships, not admitting him to make any farther progress : so that he returned, and, on Saturday the 14th of April, entered Navidad harbour, giving it as his opinion, that such an enterprise required ships of a greater strength and burden, with the best sails and rigging, and well stored with provisions ; it being very difficult to obtain a supply.

I have been the more particular in describing the situation and names of the principal parts

surveyed in this voyage, in order to compare it with other discoveries, especially as several authors, either omit or confound this expedition, which was the last undertaken by this excellent viceroy, in the north of the Pacifick sea.

In the year 1551, don Antonio de Mendoza, to the inexpressible grief of the Spaniards and Indians, was preferred from the viceroyalty of Mexico, to that of Peru; and his absence, for several years, suspended all further enterprizes towards California. Only the viceroy don Luis de Velasco, being desirous of providing a good harbour on the western coast for the Philippine ships, sent a vessel called the San Augustin, which soon returned without having done any thing.

In the year 1596, don Gaspar de Zunniga, count de Monte-rey, viceroy of Mexico, received an order from Philip II. for discovering and making settlements in proper parts of California; the English, at that time taking advantage of our remissness, had began to claim the sovereignty of the sea. The famous sir Francis Drake, among other things, had struck the inhabitants of the coasts of the South sea with consternation; and even made a settlement on California, to which he gave the name of New Albion, as belonging to the crown of England: in this he was followed by more of his

his countrymen, particularly Thomas Cavendish and others, who fortifying themselves on that coast, molested our navigation to the Philippine islands. On the other hand there was then much talk about the streight of Anian, through which the South-sea was said to communicate with that of the North, near Newfoundland; and should the English find out a practicable passage on that side, our dominions, which then included all Portugese India, would be no longer secure, all the coast from Acapulco to Culiacan, being quite defenceless, and from Culiacan northward, not one single settlement was made on the whole coast. Besides the report of the rich pearls in those seas, was far from being extinguished. But the great consideration, which chiefly prompted the heart of that religious monarch, was the propagation of the gospel, and his compassion for so many millions of souls immerged for want of preachers in the darkness of infidelity, and which the apostolick see had earnestly recommended to his pious compassion.

The court gave the conduct of this expedition to general Sebastian Viscaino, a man of undoubted courage and prudence. He was not only a good foldier, but also well versed in sea affairs; and his affability and mildness, particularly qualified him for the direction of an

enterprise, usually attended with many disagreeable circumstances to the ship's company, who immediately impute any sufferings to the commander. The necessary dispositions being made, general Viscaino sailed from Acapulco in three well provided ships, on board of which were four Franciscan regulars. His first passage was to the islands of Mazatlan and port San Sebastian, where they watered: from thence crossing the gulf, which they found to be 80 leagues in breadth, they landed on the eastern coast of California without any resistance from the Indians, though they came down to the shore in great numbers. But the country not pleasing them, they went to another harbour, which they called San Sebastian, where they hoisted the royal standard, as a sign that they took possession of it in the king's name. Here they staid eight days, during which time some soldiers were sent up to reconnoitre the country; and were so far from being molested by the natives, that they came down to the shore with game and fruit, their only subsistence, and pearls for traffick. The general did not, however, judge it a place proper for making a settlement, on account of it having no water, and the barrenness of the soil. The commodore's ship was therefore sent further to look out for a more convenient place, and they all
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removed to that which since has been called de la Paz, on account of the peaceable behaviour of the Indians in that bay. Here they established a garrison within a pallisade. They likewise run up a small church, and some huts with branches of trees, as the rude beginning of that settlement they intended for the capital of this acquisition. The natives with great simplicity and candor, came to the garrison with their fruits, fish, and likewise brought with them some pearls. And the religious immediately applied themselves to gain their affections, and explained to them, in the best manner they were capable, the mysteries of the christian religion. They distributed many small presents to the children, of which there were great numbers among them, and these with other endearments, greatly tended to gain the love of the inhabitants. They used to complain to the religious of the injuries done them by the soldiers, who, besides other outrages, forcibly took away from them any thing they had, an evil too common in such discoveries; but in several respects, of very bad consequences. They asked the fathers, whether they were sons of the sun, looking on them as deities; and entreated them to stay among them, and order the soldiers away, as being cruel and wicked. At mass they were filled with admiration at the

sacred ceremony. They shewed a ready compliance to all the injunctions of the religious: and their whole behaviour sufficiently shewed them to be an humane docile people; and well disposed to embrace the christian faith. But the general was not long in perceiving, that the soil produced so very little, that it would not support so large a number of men. On this account, and that he might fully discharge his commission for the discovery, he sent the commodore and a tender to take a view of the coasts and islands further to the northward. Those that went in these ships landed on seeing any people; and if they were received peaceably, they surveyed the country, drawn up in order of battle. If any opposition was offered, they returned and continued their course. Thus they coasted above 100 leagues. In the most northern part of the country to which they came, 50 soldiers were sent ashore to reconnoitre; and seeing it was no better than those they had before viewed, were returning on board. At this the Indians became so spirited as to shoot several arrows at them; and the Spaniards on the other side faced about, and fired upon them, wounded some, and killed three or four, upon which the others fled. The soldiers, however, hastened to the boat, in order to go on board the ship, which, for want of water, lay
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one-fourth of a league distant from the shore. As the boat would not hold above 25, the like number were obliged to remain, till it returned to fetch them off. In the mean time near 500 Indians had artfully concealed themselves, till an opportunity offered of doing effectual execution. The boat returned; and whilst they were getting into it confusedly, without any apprehension, the Indians with a shout sallied from their ambuscade, the boat in the hurry, this occasioned, was overfet, that our people falling into the water, their fire arms were of no use. Thus nineteen Spaniards miserably perished, being drowned or killed by the Indians, through an inability of defending themselves. And it was equally impossible for those on board, however concerned at their misfortune, to give them any assistance: a few however reached the ship by swimming. It had before been deliberated about returning, for want of provisions; with a greater quantity of which, they might have reconnoitred the farthest parts of the gulf. But this misfortune determined them to return to the garrison, which they with extreme dejection reached, after having kept the sea a month. General Viscaino was there, but so distressed for want of provisions, that he had scarce maize enough to subsist them, during the passage to the continent. And as they found no

place on the coast, where they could get a supply, it was resolved in a council of war, entirely to relinquish the conquest, without leaving in the country any settlers: and accordingly they returned to New Spain, at the end of the same year 1596.

An account of the issue of this expedition was sent to court, and arrived soon after Philip III. had ascended the throne, on the death of his father Philip II, which happened on the twenty-third of September 1598.

S E C T. IV.

A remarkable warrant of Philip III, and other expeditions to CALIFORNIA, till the reign of Philip IV.

The political motives, which induced Philip II. to order the conquest of California to be undertaken with all possible expedition, still existed at the accession of Philip III, and became every day more and more urgent. The new king likewise inherited all the religion and zeal of his father; and consequently was easily impressed by the noble motives of propagating the faith. Another reason was, the security of the navigation, undertaken to the Philippines: for the ships, in return from those islands to New Spain, always came within sight of cape Mendozina; and

and the violence of the north west winds in that part, rendered it necessary to have some shelter near that cape, where they might safely land for refreshment and water; for want of which, many ships had been lost: and those who had arrived at Acapulco, were in a miserable condition. Accordingly on the twenty-seventh of September 1599, an order was sent to the count de Monte-rey, that out of the royal revenue, a new discovery and settlement in California, should be undertaken with all possible vigour: but instead of the eastern coast of the gulf, the western coast of the South sea should be surveyed. The viceroy, after maturely weighing every circumstance, to secure the success of an attempt, which, from repeated miscarriages, during the course of the whole preceding century, had an appearance of extreme difficulty, appointed for commander in chief, the same Sebastian Viscaino, who had commanded in the late expedition, and from his zeal for the royal commands, neglected nothing which might contribute to the security and advantage of the enterprise. On the fifth of May 1632, general Viscaino sailed from Acapulco harbour with two ships, a frigate and a barco longo, and with him three bare footed Carmelites, one of whom, Antonio de la Ascension, wrote a particular account of the expedition, an extract from which, by Torquemada,

I have inserted in at the end of this work. In the mean time it will be sufficient to read the succinct, though entertaining narrative, contained in the royal schedule, which I shall now transcribe; from whence it is evident, that he took an accurate view of the coast, as far as cape Mendozina in forty degrees. And even reconnoitred cape Blanco de San Sebastian, in forty-one degrees and a half. Before he came to these places, he saw a large harbour near the Punto de Pinos, or Pine-cape, provided with every thing that could be desired, for the security and repair of ships: and which, in honour of the viceroy, by whom he had been sent, he called Puerto de Monte-rey. However, finding the impossibility of making any longer stay on that coast, they returned to New Spain, arriving at Acapulco in March 1603.

The fatigues, distresses, sicknesses, and dangers of this voyage were sufficient to discourage the most resolute. However, general Viscaino, inured to hardships, and in expectation of obtaining both glory and advantage in making the conquest, strongly solicited the viceroy that he might make a fresh attempt at his own expence; but rightly judging that nothing of that kind must be undertaken, without the permission of his majesty, who had taken it into his own hand, Viscaino made a voyage into
Spain,

Spain, to solicit the affair at court. Here in his memorial, he set forth the great advantage of the expedition, in very lively colours. The supreme council of the Indies, however warned by the little effect of the two preceding attempts, in which very large sums of the royal revenue had been expended, without any benefit, deferred coming to a resolution, till they had received fresh informations, proceeding step by step in a matter reputed of so great consequence. Thus general Viscaino, who had a capacity and courage, which carried him with honour, through all the difficulties and dangers of war, both by sea and land, could not make his way through the fickleness, intrigues, and traverses of the court; so that he left it full of discontent, and returning to New Spain, spent the remainder of his life in quiet and retirement. However, the consequence soon justified the slowness which had preceded the resolution: for scarce had the general left Spain, when, on the nineteenth of August 1606, the king signed two commissions, directed to don Juan de Mendoza, and Luna marquiss of Montes Claros, recently made viceroy of New Spain, and don Pedro de Acunna, governor and captain general of the Philippine islands, drawn up with such prudence, and filled with such sagacious remarks on the importance and disposition necessary

fary to the fuccefs of the defign, as render them worthy of being laid before the publick, efpecially as they confirm what I have related; I fhall therefore here infert an exact copy of that fent to don Pedro de Acunna.

By the K I N G.

Don Pedro de Acunna, knight of the order of St. John, my governor and captain general of the Philippine iflands, and prefident of my royal audience there: you are hereby given to underftand, that don Luis de Velafco, my late viceroy in New Spain, in regard to the great diftance between the port of Acapulco and thofe iflands, the fatigue, hardship, and danger of that voyage, for want of a port where the fhips might put in, and provide themfelves with water, wood, mafts, and other things of abfolute neceffity, determined to make a difcovery and draughts, with obfervations of the harbours along the coaft, from New Spain to thefe iflands; and ordered this fervice to be performed in a fhip called the San Auguftin, the lofs of which, at that time, frufterated the faid difcovery: and that the count de Monte-rey, who fucceeded him in that government; having the fame opinion of the inconveniences of that voyage, and the fame zeal
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for removing them, by pursuing the discovery, intended by don Luis de Velasco, wrote to me concerning it; and was of opinion, that small vessels from the harbour of Acapulco, were the fittest; and, that in the discovery might be included the coasts and bays of the gulf of California, and of the fishery; to which, in my letter of the twenty-seventh of September 1599, I ordered to be answered, that the discovery and making draughts, with observations of that coast and the bays along it, having appeared to me highly convenient, it was my will he should immediately put it in execution, without troubling himself about that of California, unless occasionally. Agreeably to this, he appointed for the conduct of the enterprize, Sebastian Viscaïno as an experienced navigator, particularly acquainted with the voyage in question, and, in whom, he placed an entire confidence: and having furnished him with two ships and a tender, well provided with all necessaries for a year, he immediately embarked with a suitable number of seamen and soldiers; and an able cosmographer skilled in maps, in order that the parts and places discovered, might be set down with the greater clearness and accuracy: having with him orders and instructions how he was to proceed, and what he was to do, he put to sea from Acapulco harbour, on the fifth of May

1602, according to the advice sent me by the said count de Monte-rey and Sebastian Viscaino, who, after several letters, the last of which was on the last day of April 1604, informed me that he had been eleven months on the voyage : and that from the said harbour he had began to found and take draughts of the coasts, harbours, creeks, and bays, as far as the twenty-seventh degree, with all necessary precision and exactness : and that from twenty-six degrees to forty-two, he did no more than keep within sight of land, so that he was not able to make such particular observations, as he had done till the twenty-seventh degree. Soon after, many of his people fell sick, and the weather being very unfavourable, he could only observe that the coast, as far as forty degrees, lies north west, and south east ; and that in the other two degrees, which make up the forty-two, it lies almost north and south. He added that between the mouth of the gulf of California, to 37 degrees, he met with three very good harbours, on the continent : these are San Diego in thirty-two degrees, with another contiguous to it, but smaller ; and that of San Diego, which is very spacious, being capable of containing many ships, and, at the same time afford both water and wood : and that the third, called Monte-rey, was still better, and more convenient for
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the China galleons, and for the relief of ships in their voyage to and from these islands. It is situated in 37 degrees north latitude; and its wood and water preferable, and in greater plenty than the other; is well sheltered from all winds, and along its shore are great numbers of pine trees fit for masts, and lies very conveniently for ships returning from the Philippine islands to put into; and thus, in case of storms, avoid the necessity of making for Japan, as they have several times done, and expended great sums of money. Besides they usually have sight of the coast of China, which is an additional benefit, as by knowing where they are, they will not as formerly, in case of bad weather, make for Japan or those islands, as the same winds which would carry them thither, bring them into this safe harbour. They further say, that the climate is mild, and the country covered with trees, the soil fruitful and well peopled, and that the natives are of so tractable, kind, and of so docile a temper, that they will easily be converted to the christian religion, and become subject to my holy crown. That their chief subsistence is on the spontaneous products of the earth, and the flesh they catch in hunting, of which there is a remarkable plenty. That their cloathing is of the skins of sea wolves, which they have a very
good

good method of tanning and preparing; and that they have abundance of flax, hemp, and cotton: And that the said Sebastian Viscaino, carefully informed himself of these Indians, and many others whom he discovered along the coast for above 800 leagues, and they all told him, that up the country there were large towns, silver, and gold; whence he is inclined to believe that great riches may be discovered, especially as in some parts of the land veins of metals are to be seen; and that the time of their summer being known, a farther discovery might be made of them by going within the country, and that the remainder of it may be discovered along the coast, as it reaches beyond 42 degrees, the limits specified to the said Sebastian Viscaino in his instructions; he came to Japan and the coast of China, and that he could not return by the mouth of California, as I had sent orders he should be directed, on account of a great mortality among his people, and the decay of the provisions which obliged him to hasten his return. And the cosmographer Andrew Garcia de Cespedes, having made his appearance in my royal council of the Indies, together with the narratives and draughts which were sent with a separate plan of each harbour, of those discovered by the said Sebastian Viscaino; and hav-

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ing in council heard the report of the cosmographer, and considering how much it concerns the security of ships coming from those islands, in a voyage of no less than 2000 leagues, on a wide and tempestuous sea, that they should be provided with a port where they might put in and furnish themselves with water, wood, and provisions : that the said port of Monte-rey, lies in 37 degrees, nearly about half way the voyage, having all the good qualities which could be desired ; it seems to me that all ships coming from those islands, as they make that coast, should put into this port, and there refit and provide themselves : and in order to the beginning a design of such utility, and that it may be publickly known, I have by another commission of the same date, ordered and directed the marquis de Montes Claros, my present viceroy of the said provinces of New Spain, that he use all possible care and diligence to find out the said general Sebastian Viscaino, as the person who made the said discovery, having coasted it all along from Acapulco to cape Mendozino. And in case he be not living, to make the like enquiry after the commander of his ship, and that on his being found, he immediately prepare to go to these islands, taking care to carry with him his chief pilot, and that of the said commander. And that his going

on this desirable service may be with all convenient dispatch ; I have also ordered the said marquis, that the ships which are to be sent to these islands be of the usual form hitherto used, there being little appearance that you have any ships ready of 200 tons, as they are to be agreeable to a new order which I have issued relating to them, on account of the shortness of time, and which nominates, as commander of those ships, Sebastian Viscaino, and for his captain, he who was with him at the discovery of the said port, if they are both living : and in case either of them be dead, the survivor to be commander in chief ; and for first pilot, the person who was in that post under Sebastian Viscaino, or under his captain, in order that having the ships under their charge, they may at their return consider the best manner of making a settlement at the said Puerto de Monterey : and thus introduce the touching at that port, and carefully instruct the pilots and sailors on the necessary particulars of the voyage ; especially two persons well qualified, whom you are hereby ordered to send from these islands, with the said general Viscaino, that they may be acquainted with the said port, and may return general and commander of the ships, which are to go from Acapulco to those islands in the year 1608 ; Sebastian Viscaino being to
conduct

conduct the settlement of the said port, to whom, and the said Sebastian Viscaino and his sea captain, it is my will and pleasure that you in all things show all possible countenance and regard. It is also my will, that they receive the pay which other generals and commanders have received in the said voyage : and that it be paid them in the usual form and manner. And that the premises may obtain the end desired, I charge you to aid and assist them with the utmost care and diligence, as I promise myself from your prudence and zeal : and that you acquaint me with what shall be performed. Dated at San Lorenzo L. Real, on the 19th of August, 1606.

This royal commission places in a full light the sense of the supreme council of the Indies, the king of Spain and his ministry, with regard to the importance and means of settling a colony on the western coast of California, by peopling Puerto de Monte-rey. But these wise measures came to nothing, the royal schedule not taking effect ; for the viceroy, in obedience to the royal command, made enquiry after general Sebastian Viscaino, who was very readily found ; but while he was preparing with great alacrity to accomplish an enterprize, the great advantages of which were but imperfectly known till verified by time and experience ; he

was seized with a fatal distemper, and with him were buried the well grounded hopes of the expedition: why such positive and express orders of the king were not carried into execution, though the general was dead, remains a mystery; we only know, that nothing was then done, nor has been done, of what was at that time so well concerted, and in which, the dictates of wisdom and long deliberation were enforced by the power of majesty.

During the succeeding nine years, inconsiderable voyages only were made to California, and these rather to fish for pearls, or procure them by barter, than to make any settlement, and therefore they have been thought below any separate account, especially as in the subsequent royal commissions they are only mentioned in general without any circumstances. At length, in the year 1615, captain Juan Iturbi, obtained a licence for making a new voyage at his own expence. One of his two ships was taken by a set of European pirates, who made themselves famous in America, under the name of Pichilingues, and to the great dishonour of the Spanish power infested the South-seas, till their insolencies clearly proved the necessity of reducing California, as they there securely sheltered themselves: with his other ship Iturbi entered the bay of California;

and proceeded to the height of 30 degrees, where he observed that the two coasts of Cinaloa and California gradually approached each other. But the N. W. winds, and the shortness of provisions, hindered him from going any farther. He therefore thought proper to return; but was so distressed for want of provisions, that he and his company must inevitably have perished, without the almost miraculous relief he met with in the village of Ahomé in Cinaloa; by means of the missionary father Andres Perez de Ribas, provincial of the jesuits in New Spain, who several years afterwards wrote an account of this expedition. From Ahomé he directed his course to Cinaloa, where he received orders from the viceroy don Diego Fernandes de Cordova, marquis of Guadal-casar, to make the best of his way to meet and convoy the ship from the Philippine islands, which it was greatly feared would fall into the hands of the Dutch corsairs, who then openly infested those seas under their own colours, and soon after made themselves masters of the greatest part of the trade to the East Indies.

Iturbi accordingly sailed from the gulf into the South-sea, and brought the ship which occasioned so much anxiety, safe into Acapulco: from thence he went to Mexico, where

the pearls he brought with him filled the whole city with admiration. He had a great number of them, the most were of a brown tinct, occasioned by the Indians, as we have already observed, putting the shells into the fire, in order to dress the flesh of the oysters. Others he had of a larger sort, and without any damage, which were taken up by his own divers; and so large and clear, that for one only, he paid, as the king's fifth, 900 crowns.

These pearls animated the Mexicans to attempt the conquest and settlement of California: a great many private persons, from the coasts of Culiacan and Chametla, made trips in small boats to the coast of California, either to fish for pearls, or purchase them of the Indians. And several acts of cruelty and outrage, were committed on these poor people; which however did not always escape punishment. A few adventurers enriched themselves by this trade: and there are very surprising accounts of the wealth accumulated by Antonio del Castillo, an inhabitant of Chametla; which naturally increased the universal impatience for making the conquest. In the year 1628, Philip IV. being king of Spain, captain Antonio Bastan came over to Spain for a licence, offering to undertake it at his own expence. The supreme council of the Indies, by a schedule of the 2d
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of August of the same year, required the marquis de Cerralvo their viceroy, to send them farther informations. The viceroy and council appointed don Juan Alvarez, auditor of the royal audience, to collect proper accounts, and under pretence of greater certainty, and a more particular detail, obtained a licence from the viceroy, for captain Francis de Ortega, to make a voyage thither at his own expence; and he was either more fortunate or skilful than his predecessors. He sailed in March 1632, in a vessel of seventy tons, having with him Diego de la Nava, a priest whom the bishop of Guadalaxara had nominated vicar of California. He landed on the second of May, and having taken a particular survey of the whole coast, from San Barnabe's bay, to Puerto de la Paz, purchased many pearls, and found the Indians generally very friendly and tractable, except in some parts, where they had been injured by those who had come thither to trade for pearls. In June they returned to the coast of Cinaloa, whence they proceeded to lay the whole voyage before the viceroy.

Captain Ortega very probably had found his account in this voyage, as by permission from the viceroy, he made two other trips thither, in the years 33 and 34, with an intent of making a settlement. It was his opinion, that the In-

dians of Puerto de la Paz, might easily be prevailed on to embrace the christian religion, and for the accomplishment of this most desirable end, with the vicar Nava was sent, another priest called don Juan de Zunniga. In both voyages he took care to lay in as large a quantity of provisions as possible; yet in both, they were all consumed, and he returned to Mexico, having experienced the same melancholy circumstances, all the others had felt before him, namely, the barrenness and total want of sustenance in the country. He, however, laid before the government two proposals; the first that the garison of Acaponeta should be removed as useles, to the coast of California, Cinaloa being in a peaceable condition: and thus that body might serve to protect the conquest, and be a safeguard to settlers up the country. The second, that a sum of money should be allowed in New Spain for sending provisions to those who should settle there. He was very assiduous to procure the countenance of the viceroy and the ministry, to these two maxims, which indeed were very just and prudent: urging at the same time, the immediate execution of them. He was desirous of making a fourth voyage thither, on a sure foundation, but had the mortification to hear that Estevan Carboneli his pilot, had obtained a licence from the viceroy, to make a fresh attempt

tempt at his own expence. Carboneli had not only supplanted his patron Ortega, but likewise blamed him, alledging that all the distreffes of the three voyages, were owing to his neglect or fear, in not landing in California at a higher latitude; where he engaged to find a fertile country, and his people and the settlers meet with a comfortable subsistence. Full of his scheme, he sailed for California in the year 1536. But though he went as high as possible, he in all parts, found only Indians, living naked in a barren land, supporting themselves with shell fish, fruits, and game, without the least appearance of culture or harvest. Thus, after procuring some pearls, to comfort him in his disappointment, he returned to New Spain, where Ortega had the satisfaction of seeing this new undertaker, become the object of publick derision.

To this æra, belong the contents of a paper, published at London, under the title of the narrative of Bartholomew de Fuentes, commander in chief of the navy in New Spain and Peru, and president of Chili; giving an account of the most remarkable transactions and adventures in this voyage, for the discovery of a passage from the South sea, to that of the North in the northern hemisphere, by order of the viceroy of Peru, in the year 1640. This writing

ting contains several accounts relating to California; but without entering at present into long disputes, let it suffice to say, that little credit is to be given to this narrative. For the same reason we have before omitted the accounts of voyages made from the South sea to the North round, beyond California; and those of a contrary direction, of which an account is given by captains Seixas and Lobera, in *Theatro Naval*, in Spanish and French; and particularly of that Spaniard who is supposed in three months to have come from Puerto de Navidad, and Cabo Corientes to Lisbon. These and other accounts, dispersed in different books, we designedly omit, as they want the necessary authenticity. Let us now return to our narrative.

So many unsuccessful expeditions to California, so far from indisposing the minds of people to any further attempts, seemed rather to inflame their desires; especially as some pearls were brought from thence, with exaggerated reports of their prodigious plenty. Besides, as the generality of those, who transport themselves to America, without any post or employment, are seduced with the hopes of speedily acquiring a fortune with little or no fatigue: and as the nature and state of the country, does not afford means for many, even to get a tolerable support,
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there being no manufactures in which they can employ themselves: and working of the mines and culture of the lands, the two fatal causes of the dispeopling and wretchedness of such fruitful countries, are laborious, a sufficient number is always found, who, having little or nothing to venture, easily conceive sanguine hopes of mending their fortunes in some new enterprise. The government was actuated by other springs; but knowing that great numbers would offer to serve, contributed to facilitate the execution. The importance of the enterprise, after so many fruitless attempts, being evident, the viceroy don Diego Lopez Pacheco, marquis de Villena, and duke of Escalona, resolved that it should be again attempted at his majesty's expence. But in order to proceed with greater circumspection than had been hitherto observed, he sent directions to don Luis Cestin de Canas, governor of Cinaloa, that as his province lay opposite to California, he should, with the soldiers of his garrison, pass over and take a survey of its coasts, islands, bays, creeks, and the disposition and nature of the ground; at the same time he desired father Luis de Bonifaz, provincial of the jesuits, to recommend an able person of that order, to accompany him; and he very justly recommended father Jacinto Cortes, a missionary in the said province of Cinaloa. There would
have

have been little occasion for this preparatory survey, after so many others which had been continually making for above a century, had the reports, narratives, charts, draughts, and maps, which were made, or should have been made, by so many discoveries, still continued in being. But these are the effects of the want of proper care in preserving papers, a fault to be regretted by persons in power, to whom they would be of service in the conduct of affairs, and by private persons, on account of their interest, or as entertainments of a commendable curiosity. Another cause of their want of such documents, is the neglecting to render common and publick, by means of the press, every thing which now and in future times, may be useful to religion and the state. But by the loss of some papers, either through a change in the government, or irregularity in the records, the whole advantage of an expedition is lost; so that often the expences must be renewed, or the dispositions faulty, for want of those lights which might always be at hand, without any other cost, than that of a just regard to posterity. At last the survey was made, in the month of July 1642, as appears from father Cortes's letter, in which he acquaints the father provincial, that from Cinaloa they went to some islands, to which they gave the name of San Joseph, and that the inhabitants received

received them with pleasure, as being friends of the Spaniards, who came thither to dive for pearls; because they protected them from the Guicuros, their enemies, who lived on the continent. From thence, says father Cortes, we coasted along the shore, forty leagues westward to la Paz. He confirms the accounts of the pearls, the poverty of the natives, and their good dispositions for embracing the faith. He also touches upon their customs, and the extent of the coast, concluding with a request, that should a door be opened for the gospel among these unhappy creatures, he may be appointed missionary to them. The governor likewise sent his report to the viceroy, which he accompanied with pearls, collected in this expedition.

It was now out of the viceroy's power to issue the orders he could have wished, in consequence of this account, being at that juncture succeeded in the government, by don Juan de Palafox and Mendoza bishop de los Angeles, the marquis having been displaced, from some ill-grounded suspicions of his loyalty, fomented by malicious informations. The marquis returned to Spain, where he honourably cleared himself of the slander, which God at length caused to fall on the heads of its authors. And he might have returned to Mexico, as the offer was made him by Philip IV. had he not preferred the viceroyship

ship of Sicily, which at that time also, stood in need of a man of the marquis's abilities. However, he was so far from forgetting the conquest of California, that it was owing to his representations to the king, that now more numerous and effectual preparatives were making for it than ever. The admiral don Pedro Portel de Casanate, was ordered without delay, to go from Spain to Mexico, with full power and necessaries to equip a fleet, and make settlements in California. Also to do whatever he thought would conduce to bring those people into the bosom of the church, and to secure the coasts, as dominions of his majesty, for the safety of the commerce and navigation of his subjects. The admiral reached New Spain at the end of the year 1643, and the new viceroy don Garcia Sarmiento and Sotomayor count de Salva-Terra, agreeably to the royal orders assisted him in the armament; and jointly with the admiral, conferred the spiritual government of the squadron and of California, on the reverend father of the jesuits, in a letter written to the provincial father Luis de Bonifaz, which I with pleasure insert here, as a memorial both of the piety and and courtesy of this excellent viceroy.

“ Most reverend father provincial, his majesty, whom God preserve, has been pleased to commit the discovery of California, to the care
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and diligence of don Pedro de Cassanate, an affair which many have attempted, without thoroughly accomplishing it: and as the consummate experience of this gentleman, in sea affairs, together with his other abilities, give the most certain hopes of the desired effect from his voyage and endeavours, particularly as he carries with him some fathers of your respectable company, which gives me great pleasure: and I prophecy the most happy successes. I should therefore esteem it an obligation, if your paternal reverence would condescend to assist him on all occasions. And that you will be pleased to order the like to be done in all the houses and missions under your superintendance, as is agreeable to the service of God and his majesty. And your paternal reverence knows, that you may command me in any thing within my power. I conclude with requesting you to second this affair, and do all possible good offices to admiral Cassanate, October 13th 1643.

The provincial, equally complaisant, acknowledged both to the viceroy and the admiral, how greatly he approved of their choice, in so glorious an expedition, making at the same time, a tender of his own person, and all dependant on him; and on the 15th of October, sent suitable instructions and orders, nominating the father Jacinto Cortes and Andres Baes, missionaries

missionaries of Cinaloa, to accompany the admiral in the descent. The active Cassanate went over to the ports on the South sea, to hasten the equipment of the ships, and in 1644, sailed with them for the coast of Cinaloa, where he was to take in the missionaries, with some men and provisions. Being come to Cinaloa, where every thing seemed to promise, that now the conquest could not fail of being compleated, he received an account that some English and Dutch privateers had appeared in those seas, to intercept the Acapulco ship, with orders to sail immediately to the South sea, in order to meet with, and conduct her into port. This service he happily performed: but while, he was again preparing to sail on his principal design, some malicious persons set two of his ships on fire. And thus he saw himself under a necessity of suspending the enterprize. This misfortune, however, did not discourage the admiral, who ordered two others to be built on the coast of Cinaloa; and in the year 1648, sailed with them, accompanied by the two jesuits. He took a very careful survey of the eastern coast of the gulf, with a view of finding a proper place for fixing the principal garrison; but he found himself surrounded with the same difficulties, as had so often rendered the attempt abortive, the dryness and sterility of the country.

try. And while he was steering from coast to coast, and from bay to bay, he received a second order to meet the Philippine or Acapulco ship, which was always in danger from enemies, who, not content with insulting the dominions of the Spanish monarchy, under its then unhappy state of diminution, weakness, and total loss of reputation, molested the little commerce it had in these seas, which its subjects had discovered with so much glory, above a century past. The admiral a second time brought the ship safe into Acapulco; and from thence went to lay before the viceroy, the difficulties attending the conquest of California, which for that time was laid aside; and shortly after, this deserving officer was promoted to the government of the exuberant, but poor kingdom of Chili.

Philip IV. however, a little before his death, which happened on the 17th of September 1665, had ordered the reduction of California to be again completed. And the person nominated to put this order in execution, was don Bernardo Bernal de Pinadero, but under certain conditions, both the treasury and nation being exhausted, notwithstanding the importation of so many millions, which had only served to enrich the other parts of Europe. But Mexico labouring under that fatal languor, which had

pervaded the whole body of the Spanish monarchy, two small vessels, built in the Valle de Venederas, were not ready for the expedition till the year 1664, when the voyage took place, and the ships being arrived at California, their whole care and employment was to purchase and fish for pearls; compelling with the most barbarous violence, the poor Californians to comply with their demands. As this avarice and cruelty little contributed to the capital intention of their voyage, so it became, in some measure, its own punishment; for the quarrels among the Spaniards, with regard to the riches they had found, were carried to such extremity that several were killed and wounded, and the admiral, to avoid farther confusion, having procured a large quantity of pearls, returned to New Spain. He however met with a cold reception from the government, and the affair having been debated in the council of the Indies, the queen mother, then regent, during the minority of Charles II. sent orders, that admiral Pinadero should be obliged, conformable to the treaty made with the king, to attempt another descent. The admiral was not averse to this, and accordingly in two ships built at Chacala, he sailed on another expedition in the year 1667. Father Kino mentions it, but all he says, is, that it miscarried like all the former.

Nor

Nor was fortune more favourable to captain Francisco Luzenilla, who, in the following year 1668, obtained a licence for an expedition at his own expence, with two ships accompanied by two Franciscans, Juan Cavallero Carranco, and Juan Baptista Ramirez. He arrived at cape San Lucas, and proceeded to make a settlement at Puerto de la Paz, where the religious employed their zeal for the conversion of the natives; but the difficulties were insuperable, so that the captain was obliged to abandon his new settlement. He next sailed to a bay near the river Hiaqui: from whence the religious, that their mission might not be entirely fruitless, penetrated up the country as far as the province of Nayaret, where they spent some time in propagating the christian religion among its savage inhabitants; the care of whom, the society of jesuits undertook some years after.

S E C T. V.

The last expeditions to CALIFORNIA, till the end of the reign of Charles II.

During the first year of the reign and minority of Charles II. no other expeditions were undertaken to California than those we have already mentioned; but the inhabitants of the

coast of Culiacan, Cinaloa, Yaqui, Mayo, and New Biscay, were continually going over in little barks, to the eastern coast, to procure pearls, either by barter or fishing. In the mean time, the necessity of making a settlement on the coast of California, after a long deliberation in the council of the Indies, was determined, and instructions sent on the 26th of February 1677, to don Francis Payo Enriquez de Rivera, archbishop of Mexico, and viceroy of New Spain, that admiral Pinadero should be again employed in the conquest of that country, on his giving security for performing all the articles that should be agreed on: and that if he declined it, the offer should be made to any person that would undertake it at his own expence: and lastly, if no other method could be discovered, it should be done at the expence of the crown. The enterprize fell to admiral don Isidro Otondo and Antillon, who signed an instrument for that purpose in December 1678, and which was approved at Madrid, by a warrant of the 29th of December 1679, conferring the spiritual government on the jesuits, and father Eusebio Francisco Kino. On the receipt of his majesty's approbation, the admiral began his preparations, and put to sea from Chacala, on the 18th of May 1683, above six years since his majesty's first warrant: and in

fourteen days came to Puerto de la Paz. He had with him two ships, very well provided with all kinds of stores, and above one hundred men, three of whom were father Kino as superior of the mission, and the fathers Juan Baptista Copart, and Pedro Matthias Goni. They were to be followed by a bilander, with provisions and other stores; but after several disappointments, she wandered a long time about the gulf, without ever getting sight of the ships.

The admiral and his men continued aboard five days, without seeing any Indians as they expected, on which, at last they landed; but on their beginning to form a garrison, they discovered the natives armed, and disfigured with variety of colours, to strike the greater terror; but seeing a large number of people, they halted and made threatening gestures; intimating that the Spaniards should quit the coast. This proceeded from the abuses their good nature had suffered from other Spaniards, who had landed there. The soldiers drew up, and the missionaries went without any attendants towards them, with a great number of little presents, and some provisions, intimating by signs, that they came peaceably. They gave them the presents, which the Indians threw on the ground. But while the fathers were returning, the Indians began to eat what they had at first thrown

away with disdain, and immediately hastened after the fathers, begging for more; and even without any fear or suspicion, followed them into the garrison among the soldiers, where they were so kindly entertained, that they went away to their rancherias highly pleased, so tractable and unsuspecting are all these poor Indians in general. The like happened to another company of them, which came two days after to the Spanish camp, and were kindly entertained by admiral Otondo, who came to shew them an experiment of the force of fire-arms, desiring eight of the most robust of them, to shoot their arrows against one of the leathern targets which the soldiers carried: which they did, but could not penetrate it. Whereas a musket ball fired off before them, made its way through three targets placed close together. At this, they showed the greatest astonishment. It also inspired them with such terror, that the Spaniards were under little apprehensions of any insults. A church was immediately raised, together with some huts, composed of branches of trees. And the admiral having sent a vessel to Rio Hiaqui for provisions, began to send parties up the country.

The first directed their way to the south west of la Paz, as the Indians called Guaycuros came down from thence to the garrison, but
always

always armed, and never bringing with them their wives or children. And at length became so tired of their guests, that they more than once ordered them to be gone, and leave their country. But notwithstanding this, the admiral with don Francisco Pereda, captain of the admiral's ship and other officers, together with father Kino and Joseph de Gujosa, went up the country escorted by a party of twenty-five soldiers, some labourers going before, to make a way through the forest, the paths being only passable by the naked Indians. After marching seven leagues with great difficulty, they came to a plain, on which they saw rancherias of the Indians, who immediately endeavoured to conceal their wives and children: and in order to this, some of them came out to receive the Spaniards and amuse them, telling them that the aguage or watering place was not there; but when their families were secured, they would show it. The Spaniards spent the night there, regaling the Indians, and shewing them all possible marks of kindness. But they still kept their weapons in their hands, nor did the christians forget the precautions, necessary to be observed in an enemy's country. The next day, seeing the impossibility of going further up the country, on account of its ruggedness, and the want of water and provisions, the party re-

turned to the garrison. It was apprehended, that nothing but the fear of those Indians who had behaved peaceably towards us, restrained these from falling upon our men. The grounds for this suspicion were, a caution they used, when they saw the Spaniards at their rancherias, having secretly sent twelve of the swiftest, with a captain to the garrison; from whence they returned in a few hours, and very fortunately, without any cause of complaint from the commander, or any of his company. The second company went towards the East, headed by father Goni, but with much more fatigue and danger, this part being fuller of rocks and precipices. In a narrow valley they found another nation of Indians, called Coras, very mild and communicative. And after some reciprocal marks of kindness, they frequently came to the garrison, and with so little suspicion, that they often lay among the soldiers.

The Guaycuros were of as different a disposition, openly shewing their discontent. And went so far as to threaten our men, that if they did not leave their country, their whole nation would unite to extirpate them. The Spaniards bore these insults patiently, hoping by a courteous behaviour, to inspire them with better sentiments, and overcome the opposition they made against a settlement. But at last on the

6th of June, they came on a sudden divided into two companies, and after calling out to the Spaniards to be gone, they attacked the intrenchments. These were on the point of discharging a paderero, which would certainly have killed several of them, but happily observed that the admiral was advanced beyond the lines: and indeed with an intrepidity which astonished his men, he hastened up to the most advanced company, and speaking to the captain in a loud fierce manner, accompanied with gestures of resentment, the Indian leader was quite confounded, and the two troops quietly returned to their rancherias. At this the Guaycuros began again to frequent the garrison, though always with some apprehension. But a singular accident of no great importance, and a false account too easily believed, occasioned a very unhappy rupture.

A mulatto boy belonging to the camp, being missing, it was at first believed, that he had withdrawn himself among some of the Guaycuros, in order to remain with them. In a little time a report, the rise of which was never known, spread itself among the soldiers and the people of the garrison, that the Guaycuros had murdered the boy. And this report was the more easily believed and magnified, from the fear which many had of the Guaycuros; and it was

was said that some of the Coras knew it to be fact. The misfortune was, that not one person understood the Guaycuros language; and only one soldier had a slight knowledge of that of the Coras. The admiral judging it would be dangerous to suffer such audacious attempts, ordered when the Guaycuros came to the garrison, that their captain should be confined. This the Indians so highly resented, that the following days they came in several companies to demand his liberty; insisting at the same time, with many menaces, that the Spaniards should leave their country. But seeing that all their measures had no effect, they determined to unite their forces, and fall upon the Spaniards unexpectedly. This resolution being formed, they invited the Coras, though their enemies, to join in a cause, which they represented as common to both nations. But the Coras, though they offered their assistance, chose rather to be faithful to the Spaniards, on whose assistance against the Guaycuros, they placed great confidence, than deprive themselves of so unexpected a protection, against the frequent depredations and violences of the Guaycuros. And accordingly, by means of this soldier, they informed them of the plot, and the blow intended to be given them on the 1st of July. The admiral ordered the centries to be doubled; a
paderero

paderero to be placed on the side where the Indians used to come down, and the people acquainted with their bloody design. But such was the alarm and dejection, that he well understood he had not with him many of those brave men, who had subdued America. The garrison was struck with consternation; and whatever the admiral, captains, and the fathers could say to animate the people, nothing was heard but cries and lamentations, as if they were every one to fall victims to the rage of the Indians. This scandalous cowardice of his men, threw the admiral into greater perplexity, than if whole armies of Californians had appeared against them. The day appointed came, and the Indians shewed themselves to the number of fourteen or fifteen hundred, coming confusedly from the forest. They stopped on the acclivity, as if they waited for such of their companions as were not in sight: and our people concluded, that their intention was to draw them from the garrison, and attack them in the open field. But they remained quiet, and the Indians advanced towards the garrison. When they came within a proper distance, the paderero was fired, and killed ten or twelve, besides wounding others, so that they immediately, together with those who lay concealed in the forest, fled precipitately to their rancherias.

Providence,

Providence, however, permitted that this ill advised resolution of the admiral, or the leading men in his Squadron, should fall upon their own heads. For so far was the slaughter of these innocent Indians, from removing the consternation of the garrison, that it became a kind of pannick, from a notion that all the natives of California would fall upon them, and take a dreadful revenge for the death of their countrymen. Another cause of discontent, was, that they had already been three months in the bay; without any advantage to compensate for the great hardships they had suffered. Besides, of the little provisions remaining, the greatest part was damaged and rotten. The ship which had been sent for provisions to the river Hiaqui, though not above eighty leagues distant, not having been heard of for two months, was given over for lost. The discontent and affliction of many, grew to such a height, that they came like people in an agony, lamenting and calling to the admiral, that he would carry them from there, even though he left them in the neighbouring islands. The admiral might well have feared some plot against his person, had not a disagreeable experience made him easy on that account, for he well knew they wanted courage. He endeavoured to appease them by motives of honour, and hopes of relief from the other ship;

ship; but these making no impression, he found himself obliged to prepare for a reimbarcation; and left Puerto de la Paz, on the 14th of July. He staid some time among the neighbouring islands, with an intent of returning to la Paz, if the other ship and the bilander came in time. The ship had immediately on its arrival at Hiaqui, been supplied by the missionaries; and putting to sea, came three times in sight of California, without being able to reach the shore; and was three times obliged, amidst very stormy weather, to put back to the river Hiaqui. The third time they got intelligence by some pearl boats, that the admiral was sailing for cape San Lucas, on which they endeavoured to meet him. From this cape, the admiral resolved to return to Cinaloa for a supply of provisions, and to attempt a second landing in a higher latitude, where he was informed the country was more convenient, and the Indians of a more friendly disposition.

Accordingly, having in Hiaqui harbour sold a great part of his effects, and even pledged his plate and furniture, in order to purchase stores, he sailed again for California; and, on the 6th of October, came to an anchor in twenty-six degrees and half latitude, in a large bay, which he called San Bruno, being the anniversary festival of that saint. The very same day,

day, with three missionaries and some soldiers, he went in quest of water, which he found at the distance of half a league; so that the situation being approved of, and the Indians tractable and friendly, on the third day a garrison was formed, and immediately a church with some cottages were began. He now dispatched the smaller ships for provisions and letters to the viceroy; giving him an account of his proceedings, and desiring a supply of money, both which he obtained, and again took possession of California, in his majesty's name, with the usual ceremonies, an act often performed with more pomp than advantage. After these ceremonies, and being attended by the fathers, he made his first progress up the country, in December of the same year 1683, to beyond twenty-five degrees westward; treating all the Indians as he met, with the utmost kindness, and inviting them to the garrison. The second progress was towards the same quarter, but with a design of reaching the opposite coast on the South sea. After three days travelling, they came to a mountain which they were obliged to ascend on foot, with great fatigue. On the summit they found a wide plain, several leagues in extent, and on it some rancherias, which had been forsaken by the natives. Near a pond of rain water, they were met by seven-
teen

teen Indians, who, in token of their peaceable intentions, threw away their bows and arrows. The missionaries, by signs and some words they had already learned of their language, paid them their compliments, and invited them to the garrison of San Bruno. They enquired of them the distance to the South sea; and were informed that not far off was a small river running into it. But though they went forward, along a very rugged country, from mountain to mountain, they were still disappointed with regard to discovering the South sea; and were obliged to return to the garrison, after a very toilsome journey of fifty leagues, by unavoidable circumvolutions, in a country full of precipices, and without any known road. For the distance betwixt sea and sea, in a direct line, is not less than 50 leagues.

In these and the like landings and progresses, the admiral spent above a year, the fathers in the mean time, diligently applied themselves to learn the two languages which are spoken in that country. When they had attained a tolerable knowledge of these tongues, they translated into it the chief articles of the christian doctrine. But what put them to the greatest trouble in this, was, to find some Indian words to express this article, he arose from the dead. Here it was necessary to have recourse to invention,

vention, of which necessity is justly filed the mother: and according to father Kino's letter, to his master father Henry Scherer, it was the following. They took some flies, and in presence of the Indians, put them under water that they were thought to be dead: but on placing them among some ashes, and exposing them to the rays of the sun, the vital faculties of the flies were recovered, and soon came again to life. The Indians in a rapture of astonishment, cried out, Ibimuhuite! Ibimuhuite! These words the fathers wrote down, and making further enquiry, they applied it to import the resurrection of our Saviour, and of the dead, being in want of a better word for explaining our mysteries to these people. Having now drawn up a catechism, they applied themselves entirely to the instruction of the Indians, especially the children. They soon, by the help of several inventives, learned the heads of our doctrine, in their own language, and in Spanish; and every day kneeling, and with their hands joined, they repeated it in the form of a prayer with the fathers. From being scholars, they became the masters of their parents and relations; and though of an age, naturally improper for such an office, they proved successful catechists. By these means, seconded with the indefatigable labour of the fathers, they had the pleasure of

of seeing in that year above four hundred adult catechumens prepared for baptism. But the fathers, who were always fearful for the success of the enterprise, did not baptize any, unless at the point of death. Thirteen according to father Kino, were baptized in this manner, three of whom recovered; and with the consent of their parents, the admiral brought them away, and delivered them to the bishop of Guadalaxara, who received them with the greatest marks of affection. The fathers were pleasing themselves with the docility of the Indians, and their willingness to embrace the tenets of the christian religion; but the admiral was far from finding the same satisfaction in the country, of which he had received such promising information; for experience had convinced him, that it would be very difficult to maintain a settlement in that place. He therefore gave orders to the captain of his least ship, to take a careful survey of the coast on the north side, in order to find out a more convenient situation; accordingly he went among the Indians, who dive for pearls, the placers or pearl beds being much scarcer in this place than in la Paz, using all possible expedition in the execution of these orders; both on account of the dispatches, received from the viceroy, requiring an account of his proceedings, and likewise a representation delivered to him

by the foldiers, and figned with their names, fetting forth their hardfhips and fickneffes, occafioned by the bad quality of the foil and climate. In order to comply with both, he called a council of the officers and miffionaries, and requiring that each fhould fign his opinion, that of the majority of the officers, was for quitting the garrifon of San Bruno, as an unwholfome barren country. The fathers moved for ftaying fome time: for no rain having fallen for eighteen months, a competent judgment could not be formed of the country, from the time they had continued there. The admiral to thefe opinions, added his own, informing the viceroy likewife, of the inftructions he had given to the Capitana or fmaller fhip; and of what he intended to do. The fick were put on board a fhip, and with them he failed to the coaft of Cinaloa, fending away a packet to the viceroy; and having again furnifhed his fhip, went on the difcovery of pearl beds; till in September 1685, being in the harbour of San Ignatio, he received the refolution, taken by the viceroy in a general council, by which he was ordered, that after fuch vaft expences, he fhould not attempt a fettlement in any other part; only taking care, if poffible, to maintain what he had conquered, and wait the future refult of the difcoveries. The Capitana,
not

not finding what she was sent in quest of, after great difficulties returned to San Bruno. Not long before the admiral had put into this harbour, but in a few days, the garrison wanting provisions, and the obstructions to that settlement, of which he was so very desirous, being unsurmountable, he embarked all the people, together with the missionaries and the three Californians, and sailed to the harbour of Matanchel, whence he sent advice to the viceroy of his arrival. Here he received orders to put to sea immediately, and take under his convoy the Philippine ship, which he fortunately met with two or three days after he had sailed, and brought her safe to Acapulco, to the disappointment of some Dutch privateers, who were waiting for her along the coast of Navidad.

Hence he went to Mexico, where he gave an account to the viceroy, and the ministry, of the several observations, discoveries, and incidents, in his fruitless expedition; in which, besides the waste of three years, were expended two hundred and twenty-five thousand crowns of the royal revenue. The viceroy gave orders for the examination of the whole affair, in a general council; and after a mature deliberation on all the difficulties, it was resolved, that the conquest of California was impracticable by those means; that however, the reduction of

it, should be recommended to the society of the jesuits, with an offer of the necessary sums, to be paid annually out of the king's treasury. Accordingly in the council, held on the 11th of April 1686, the treasurer of the audience, admiral Otondo and father Kino, were ordered to make an estimate of the necessary sums, and that the said treasurer, should go with the proposal to father Daniel Angelo Marras, vice-provincial; father Bernabé de Soto the provincial, being absent on the visitation. The treasurer delivered a draught of the offer to father Marres, who with the unanimous opinion of the chapter, convened on the occasion, answered, that the society entertained the most grateful sense of the honour done them in that confidence; but saw very great inconveniences in taking upon themselves the temporal concerns of such a conquest in the manner expressed; yet should be always ready to supply necessary missionaries, as they had done in the preceding expeditions. The treasurer, pursuant to fresh orders from the council, repeated his instances; but the society could not be brought to recede from their first opinion.

On this disappointment, the royal council were so persuaded of the impracticability of the conquest by the usual means, that the petition of captain Francisco Luzenilla, for licence to attempt

attempt it at his own expence, with a small allowance from the king, was rejected. However, the difficulty added new ardour and desire for the enterprife. The same political and religious motives subsisted, and fresh orders and proofs of the king's pleasure, came over from Spain. Thus after an exact calculation of the expences, it was found that it would require no less than thirty thousand crowns per annum, the treasurer affirming in his memorial of the 14th of March, that this expence was unavoidable, the calculation having been made with all possible frugality. Accordingly the said sum was ordered to be advanced to admiral Otondo, to enable him to make a third attempt. Thus the concerns of the conquest were now as it were received, when in the very week that the monies were to be paid to the admiral, letters came from Spain, in which the king required five hundred thousand crowns, though raised by loan, together with a schedule of the 22d of December 1685, directing that the enterprife to California should be laid aside, during the continuance of the war with the Tarrahumares. Thus a period was put to the expedition, and though the revolt of the Tarrahumares was soon after quelled, yet the conquest of California at the royal expence, was no longer thought of. Indeed in the year 1694, a licence

was granted to captain Francisco Itamarra, for making a descent at his own expence. But he had no better success than his predecessors, returning with an account, that the Indians of San Bruno and their neighbours, were very urgent for the missionaries to be sent them according to promise. Such was the issue of so many expeditions, carried on at such an immense charge, for the space of near two centuries.

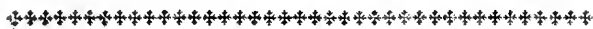
A

NATURAL and CIVIL

HISTORY

OF

CALIFORNIA.



PART III.

Reduction of CALIFORNIA by the
jesuits and their transactions, to the
present time.

SECT. I.

First entrance into CALIFORNIA, by father
Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra, in the year
1697.

WE have seen the ardour with which the
conquest of California was prosecuted,
for the space of two centuries,
since the discovery and conquest of New Spain;
and at the same time, the very little advantage
of such a series of expeditions. The great con-
queror Hernand Cortes, several times employed

on it, the whole force he could raise. His example stimulated many private persons; governors, admirals, and viceroys, embarked in it on their own bottoms. At last the kings of Spain themselves, took the scheme into their hands; yet all the result of such vast expences, such powerful efforts, was, that the reduction of California was given over as unsurmountable: and so indeed it was by the means made use of by men, but not by those which God had chosen. Arms and power were the means on which men relied, for the success of this enterprise. But it was the will of heaven, that this triumph should be owing to the meekness and courtesy of his ministers, to the humiliation of his cross, and the power of his word. God seemed only to wait till human force acknowledged its weakness, to display the strength of his Almighty arm, confounding the pride of the world, by means of the weakest instruments; possibly God was not pleased to countenance the first enterprises on California, whilst the capital object was temporal good, and religion only a secondary motive. And on the contrary, he prospered the design, when his kingdom was the motive, and the advantage of the monarchy only considered as a probable consequence.

The conferences at Mexico being broke up, and the door shut by the king's order, to all further
further

Further enterprizes on California, the fathers who had accompanied admiral Otondo, were distributed to other missions: yet continued full of solicitude for reaping that plentiful harvest, which they had seen in California, so ripe for the sickle of the gospel; particularly father Eusebio Francisco Kino, had the conquest very much at heart, and it did not appear so difficult to him as to others. This father, pursuant to a vow made at the point of death, to saint Francis Xavier, had quitted the professorship of mathematicks at Ingoldstadt, where he was honoured with particular favours from the electoral house of Bavaria, and come over to America. As he had proposed to himself this holy apostle for his model, he imitated his virtues, and all the other qualities of his seraphick mind. He had a heart equal to the greatest enterprizes: his zeal was indefatigable, the advancement of his faith was his chief thought: his capacity accommodated itself to all circumstances; and in all, he found resources beyond the reach of others. His consummate knowledge in the useful sciences, as they animated him to undertake, so they were of special use to him in the execution. His liberality and sweetness of manners, procured him an absolute ascendancy over the hearts of all; even the most savage were never known to revolt against his persuasions,

persuasions, which he delivered with such a mildness and cordiality, as gained him their entire confidence. It was a man like this, which the conquest of California required. However, though it was undertaken by his advice, and he supported it, yet he was not the person chosen by heaven; but another who very nearly resembled him in his fine qualities. Father Kino desired to be appointed for the missions of Sonora, hoping from that province, as contiguous to California, the gulf of which washes its coasts, to accomplish an entrance into it, and in process of time, the reduction of it.

With this view, he left Mexico the 20th of October 1686, and travelled all over the country, to inflame the minds of the missionary jesuits, with the most ardent desires of seconding so glorious an enterprise. He himself had asked permission of the father general for making this journey; and father Francisco Maria Piccolo, and father Francisco Xavier Saeta, who a little after had the happiness of suffering martyrdom at Pimeria, had also requested the like indulgence. About this time father Juan Maria Salva-Tierra, who for many years had distinguished himself as a missionary, in the province of Tarahumara, returned as visitant to the missions of Cinaloa and Sonora. In this last government, he was met by father Kino, on his entrance

entrance into the missions of Pimeria, adjacent to the pagan Apaches, which father Kino was enlarging with a success equal to his assiduity and labour. There could not be a more proper person than father Salva-Tierra, who came nearer to the ardour, sweetness, and benevolent disposition of father Kino; and he was the person whom God had chosen to be the apostle of California; and had furnished him in a very extraordinary manner, with all the talents necessary for such a difficult service. He was of a strong robust constitution, bearing fatigue and hardships without affecting his health. His judgment and prudence had recommended him to the unanimous approbation of the society, for the high post he had enjoyed. He was of the most endearing gentleness in discourse; had all the intrepidity and resolution, requisite for the beginning and conducting the greatest enterprises. The opinion of his wisdom and intellectual talents, had gained him universal esteem, which was heightened to veneration by his christian virtues. Such was the man whom heaven had formed a chosen vessel, for introducing christianity among the unhappy Californians. During the visitation, father Kino gave him a full account of the good disposition of the Californians, for receiving the faith: and of the means for giving a happy issue to an enterprise, in
which

which such efforts had been made during two centuries. This they talked of when they were travelling: it was the subject both of their publick and private conversations; and father Kino writes “ that the pious zeal of father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra was so moving, that he immediately determined to endeavour by all possible methods, to obtain admission into California.

And this was accordingly accomplished by father Salva-Tierra in the following year, though for the sake of brevity, we shall omit the particulars of the extraordinary services performed by him, for accomplishing this scheme. The society opposed the undertaking, and three provincials, Ambrosio, Oddon, Diego Almonacir, and Juan de Palacios, repeatedly refused him a licence, looking upon the enterprize as impossible. The audience of Guadalaxara, and the viceroy, also opposed it, the treasury being empty, and the affair of Otondo still recent. In fine, it was opposed by the court of Madrid, where father Salva-Tierra’s representations to his majesty, in his council of the Indies made no impression. In short, all the world declared against the designs of this religious man. At last, however, the difficulty seemed to be removed, and the fathers Salva-Tierra and Kino, came to Mexico on the 8th of January

nuary 1696; one from Guadalaxara, and the other from the center of the province of Pimeria, above five hundred leagues distant from the capital. Both came to solicit permission for going to California, and father Kino to desire the addition of some missionaries, to assist him in sowing the seed of the gospel, in the many nations he had visited in that remote province. They made the most strenuous representations, for licence and proper assistance in their enterprise to California: but it was all in vain, and they found themselves obliged to return, one to his mission of los Pinas, and the other to the care of his novices at Tepotzotlan.

But father Salva-Tierra, was not intimidated by these powerful oppositions, he a second time petitioned for the father general's licence, to undertake this mission. That office was then filled by father Tyrso Gonzales de Santa-Ella, whose learning and writings had done honour to the university of Salamanca, and his missions, which comprehended the whole kingdom, had been attended with amazing benefits. In the conversion of the Moors, he had laboured with an unparalleled success: and animated by the same ardour, he promoted the missions to the utmost of his power, and came to America very seasonably to relieve father Salva-Tierra from any farther labour, if the conquest
of

of California, was judged practicable at Mexico. This licence arrived soon after the father had left Mexico, where after a long opposition, his superiors allowed him to make new preparatives for the enterprize. The audience of Guadalaxara, now saw things in a very different light; and espoused his designs with such vigour, that the solicitor don Joseph de Miranda Villizan, a man of uncommon parts, became his most active friend, assisting the father in every thing, and acted as his faithful correspondent: This solicitor on the 16th of July 1696, strongly petitioned the audience, proving that the expedition deserved their encouragement; accordingly it was ordered that a letter should be sent to the viceroy, recommending it to his protection. The difficulties however, which still remained very great, but not able to were stagger father *Salva-Tierra*.

In the beginning of the year 1697, father *Salva-Tierra* came from Tepotzotlan to Mexico, being now authorized by the superiors of his order, to raise collections for beginning a work, in which the fleets and treasures of kings had failed. Here he met with a valuable companion in father Juan Ugarte, professor of philosophy in that college. This father likewise had the conquest very much at heart, and among other talents, he was possessed of a singular address,

addresses, in the management of temporal affairs, and bringing them to the most happy issue. But as this conquest of California was not to be undertaken, without having in Mexico an agent by whose prudence and attention, any sudden difficulties might be removed, and who would take care to collect and send succours from time to time, to the persons engaged in it; father Ugarte undertook this office, and performed it with such sedulity, that though he resided at Mexico, he insured the success of father Salva-Tierra's expedition to California.

Soon after, don Alonso Davalos, count de Mira Vallez, and don Mattheo Fernandez de la Cruz, marquis de Buena-Vista, promised the society two thousand dollars, and the liberalities of other benefactors, amounted to fifteen thousand. Don Pedro de la Sierpe, treasurer of Acapulco, offered to lend a galliot for carrying them over, adding a long boat, as a gift. But as the conquest was still on no sure foundation for want of funds to produce an annual revenue, the congregation of the Nuestra Senora de los Dolores of Mexico, founded in the college of faint Peter and faint Paul, gave eight thousand dollars, as a fund for one mission, to which they afterwards added two thousand more, an annual income of five hundred dollars being computed the lowest that could be allowed each mission,

mission, as lying in a country, which besides being at a great distance, and on the side of the sea, was in want of every thing. Further don Juan Cavallero y Ozio, priest of the city of Queretaro, commissary of the inquisition, a man of great wealth, but of equal munificence, subscribed twenty thousand crowns, as a fund for two other missions, and assured father Salva-Tierra that he would honour whatever bills came to his hands signed by him. Such promising beginnings, animated the fathers to apply for a licence from the viceroy, count de Motezuma, a nobleman whose memory New-Spain ought never to forget. The father provincial Juan de Palacios, addressed him in a very elegant and judicious memorial. He met with great difficulties in the royal council, till after various representations, as nothing was here asked of the king, and that by the treasury books, admiral Otondo's expedition appeared to have cost his majesty two hundred and twenty-five thousand four hundred dollars, the licence was granted on the 5th of February 1627. The warrants were delivered to father Juan Maria Salva-Tierra, permitting and empowering himself and father Kino to make an entrance into California on two conditions: first not to waste any thing belonging to the crown, or draw on the treasury, without an express order

order from the king; and the second to take possession of the country in his majesty's name. The powers granted to them were the enlisting of soldiers at their own expence for their guard, appointing a commander, discharging him and the soldiers, notifying it at the same time to the viceroy: likewise that these should enjoy the usual immunities, and their services be accounted the same as in time of war: and lastly that the fathers might appoint proper persons for the administration of justice in the new conquest. Father Salva-Tierra now hastened his departure for Mexico, and leaving to father Ugarte the care of collecting and laying out the contributions, and sending vessels from Acapulco to the river Hiaqui; on the 7th of February he left that capital, taking with him the catechism and papers in father Copart's language; and on his arrival at Tepetzotlan, took his leave of his novices in the most pathetic manner, there having always been the most tender and mutual affection between them. At Guadalaxara he conferred with the audience and his liberal friend the solicitor Miranda, concerning his expedition. From hence he went on to Cinaloa; where he gave the necessary orders; and used the utmost diligence, though unhappily in vain, to find out the two christian Californians who had been

brought over by the admiral Otondo. They were still living; but concealed by the execrable avarice of a wretch who employed them in his farm: an incident of the most melancholy consequences. Here he sent for his chosen companion father Kino; but in the mean time took a journey for visiting his former residence in the mountains of Chinapas. He went up as far as Sierra of the Tarahumara, and as he was returning, pleased with the condition in which he had found these infant communities, was informed of the insurrection of the Indians of high Tarahumara. Immediately his mind was alarmed with the danger of the missionaries Nicolas de Prado, and Martin de Vinavides, under whose care this country then was, and who had no other defence than the fidelity of their new converts: he ventured to assist them, and with them went through a thousand dangers from the hands of the apostates, till the Spaniards of the neighbouring garrison came to their assistance. Here he staid till the middle of August; and in his return received advice that the galliot had been at Hiaqui for some time. He therefore quickened his march, and at Hiaqui was informed by captain Juan Antonio Romero de la Sierpe, that he had been seven months in his passage amidst variety of dangers and bad weather, rocks, and scarcity of provisions; as

likewise from the discontent of the ship's company, when they came to know that they were not going to California to fish for pearls, as they had imagined. He staid in this port two months, both to procure a fresh supply of provisions, those taken on board in New Galicia not being fit for use, wait for some soldiers which had been offered him, and likewise for father Kino whom he had sent for. The soldiers were hindered from coming by the insurrection of the Tarahumares. Father Kino immediately set out: but to his extreme concern was detained by father Horatio Police, the visitor, and don Domingo Gironza Petris de Crusat, chief magistrate of the province of Sonora, through fear that the like rebellion, would in so critical a juncture, spread itself among other nations. Father Francisco Maria Piccolo, was therefore nominated in his room: but father Salva-Tierra, apprehending new delays, determined to go to California without waiting for him. Accordingly he left the harbour of Hiaqui on the 10th of October, 1697. Father Salva-Tierra's military attendants, were as peculiarly devoted to this enterprise, and consisted of five soldiers with their commander; don Luis de Torres Tortolero, ensign, and first captain of the garrison of California, don Estevan Rodrigues Lorenzo,

who afterwards was many years a captain, Bartholomé de Robles Figueroa, a Creol of the province of Guadalaxara, Juan Caravana, a Maltese sailor, Nicolas Marques, a Sicilian sailor, and Juan, a Peruvian mulatto: besides whom were three Indians, Francisco de Tepahui of Cinaloa, Alonso de Guayavas of Sonora, and Sebastian of Guadalaxara.

With this small force the father sailed for California on the day above mentioned, in the galliot, taking with him the long boat, which soon became necessary; for the galliot had not got above half a league from the harbour, before a furious squall of wind came on and drove her ashore, where she stuck fast in the sand, and to all appearance there was little hope of safety. However by the help of the long boat, and the skill of the seamen, she floated with the flood, and was soon out of danger. On the 3d day they made California; but the long boat being separated from the galliot, and at a loss what coast to steer, they touched at Conception bay, 30 leagues northward of Loretto. They also took a view of the bay of San Bruno, where Otondo had pitched his camp: but this was not approved of, as being far from the sea, and affording only brackish water, especially as Juan Antonio Romere de la Sierpe, captain of the galliot, had offered to shew them a much
more

more convenient place, which he had seen in Otondo's expedition. This was in the bay of San Dionysio ten leagues south of San Bruno, where the coast forms itself into the shape of a half moon near five leagues from point to point. The country near it was covered with trees and other verdure, with a sufficiency of fresh water not far from the shore. Here they arrived and landed on Saturday the 19th of October, and were received with great joy and affection by above 50 Indians of the neighbouring rancheria, and others from San Bruno. A convenient spot near a watering place, about a league and a half from the shore was chosen for an encampment: the provisions and animals were landed together with the baggage. The father, though the head of the expedition, being the first to load his shoulders. The barracks for the little garrison were now built, and a line of circumvallation thrown up: in the center a tent was pitched for a temporary chapel. Before it was erected a crucifix with a garland of flowers; and every thing being disposed in the best manner possible, the image of our lady of Loretto, as patroness of the conquest, was brought in procession from the galliot, and placed with proper solemnity. Immediately afterwards, on the 25th of October, of the same year 1697, possession was taken of the country in his ma-

jefty's name. Father Salva-Tierra now applied himself to learn the language and instruct the Indians, appointing particular hours for this exercise, when the Indians came and repeated the prayers, and parts of the catechism which he read to them by means of father Copart's papers, after which, the father used to listen, and write down their discourse in order to learn the language. He talked to them and the Indians, and by that means corrected his mistakes in the words and pronunciation. He used several contrivances for the more speedy instructing the boys in the Spanish, though not without being laughed at by them, and the adults, for his wrong pronunciation; and their banter are attended with no little art and pleasantry. When all was over, he used to distribute with his own hands, among those who attended the exercises, an allowance of pozoli or boiled maiz. These particulars may possibly appear trifles not worth mentioning; but let me entreat the reader to try their value in the balance of reason. Let him reflect what an agreeable sight it must be even in the eyes of the divine Being himself, to see a man who might have acquired a large fortune by a secular employment, and had even lived in quiet and esteem within the order he had chosen, voluntarily banish himself from his country and relations,

tions, to visit America; and when there, resign his employments, and leave a tranquil life for disappointments and fatigues: to live among savages, amidst distress and continual dangers of death, without any other motive, than to employ himself in such low and obscure actions, for the conversion of the Indians. At least, let every one ask himself, whether any worldly interest whatever, could induce him to such a resolution? and he will easily be convinced of the importance and dignity which these actions, so contemptible in the eyes of mortals, receive from the sublimity of the motives.

S E C T. II.

Various incidents till the entrance of father Francis Maria Piccolo, into CALIFORNIA.

This small garrison being now something settled, father Salva-Tierra sent the galliot to the river Hiaqui, to bring father Piccolo with some soldiers and provisions, having ordered the captain to look out by the way for the long-boat. The galliot left San Dionysio, on the 26th day of October, and in the mean time, the active father remained in the garrison, performing the duty, not only of a missionary and father of a family, but likewise of officer and soldier; issuing proper orders, and at the most

inconvenient hours standing centinel, the necessity of which soon appeared: for the Indians liking the pozoli, or boiled maiz, and desiring that a larger allowance than usual, which was half a bushel a day, should be given them, though they did not come to the catechism, broke out into complaints, and though every gentle method was tried to satisfy them, they proceeded to pilfer among the sacks. Thus there was a necessity for keeping them from the garrison, and accordingly some precautions were taken. This inflamed at once their appetite and resentment: and at length depending on the great superiority of their numbers, determined to make themselves masters of the whole, by killing the father and the Spaniards. Some of better dispositions, reproached their countrymen for such ingratitude and brutality, but this had little effect. However, before breaking out into an open war, they fell upon the few goats and cattle which had been brought over, whilst they were feeding in a kind of a close, which had been made for that purpose, and by their motions, seemed to design an assault on the camp. The father, though acquainted with their fickleness, did not discontinue his usual exercises, and the distribution of the pozoli. The night of the 31st of October had been pitched on for a general assault. This resolution the father

was informed of by an Indian casique, who, being sick, had requested to be baptized, and was the first who received that sacred initiation. The father could not help being under great apprehensions, though he hoped every thing from providence, who he knew, in some extraordinary manner, would work his deliverance. At midnight they heard a musket shot, which was answered by another from the camp. Immediately after, a paderero was fired from the sea. The camp also fired another, which had been left by the captain of the galliot. On which, the Indians of the nearest rancheria and others, who were coming to the attack, were seized with a terrible pannick : for our men thinking it was the long-boat that was lost, called out by means of some Indian friend, who was among them, that they were Spaniards coming to their assistance. In the morning, they saw a vessel near the neighbouring island del Carmen, but instead of standing in for the shore, made for the island of Coronados : on which, a seaman was sent off on a bargilla or small raft, who brought a note from don Juan, the captain of the galliot, the contents of which was, that having been on the other coast, six leagues to leeward of Hiaqui, the bad weather had obliged him to come over to the coast of California, to get to windward, for continuing his voyage.

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The ship, which checked the Indians, being out of sight, they reassumed their former bloody purposes, inviting, as to a banquet of slaughter and plunder, most of the branches of their nation, that called the Lauretana, Liyues, Monquis, Didyus, Laymones, and some of the southern Edues. Their insolences occasioned the Spaniards to come to some skirmishes with them, in which they did them as little damage as possible, but at the same time took care to make them feel how dangerous any formal attempt against them, would prove. Father Salva-Tierra calmly endeavoured to prevent any farther cause of complaint, not forgetting the necessary precautions against any disagreeable event. But in this uncertain state of diffidence, a small incident occasioned a declared rupture. One night in November, the Laymones, taking the advantage of the darkness, came to the camp, loosened the only horse which father Salva-Tierra had been able to bring with him, and carried it off to eat. The creature being missing in the morning, Estevan Rodrigues and Juan Caravana, boldly offered to track it, till they discovered the enemy. It seemed rashness, as indeed it was, for two men to go alone in an unknown country, and also that of an enemy, in order to punish them. On the other hand, besides the necessity, if possible,

sible, of recovering the horse, it was a prudent measure, the Indians, as I have before observed, always grow dispirited, when they find they are opposed by a courageous enemy : and where they perceive any signs of fear, they little doubt of the victory. Some Indians, who were friends, had come to the camp, and admiring this brave resolution of the two men, and fired with indignation at the injury done by their countrymen, offered to accompany them. Accordingly, they all marched up the country, and arriving at the summit of a mountain two leagues distant, they perceived on the skirts of it, the gang of robbers skinning the horse : but at the sight of the Spaniards and their party, they betook themselves to flight, and left it whole. The soldiers having distributed the horse among their Indian friends, who received it as the greatest dainty, they all returned to the camp. After this, the whole thoughts of the malecontents were turned, on making dispositions for assaulting us at a proper opportunity, though such was the stupidity of the greatest part of them, that they continued coming to the camp under pretence of being catechised, to eat the pozoli, trusting in the father's patience, who in vain increased his diligence and kindness to them. The fatigue of being obliged to keep continual watch, became intolerable to such a handful

handful of men. In the day they were exposed to the parching heat of the sun, and in the night to the rains, which were heavy, no shelter against them having been provided in New Spain, from a belief founded on the continual drought during Otondo's entrance, that it never rained in California.

At length the insolence and hatred of the Indians increasing every day, and their wicked designs being evident, from several accidents of less importance, on the 13th of November, being the festival of saint Stanislaus Kosca, the Indians of the four nations or branches met, in order to strike the decisive blow.

That they might fall upon our people at a disadvantage, some of them came to the camp about noon whilst they were eating; the centinel was for keeping them off, but to no purpose, and one of the boldest closed with him, and took away the staff, which served him for a halbert. On the centinel's calling out, Tortolero run up, and wrested the staff from the Indian; an act of boldness, which struck the company so, that they retreated; but soon after, our men were alarmed with the outcries of the Indian Alonso de Tepahui, who kept the few hogs and sheep, in a valley overgrown with rushes and flags, and who was assaulted by another party; however by immediate assistance,

sistance, the creatures were brought safe within the camp. This attempt was succeeded by a shower of stones and arrows from five hundred Indians, who came up divided into four companies, that they might attack the camp on each side. One only of the friendly Californians remained within the camp, where the little garrison, consisting only of ten men, was obliged to divide itself on all the four sides. Tortolero, who acted as captain, chose the most dangerous post, which faced the lower part of the valley, together with Bartholomew de Robles; the opposite side was defended by the Indian Alonso de Tephui, and Juan the mulatto of Peru; on that side which looked toward the shore, stood the Indian Marcos Guazavas, a man of great boldness and activity. On the remaining side was Estevan Rodrigues a Portuguese. Juan Caravana, the Maltese, who had served in the Philippine ship, had the care of the paderero, which was placed at the gate of the camp; and not far from him was posted Nicholas Marques a Sicilian, who likewise had some knowledge of gunnery, that he might be nearer at hand to assist him. The father and Sebastian his Indian, remained in the center, in order to go where there should be most occasion. And now the companies of the four nations, began to advance with dreadful shout-

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ings and outcries, toward the four sides; but they were repulsed by the extraordinary vigour of our men, and with little loss to the assailants. Father Salva-Tierra having desired that they might not be fired upon so as to be killed, till matters came to the last extremity, they several times in a confused manner, renewed the action for two hours, without gaining any advantage, throwing stones and earth against the two sides of the trench; but unexpectedly the whole body retreated and the action ceased. Our people imagined that the enemy had repented of their injurious treatment, or gave over all hopes of gaining any advantage; but half an hour had not passed, when they returned to the assault with greater fury, and every company reinforced with fresh men. Now it was that our men, though they had performed prodigies of valour, found themselves so closely pressed; that the captain ordered Caravana to discharge the paderero, but this which was the chief hope for terrifying, by destroying the Indians, burst to pieces and flew about the camp, though providentially with no other damage, than knocking down the Maltese, so that for some time he remained senseless; and likewise without doing any execution among the Indians. This misfortune inspired the Indians with fresh courage, and the company against

against which it had been leveled sent notice to the others, that since the paderero did not kill, they might be sure that the little pieces would not. This they were persuaded of, as our people, by order of the father, fired in the air. The attack closed so on every side, that the captain thought it high time to give orders for firing on the enemy; yet this was, what even at such an extremity father Salva-Tierra could not bear, that running towards the most forward entreating, urging, threatening them that they would retire, and not rush on certain death. He was answered by three arrows shot at him, but which missed him. On this he withdrew, and the Indians on every side began to drop: though the dead and wounded amounted to no great number, as terrified with the effects of the firing, they soon betook themselves precipitately to their rancherias.

However the prudent apprehensions of a second attack, would not admit of our men to abate of their vigilance. But they soon perceived some messengers of peace approaching: the first was the Indian casique, who was permitted to come within the camp, and who with tears assured our men, that it was those of the neighbouring rancheria under him, who had first formed the plot, and on account of the paucity of their numbers, had spirited up the other nations;

tons ; adding, that those being irritated by the death of their companions, were for revenging them : but that both the one and the other, sincerely repented of their attempt. A little while after came the women with their children, mediating a peace as is the custom of the country. They sat down weeping at the gate of the camp with a thousand promises of amendment, and offering to give up their children as hostages for the performance. Father Salva-Tierra heard them with his usual mildness, shewing them the wickedness of the procedure ; and if their husbands would behave better, promised them peace, an amnesty, and a forgetfulness of all that was past : he also distributed among them several little presents, and to remove any mistrust they might have, he took one of the children in hostage, and thus they returned in high spirits to the rancherias. At night solemn thanks were returned to God, his most holy mother and St. Stanislaus, for his manifold favours. Indeed without a signal assistance of the God of armies, it seems impossible, that ten men got together from several parts, could have withstood the furious assaults of 500 savages. It was also observed, that most of the arrows stuck in the pedestal of the cross, whilst both it and the tent, which served for the chapel, were untouched.

untouched. When enquiry was made about the wounds received, it appeared, that of the ten amidst such showers of arrows only two had received any wounds: these were Tortolero and Figueroa; but their wounds were so slight as not to hinder their fighting: and they concealed them from the Indians, waiting till it was night before they made their case known to their companions. If there was here cause for pity, was there not likewise much greater for wonder. They adored the holy cross as the standard of faith; they sung ave to our lady as their captain, and unanimously determined to remain in that country; though as they apprehended the long-boat should be lost, and the galliot never return.

All the garrison that night rested, except the father Juan Maria: and in the morning as he was preparing to say a thanksgiving mass to Nuestra Sennora de Loretto, the centinel cried out a sail, a sail. This drew out all the company, and in a little time they perceived it to be the long-boat with provisions coming into the bay, and firing several guns; and the general joy was increased by the accounts on both sides. As to themselves the long boat's people said, that after losing sight of the galliot in the first voyage, they had for some time beat up and down to no purpose in quest of her, till it was

thought adviseable to return to the river Hiaqui. Concerning the galliot, they said she would soon be there with the remainder of the people and provisions; for having run a-ground on the coast of Hiaqui, father Diego Marquina, had on his knees entreated the Indians to assist in getting her off; which being done, she went into the harbour to repair and take in her cargo. Father Salva-Tierra, elevated by the victory, and this fresh supply, began to settle every thing; he reassumed his exercise of catechising, maiz was now again boiled for the neighbouring Indians, and the garrison's former friends, who one after another came to the camp with poor excuses; after a short reproof, in order to leave no suspicion on them, they were all used very kindly, had the same presents given them, and were treated with the most open affection. The conspirators of the neighbouring ranche-ria of don Dionysio, were soon obliged to come and humble themselves at the camp; for the Monquis regretting the death of their companions in the action, had determined to fall on them as the first authors of their disaster; that now their only recourse was to come to the Spaniards, bringing all their arms to the camp, as a sign of friendship and submission. They asked leave that they might settle near it: and they were permitted to make a second trench
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for defending themselves. In this neighbourhood of the camp, the Monquis did not dare to attack them, and father Juan Maria reconciled the two nations; and they both continued coming to the camp very quietly.

The father availed himself of this tranquillity, to consecrate to God the first fruits of California; the first and most solemn was that of the sick casique before mentioned, and two days before the assault. He was of the territory of San Bruno; and at the time of admiral Otondo's expedition, had learned the elements of the faith, and desired baptism: his disease was a dreadful cancer, the progress of which, God in mercy checked, till the arrival of the venerable father. The casique delayed not a moment to come to him from San Bruno: and on his arrival at the camp, he called out, as well as he could, Senior Almirante. He was immediately admitted and kindly entertained: he prayed by name for the fathers who had been in the country before, and likewise for some soldiers. He gave the greatest signs of candor and fidelity, and expressed an extreme desire of being baptized. As from his former knowledge he soon went through his previous instruction; and the danger of the cancer increasing, he was baptised on the 11th of November. Now he no less earnestly requested,

that baptism should be conferred on his two sons ; one of four years of age, and the other eight. The first was immediately received ; and the second, after being duly instructed in the articles of christianity, was baptized the 14th day after the victory. The casique's former name was Ibo, which in his language signifies the sun ; but he was christened by that of Manuel Bernardo, and the son was called Bernardo Manuel, in compliance with the devout desire of their excellencies the vice-roys ; that those two names should be given to the first christians of California. Ibo himself died in the same month of October with great signs of tranquility, praising and adoring the unfearchable dispensations of God. Likewise two other children were baptized under the name of Juan and Pedro, in memory of don Juan Cavalero y Ozio, and don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, as distinguishing benefactors to the mission. The 5th baptism was that of an Indian wounded in the action, whom the soldiers by a very singular accident, or rather by the disposition of the most high, found alone in a hut. Being instructed with the dispatch which his danger required, he with great anxiety desired to be baptized : and, as if that had been all he wanted, he that same night resigned up his soul,

to the inexpressible edification and comfort of all belonging to the camp.

Matters without being thus composed, the venerable father gave orders concerning the garrison. Having assembled the soldiers, likewise the people of the long boat, he read to them the vice-roy's instructions; and informed them both of their immunities and privileges, and likewise their several duties and obligations. He nominated don Luis de Torres Tortolero, captain, and other inferior officers, and regulated the distribution of devotional exercises and works; and lastly gave notice, that on the following Saturday, they should all meet to hear an example, and an exhortation to devotion, in imitation of the virtues of the most holy Mary, as likewise on all future sabbaths, according to the excellent usage introduced into several parts of New Spain, by the reverend society. This devout homage was so acceptable to the holy mother, that on the said sabbath-day, the 23d of November, she was pleased to solace them in the manner related by the same father at the end of the narrative of the entrance. "A great addition, says he, to our comfort, was that on last Saturday, when the examples in honour of the most holy Mary, and her holy house of Loretto, began to be settled in this country, since the performance of

the first example, we saw appear at the mouth of the sea, betwixt the island of Coronades and the point of this bay, the galliot which with a fair wind, after two days sailing, drop'd anchor on the same sabbath near our camp. Our joy at this sight was the greater, when we came to know that it brought father Francisco Maria Piccolo, a veteran missionary, who after having been visitor, and founded churches for missions among the Tarahumares, who remained faithful, with pleasure resigned that office to enter on another conversion no less signal among these our poor Californian savages. I cannot express the comfort his coming gave me, not so much for my own person, as the concerns of the Spaniards and Indians: as now the advancement of this conversion, has an appearance of certainty; and that henceforth the standard of Christ will not be removed from these countries; and that the great settler Mary, will lay the foundations of her holy house among her elect."

It was now time to send some account of California to New Spain, which was impatient to hear of the progress of this conquest. Likewise the galliot being only lent, justice required her to be immediately returned to her owner. Accordingly father Salva-Tierra ordered the captain to prepare for returning to Acapulco, and

and in the mean time he wrote to the principal benefactors of the mission. His letters breathed such an apostolick spirit; such mildness, love, humility and gratitude, that four of them were then printed, which were it not for the apprehension of being tedious by repetition, we would very willingly have here inserted, one to the viceroy, and the other to his lady donna Maria Andrea Guzman y Manrique, a distinguished protectress of the enterprise; a short letter to don Juan de Cavallero y Ozio; and another containing a very circumstantial narrative, to father Ugarte. In the letter to the viceroy, this excellent man shews, that he is not unmindful of making what returns he can for any benefits received, in thanks, in praises and recommendations to the divine favour of the benefactors, the commanders, the soldiers, and of all others to whom he was in any measure indebted. He likewise requested that an account of the whole should be remitted to the most reverend father Tyrso Gonzales, general of the order, his majesty Charles II. and his supreme council of the Indies: that his majesty might by his orders and protection, promote the spiritual conquest. But the difficulties which occurred in this affair and its issue, shall be afterwards related.

S E C T. III.

Transactions of the two first years, with the attempts to enter the inward part of CALIFORNIA, till the settlement of the second mission of St. Xavier.

There being nothing further to be apprehended from the Indians, the several members of the little garrison, encouraged by the two fathers, applied themselves to erect some little works of defence and buildings within the camp; the trench was enlarged and fortified with a palisade, and thorny branches of trees; a chapel for placing our lady in, was also built of stone and clay, with a thatch'd roof: besides three little dwellings; one for the fathers, another for the captain, and the third served as a magazine. Near these also were built barracks for the soldiers. Christmas day was appointed for the dedication of the chapel, which was performed with six masses and great rejoicings. Soon after, the long-boat was sent away to Cinaloa, with letters for the missionary jesuits of that province, to send in two returns what provisions they could, and five soldiers to assist in the works; whilst the fathers were taken up in learning the language, and promoting the instruction and reduction of the Indians.

dians. Within a few months the importance of this reinforcement was seen in a kind of battle in a plain field; our men being no longer pent up in the camp: the occasion of it was as follows. The Indians by attending daily at the explication of the catechism became at length persuaded, that the end of this entrance of the Spaniards, was not to fish or procure pearls, as they did neither; but to plant in California a new religion, the mysteries of which they were learning; but this was the very thing which alarmed the forcerers or primitive doctors of their nation, who still retained their authority over these savages; and when afterwards they perceived their power, and consequently their wretched profits to decline, they one and all with an infernal rage openly declared against the new doctrine and the strangers. What had been heard of in the camp was talked of in companies, and at the rancherias, that by degrees some inclining to the fathers, and others by the seductions of their masters being tenacious of their ancient customs, there arose among them two religious factions. The forcerers omitted nothing to inflame the rancour of their party; and as father Salva-Tierra had not been able to bring with him the christian Indians, whom admiral Otondo had carried from California, the forcerers made a handle

dle of it for diffeminating all over the country, that the Spaniards came only to take them away and carry them to their country: and this apparent breach of faith occasioned vehement complaints. The disquietude was with great industry fomented, but clandestinely, till in April, 1698, they broke out into open hostilities, by an insult which our people little expected.

A boat left by the galliot had come up the bay near the long-boat. The malecontents formed a design of stealing it, either for their fishery, or only by way of beginning the war. For this they took the opportunity of the time when our people were at dinner, as it was impossible for two men left in the long-boat to hinder them: one of them, however, hastened to the camp with advice of what had been done. On this captain Tortolero with 12 others well armed, marched down, and keeping along the coast, they saw at a distance the Indians in two bodies; one in the boat, and a greater number on the shore. Of the latter, some advanced to stop him by skirmishes, and the others having got the boat ashore, broke it to pieces with huge stones, and then fled into the woods. When our men came up, the damage was found beyond repair: and as the perpetrators of this insult were not to be found, they resolved to go

in quest of them all along the shore. They divided themselves into two companies, who were to meet at a point of land which runs into the sea. In this search, Figueroa with three soldiers and a faithful Californian, following a path, fell into an ambush of above 50 Indians, who immediately discharged stones and arrows; our men briskly fired, and turning also several evolutions that they might not be hem'd in, the Californian hastened away to the captain, who by the noise of the sea, and the wind which was very high, could not hear the muskets. The four military men bravely stood their ground against such a vast superiority of the enemy, which was continually encreasing. The intrepid Figueroa had his lip cut by a stone, and another soldier was wounded by an arrow. Through the dread of the muskets, but chiefly through the goodness of God, and the patronness of the mission of our lady of Loretto, the Indians were discouraged from their attempt of taking them alive. The ammunition of our men began to fail them, just as the captain and the other five soldiers came up; the number of the Indians had increased to above a hundred, all fighting with the utmost despair. At length after several attacks, when our people were in the extremity of danger, night coming on, the Indians founded a retreat by their whistles, leaving,

leaving, as they afterwards owned some slain and more wounded. This victory, which all attributed to our lady's patronage, for which a solemn thanksgiving was appointed, contributed greatly to humble the factious, who gradually began to return again to the camp, mingling themselves among the friendly Indians. The captain was for making an example of some, but the fathers interposed; and the insurgents giving a proof of their repentance and humiliation, by bringing to the camp the pieces of the boat, a general pardon was published.

The holy week was celebrated with profound tranquillity, and to the inexpressible amazement and delight of the Indians: and a little after, the long-boat was sent to Rio Hiaqui for a supply, which it might bring, whilst that of cloaths, furniture, and eatables, which had been applied for at Mexico was coming, as it was expected some day in April. The long-boat departed, and the fathers with fresh zeal applied themselves to the instruction of the Californians, and likewise to learn their language: for the greater conveniency of doing this, and as a security against the fickleness of the Indians, father Piccolo took upon him to instruct the boys and girls, whom he caused to come within the entrenchment, whilst, without it, father Salva-

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Tierra instructed the adults: and by this mild measure, they had their sons as so many hostages. Thus the harvest of the gospel went on ripening, with the knowledge, patience, and labour, which particularly manifested itself; when by degrees the Indians absented themselves, during the month of June, the gathering of the pitahayas then beginning, and this is also the time of their greatest merriment. “ We were all extremely concerned at this retreat, says father Salva-Tierra, the harvest now beginning to ripen, after seven months and more of continued instruction, that to see and hear them afforded exceeding pleasure. Such boys and girls as were catechumens, and had been instructed in the prayer of the holy cross, and other parts of devotion, drew tears from me and others: particularly a boy called Juanico Cavalero, not yet quite four years of age, who with his little shell on his head and his wand in his hand, conducted the questions, putting his little finger to his mouth when any one talked, or did not mind, or any two were fighting, which extremely moved us. Sometimes he would take the rosaries, and the reliquaries of the soldiers, then fall on his knees and devoutly kiss them, and put them to his little eyes, and bid all the Spaniards do the like: so that if any one did not take notice of him,

him, it vexed him to such a degree, that he was not to be quieted till he fell on his knees, and kissed either a crucifix or reliquary, whilst all blessed the devout importunity of the child.

God rewarded the labour of the fathers with the joy of baptising some adults and children in cases of necessity, where in spite of the rage of the evil spirit, by means of the forcerers, many remarkable and rare instances were seen of the divine mercy: but all the intreaties of some adults, could not prevail upon the fathers to confer baptism upon them, from an apprehension and of their fickleness, that they should be obliged to forsake the mission.

Besides the concern at the absence of the Indians, the camp began to feel one more interesting, the fear of perishing for want of necessaries. It was now above two months since the long-boat had been gone, that all gave it over for lost, especially as the weather had lately been very tempestuous. There was little account of the succours applied for at Mexico; and such was their necessity, that in the middle of June, all the store was reduced to three sacks of meal, ill-ground, and three others of maize, which was full of maggots while it was aboard the vessel.

The consternation was so general and great, that even father Salva-Tierra begins the narrative, which

which was to accompany the letter already mentioned, in these words, "I write this narrative, uncertain whether I shall live to make an end of it, for at my present writing, our necessity for want of supplies is very general: and as they will every day grow upon us, and I am the most advanced in years of all in the camp of our lady of Loretto, I shall naturally pay the first tribute." But the most admirable circumstance is, that among so many labours and dangers, the fathers were able to keep the people of the camp in order, being composed of so many different nations, and most of them before, so licentious in their lives. Whereas, now though they were twenty-two in number, not a quarrel nor an oath, nor any ill word was heard among them. So far from it, that they never failed to attend the devotional exercises, and encouraged each other cheerfully to die in that distress, and very devoutly assisted at a devotion for nine days, which the fathers appointed for imploring the assistance of the patroness of the mission. Having heard a sermon against swearing, that vice so common among soldiers and seamen, the two classes of which the camp consisted, that in a certain city of Germany, he who swears is made to pay a fine, they unanimously agreed to lay a like penalty to be deducted from their pay, and at a proper

per opportunity to be spent in an entertainment; Some of the soldiers were treasurers, and on any one's swearing, the others encompassed him like bees, demanding the fine. This in time put an end to all swearing and imprecations, and would to God the like practice obtained in all garrisons.

The nine days devotion were now drawing near to a conclusion, and they now also saw the end of their provisions; when on the 21st of June, being the festival of San Luis Gonzaga, a large new bark, called the San Joseph, came from Chacala, under the command of an inhabitant of Compostella, by whom father Ugarte sent all the succours he was able; and seven soldiers volunteers, who went to serve in the garrison. They were received with inexpressible joy, and solemn thanks returned to God, the patroness of Loretto, and her beloved son San Luis. And as the long-boat was supposed to be lost, father Salva-Tierra was for treating with the owner about the boat. The latter was very desirous of it, having by experience of this voyage, been acquainted with its ill qualities. He also acted very fraudulently in the contract, which at last was concluded for twelve thousand dollars, to be paid in Mexico by father Ugarte, father Juan Maria having no money by him. It was not long before the abominable deceit of
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the owner was found out, that six thousand dollars more were expended in fitting it for the sea : besides the loss of a whole cargo, the first voyage, and on a second having been stranded at Acapulco, was sold for five hundred dollars, after costing eighteen thousand, a very considerable loss to the mission. The want of a vessel was supplied by the treasurer don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, who very opportunely sent to father Juan Maria, a bark called San Fermin, and likewise a long-boat, called San Xavier, of which immediate use was made, to fetch wood and fruits from Chacala and Metanchel, and provisions from Yaqui, Ahome, Guaymas, and other ports ; also some mares, horses, and cattle, sent by don Augustin Eucinas, an illustrious benefactor to the mission, from its commencement, and whose pious liberality has descended to his son don Miguel.

The fathers being now pretty well acquainted with the language of California, and having horses for the more convenient survey of a country so rugged and poor, came to a resolution of performing it by several ways. In the beginning of the year 1699, father Juan Maria, accompanied by some soldiers, first went northward toward a place called Londo, nine leagues distant from Loretto, and where there was a numerous rancheria. The venerable father several

times sent the Indians notice of his intended visit, but their fears were not to be removed. At his approaching the place, they all immediately made off, and though he and his attendants called to them, and staid two days in expectation of them, he had the mortification to return without seeing them. When they came to the camp, he complained to them of such a behaviour, allayed their fears, and in spring going again to visit them, he called the place San Juan Baptista, instructed them in the mysteries of the faith, talked kindly to them, distributed little presents among them, and took a view of the ground, and also of the water near it, in order for sowing.

Among others who came down to the camp, were some Indians of a part called Vigge Bi-aundo, lying south of Loretto, behind some rugged mountains, and which was said to be very fit for pasture and tillage. These shewed themselves so tractable and friendly, and particularly so desirous of conversion, that a youth among them of a remarkable vivacity, genius, and goodness of temper, was admitted to baptism, by the name of Francisco Xavier, though this privilege was denied to adults. Hither father Piccolo went on the 10th of May, and after suffering a great deal in a journey without any road, and the soldiers fearing to venture
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any farther, he determined to go alone among the civilized Indians; and having got over the precipices on foot, he came to a breach where was the rancheria, and was received with the most cordial demonstrations of love. He remained among them four days instructing them, and with great pleasure heard that the new christian Francisco Xavier, conformably to his name, used to do the like, and this name was also given to the rancheria. Some Indians from several rancherias of that chain of mountains came thither; and others from the western parts, who gave an account of the opposite, or outward coast, which is washed by the South-sea. The father took a view of the whole valley, and found in it some spots fit for tillage, whither water might be conveyed, and likewise fruit trees planted; besides good pastures for their cattle and horses. They returned to the camp, and crossed the chain of mountains in a more difficult part: but at the foot of them, they found their horses safely guarded by some faithful Indians; and one day more along a shorter way carried them to Loretto. Eight days after, father Salva-Tierra went a second time to San Juan de Londo, at the request of the Indians, who informed him that several rancherias of the Liyu language, and others of

the Cochimi nation would repair thither to hear the doctrine of the gospel.

As there was a want of beasts to carry the provisions, the chief men among the Monqui Indians strove who should be most forward in offering to carry the packs, not more in order to come in for a share in the contents, than to avail themselves of this occasion, for procuring a reconciliation with the Cochimes, who were very much incensed against them, for the death of a youth, who had become a christian by the name of Andrew, and was very much beloved by the fathers. He preached to them all, and having entered into friendship with them, went to another rancheria, three leagues farther, in quest of another very faithful Indian called Nicholas, and at that time sick. The greatest part of this rancheria also fled; to those who remained, the father's behaviour was very courteous and winning. But at his return to Londo, he found the minds of the Indians rankled, both on account of the sermon, and the revival of the hatred against the Monquis, during his absence. Matters came to the point of an open rupture, and the father's mule was wounded with an arrow, whilst he was baptizing and administering the chrism to eight children: and the Monquis stole part of the baggage. At length by the father's endeavours, both parties were

were quieted ; and they all returned to Loretto, cheerfully assisting to level some asperities in the way, which otherwise would have been impracticable to the beasts.

The country of Vigge was justly an object of greater attention, as much more fit and convenient for founding a second mission, and therefore greatly desired, the only difficulty being the ruggedness and steepness of the way : so as to be extremely difficult to men on foot, but quite unpassable to beasts. However the soldiers animated by father Piccolo, and assisted by the Indians, by dint of very hard labour, opened a way of a sufficient breadth, betwixt the precipices of the mountain, that on the 12th of June it began to be frequented. He passed along it on horse-back to the country of San Francisco Xavier. Near this spot was a very high hill, which the captain, with two other soldiers determined to go up, in order to take a view of the country, which proved a work of great difficulty, on account of the cragginess and many brambles intermixed with the precipices : but when they reached the summit, they were very far from repenting of their labour, as on both sides it not only afforded them a large view of the country, but likewise of the two seas, that of California and the South sea ; that in their first extacies, they fired their pieces for joy. The

reports alarmed their companions, who fearing some ambush, were hastening to assist them. But being informed at a distance of the cause, they ran with the news to father Piccolo, who after he had renewed his instructions to the Indians, and assured them of his constant affection, returned with the whole company to Loretto, by the same way.

At this time don Luis de Torres Tortolero, captain of the garrison, labouring under a continual defluxion in his eyes, contracted by his fatigues in the new conquest, laid down his employment, to the great concern of the venerable father Juan Maria; for to his courage, prudence, and religion, the establishment of the missions was not a little owing. The father nominated as his successor, don Antonio Garcia de Mendoza, an old soldier of Fuenterrabia: and besides certificates of the highest praises, he gave to don Luis, letters of recommendation to the audience of Guadalaxara, that they would be pleased to bestow some comfortable government on so deserving a person: a custom which the grateful father never failed in towards those who behaved well. The rest of the summer of 1699, besides other journeys of less notice, the fathers spent in their usual apostolick functions, in preparing a new and large chapel in the camp of Loretto, for our lady, and likewise in laying
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the foundations in a convenient place, about one hundred paces from the garrison for a church, which though small in itself, was large and splendid for that country; and likewise of an apartment for the missionary. These buildings and others which were carrying on for the conveniency of the garrison, and in which the fathers were directors, officers, and labourers, advanced but slowly, on account of some intervening impediments. The chapel within the camp, was dedicated the following year, and the church five years after, namely, in 1704. The blessed virgin highly approved of the cordial devotion of her servant Salva-Tierra, who had communicated the same holy flame to every heart in the garrison; and nourished it with the religious services every Saturday. That most bountiful queen was pleased to manifest her singular protection of this her little flock, as was most sensibly experienced in the greatest extremities with the circumstance of delivering them from their distress, on the Saturdays, which they sanctified with offices of devotion to her. The very Saturday when they had come to a resolution of building the church and chapel, and were assisting at the offices of the rosary, the litanies, the sermon, and example; the Indians suddenly cried out puha, puha, which in their language signifies a ship or vessel; and it proved

ved to be a galliot from don Pedro Gil y de la Sierpe, which seasonably brought a very large quantity of provisions, sent by him and the president of Guadalaxara. It also caused a great satisfaction to find that all the bills which had been drawn by the soldiers, had been answered at Mexico, father Ugarte having transmitted the particulars, in an account drawn up by himself.

With this reinforcement, father Piccolo thought it proper no longer to delay settling a new mission at San Xavier de Viaundo, leaving father Salva-Tierra at Loretto, and he himself going to live with the Indians, in the center of the Vigge mountains, Accordingly, in the beginning of October, he removed thither attended by some soldiers, with the help of whom, and his new sons, the Indian mountaineers, he built some small houses, or cottages of andoves or raw bricks, as dwellings for himself and his companions, and likewise a chapel of the same materials. Whilst these were drying, he and father Mendoza with some soldiers, and guided by the Indians, set out to view the opposite coast of the South sea, which admiral Otondo so famed for his naval achievements, had in vain attempted. At the distance of four leagues South West, they came to a large rancheria of tractable Indians, which father Piccolo conse-
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crated to his countrywoman Rosalia. After this, they followed a little stream, which brought them down to the sea; here along the shore, they saw great numbers of those azure shells so very famous, but without finding, though they went a great way along the coast, any place proper for a settlement; nor bay, creek, or harbour, for receiving the galleon from the Philippine Islands, as was so extremely desired by the merchants and government. In their return they renewed their friendship with the Indians of San Rosalia, inviting them to come to San Xavier, whence word was sent to father Salva-Tierra, that he would be pleased to come and consecrate the chapel on All-faints day, when the want of solemnity and magnificence, was made up by devotion and joy.

S E C T. IV.

The difficulties which happened at the commencement of the present century, and the unfortunate management of the affairs of the mission in MEXICO.

Amidst this mixture of good and bad fortune, commenced the present century 1700; but this brought with it such storms of calamities to the mission in California, which now began

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to put on a promising appearance as must have totally destroyed and extinguished it, had it not been founded upon the lofty mountains of the virgin, and under her particular countenance and protection. The number of settlers already in California, Spaniards, Mestizos, and New-Spain Indians, amounted to no less than six hundred persons. But on account of this very increase, as no subsistence had hitherto been obtained from the country, very large supplies of provisions were rendered of absolute necessity, The shipping of the mission at this time, consisted of two vessels, called the San Joseph and San Fermin, and the San Xavier long-boat. The Spaniards hitherto had behaved quietly and contentedly, in their subordination to the fathers; and might reasonably expect proper favours from the government of Mexico, and large succours from good christians, for the support and enlargement of a conquest, which had been so passionately desired, and so frequently attempted at an immense charge. But God to try the constancy of his faithful ministers, permitted things to take a gloomy turn. The San Joseph, as we have before noticed, became a dead weight on the mission, involving it in expences for useless repairs, till the utter loss of it. The San Fermin by the carelessness of the pilots, ran aground near the harbour of Ahome, and

and for want of assistance through the baseness of the seamen and officers, hoping greater profits from the building a new vessel, the violence of the waves beat it to pieces in the beginning of the year. Thus the San Xavier's long-boat only remained: and that so battered and weakened by bad weather that it was with great hazard that father Salva-Tierra, having left the care of the garrison to father Piccolo, reached Cinaloa in it, where he heard of the loss of the San Fermin. At Cinaloa he used all possible diligence towards a speedy remedy: but meeting here with some difficulties, he resolved as his last resource to apply himself to the viceroy.

Father Juan Maria, had from the very beginning, sent an account of the proceedings to his excellency. In the two first years he had also transmitted other letters, in which were intermixed most humble requests for his protection: and on the first of March of this year, he drew up in California a long memorial to the royal council, signed by the fathers and thirty-five others: in which he succinctly relates all that had happened in the conquest and present condition of it; sets forth the wants under which it laboured; specifies the several expences made in the expedition, and the impossibility of the garrison's being supported by casual contributions,

tions, especially, as they were now sensibly felt to decline. He earnestly requests the royal protection, that the fruit of so many labours may not be lost: he desires that the garrison may be paid on the king's account, as all the others on the frontiers were; and if this be not done, he protests against the damages which will be the consequence of his forsaking the mission: concluding, that his companion Piccolo and he, were determined to persevere in it, though left alone and exposed to certain death from the hands of the savages. At Cinaloa he composed another memorial to the viceroy, setting forth the damages sustained by the San Joseph; the loss of the San Fermin; the weak condition of the long-boat, though now the garrison's only vehicle; and the imminent danger, that in the interim the settlers would miserably perish for want; and this at a time when they all had been indulging themselves in the pleasing hopes of the entire submission of that large country to the saving yoke of the faith and the dominion of his catholick majesty. He therefore requested that he would bestow upon California a vessel, which a little before had been by warrant, allowed to some Peru traders at Acapulco. The viceroy was not pleased to give himself the trouble of answering the father's first letters; and though father Ugarte very much sollicitated

to have them read in a general assembly; all that he could obtain was only a verbal mention of them. The effect of this, was, that a thousand crowns were appointed for the expences of the mission: but father Ugarte declined receiving it, as utterly disproportionate to the exigency, though it would at the same time put a stop to all the contributions of the benefactors. He also shewed that a few years before 30000 dollars per annum had been offered to the society to take the enterprize upon themselves: and that the greatest part of it being already accomplished, it did not become the government so soon to depart from those principles, by which its resolutions were at that time directed. But these and other strenuous representations met with such a cold reception, that for the two first years, not the least provision was made for the support of the mission.

The more recent memorials concerning the vessel and garrison, far from having a better effect, were attacked by a most atrocious calumny, that the loss of the San Fermin was no other than a trick of the jesuits, in order to have a fingering of the king's money. It must indeed be a heart armed with the impenetrable shield of faith, and inflamed with a desire of its propagation, to bear up against such a combination of difficulties. But it would not be the
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cause of God, did it not deserve to be maintained and prosecuted, no less under discouragement and shame, than under prosperity and reputation. Father Salva-Tierra, more to remove this vile objection, than from any care of himself, sent five letters from the treasurer of Guadalaxara, and other persons of distinction, certifying the loss of the vessel. These indeed destroyed the calumny; but did not create any desires of supplying the wants. The papers were referred to the solicitor, who after long delays, required a sight of the licences, by virtue of which the fathers had first gone over to California, and in his report, he laboured to prove that by them the fathers had no claim on the revenue. This difficulty also was overcome by shewing the alteration of circumstances, and the difference betwixt the attempt of a conquest, and the preservation of what has been conquered: and after long debates, the case was ordered to be referred to the viceroy, the resolution belonging to him only. The urgency of the wants required all possible dispatch in this; yet all that could be obtained, was an offer to transmit an account of the matter to court, and wait his majesty's resolution: and as for the Peruvian vessel, it was ordered, that if father Ugarte would enter into a bond to pay the value of it, on the repeal of the grant, it should

should be delivered up for the service of California, but not otherwise. This, the father was by no means able to do; so that neither the vessel, nor even its boat were given; nor was it so much as permitted, that the galliot of don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, now dead, should be lent to carry over the succours which had been procured. Certificates of their services were required, in order to seek for redress at court, but were denied: and thus the only recourse left to the best friends of mankind was patience and christian fortitude.

The viceroy had in May 1698, and in October 1699, laid before his majesty in his council of the Indies, an account of the enterprize in California. These accounts were very acceptable, and large succours were promised, especially through the zealous sollicitation of that most excellent lady the countess of Galves donna Alvira de Toledo, who had been vice-queen at Mexico; and who interested herself in the happy issue of this undertaking. However by the death of this lady, and the agitations into which the illness of king Charles II. threw the court, as with that prince it was apprehended the monarchy itself would expire, and much more by his decease which happened on the 1st of November, 1700, no manner of provision was made for California.

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The accession of Philip V. inspired new life and vigor into the languid body of the state: and though the third report, which the viceroy had promised to send, had not yet reached Madrid; yet the destitute condition of that important conquest being known by private letters, the two first reports were read in council, and by its advice the young monarch on the 17th of July, being only the eighth month of the first year of his reign, dispatched three warrants strongly in favour of California, and no less honourable to the reverend society, directed to don Juan de Ortega Montanes, archbishop of Mexico, then newly invested with the viceroyship, to the bishop of Guadalaxara, and to the audience of that city. By the first warrant founded on the two reports, it was ordered that by no means an entrance of such importance should be neglected, but supported by all possible means: and his majesty's affectionate thanks to be returned to the missionaries. It likewise directed that 6000 dollars should be every year paid out of the royal treasury for that mission, without delaying or omitting it on any pretence. It likewise required that an exact account should be taken of the country; the garrison; the means of forwarding the conquest; the communication with New Spain; the condition of the missions of Cinaloa, Sonora

nora and Nueva Biscaya; and the succours which these might furnish towards the new mission; and lastly it enjoined that he should interpose his authority for removing to California, if possible, two missions founded for Cinaloa and Sonora, by Alonzo Fernandez de la Torre, lately an inhabitant of Compostella. In the other two his majesty directed the bishop and audience to encourage and promote the enterprise; to send him an account of their proceedings, and to use proper measures for the exchange of the missions. Another royal warrant signed by her majesty Mary of Savoy, was sent the following year to the duke de Albuquerque, now viceroy, which I insert here, both on account of its contents, and as a pleasing memorial of that most amiable woman's accomplishments, whose fine qualities and virtues justly caused her to be idolized by the whole nation. "The king and queen regent, to the duke of Albuquerque, my cousin, lord of my bed chamber, my viceroy, governor and captain general of the provinces of New Spain, and president of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico; the provincial of the society of jesuits, in the province of Toledo, has represented to me, that it is now above five years since some missionaries of his order undertook the spiritual and temporal conquest of the Californians; and that in

August of the last year 1701, they had reduced the Indians for the space of 50 leagues to a settled obedience, and founded four towns, with above 600 christians, most of them young, and no less than 2000 adult catechumens; and that in the midst of this happiness, obtained without any expence to the royal revenue, but through the labour of those religious, and the charitable contributions of zealous persons, till the assignment passed last year for this purpose of 600 dollars to each, on the treasury of Mexico. Some disturbance was to be apprehended from the savages, of which the signs daily increased, that all necessary precautions were to be used against any detriment which threatened so great a work, in order to which, he has petitioned me to take what measures should seem good to me, and though in my warrant of the 17th of July in the above mentioned year 1700, very particular orders and instructions were sent to the government, concerning what was to be done for the better success of the conquest of California, and promoting settlements there, I am now resolved by my royal order of the 11th of this month, to renew the like directions to you; at the same time making known to you how agreeable those accounts were to me, by reason of the great advantages which are expected from the ardent zeal of the missionaries of

of the reverend society, whom you are hereby directed to assist, and countenance on all occasions, which may conduce to their relief and satisfaction, and the accomplishment of the holy end, to which their indefatigable labours are directed, as I expect from you great duty to God and the crown. You likewise are to take care that they be occasionally assisted by all persons in office and others; you are to send me an account of all your proceedings. Given at Madrid the 11th of December, 1702 — I the Queen. By her majesty's order, don Manuel de Apperregui."

Whilst these schedules were in agitation at Madrid, not the least thing was done at Mexico in favour of the mission on his majesty's account. It is true, that this was in some measure impeded by two conquests, which the government of Mexico had undertaken with great vigour: the first was of the garrison of Panzacola, on the gulf of Mexico, in the province of Florida, where it joins to Louisiana, in 69 deg. W. longitude according to the famous geographer monsieur d'Anville, from the common meridian of the isle of Ferro, or in 291 E. longitude, and in 30 degrees and a half north latitude. The second was that of the province of Los Tezas, lying North of New

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Mexico, in 95 degrees west longitude, or in 265 eastern longitude, from the same common meridian; and in 38 degrees north latitude. In the first conquest, above a million of dollars was expended in the year 1700, only Panzacola might not fall into the hands of other nations. Great advantages were also expected from the conquest of Los Texas, which was carried on without any regard to the expence. However both diverted the attention of the government from California. But the chief cause of so many delays and obstructions was jealousy, that evil which, from the beginning, has clogged all the plans of the society. This malignant passion, which lurked in the corrupt hearts of many by specious pretences, infects the good intentions and simplicity of the incautious. They whose hearts are continually grovelling amidst the mire of this world, think it a mere chimera, that any one should expose himself to great fatigues and dangers, without having in view a suitable present reward; and consequently how could persons of such sentiments believe, that the fathers, amidst such labours, distresses, and troubles, were aiming only at the glory of God, and the conversion of savages. The former expeditions to California, though unsuccessful, had served to enrich great numbers, either by the large sums of the royal revenue

nue which had been expended, or by fishing and trading for pearls. The jesuits were without any of these advantages. But the report of their being masters of California, had no sooner spread, than many of Mexico conceived, and industriously gave out, that the jesuits found great treasures there. Besides the contributions of the benefactors, though not at all equal to the expences of the enterprize, yet were more than sufficient to make a great noise among those, who though they did not think fit to envy the jesuits, the toils, dangers, and hardships, through which they were seeking the kingdom of God, yet were the first to envy them their temporal aggrandizement and reputation. This indeed was wanting in a conquest, which abounded only in wants. Yet the former account of the pearls strengthened these malicious reports, which were carefully disseminated among the people as powerful reasons, and cloathed with the appearance of patriotism, care of the publick money, and zeal for his majesty's service.

There was also another cause which sprung up in the very bosom of the mission; and this was the uneasiness of the captain of the garrison, Antonio Garcia de Mendoza, with whom the fatigues of his employment little agreed. But what he bore still with

greater impatience was his subordination to the fathers, who would not allow him to oppress the Indians by any of those pretences, which, in other parts, have been so successfully practised by covetousness for obtaining a sudden fortune on the ruin of those unhappy people. Accordingly about this time he wrote several letters to his friends and the viceroy, full of complaints against the fathers, though with such equivocation, that in one to the viceroy, dated the 22d of October 1700, after bestowing on the fathers *Salva-Tierra* and *Piccolo*, the titles of holy men, apostles, and cherubims, and magnifying their labour, zeal, and disinterestedness, he inveighs against all inland expeditions, levelings of ways, planting, tilling, and other works, concluding at last "I see no other remedy for putting a stop to these romantic and rash schemes, than to give an account of them to the most reverend provincial of the society, desiring him that he would order from hence these two religious, and secure them in a place where they may receive the punishment they desire: and for my part imprison and chain me in a castle, as a warning to those that come after me, that they may not be carried away by such delusions." These letters, which the enemies to the mission did not grudge to copy and distribute great numbers of them

in Mexico and other parts, though written by a man under a violent discomposure of mind made a deep impression on some of the ministry; and on all who considered the subordination of the soldiers to the fathers, only as a gratification of an excessive desire of power: and who looked upon this subjection as a scandal to the name of a soldier, although they were paid out of charitable contributions. But the misfortune was, that the dispute happened at a time when the treasury was exhausted, and when very few minded any thing else, than to make the best advantage of the uncertain life of a king, naturally infirm, and now sick, and without any successor. Another unhappy effect of these reports being spread among the people by persons of figure, was, that they cooled the hearts of many who before had cheerfully and liberally contributed to the support of the mission, that it became necessary from an inability to support it, to reduce the garrison of Loretto to only twelve soldiers, who voluntarily remained, that the fathers might not be wholly forsaken. The small number now left spirited up the Indians to form several plots, and all journies or settlements up the country, were no longer to be thought of. The baptism of the adults was put off for a long time; and such were the hardships and distresses which befell our

people in California, that it plainly appeared to be the divine will, that this spiritual conquest should be founded on opposition and sufferings; his usual method in all works which he owns as his. In a letter of October 3, 1700, father Salva-Tierra, after acquainting his friend the solicitor of Guadalaxara, that he had discharged 18 soldiers, adds, "For the discharge of the remainder I only wait for the last resolutions of the audience of Mexico, to whom I have sent my final protests. After the total reduction of the soldiers, we shall consult on liquidating all arrears: and if, for want of a military force, our California sons should send us to give an account to God, there will still remain our lady of Loretto, who unquestionably will pay the whole."

All hopes of assistance from the government being now despaired of, father Ugarte collected in Mexico what contributions he could: these he laid out according to the bills which had been sent him; and with an intent of remaining in California for ever, he requested leave to send that unlucky vessel the San Joseph, which after twenty-two months she had been building on the coast of New Galicia, was not yet finished. It was with great difficulty his superiors would admit of it; and having left the concerns of the mission in the hands of the
faithful

faithful - father Alexandro Romano, he left Mexico on the third of December, being the festival of St. Xavier his patron; he took the way of Queretaro and Guadalaxara, in order to acquaint Ozio and the solicitor Miranda, of the state of affairs; and having given proper orders on the coast of Cinaloa and Ahome, for sending away the long-boat with provisions, he traveled above 400 leagues to the river Hiaqui, where he hoped to find father Juan Maria, but he was disappointed; and his impatience to reach these new missions for the conversion of the gentiles, not admitting of any delay, instead of waiting for him, he boldly got into an old small boat left as unserviceable on the coast, and having in three days crossed the gulf with a fair wind, he arrived at Loretto on the 19th of March, on the festival of the patriarch St. Joseph, whom he had chosen for his protector in so dangerous a passage. Here he found father Piccolo, and the people of the garrison in the utmost melancholy and distress, as since last October, they had received no supply, nor any account from the coast. Providence a few days after, was pleased to comfort them by the arrival of the San Xavier long-boat with the provisions, which father Ugarte had put on board three months before. But by the violence of contrary winds, the boat had
been

been beating the sea all the time, so that great part of the provisions was expended.

S E C T. V.

Attempts and voyages for discovering the junction of CALIFORNIA with the continent of New Spain: a short narrative of the designs and heroick labours of father Francisco Kino, in the missions of Sonora and Pineria; with an account of them.

Father Salva-Tierra, with inconceivable grief, saw himself on the point of abandoning for ever, after such a great expence to well disposed persons, the conversion of California, from the impossibility of procuring a subsistence from the missionaries and others in the country, and from the delay, uncertainty, and continual want of succours from New Spain. He saw that without such provisions, all the measures of the most ardent zeal for the conversion of the Indians would be of no effect. Lastly, he saw that new oppositions were daily raising in Mexico against affording him the necessary supplies. In this exigency he determined to cross the gulf in search of others, and for opening a way to receive them with less uncertainty and danger.

danger. His hopes were grounded on the missions of the jesuits, in the province of Sonora, which he flattered himself might hereafter make one body with those of California, by a reciprocation of supplies, and all kinds of good offices: to this purpose he left Loretto at the end of October 1700, and landed at Cinaloa, where having collected some contributions and succours for his mission, he went to Sonora to meet his old reverend friend father Kino. This apostolical jesuit, who, as we have related, had first put Salva-Tierra on the Californian design, and being detained as a prisoner at Sonora, by the necessity of his personal presence in that province, had endeavoured to support the last mentioned father, by collecting donations, and sending from Guayma and Hiaqui, furniture, beasts for breeding, and provisions, which he procured among the mines and missions. But neither his elevated thoughts, nor those of the venerable Salva-Tierra, were limited to the present time, nor to low objects; both formed the scheme of subjecting to the king the vast countries of America, contiguous to the South sea, one carrying on his spiritual conquests along the north of California, and the other through the continent of America, till he arrived at last in the countries opposite to Puerto de Monte-Rey, and cape Mendozino,

Mendozino, in case California was not found to be an island, at the same time converting all the interjacent country to christianity. These great men were not able to accomplish their extensive schemes, nor hitherto have the jesuits who succeeded them in their missions and labours. But it is worth taking notice of here, what each did separately towards the execution of so vast a project, and lay open the noble views with which they were animated: for the reasons for the execution of them being of the same nature and validity now, it will be proper to enter into a detail of the plan, which in this enterprise is at any time to be followed: and this will further shew the importance and the connection of the several missions, and what may be expected under the good pleasure of providence from the enlargement and prosperity of them. But in order to this, it is necessary, by way of digression, to give a short account of the missions of Sonora. The particular narrative of the said missions will more circumstantially gratify the curiosity of the reader, with an infinite variety of accounts. In the mean time, those I am going to lay before him, are of the greatest authenticity, having been at the pains of copying them from the original journals of father Kino, father Juan Antonio Balthasar, formerly visitor of the said missions, and now pre-
sident

sident of the province of Mexico; a person whose zeal, labours, virtues, and talents, will justly entitle him to the admiration of posterity.

The province of Sonora lies east of California, the gulf of that name running betwixt both; and thus, as we have said, washing both coasts. It is the least province of the Spanish dominions in America, along the coast of the South sea: for though that of New Mexico, which lies north east of Sonora, be in a higher latitude than this, it is a province on all sides environed by land, without any issue to the sea. The government of Sonora reached northward from the mouth of the river Hiaqui, to the Apaches, who hitherto have been the scourge and the terror of the whole country. The last mission of the coast, was that of Concepcion de Caborca in about thirty-one degrees, and about ninety or one hundred leagues from the river Hiaqui; but was totally destroyed last year 1751, by the savages in an insurrection, when it was the happiness of the two missionaries, father Thomas Tello a native of Almagro, and son of Alonso Tello and Isabel Buytron, and father Henrique Rohen to seal their faith by martyrdom, though an inexpressible loss to the new establishment of christianity in those parts. Westward it is bounded by the gulf of California; southward it joins to the provinces of Rio Mayo,

Mayo, Cinaloa, and Oſti Muri, and eaſtward it reaches to the high mountain of Tarrahumara. The circumference of the whole, is about three hundred and fifty leagues. It is inhabited by various nations of Indians, as the Opatas, Topas, Teguaïamas, Heguis, the upper Paymas and the lower Paymas; the Seris, the Tepocas, and Guayamas; among all which are twenty-four miſſions of jeſuits. The air is ſalutary and mild, the country very different, being ſteep mountains intermixed with delightful levels and fruitful valleys, formed by the ſeveral branches of the great mountain; and where, beſides excellent paſtures, are produced in great plenty, moſt of the eſculent vegetables of Europe and America. The greateſt inconveniency of this is, that along the gulf of California, its coaſt is a ſucceſſion of inaccessible mountains and barren ſands, without any freſh water: and for this reaſon, from Hiaqui to Caborca it is inhabited only by the Guayamas, the Tepocas, and the Seris, who live by fiſhing. Such a diſpoſition of the ſhore, with impediments of another nature, has not only rendered any ſettlements on the coaſt by Spaniſh colonies impracticable, but alſo made the formation of any miſſions extremely difficult. And though many trials and entrances have been made, and in theſe late years, the Indians on the coaſt have

have admitted the faith among them, yet it is far from being in a proper manner and firmness, as was most unhappily proved by the insurrection abovementioned in 1751; and which it is justly feared will prove a lasting obstacle to its reduction. On this account, though the province has a coast of such extent, it may be looked upon as inland, affording no manner of conveniency for a maritime commerce with the other provinces: and to the same cause it is owing, that the frontiers of California do not receive from Sonora, which it might, were the disposition of its coast otherwise.

Sonora may be said at the same time to be one of the poorest and richest provinces of America, and of the world. Besides its fruitfulness in all sorts of useful vegetables, it is every where full of veins of silver ore and mines, and of such richness, that what is related of some, exceeds all credibility; and if the allegations in suits before the supreme council of the Indies may be depended on, Potosi and the other mines, however rich, are no longer to be principally admired, Sonora affording mountains, wanting very little of being entirely composed of massy silver. Several Spanish families in different camps or settlements, make considerable advantages of these mines: yet is this province one
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of the poorest, and in the whole world there is scarce a more manifest proof of that truth, though but little attended to, that the wealth and power of a state does not consist in gold, silver, gems, and the noble metals, but in the number and industry of its inhabitants; a well cultivated soil, graziery, and variety of manufactures for consumption and exportation, and the exact administration of justice. Sonora, I repeat it, is in extreme poverty; and it is even visible, that every day it becomes thinner of inhabitants. The causes are general to all Spanish America and even to Old Spain. But they are of greater force in Sonora, as lying more out of the way of the trade to Europe; a detail of it would require a longer discourse than is consistent with this place: but as this is an essential point in the knowledge of your constitution of the province, and as the religious settlements already founded, and the success of the missions and conquests, both of Sennora and California depended on it, it will be proper, passing by others of less consideration, to lay open the two most principal sources. The first is, that as silver is here to be considered as the principal, or only mercantile commodity proper for exportation, the advantage made by the silver, little answers the charge of working it. The separation of the silver by
fire,

fire, is attended with so great an expence, that, large as the produce is, the advantage is little or nothing. The separation of the silver by mercury is still more chargeable than by fire. For besides the excessive price of mercury at first hand, there is the charge of land carriage on the backs of beasts, for no less than six hundred leagues, the distance betwixt Vera-Cruz and Sonora. And thus the mines become relinquished; the separating of the silver by quicksilver yielding no advantage, as is acknowledged by a learned Mexican, in conformity to the demonstration of another able judge, in delivering his opinion on this head. The consequence of this is, that the province is without those goods from abroad which it wants; or that in exchange for them, it gives those very funds which it stands in need of, in manufacturing its staple produce; by which this is entirely at a stand, and every thing goes to ruin. The second reason of this poverty is, that in America, and much more in Sonora, there is a lamentable want of almost all necessary and convenient manufactures, trades, and callings. Other European nations, though abounding with such large quantities of various goods and manufactures within themselves, and an infinite number of products to be disposed of at foreign markets, are yet seen vigorously to en-

courage in their American colonies all kinds of trades, manufactures, arts, and handicrafts ; well knowing that otherwise their plantations would soon degenerate into deserts. Of these establishments the sure consequences are agriculture and graziery, for the subsistence of the artisans, and likewise for furnishing them with many materials. These two alone form the true riches of a country, as it consists entirely in a plenty of provisions, and of inhabitants, and the reciprocal commerce betwixt them. The great Cortes used all possible endeavours, for introducing into Mexico the whole train of arts and trades, to which Old Spain owed its populousness, wealth, happiness, and power, especially precepts in retaining the regular and salutary motion, which it derived from the catholick kings. Cortes's maxims were followed by a few of the viceroys, as the great archbishop Quiroga, cousin to the archbishop cardinal of Toledo, of that name, and who by these measures diffused through Mechoacan, that temporal and spiritual happiness which will eternally endear his memory, to those parts : but since that time the scene is sadly changed; and Old Spain, though without goods, trades, and manufactures, sufficient for its own consumption, receiving, as is well known, such vast quantities from abroad, yet must furnish half the world, i. e. America, with

with most of its necessaries. The province of Sonora we are speaking of, must receive what goods it neither produces nor makes, i. e. all, a few provisions excepted, not immediately from Europe but from Mexico, after all the risks and charges of six hundred leagues land carriage. What then must be the value of a yard of cloth, carried from Holland to Cadiz, from thence exported to Vera Cruz, thence carried to Mexico; and at last from the twelfth, or even the twentieth time sold at Sonora, and perhaps by necessity, bought at the price which an unconscionable dealer is pleased to fix on it. Thus as America is in a great measure destitute of one of the main supports of every state, in want of manufactures and handicrafts for home consumption; and consequently by reason of their intimate connection, little encouragement for agriculture and graziery, great numbers of people, as either without lands, or as unable or unwilling to improve them, not only fall short of that wealth, in pursuit of which they left Europe, but even find themselves without the means of a decent subsistence. The mines are generally thought to be the only resource for acquiring both; many are so dazzled by the computation of their products, that they forget to reckon the charges of them; and most people, without any regard to the good of the

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country,

country, or of posterity, engrossed by an eager desire of amassing a fortune, in order to return to Europe; and as from the mines are to arise the funds for the enormous charges of the works done and to be done, and likewise for providing themselves with all foreign goods: and after these expences also for profit, this produces a necessity of reducing as low as possible, the charges of the works; of looking out for transported labourers, laying excessive tasks on them, putting them off, paying them in bad money, or refusing to pay them at all, or even so much as give them victuals, charge them with crimes they are not guilty of, in order to strip them of what they have already earned, and of harassing the poor creatures by oppressions of various kinds. In the remote provinces of Sonora, the charges are more than double, and the difficulties greater, besides the want of every thing, and the impunity of extortion from the vast distance of the upper tribunals. Farther, no negroes are sent hither, so that only weak and spiritless Indians are to work in the mines, though a most toilsome labour: and for this work, they who are not pressed as it were to be labourers at the farms, are with no less violence, forced away from their missions: though there be something of a greater appearance for the former, the mita days, or those
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in which, according to the laws, the labours of the mines and fields are to be changed, do not suffice for the avidity of the owners, who by a thousand fraudulent practices, engage them at all times: so that many who go to the mines, never in their whole lives return again to their native places. It is in vain for the missionary to reclaim them; besides being disappointed, it is well if the blackest calumnies are not raised against him, or even if he does not suffer some violence, in countries where the mischief is generally in those hands where the remedy should be found; and where any recourse to a higher power is impracticable. If they do appeal, immediately follows a rupture with those, by whose assistance, the conversion was to be carried on; and against his information appear great numbers of others, by which his cause, however just, is overthrown, and he is suspended, if not totally rejected, without waiting for the opinion of the government. In the mean time, the gentile Indians, who are yet free, haughtily refuse to become subject to the yoke of the gospel, when they see their converts forced into such a wretched slavery.

Those also who have been reduced, are often provoked to a revolt; and, even in the profoundest tranquility, have been charged with insurrections, that, under this pretence, an armed

force might be sent against them, to rouse them to an opposition: and then to take them prisoners, and as a punishment are condemned to work for life in the mines; or at the farm houses. Such proceedings decrease the number of Indians; especially as they often procure relief from their miseries by their own hands. The country being thus deprived of its greatest advantages, lies, notwithstanding its inexhaustible mines of silver and fertility, in the most wretched poverty.

Father Eusebius Francisco Kino entered in the year 1687, the province of Sonora; being appointed to the only mission then subsisting, and bordering on the Indians of Pimeria Alta, a province extending above one hundred leagues N. of Sonora, and westward to the gulf of California. He laboured in the mission and reduction of the Indians, with a zeal truly worthy of admiration; went undauntedly alone among them, formed them into villages, prevailed on them to sow their lands and take care of their cattle: as the means of keeping them together, and employing subordinate agents for their civil polity. He had the patience to learn the different languages, translated the catechism and prayers, which without being disgusted by their indocility and dullness, he taught them verbally. He likewise composed
vocabularies

vocabularies and observations, for the use of his assistants and successors: and such were the happy effects of his wonderful mildness and condescension, that they all loved him and confided in him as their general father. He built houses and chapels, formed villages and towns; reconciled nations who were at enmity: and had he, according to his repeated request, been seconded by other missionaries, the conversion of all the nations, betwixt Sonora and the rivers Gila and Colorado, might have been easily accomplished, and the missions of New Spain and California, have carried on an intercourse by land; a design which always appeared extremely difficult. But the hardships which this worthy man suffered from the Indians were the least, or rather not to be compared to those he met with from some Spaniards, against whose violences he was as a wall of brass, in favour of his converts. They obstructed his enterprises and prevented his being assisted by others, it being their interest, that the poor Pimas should be branded with the name of rebels and enemies, that they might commit depredations among them, and force the Indians to serve them as slaves. Besides, the farms already settled, in order to support the civil government of the Indians and their ministers, after such labours and fatigues as cannot be easily conceived,

soon fell to decay : for it was father Kino alone, who had been able to obtain from the audience of Guadalaxara, that the new converts among the Indians, should not, during the first five years of their conversion, be obliged to work either on the lands or in the mines ; though Charles II. from his regard to religion, was pleased by an order dated the 14th of May 1686, to prolong these five years to twenty ; but this was never observed, and the father had the mortification to see those he had baptised, drawn from the mountains and deserts, and instructed with infinite pains, forcibly dragged from him to be buried in the depths of a mine, whence few ever return. Besides these methods for drawing them from the missions, they suffered them in the mines and farms to be guilty of the most abominable excesses, which the fathers took care to restrain in their habitations : yet notwithstanding so many formidable oppositions, father Kino in the year 1690, when father Salva-Tierra, then visitor of the missions, came into Pimeria, shewed him several new villages he had founded ; and the promising dispositions he had made, for baptising the Pimas and other more distant nations.

As both these missionaries were desirous, if possible, to enter California, it was agreed, that father Kino should endeavour to procure
assistants

assistants on the coast of Pimeria and Sonora, in order to make the first essay in these provinces, and from thence to supply the barrenness of California, confiding in the hearty affection which he every where found in the Indians. Accordingly, father Kino the following year penetrated as far as the coast, and in that part of the country of the Pimas called Soba, he built, in the year 1694, a small vessel, in which he came to the bay called Santa Sabina. He also founded, in a convenient situation, twenty-two leagues up the country, the mission of la Concepcion de Caborca. In the year 1698, on father Salva-Tierra's entrance into California, father Kino in the month of September, left his mission of Dolores, and after going northward as far as the river Gila, visiting by the way the rancherias of his catechumens, among the Pimas, Opas, and as far as la Encarnacion and San Andres, he continued his journey, and at eighty leagues from San Andres, came to the gulf of California, where, in thirty-two degrees north latitude he found a creek, abounding with fresh water and wood, formerly called the bay of Santa Clara, lying near the lofty ridge of mountains of that name. From hence he took a view of the coast southward to the bay of Santa Sabina; whence he went to Caborca, and from thence returned to his mission
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of Dolores, after travelling above 300 leagues through a rugged uncultivated country, and the inhabitants destitute of all religion. Father Kino sent an account of this journey to his superiors, and to the fathers Salva-Tierra and Piccolo, from whom he received thanks for his intrepidity and labours, to promote the common good of those conquests. In the following years father Kino made several other progresses, equally long, difficult, and dangerous: sometimes to visit his catechumens to confirm them in the faith, and instruct them in what was further necessary for the subsistence, and the regularity of their commodities; sometimes he was accompanied by captain Mattheo Mange, in order to confute the calumnies and false reports, and quiet insurrections. In his last excursions he was attended by the fathers Antonio Leal, and Francisco Gozalvo, with a design of going among the Apaches, who, however, famous for ferocity, at that time moved by the reputation of father Kino, had desired some fathers to be sent among them for their instruction. This journey was, however, rendered abortive, and the most favourable opportunity of civilizing those savages, absolutely lost. Amidst these important concerns, this great man took care, by the products of his villages, and of the other missions of the province, to supply the
want

want of provisions in California, from the harbours of San Joseph de Guaymas, and that of Hiaqui : and in other things shewed himself an alert and prudent agent for these missions.

However surprising this may appear, yet father Kino's intrepidity was not to be limited. In all these toilsome progresses, and many others through unknown countries, whither his undaunted spirit had carried him, he was always desirous of knowing whether California was united to the continent of New Spain, or whether the gulf continued its direction northward till it issued into the South-sea above cape Mendocino, and forming one of the largest islands in the world. Being a consummate geographer, he was not ignorant that it was formerly considered as part of the continent. But he also knew that ever since the time of Drake, the English navigator, the contrary opinion had prevailed ; and that all the moderns placed it as an island, there being extant also some journals of mariners, according to which they went round California through a streight, and gave the parts and places along which they passed their own names. Nor was the father insensible of the great importance of solving this geographical problem, and of the advantages which would result to the conquest, by carrying on the Sonora and Californian missions northward,

ward, till they should meet ; and thus be of mutual assistance to each other by land. Accordingly in the year 1700, he resolved to visit his Neophites, and penetrate as far as possible, in order to ascertain this junction, which, from the answers and accounts of the Indians, he was inclined to believe.

On the 24th of September 1700, he set out from his mission of Dolores ; and having visited the villages de Los Remedios, and San Simon and Judas, he came to San Ambrosio del Bufanio Tucubabia and Santa Tulalia, having previously spent some time with 300 Indians, who on a missionary being sent them, offered to incorporate themselves with those of Bufaniani ; six leagues farther 40 Indians came out to meet him, and at the same distance farther, he came to the village della Merced ; twenty leagues farther, he found the village of San Geronymo and four rancherias : at the distance of five leagues he came to a piece of water, and met with another 12 leagues farther ; and after travelling 10 other leagues, he found himself at the river Gila. Its source rises in the country of the Apaches, from whence it runs east and west in above 44 degrees of latitude. And after receiving the waters of the river Azul, it loses itself in the famous river Colorado. The father followed the course of the
river

river for 50 leagues, his attendants being a mixture of Pimas, Opas, and Cocomaricopas: and after passing through several rancherias of these nations, he came to the Yumas, who live on the farthest banks of the river Gila, before its conflux with the Colorado; and likewise those on the eastern side of that great river. Here he ascended a mountain of remarkable height, which however afforded him no sight of the sea; nor could he, though assisted by a good telescope, discover any thing but land. In the farther prosecution of his journey, he came to that part of the country where the river Gila joins the Colorado, near which they told him, the four nations called the Quiquimas, the Bagio-pas, the Hobonomas, and Cutguanés had their residence. At the request of the Yumas, he proceeded to the junction of the two rivers; crossed the Gila, which here is very large, and divided into three branches, and ten or twelve leagues farther, came to a fertile spot of land in 35 degrees, lying in an angle formed by the junction of these two rivers, to which he gave the name of San Dionysio. Here above 1500 persons came to see him in a body; and on being examined, they all agreed that there was no sea near the country; for many of them living on the west side of the Colorado, had often swam across the river. They entreated him that he
would

would likewise visit the country; but it was not thought prudent to comply, from the scarcity of provisions, weariness, sickness, and discontent of the Pimas. So that after a great many kind expressions, and a few small presents, he returned to the place where he had first taken view of the country. Here he ascended the highest mountain of the whole chain, from whence, by the help of his telescope, he had a distinct view of the mountains of California, and perceived, that after the conflux of the two rivers at San Dionysio, the Colorado run ten leagues towards the S. W. and 20 more southward, till it discharges itself into the gulf of California. He continued his journey to Caborca by a new route, and at the end of October, arrived at his mission of Dolores, after a journey of about 400 leagues.

Father Kino was now convinced that California was connected to the continent of America, the great river Colorado only intervening, and accordingly published the discovery, and the commandant of Sonora, in the king's name, and the superiors of his order, formally returned him thanks.

Father Juan Maria Salva-Tierra, who in the same month came from California, in order to solicit assistance among the missions and garrisons of Sonora, was greatly pleased at this account;

count; and by letters, and since in person, congratulated father Kino. But this discovery being founded only on a distant view, father Salva-Tierra exhorted father Kino to undertake a second journey, that he might personally prove the truth of it, judging that the whole welfare of his Californian mission depended upon it. He even desired him to cross from Sonora, to the river Colorado; and after following the course of that river, to proceed along the coast of California to the garrison of Loretto. Father Kino readily agreed to the invitation, and though it suffered a delay of some days, on account of the inroads of the lawless Apaches, in the village of Cucurpe, and the neighbouring country; the fathers at length set out from the mission de Dolores, on the 1st of March 1701, and as they took different ways, in order to visit the catechumens, Concepcion de Caborca was appointed for their rendezvous. Father Salva-Tierra went by San Ignacio, in order to reach the river Caborca, the course of which he followed through Tibutama, Axi, San Diepo de Uquitoa, and San Diepo de Pitquin, till he arrived at the rendezvous. Father Kino took a circuit by Cocospera, San Simon and Judas, till at San Ambrosio de Bufanio, he came to the same river of Caborca, and kept along its banks
through

through Sarrii, Tibutama, and other villages to Caborca. From hence they fet out together northward, attended by 10 foldiers, and came to San Eduardo de Baiffia, and San Luis de Bacapa: at the latter they were met by the Marcos de Niza, provincial of the Franciscans, as he himself mentions in his account of the seven cities of Cibola. Twelve leagues farther brought them to San Marcelo, the only spot on all that coast and the adjacent parts for settling a mission, the soil being very fit both for tillage and pasture, and abounding with water for all uses. This place, according to father Kino's observations, lies 50 leagues south of Caborca, 50 north of the river Gila, and at the same distance eastward from San Xavier del Bac; bearing N. W. from the mouth of the river Colorado.

At San Marcelo, they met with an agreeable answer to the messages sent to the Quicimas, some of whom came to meet them at a spring eight leagues from San Marcelo. By these they learned that there were two ways by which they might pass to the mouth of the Colorado; the one over valleys, mountains, and long circuits to the left of the mountains of Santa Clara, the other shorter by the way of the coast, leaving those mountains to the right, along sands of a great extent to the river.

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The Indians perhaps, as they are inured to travel with baggage or provisions, were not aware of the difficulty of passing the sands. However the fathers chose the way along the coast, as it was proper to take a view of it. But this choice in a great measure frustrated the intentions of the journey. After travelling 30 leagues in quest of the sea, they came to a small rancharia; and leaving on the north the great mountain of Santa Clara, whose sides for the length of half a league, are covered with pumice stone, they arrived at the sandy waste on the 19th of March. On the 20th captain Juan Matheo Mange and father Kino, ascended a lofty mountain, whence they not only saw the sea, but also the opposite coast and mountains of California, and found the latitude to be 30 degrees. On the 21st they reached the shore; but being without water or provisions, they found it impossible to proceed along the sand, and accordingly returned to San Marcelo, from whence they set out again, but taking a higher way, and in 32 degrees 35 minutes, ascended a hill of no extraordinary height; but about an hour before sun set, they had, from its summit a clear view of the cordillera of California; particularly the hills of Mescal and Azul. Here they also clearly discovered, beyond all possibility of doubt, the junction of California,

and Pimeria Alta, and the gulf of California terminating at the mouth of the Rio Colorado. This father Kino affirms in his MSS. narratives, and in proof of it, alledged the accounts of captain Juan Matheo Mange, printed in French; though I have not been able to procure them either in that or the Spanish language.

There is however, no occasion for this voucher, father Salva-Tierra saying the same thing in a letter dated at Loretto the 29th of August 1701, wherein he mentions the discovery and its advantages to the father general Thurso Gonzales.

“ I acquainted you, reverend father, that having landed on the other side of New Spain, I travelled along those coasts till from the unanimous informations of the Indians, I had reason to believe that New Spain and California were united; but willing to have further satisfaction with regard to a matter of such importance, I continued my journey, till from a mountain, and that no very high one, I observed the woody mountains of California joined to those of New Spain. This discovery I owe to the holy virgin of Loretto; and I intend a more circumstantial account, which I hope soon will be in your hands. I brought with me father Eusebio Francisco Kino, who I hope, after this voyage, will go in person to those
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those parts, which we have only seen at a great distance, being in about 32 deg. latitude. This excursion at present seems of little advantage, on account of the distance from 26 degrees, where we were in California, to above 32, where the gulf seems to close. These however, are steps by which within a few years California may come to be the soul of this kingdom, the main source of its opulence, the scene of chearful industry; and accordingly I conclude that you will charge all persons that they continue to defend and assist us in these missions of Nuestra Sennora de Loretto de Californias."

There they found the greatest part of the Indians, who, the preceding year had met at San Dionysio, above the conflux of the rivers; and from these they knew that it was still 30 leagues from the sand. The provisions now grew short: so that not without running the risque of the greatest dangers, father Kino returned to San Marcelo to build a church, and give directions concerning a new mission. And Salva-Tierra to Caborca, Dolores, and the other missions of Sonora, in order to collect charities which he carried to the river Hiaqui; and from thence at the latter end of April to Loretto.

This section cannot in justice to father Kino be concluded, without taking notice of his unwearied services in order to ascertain the

junction of those countries, and obtain the reconciliation of new nations, by disposing them to receive the gospel.

In November of the same year 1701, he went to San Marcelo, a different way from the former, thence to the river Gila, which he forded at San Dionysio near its influx into the Colorado; he afterwards repassed the Gila and followed the course of the Colorado by the rancherias of the Yumas and Quinquimas, to the distance of 20 leagues. Here such a vast multitude of Indians came to meet him, that a Spanish lad ran away for fear. In this part the river Colorado is about 200 yards broad. The Indians cross it by swimming, and pushing before them their coryftas, a sort of trough or vessel made of rushes and herbs, in which they carry a bushel or two of maize; and these are of so close a texture that the contents are never damaged by the water. Here father Kino made a balza of pieces of trees, and having to the wonder of the Indians, crossed the river on it, found on its western shore great numbers of Indians of different tribes, as Quinquimas, Coanopas, Bagiopas, and Cetguanes, to whom for the first time, by means of interpreters among the Pimas, he preached the gospel. He travelled on foot three leagues along the country, till he came to the residence of the casique of the Quinquimas.

quimas. Here he found all the country level, intermixed with woods, and the soil fit for tillage and graziery. The number of souls in this neighbourhood, to which he gave the name of Presentation de Nueftra Sennora, he computed at 10,000. Here they offered him a great many azure shells, which are only found on the opposite coast of California; and on enquiring after the South-sea, he was informed that it was but a journey of ten days. Father Kino was extremely desirous of traversing the whole country to Monte-Rey, or cape Mendocino. But there was no boat for carrying the beasts over the river: and without them such a journey was not to be undertaken: so that he was obliged to content himself with writing to father Salva-Tierra at Loretto, which he judged to be about 130 leagues from that place. His letters he trusted to the Quinquimas, but they never came to hand. And now satisfied with the discovery of so many nations he returned, visiting by the way the many villages he had before settled.

In February 1702, father Kino made his last effort, accompanied with father Martin Gonzales, a missionary, who voluntarily offered to attend him in a journey of such labour and hardship, as only to be borne by the vigour and intrepidity of Kino. On the 28th they arrived

at San Dionysio, at the junction of the two rivers, instructing great numbers, who flocked to him from all parts. In March they advanced as far as the rancheria of Quinquimas, to which they gave the name of San Rudefindo. Here the Indians shew'd a very astonishing affability and gentleness; and expressed so much love for the fathers, and even for the beasts, that father Gonzales distributed among them part of his own apparel. They continued their journey down the river Colorado southward, till they came to its mouth, and the sea coast. Here many Indians came from the western banks of the river, intreating them that they would pass over into their country. Of these they enquired about the nations, mountains, and rivers, of the opposite side. And were here again confirmed, that ten days would bring them to the shore of the South-sea. The night of the 10th they passed at the very mouth of the river, that at high-water the tide came very near their beds. A balza was begun for crossing the river, but the cumbrance of the beasts, the breadth of the river, the rapidity of the current, and especially the illness of father Gonzales, by continual fatigue, occasioned that design to be dropped; and all he could do was to return with his sick brother. Father Kino was for crossing the sand as the shortest

shortest way, and at the same time take a survey of the coast as far as San Marcelo. But he found it impracticable, and accordingly returned with all the haste father Gonzales's case required, to the mission of Tibutama, where he lost his fellow-traveller, whose zeal was too strong for his constitution. In the following years father Kino was wholly taken up with promoting and cementing the missions begun in Pimeria, amidst very severe persecutions raised against him and his converts; and being without any one to assist him in so wide a province, and inhabited by new christians and catechumens, he was obliged to be continually travelling hard from one part to another. But it was not till the year 1706 that he returned towards the Rio Colorado, when he made an entrance into that country with the chief military officers of Savora, who by order of the governor were sent to view the country, and with them Manuel de Ojuela, a Franciscan. They found it the same as at the former entrances, on which they returned, and father Kino, with the same dauntless zeal, repaired to his mission, where he continued till the year 1710, when he passed from these earthly abodes to the mansions of eternity.

S E C T. VI.

New resolutions in CALIFORNIA, and the progress of its missions till the end of the year 1703.

The arrival of father Juan Maria Salva-Tierra at Loretto, gave inexpressible joy to all, as they considered him as their common father: but father Ugarte, as knowing him best, and being most intimate with him, received him with particular transports of joy. At first he had not a licence from the superiors to remain in California; but from his extreme desire of assisting in the new mission to the pagans, he obtained it through the interest of father Salva-Tierra, who came very opportunely for admitting him as his colleague, though thoroughly sensible of the want of so active an agent at Mexico. It was immediately agreed, that father Piccolo should go to New Spain to have the bark at Matanchel repaired, and negotiate the common affairs of the mission. Accordingly he put to sea twice, but was both times driven back by foul weather: so that the voyage was laid aside till a more favourable season. On this father Piccolo returned to attend his mission of San Xavier; and father Ugarte remained with Salva-Tierra, at Loretto, in order to learn the language

language and assist where there should be the greatest occasion.

Captain don Antonio Garcia de Mendoza, still continued by his discontent to disturb the garrison, and to bring an odium upon it among the men in power: but seeing that after all his repeated complaints, no order came from Mexico to exempt him from a subordination to the fathers; and that these on the other hand, would not permit him to oppress the Indians by forcing them to the pearl-fishery, and other laborious employments for his advantage, he thought proper to throw up his commission.

This father Salva-Tierra was very far from objecting to, and nominated in his stead as his lieutenant, Isidoro de Figuerva, who not long after shewed himself unworthy of his preferment by a remarkable action: for the Indians of Vigge Biaundo, at the instigation of their priests and physicians, suddenly formed a design of murdering father Piccolo, and destroying his little habitation and chapel. In order to this a considerable number came down with great violence, that the brave resistance made by a few who remained faithful, proved ineffectual, but the father had providentially left the house some time before. Enraged at their disappointment they attacked the house and chapel, which they destroyed, together with all the

the furniture of both. Informed of the havock by a faithful Indian, he withdrew to Loretto. Vigge however was not to be forsaken, being the most proper part for sowing of all the land yet discovered; the public safety also required that such an attempt should not pass without animadversions. Accordingly the lieutenant marched with a party of soldiers, but the Indians at sight of them fled from their rancheria. The soldiers were for following them, but this, on account of the breaches, was opposed. The party returned so discontented with their leader as to occasion a private choice of a captain, which, by a great majority, went in favour of the Portuguese, don Estevan Rodrigues Lorenzo, who worthily filled that post till the year 1740. But the Indians seeing the low state of the garrison, observed no measures, that when the soldiers were whipping a Cinaloa Indian who had been treacherously concerned in the rebellion of San Xavier, some of that rancheria feigning to have no ill design, came near the camp, and shot some arrows at the captain and the company who pursued them to no purpose. Afterwards it was found necessary to pardon them, that the wound might not bleed afresh: and likewise because they had readily complied with the conditions prescribed them.

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At the end of the same year 1700, father Ugarte having obtained at a sufficient acquaintance with the language of the country, and the Vigge Indians shewing themselves quiet and satisfied, this mission was by no means to be forsaken; and father Piccolo being to go to New Spain, Salva-Tierra invested father Ugarte with the mission. Accordingly he set out with some soldiers, but his fortitude was soon put to the trial. The Indians either from disaffection, or for fear of the soldiers, fled up the country, so that for several days not one of them was to be seen. The soldiers became very troublesome to the father, because they had no Indians to wait upon them, nor would he allow that they should go in search of them, lest they should do them some injury, that at length wearied with their insolences, he determined to discharge them and remain alone among savages, and half reconciled enemies, committing the whole to providence. Thus he spent the day; and at the close of the night a boy came as a spy to the door of the college; the father received and kindly entertained him, so that he returned to his countrymen with a message desiring that they would come, the soldiers being all gone. The Indians followed one another, that after an astonishing patience and sufferings, he had the pleasure of seeing all his flock together: and

and now he began to lay a more solid foundation for that mission. But he undertook two designs both equally difficult. The first to teach and instruct the Indians, mildly gaining them to be present every day at the mass, the rosary, and the catechising; and alienating them from their forcerers, or deceitful priests. The second was to accustom them to till the land, and take care of the cattle; to civilize savages used to perpetual sloth, and seeking their food among the woods. The stability and continuance of his new mission depended principally on procuring a subsistence for himself and his Indians, without depending on the uncertain succours from the coast of New Spain: and this provision was of equal necessity to the garrison of Loretto, which was every day in danger of being destroyed by famine; not only their cloaths and other necessaries, but even the very daily food being brought thither from the opposite coast, across a sea frequently very boisterous, and in a bark and boat, both in a very crazy condition. Loretto had so very little ground for sowing, that the only improvement made there was a garden of fruit trees and pot herbs; but the produce was scarce any thing for such a number: father Ugarte therefore, who had land sufficient and of a good kind, took upon him to insure the
common

common relief, at least, for the most urgent necessity, exclusive of the maintenance of his Indians. The fatigues of body and mind, which it must cost him, among such a fickle, brutish set of mortals, are hardly conceivable, although too common in the settlement of every new mission.

We shall however mention a few particulars, from which some idea may be formed of the care and labour which attend these noble enterprizes.

In the morning after saying mass, and at which he obliged them to attend with order and respect, he gave a breakfast of pozoli to those who were to work, set them about building the church and houses for himself and his Indians, clearing the ground for cultivation, making trenches for the conveyance of water, holes for planting trees, or digging and preparing the ground for sowing. In the building part father Ugarte was master, overseer, carpenter, bricklayer, and labourer. For the Indians, though animated by his example, could neither by gifts or kind speeches, be prevailed upon to shake off their innate sloth; and were sure to slacken if they did not see the father work harder than any of them: so that he was the first in fetching stones, treading the clay, mixing the sand, cutting, carrying

rying and barking the timber; removing the earth; and fixing materials. He was equally laborious in the other tasks, sometimes felling trees with his ax, sometimes with his spade in his hand digging up the earth, sometimes with an iron crow splitting rocks, sometimes disposing the water trenches, sometimes leading the beasts and cattle which he had procured for his mission to pasture and water: thus by his own example, teaching the several kinds of labour. The Indians whose narrow ideas and dullness could not at first enter into the utility of these fatigues, which at the same time deprived them of their customary freedom of roving among the forests. On a thousand occasions they sufficiently tried his patience, coming late, not caring to stir, running away, jeering him, and sometimes even forming combinations, and threatening death and destruction: all this was to be borne with unwearied patience, having no other recourse than affability and kindness, sometimes intermixed with gravity to strike respect; also taking care not to tire them, and suit himself to their weakness.

In the evening the father led them a second time to their devotions; in which the rosary was prayed over, and the catechism explained; and the service was followed by the distribution of some provisions. At first they were very troublesome

troublesome all the time of the sermon, jesting and sneering at what he said. This the father bore with for a while, and then proceeded to reprove them : but finding they were not to be kept in order, he made a very dangerous experiment of what could be done by fear. Near him stood an Indian in high reputation for strength ; and who presuming on this advantage, the only quality esteemed among them, took upon himself to be more rude than the others. Father Ugarte who was a large man, and of uncommon strength, observing the Indian to be in the height of his laughter, and making signs of mockery to the others, seized him by the hair and lifting him up, swang him to and fro : at this the rest ran away in the utmost terror : they soon returned one after another, and the father so far succeeded to intimate them, that they behaved more regularly for the future. But he being informed that their unseasonable mirth was owing to the mistakes he committed in the words and pronunciation, he applied himself to improve in both by means of boys, having experienced that the men, besides their obstinacy imposed upon him, in order afterwards to laugh at him. However the work from the stupidity and sloth of these unhappy creatures, went on very slowly. But every difficulty is surmountable by
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the labour and perseverance of an assiduous and resolute man, who toils for the glory of his maker.

In the succeeding years father Ugarte saw the happy fruits of his patience, having not only brought the Indians to the knowledge of the christian doctrine, and a decent attendance at divine worship, but likewise to a suitable life without any of the disorders of their savage state. He inured their indocile sloth to labour, and he had plentiful harvests of wheat, maize, and other grains: he may be said to have surmounted impossibilities, in watering and cultivating craggy and rugged grounds. He even made a considerable quantity of generous wine; of which, after supplying the missions in California, some was sent New Spain in exchange for other goods. He likewise bred horses and sheep, and was indeed, the purveyor general of the garrisons and missions, who without the assistance of father Ugarte's fortitude and industry, could not have subsisted: but no difficulty deterred him; and at last he brought his labours to the intended issue, and under a long course of obstructions and impediments, he saw his wishes happily accomplished.

In the year 1707, all New Spain suffered extremely for want of rain: Cinaloa and Sonora were likewise reduced to great distress; California

fornia also had been without rain. Yet father Ugarte, writing to don Joseph de Miranda, on the 9th of June, tells him, "It is now two months since seamen and landmen eat here good bread of our own harvests, while the poor on the other coast, in Cinaloa and Sonora, are perishing. Who would have dreamed of any such thing?"

These harvests, though not sufficient for the whole year, served for lessening the charges, and for relief in exigencies like this, even after provision was made for the subsistence of the Indians, the garrisons and the missions. But at once to give a full idea of the industry and zeal of this religious man, we shall add what he did in the following years, for cloathing his naked Indians. His sheep, brought originally from the other coast, being sufficiently increased, that his Indians might make the best use of their wooll, he determined to teach them the method of preparing, spinning, and weaving it for cloaths. Accordingly, he himself made the distaffs, spinning wheels, and looms. Though to forward and improve so beneficial a scheme, he sent to Tepique for one Antonio Moran, a master weaver, and allowed him a salary of five hundred dollars. Moran staid several years in California, till he had sufficiently instructed the Indians in their trade and some

other handicrafts. By these new manufactures, he saved the vast expences of sail cloth and bays, a measure both political and pious: and the only one which, if imitated in Spain and America, for the consumption of its manufactures of all kinds, may retrieve its poverty and depopulation, to the infinite advantage of the state; the misfortunes and disgraces of which, arise principally from the want of encouragement, and consequently the want of industry in manufactories of goods, in exchange for which, both worlds are drained to enrich our enemies. These advantages, which were the works of years carried on by the zeal of father Ugarte, whose example, where possible, has been followed by the missionaries, were the more valuable from the streights, famines, and dangers of the first years. It was now the end of the year 1701, and with it ended all the provisions of the garrison of Loretto; and thus father Piccolo's departure was hastened, both to give account of the necessity, and ask supply along the coast of New Spain: and likewise that in Guadalaxara and Mexico, he might be a witness of what was seen to make so very little impression when shewn upon paper. It was the 26th of December when this father embarked, the fathers Ugarte and Salva-Tierra remaining with the people of the garrison, under

der great streights, which lasted till the 29th of January 1702, when the boat returned loaded with maize, meal, and other provisions. But this supply did not last long, for as captain Rodrigues Lorenzo says in his journal, “the venerable father Salva-Tierra’s benevolence in his donations to the Indians, was such, that in a short time our necessity returned upon us.” In the following spring and summer, their want became very alarming, the supply they expected at this season having failed, as indeed it depended only on one bark, which took up time in repairing, besides that of collecting and loading the provisions, and frequently of struggling with bad weather. The allowances had for some time been reduced: but at length the whole stock of provisions was spent, except some flesh scarce fit for use, that now they were under a necessity of procuring their food like the Indians; looking out along the shore for what fish they could pick up, and ranging along the mountains for pitahayas and other fruits and roots; father Ugarte always being the first in all labours and contrivances for subsisting the people.

There is no reading without a sensible sympathy, the letters of the fathers, when they descend into particulars, about the famine and distresses which they laboured under, and their

various means of preserving their lives. Their melancholy condition was aggravated by an insurrection of the Indians, proceeding from the indiscretion of a soldier called Poblano. He had that year married an Indian woman of the country, and who had been baptised: in the month of June, her mother came to the camp, and prevailed on her to quit her husband, and go with her to partake of the dances and diversions among the Indians at that time, being the gathering of the pitahayas. The daughter was but too ready to listen to any proposals for a party of pleasure, and both stole away in the night-time unperceived. The soldier, on missing his wife, asked leave of the captain to go in search of her and bring her back. The captain consented, but limited him to a certain distance. The soldier went with a comrade, and not finding her, returned. But his love or resentment was such, that within a few days he went with a Californian Indian, to a rancheria, where he heard a great deal of shouting and noisy merriment. An old Indian whom he happened to meet, being informed of the motive of his coming, advised him by all means to go back, as otherwise his life would be in great danger. The soldier blinded by passion, insulted the Indian, which he could not bear, so that the soldier shot him dead on the spot.

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At the noise of the musket, the Indians came running up from the rancheria, and immediately killed the soldier with their arrows. Nor did his companion, the Californian, escape without a wound, but returned to give an account of the affair at the camp. On this, the captain sent notice to the fathers who were at Londo, that they might retire to Loretto. He ordered three soldiers who were at Santa Rosalia, the visitation village of San Xavier de Vigge, to be upon their guard; and he himself marched with a part in quest of the Indians, whilst these, knowing the weakness of the garrison, had spirited up almost every rancheria, to join in a general insurrection. In this expedition our men suffered extremely, from hunger and a fatigue of marching among mountains, precipices, and breaches: some skirmishes happened, in which four or five of the insurgents fell. Father Ugarte had sowed some maize, and the first harvest of it was very soon expected; but the Indians fell on it and quite destroyed it, and would have done the same with the chapel and house, if they had not found them guarded by some soldiers and Indians. But their cruelty farther discharged itself on a few goats, the milk of which, was the fathers chief support in their extremity. The numbers and violence of the natives was daily increasing, and distress and consternation

among our men; when happily the bark arrived with a supply of provisions and a few soldiers. This contributed by degrees to appease the disturbances, and the revolted Indians by the mediation of friends were reconciled, and tranquility seemed again to take place.

Among the disagreeable circumstances of California, it was not the least, that no account had been received of father Piccolo, who, as we have said, had gone to New Spain. This father, after taking measures in Cinaloa, for the speedy succour of his colleagues in the mission, went to Guadalaxara, where he had an account of the three favourable schedules abovementioned; by which king Philip V. ordered an assignment of six thousand crowns for that conquest, requiring an account of its condition and progress. The royal audience of Guadalaxara, directed him pursuant to these orders, to lay an account before them of the whole, which the father did in a writing dated the 10th of February 1702, and which was soon afterwards printed at Mexico. To this as added the deposition of three witnesses, who had been in California. Having concluded these and other affairs, he set out for Mexico in the beginning of March, three months before the royal schedule had come to hand; and father Alexandro Romano, had actually presented a
memorial

memorial to the governor, requesting the payment of six thousand dollars, setting forth, at the same time, the extreme necessity and danger both of the garrison and the fathers; but without obtaining any answer. On the arrival of father Piccolo, a memorial was presented; and this was sent to the treasurer. But though he confirmed the whole truth of the request, only three thousand dollars were ordered to be advanced: and when he brought this order to the cashier's office, he was told that it could not be paid, as by an order from Spain, of 1696, no payment was to be made, without specifying the branch of the revenue, out of which it was to be taken. This the fathers complained of, as his majesty's intention was so clearly expressed. The treasurer stood their friend, and in an assembly of the 29th of April, after all their witnesses and papers were examined, an order was given to pay them the six thousand dollars. But their other petition for a vessel, six soldiers and three missionaries, was put off, till an account was sent to his majesty, together with the memorial and other writings relating to California.

Father Piccolo had received the sum of money appointed for the pay of the garrison, and with the benevolences he could collect, he purchased the goods desired in the memorials, and

got ready a relief for the most urgent necessities : none was so great as that of the missionaries, which touched the heart of don Joseph de la Puente, marquis de Villa Puente, a nobleman whose amazing charity must for ever endear his memory to all mankind : Europe, America, and Asia, had felt the happy effects of his diffusive benevolence : and now he offered immediately to support three missions, and don Nicolas de Arteaga and his lady, had offered to found another.

The funds being thus secured for the maintenance of four missions, father Piccolo waited on the provincial Francisco de Arteaga, desiring that he would appoint them : but the paucity of proper subjects, the number of priests in that province seldom exceeding three hundred, and the necessity of providing for the multitude of colleges and missions, through the immense continent of S. America, would not admit of nominating more than two, who were father Juan Manuel de Bassaldua, a native of Mechoacan, and father Geronimo Minutili a Sardinian ; a vessel was purchased at Acapulco, called Nuestra Senora del Rosario, and being rigged and part of her cargo taken in, father Minutili brought her to Matanchel in New Galicia, where the fathers embarked with all the necessaries that were wanting. They had a pleasant
voyage

voyage as far as the gulf, but there they were overtaken by a violent tempest, that they were obliged to throw over-board all the part of their cargo which was upon the deck. But at last the fury of the wind ceased, the sea gradually grew calm, and they came into the bay of Loretto on Saturday the 28th of October, where a solemn thanksgiving was performed.

The joy of the few which remained in the garrison, the others having been discharged, through an inability of continuing their pay, may be conceived from the distresses they had undergone, all crowding about father Piccolo with warm effusions of thanks for his expedition. And now father Juan Maria, with this fresh reinforcement of handicraftsmen, and the security of the royal fund, though but scanty for the garrison, conceived higher designs; and that they might be executed in the best manner, and with dispatch, he conferred with all the fathers on the properest measures. By them it was resolved that father Ugarte should go over to the continent to procure cattle, in order for breeding, and horses and mules for tillage, the service of the missions, and for progresses up the country; that father Minutili should stay in Loretto with father Salva-Tierra; and that father Bassaldua should go to San Xavier with father Piccolo, to learn the language, assist him and ac-
custom

custom himself to the functions. Though father Ugarte failed in the beginning of November, the N. W. wind, after being some days at sea, obliged him to put back. But setting sail a second time, in December, he happily arrived at San Joseph de Guaymas, on the coast of Pimeria, whence, in February 1703, he returned to California, with a good quantity of black cattle, sheep, horses, mules, and provisions. Father Salva-Tierra had not neglected in the mean time, to make some progresses, but of no great extent, by reason of his attendants travelling on foot, and the country being rocky and craggy; with this new reinforcement, he carried his attempts farther, and on the first of March of the same year 1703, he set out to take a survey of the opposite western coast along the South sea. Being attended by the captain, some soldiers, and Californians, he took his way by the mission of San Xavier de Vigge, and the town of Santa Rosalia: in the latter he was joined by the fathers Piccolo and Bassaldua. They reached the opposite coast without finding any Indians, and travelled over part of it, both towards the South and North, without meeting so much as one proper harbour or creek for shelter: and though some of the grounds promised pretty well for tillage, they were quite destitute of water, and on the other hand,

hand, no reliance can be had on the rains in a country, where, by experience, they are known to be extremely irregular and uncertain. They travelled on southward to the little river San Xavier, which issues into the sea through some creeks, which abounds in fish of the testaceous and other kinds. Here they saw at a distance, some Indian men and women, who immediately betook themselves to flight. But some Californians who were sent after them, removed their fears. In their return, they passed by two rancherias, whom they encouraged to come nearer to San Xavier de Vigge, and without meeting any tract fit for a settlement, on account of the want of water, they soon after came to Loretto. The second journey was in May, and towards the north, in order to take a view of a certain river beyond the bay of Conception, which they did not question but that it would prove very convenient for settling a mission on its banks. When they were near the bay, which is forty leagues from Loretto, they came to a large rancheria of Indians, who at sight of them made ready their arrows; but father Ugarte advancing with the Californians, who were his guides and interpreters, they received him very courteously. These Indians informed them, that it was still a long way from Conception to the river, and full of craggs and abysses; so that it
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was thought improper to undertake such a laborious task at that time: and this discovery was deferred to be performed by sea, at a more favourable opportunity.

But a dismal cloud soon overspread part of California: some Indians arriving in a fright from the mission of San Xavier with advice, that the malecontents of their rancheria, at the instigation of the wretch who had headed the last conspiracy, had formed themselves into a body with other rancherias, and in one night's time, had massacred all the adult catechumens, except those who found means to escape to the garrison. This was received with all the concern the case required, and it was unanimously resolved, that it was absolutely necessary to make an example of these barbarians, who were known chiefly to consist of the murderers of the soldier Poblano, and whom the connivance at that action, had spirited up to farther outrages, no longer to be suffered. The captain, with the soldiers, and a party of Indians, surprised the rebels at midnight, but very few stood their ground; so only very few were killed, but, among them, one who was very active in the massacre. The leader of the conspiracy, who had been in most of the disturbances, escaped; and it would not have been prudent for our men to have
ventured

ventured themselves in an unknown rocky country, in pursuit of him: but the captain determined to check the seditious, and accordingly with an air of great resentment, threatened all the Indians, who being countrymen of the slaughtered catechumens, had remained at San Xavier, or immediately repaired thither, that he would pursue them without pity, till they delivered up the leader of the rebellion dead or alive; accordingly within a few days he was brought alive. The captain formally tried him on the depositions of his countrymen, which indeed were all confirmed by his own confession. It was discovered that he had several times intended to cut off the fathers and soldiers; and that, failing in this design, he had once turned his rage against the chapel and images, and lastly in such a barbarous manner against the catechumens. He appeared also to have had the chief hand in the killing of Poblano, and to have put the Indian women upon marrying with Spaniards, in order to bring about more disasters of the like nature: lastly, that from the beginning, he had been the leading incendiary in most of the revolts, and consequently deserved death; accordingly the captain pronounced his sentence, but before proceeding to execution, he advised the fathers at Loretto of it. Father Piccolo came immediately, and was
for

for setting him at liberty, but could not prevail. Soon after came likewise father Salva-Tierra, who proposed that he should be banished for ever to the other side of California, but the captain remained inflexible in his opinion, that it was absolutely necessary to make a publick example of him; and all that could be obtained, was a respite for catechising him in order to baptise him. This was done to the great satisfaction of the criminal, who was of more lively parts than the rest of his countrymen, and had already a sufficient knowledge of our holy mysteries. Being baptised, he became another man, and desired death, as what he had well deserved, and forewarned his countrymen against the like crimes. In his last hours he was assisted by father Bassaldua, the fathers Piccolo and Salva-Tierra, from the tenderness of their disposition, being withdrawn to Loretto. The Indians every where being so humbled by this seasonable severity, that for a long time not the least disturbance appeared among them.

The profound tranquility of the Indians was an opportunity for the establishment of new missions, which was not to be overlooked. Two were immediately wanting, one south of Loretto, on the coast of Ligui or Malabat, which was said to be a very convenient spot, and the other northward, by the side of the
river,

river, which, in May, father Ugarte had made a fruitless search after by land. But a certain account of it was brought by the bark, which contrary winds had driven there, in one of her voyages to Yaqui. In order to take a particular survey of it, the fathers Piccolo and Bassaldua, with the captain and some soldiers went thither the latter end of August in the garrison's bark. They steered northward up the gulf, and a little beyond Conception bay, found the mouth of the river, which, in the country tongue was called Mulege, behind cape de los Virgines; having landed, they went up the country about a league, by the river side, to the spot where afterwards was founded the mission of Santa Rosalia: here, in order to a farther view of the country, as being very rugged and mountainous, beasts were necessary, and they all re-embarked, and went over to the opposite coast, in order to bring them. Father Andres de Cervantes, missionary of Yaqui, immediately furnished them with beasts, and father Piccolo remaining with two seculars, to collect contributions in the missions of Sonora, for that under him then in its infancy in California, father Bassaldua returned with the rest to the river Mulege. Here they underwent great fatigues in surveying the country, in order to find a way along the mountains, lying betwixt the

N. and N. W. of Loretto. This was a service absolutely necessary to the foundation of the mission, for such a communication by land was of indispensable necessity towards the settlement of a mission; but after all their endeavours, the country was found impenetrable, and they were a second time obliged to re-embark, and went to Conception bay, which lies but two leagues from the river Mulege. Here having sent the bark to Guaymas, they went by the way which had been discovered, and partly cleared the preceding May to San Juan de Londo, now the visitation town, where the venerable father Salva-Tierra was, and immediately from thence to Loretto, whither they were called by by the following misfortune.

Pursuant to the prudent orders of the vice-roy, for putting a stop to the violences committed in the pearl fishery, which had been one of the main impediments to the conversion of the Californians, none were to go from the coast of New Spain, either to fish or trade for pearls without licence from the government; and before putting it in practice, to show it to the captain of the new garrison of Loretto: however, two vessels had presumed without any such licence, to fish for pearls betwixt the islands. But a storm, in which the garrison's bark, in going from Conception to Guaymas, was very near being lost,
drove

drove these two smuggling vessels ashore in San Dionysio bay; the crew, which were near seventy in number, having with great difficulty saved themselves, immediately made towards the garrison for assistance. Soon after fourteen other men were seen in boats, the unhappy remains of another vessel lost by the same storm. These unhappy people could not be denied cloathing and food, though the refitting of the two stranded vessels took up some months. And this act of charity, expended almost the whole supply which father Piccolo had a little before brought from Yaqui. Towards the close of the year, the fourteen who had suffered shipwreck were carried over to the continent, along with father Minutili, who, as California by no means agreed with his health, was appointed missionary of Tibutama in Sonora, as assistant to father Kino.

S E C T. VII.

His majesty's gracious orders concerning the mission, its great difficulties and distresses in the year 1704, both in CALIFORNIA and Mexico; father Salva-Tierra appointed provincial of New Spain.

The whole Californian mission, was in extreme distress at the beginning of the year 1704,

the 7th of this new conquest; and which was very near being the last. The vessel called the Rosario, stood in need of large repairs, which could be done only on the other side, from whence they were to bring the cash, and orders for payment of the soldiers; and likewise goods of absolute necessity for the missions and the fathers. On the 12th of February, father Bassaldua set sail in it for Matanchel, from whence he proceeded to Guadalaxara and Mexico. Father Piccolo went again in the San Xavier bark, to Guaymas, the mission of San Joseph there having been annexed to California; that, being under the same superior and visitor, there might be a greater harmony and the supplies of provisions and beasts, which California stood in need of, be more ready and convenient. The active father Piccolo went to and fro, bringing all that he could possibly collect on the opposite coast, for the support of the garrison; but it is not to be thought that he could collect a sufficiency for such a number of people. A great part of the provisions was spoiled, partly by lying in the storehouse and by the damages of the sea; and the boisterousness of the latter did not always admit of the transportation, especially as the bark, their only vehicle, was in a weak condition.

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In the mean time father Bassaldua made himself sure, that, on coming to Mexico, all the difficulties and streights of his beloved California would soon be at an end: and that the reduction and conquest of it for the king would be soon accomplished. But he quickly saw the delusion of these hopes, though in themselves not ill grounded. In the preceding year 1703, the fathers Bernard Rolendigui and Nicholas de Vera, had gone from Mexico to Madrid and Rome, as agents of the province of Mexico. They presented to the young king, don Philip V. a memorial and report of the mission established in California, its state to that time, the spiritual and temporal advantages to his dominions that might be expected, if his majesty would be pleased effectually to encourage the missions; the means and measures for rendering such encouragement effectual, and the damages which the crown would suffer from the relinquishment of the enterprize, which had been begun with a fairer prospect of success than ever. On the 16th of June, this memorial was read in the supreme council of the Indies, his majesty being present in person: and before him the matter was fully discussed, and the treasurer of the council was directed to report his opinion, agreeable to the former accounts, as those sent for from the government of Mex-

ico were not yet come, and the affair would not admit of farther delays. On the report of the treasurer on the 28th of September 1703, his majesty signed five warrants: the first, directed to the viceroy, contained an order, that for the future the benevolence usually given to the missionaries of Cinaloa, Sonora, and New Biscay, should be transferred to the missionaries of California; and that likewise they should be furnished with bells, oil, ornaments, and other things usually given to new missions; that the viceroy should hold a meeting of military officers, jesuits, and persons acquainted with the country and those coasts, in order to settle, as far north as possible, a garrison, with thirty soldiers and a commander, to be nominated by the viceroy, for the defence of the country, as a safe receptacle to the Philippine ships; that a vessel of a proper burden should be purchased for the transportation of the people, to be manned with eight men and a master; and likewise for carrying necessaries to the mission; that every year, notwithstanding the warrants of 1696, there should be paid without any deduction or delay, seven thousand dollars out of the treasury of Guadalaxara, over and above the six thousand already assigned for this service. Lastly, his majesty required an account to be transmitted to him of the missions,

sions, founded by private persons : also that the pearl fishery should be again set on foot, taking due care to prevent any complaints, by severely punishing every violence, fraud, or riot, and that for peopling and securing the conquest, endeavours should be used for sending poor families thither from New Spain. The other four schedules were gratulatory ; that to don Joseph de Miranda Villizan, the treasurer of Guadaluaxara, and the father provincial of the society, for their zeal ; and those to don Juan Cavalero y Ocio, and the congregation of Los Dolores, for the foundation of three missions, by their charitable donations. The schedules came to the viceroy's hands on the 11th of April 1704, and being referred to the treasurer, he made his report on the 18th of the same month, that the contents of them ought entirely and absolutely to be fulfilled. Now father Bassaldua was in the height of joy, and thinking that at length the time was come, when he should see his mission settled on a sure foundation, and his prosperity daily increasing, he poured out his fervent thanks to God. But so far from it, that the viceroy referred the schedule, and the treasurer's answer to a general assembly, at which were to assist, father Piccolo, who was said to be at Acapulco, when he was at Guaymas the least frequented harbour in the gulf of Ca-

California, as likewise father Salva-Tierra, who was also in California. To the latter, the father visitor Manuel Peneyro sent letters, summoning him to Mexico; but in the meantime, the new royal warrant remained without any effect, notwithstanding the zeal and strength with which his majesty, from his care for religion, had expressed his royal intentions. Father Bassaldua desired that at least the six thousand dollars, ordered by the warrant of 1701, for the garrison might be paid; but this also was denied him, on the plea of the great damage the fleet had sustained from the enemy, in Vigo harbour in Galicia; and that it was necessary to employ what money was in the treasury, on affairs of greater importance. But the true cause of this refusal of succours for California, both at that time and since, and of the various means, by which the strictest orders of the king were eluded, was (omitting those before observed) the zeal of his majesty's ministers, for sending to Spain, as much specie as they well could, it being a juncture, in which indeed his majesty stood in need of all possible succours, a great part of Europe being leagued together to deprive him of his crown; and if the royal revenue was laid out on new salaries, vessels, conquests, missionaries, and garrisons, there would be but a small surplus to remit to Spain,

Spain. On this very account, the more admirable was the magnanimity and devotion of that incomparable prince, Philip V. who, rising above all the troubles and dangers in which, at that time, not only his dominions, but even his person were exposed, never ceased sending the most explicit and peremptory orders, for the prosecution of these apostolical and useful enterprises. The disaster of the fleet at Vigo affected the far greatest part of the New Spain benefactors to the mission of California; the consequence of which was, that father Bafaldua, could collect but a small share among them, for the relief of his mission: That he could only refit his bark, and buy up a few necessaries; and with these, accompanied by father Pedro Ugarte, who procured himself to be nominated to succeed father Minutili in California, as his brother John had done, he put to sea, and at the end of June, came to San Dionysio bay, though with little comfort, either to himself or the garrison of Loretto.

The fathers and soldiers in California, were now in great streights, and towards the end of summer, their necessity became extreme: both the larger and smaller vessel, bound to the continent for provisions, having, by the hard gales at N. W. being twice obliged to put back empty. The men of the garrison, who, with

the seamen and Indians of New Spain, amounted to sixty persons, could not conceal their discontent, which was, that the bills they had petitioned for at Mexico, on account of their pay, were not arrived: and it was known that the love and respect which they bore to the fathers, whom they saw in no less distress than themselves, was the only consideration which restrained them from entirely quitting the garison. The want of every necessary of life, at last, increased to such a degree, that father Juan Maria thought it necessary to call together all the fathers and the captain, to deliberate whether the mission should be forsaken or not. The venerable father himself, was indeed determined to remain among his Californians, if by himself; and this disposition he had made known to the treasurer Miranda, on the 8th of February of the same year, "I, for my part, will remain here, without a single soldier, whatever risk may be in it; and, I believe, father Ugarte is of the same mind." They were the only two who remained there, the fathers Piccolo and Bassaldua being absent. But it was not reasonable that this extremity should be obtruded upon the others, who, if they were disposed to sacrifice themselves, were not to be deprived of the merit and glory of a free option, nor was it prudent, purely out of zeal
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and firmness, to expose such a number of persons to perish, nor to load one's self with the odium of the loss of all, if such a thing happened. It was absolutely proper to appease the discontents of the garrison, which were as just as they were irremediable. All the fathers, the captain, and another officer of the garrison being met, the venerable father Juan Maria addressed them to the following purpose; that there was no need of representing to them the present melancholy situation of affairs, as they unhappily saw it and felt it: that however they could not impute it to any want of diligence in him, having been eye-witnesses of his attention and labour, that they also were not ignorant of father Bassaldua's ill success at Mexico, and that at present no speedy succour was to be expected from that quarter; that this garrison and mission deserved, in a particular manner, his majesty's munificence, and had already informed them of the royal schedules passed in September of the preceding year: that he was summoned to Mexico, to confer concerning the execution of them; but that he would not stir out of California, till his mission was either relieved or broke up: that as the execution of these schedules was retarded, and the necessity grew every day more pressing, without hopes of relief, and the conquest being continually exposed to the
same

same fluctuations, he desired that they would freely and unreservedly determine, whether they should, together with the Californians who were willing to follow them, all withdraw in the greater and lesser vessel, to the coast of New Spain, and there wait a more favourable juncture of returning to the conquest and reduction of California, under the powerful assistance of the king. Father Piccolo, as founder, that he might not, by his vote, hinder those of the rest, spoke with an entire indifference on the alternative. But father Ugarte resolutely opposed their quitting the country, moving that all the people who were desirous of going, should be discharged with certificates for their pay; that as to the rest, he engaged to provide wild food for the Indians, till provisions came from the other side of the sea; and that as for himself, he could be perfectly content with the pitahayas, fruits, and roots, which his Californian friends eat. He was seconded by the fathers Pedro Ugarte, Bassaldua, and Piccolo, to the great joy of father Salva-Tierra. The captain and the others, who had been sent for from the garrison, alarmed at such a proposal, went so far as to say, that they would solemnly protest against the fathers, if the country was quitted. Nevertheless, notice was given to the people, that whoever would, might embark in the two vessels

vessels which were going to the continent of New Spain, and bills should be given them for the payment of their arrears: but one and all in the camp, instead of embracing the offer, cried out that they would live night and day with the fathers, rather than leave them. In the mean time came on some fair weather, and the bark went with father Piccolo to Guaymas, and the vessel to the river Yaqui, with letters for the missionaries. Father Juan Ugarte sometimes by himself, sometimes accompanied by soldiers and convert Indians, went about among the woods and eminences, gathering fruits and digging up roots, which were brought to Loretto. The like was done by the Indians of San Xavier and San Juan de Londo, as a proof of their fidelity, and their readiness to defend them, and revenge their murderers. Thus all concurred in an heroick patience, quietly to bear the sad extremity to which they were now reduced. In the midst of it, father Salva-Tierra in whose mind the chief concern always predominated, went to take a view of the tract of Ligui or Malibat, south of Loretto, where, as we have said, it was proposed to found another mission, as that intended on the river Mulege on the north side was impracticable, on account of the difficulty of the way. It was the 12th of July when he came to the spot,

spot, having with him only father Pedro Ugarte, a foldier, and two Indians as his interpreters, the language being fomething different from that of Loretto: but on advancing towards the rancheria, they were put in no small fear, a great number of Indians suddenly falling out of an ambush, began furiously to shoot their arrows at them, on which the foldier Francisco Xavier Valenzuela, with one hand drew his scymeter and brandished it, and with the other fired off a musketoon in the air, only to frighten them, as it most effectually did; for the Indians at hearing the loud explosion, threw themselves on the ground with their weapons; and soon after sat down, silently waiting for their new guests. The father then acquainted them by his interpreters, that they had no need to be afraid, that they did not come to do them any harm, but to entertain them and enter into friendship with them. On this they all drew near, and the father, who was known to some, embraced them, and made little presents to them all, telling them that as a sign of peace and friendship, he came to bring them to father Ugarte, who was just landed in the country to live with them, to assist them and take care of them as his children, and instruct them in the way to heaven. On this they shewed themselves open and friendly,
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and as a proof of their good dispositions caused their children and wives to appear. They took a view of the country, and found that it would fully answer for settling there the head of a mission. But as the difficulties they laboured under at that time, would not admit of their beginning a chapel or any other building; or the cultivation of the land, all they did was, that father Ugarte had the pleasure of taking possession of his mission by the baptism of forty-eight children, whom the mothers easily offered, and they returned to Loretto to the great grief of the Indians, to whom, however, they promised they would soon return and that father Ugarte should come with them.

The vessel and bark returned at the latter end of August with provisions from the river Yaqui San Joseph de Guaymas, to the great comfort of the people of the garrison: in this year father Salva-Tierra was instead of father Pineyro appointed visitor of the missions of Cinaloa and Sonora. But he delayed this visitation partly that he might not leave his beloved California under such distress, and partly from the notice he had received, that he was expected at the assembly, which the king had ordered to be held at Mexico; a voyage which he also put off in regard to the former motive. He now received fresh letters acquainting him that
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the concerns of California, were suspended till he should come to Mexico: and as he now could leave his mission, provided for some time, and with hopes of larger and more regular supplies from the missions of Sonora and Cinaloa, he determined to embark without delay for Spain. However he found himself again obliged to defer it till the end of September, both for celebrating the dedication of the new church of Loretto, on the day of the nativity of our lady, an office, which, for the greater solemnity, was accompanied with the baptism of several adults, though the usual time for these was at Easter and Whitsuntide, according to the ancient usage of the church, as verified in the Roman ritual; and also for giving orders concerning the missions, particularly the command of the garrison. Some disgusts had happened among the soldiery, who obliged the worthy Portuguese Estevan Lorenzo to lay down his commission, though he was very well satisfied with his post; as likewise with the fathers, nor could all the entreaties of the latter prevail for his continuance in it. The ensign Isidro Grumeque also resigned, offering himself to accompany the father to Mexico, which he did. Hereupon, for captain-lieutenant, the father appointed Nicolas Marques, a Sicilian, and the post of captain was filled by don Juan Baptista

Escalante, at that time ensign in the garrison of Nacofari in Sonora, who had distinguished himself against the Apaches : but the supreme government of the garrison and mission, he conferred on father Juan Ugarte, giving him, at his request, instructions how to act on all occasions. Thus having regulated every thing, he set out on the first of October from Matanchel for Guadalaxara ; there he staid till the 26th of the same month, conferring with the members of that audience, and especially with Sennor Miranda, now auditor. In the mean time, on the 21st of the same month, died at Mexico Manuel Pineyro, father visitor, and on opening the second letter from Rome, father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra was found to be appointed provincial. He arrived at Mexico in the beginning of November, little thinking of such news ; and endeavoured to be excused from such a difficult employment ; his heart was entirely taken up with his Californian mission, and with great humility and strength he laid before the consistory of the province his reasons for accepting it. But he was overcome by the customs of the fathers, who would not admit of his plea from a persuasion, that it was for the advantage of his own beloved mission and all the others, that he should be provincial, and act as such. Hereupon he took on him the
spiritual

spiritual government of the province; but without delay wrote to the father, general Thyrofo Gonzales, for permission to resign his office, that he might have the pleasure of dying among his Californians. He obtained from the viceroy, with great reputation to himself, the Reforma, or continuance of their pay to his two companions, the captain and ensign of the garrison, and began to take in hand the other affairs of his mission.

S E C T. VIII.

Father Salva - Tierra's farther services to CALIFORNIA; his majesty's favours; obstacles in Mexico against his mission; he visits it in the quality of provincial.

The new provincial waited on his excellency the viceroy, to give him a full account of the state of the mission of California, and to desire that he would be pleased to comply with the joint orders of his majesty and the supreme council of the Indians. In pursuance of which, had been held the general junto or assembly of the 6th of June, though the fathers and others, acquainted with the country, were not present as had been directed. The treasurer's report concerning the immediate payment both of the old and new assignments for the missions, vessels,
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and garrison was unanimously agreed to: but the article for the establishment of a new garrison on the South-sea coast, and the number of soldiers, was put off till the fathers and others who were acquainted with that country, and the sea, should be heard. Notwithstanding all this, no actual payment was made, not even of the former assignment of 6000 dollars, only in a letter of the 24th of September of the same year 1704, his majesty was given to understand, that by an act of the council, the execution of his majesty's schedule of the 28th of December 1703, had been deferred till they had conferred with father Salva-Tierra, who for this purpose had been sent for from California to confer with about the several particulars.

The viceroy with great politeness and condescension, gave a very long hearing to the new provincial, and was indeed charmed with his apostolic zeal, humility, sweetness, magnanimity, and likewise with his abilities. He admitted of the necessity of complying with the king's orders, and the father's request. The ministers of the royal audience also admitted him to a conference, and were equally convinced by his arguments. There was now the most favourable conjuncture for holding a meeting of persons acquainted with the country; there being then at Mexico the founder of the mission, the cap-

tain and ensign of the garrison, and many others who had been a voyage to the Philippine islands, but no junto or meeting was held; nor were there so much as any hopes given that it would be held; so that the provincial Salva-Tierra, finding obstacles raised on all sides, set out on the visitation of the college, and did not return to Mexico till after Lent 1705. At that time some hopes were given for holding the junto, and he prepared a written memorial relating to the royal schedule to be laid before it. On the 25th of May the father signed it, and I shall insert it here, as it shews the thoughts of that worthy man on these matters; as likewise the christian simplicity and frankness, with which he expresses himself.

May it please your excellency,

I Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra of the society of Jesus, sent for by your excellency, pursuant to his majesty's schedule dated the 28th of October 1703, requiring your excellency to hear the opinion of the fathers: and in obedience to the said schedule and your excellency's order, I came in little more than a month from California to this city. And on my arrival it was signified to me that father Manuel Penyro was dead; and by his death I became provincial of this province of New Spain, and likewise
missionary

missionary of California. In obedience to his majesty's schedule, I take the liberty of representing the impossibility of subsisting in California with only one vessel, as for seven years and a half we have always had three: yet by the accidents of the sea, the stranding of them, and sometimes their total loss; the long stay for their repairing and careening, for want of stores, supplies, contributions, and officers; the distance of harbours and creeks where they might careen, have frequently suffered great distresses. For the enterprise is so new and recent, that as yet no way more ready and convenient has been discovered.

And it would not have been otherwise, tho' plentifully supported by money, as in the time of don Isidro da Otando, who had the royal treasury at command; for of three considerable vessels built on purpose for the Californian service, the bilander never saw California, and all the result was a fruitless expence to his majesty, loss of stores and provisions, besides the charge of artificers, soldiers, and seamen: and the two vessels called the Captain and the Admiral, were of very little service, and the settlement at the harbour de la Paz, the very centre of the Placeres, or pearl banks, was disgracefully forsaken, the Admiral not coming with supplies in time. Another wretched piece of mis-

conduct was, the provoking the Guaycura nation which lived in the neighbourhood, by the murder of the Indians, who sat round a large kettle feasting on boiled maize, to which the admiral had invited them. He afterwards made a settlement 70 leagues higher up, and was there ten months without so much as seeing a single vessel.

Secondly, I represent to your excellency the barrenness of the country. For from the time of Ferdinand Cortes and many others, who have landed there since during the space of 180 years, there has been no possibility of peopling it, a certain sign that they met with very great difficulties; and had not on this occasion the most holy virgin of Loretto been the conqueress and settler, what has been done could never have been executed, at least could not have subsisted. I was not a novice when I undertook this plan, but grown old among the labours of New Biscay, where it was my happiness, by means of the cheerful commerce of the Spaniards, both soldiers and inhabitants, and my friendship with the Indians, to check the insurrections of those people.

Thus from my said knowledge and experience, I in the third place lay before your excellency, the almost certain danger of losing this country, if in these beginnings the fathers have not the power
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of appointing or displacing the commander of this small body of soldiers. For, I know by experience, that without this power, I should not have been able to have gone a single step up the country of California: and should have spent much more time in the first place where we landed. And the commanders, for fear of being again removed, had, at the earnest exhortation of the fathers, supported by authority, made discoveries and taken surveys of the country.

I add, that the pearls are a strong allure-ment; and had not the fathers by means of that authority prevented inconveniences, some violent spirits would, as was formerly too often the practice, under several pretences, have compelled the Indians, both gentiles and christians, to fish by laying a tax upon them. Of this compulsion, the necessary consequence would be an insurrection; and thence the loss of the country, on account of its ruggedness, which would not admit of any horse being employed for the recovery of it: likewise for the ease of the Spanish soldiers, who, in so distant a country and divided by the sea, owned that they lived more quietly under the protection of the fathers or the superior, as he can remove the captain, and they may promise themselves that no oppression or hardship will be put upon them from
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their quarters: and to such oppressions and jealousies this country is very much addicted: for instance, an Indian goes and sells a good pearl to a soldier of his acquaintance, preferably to the captain, who is sure to look always with an evil eye on the soldier and the Indian; and if the Spanish soldier will not let him have it at his own price, he flies into a passion and proceeds to extremity, as was seen on many occasions in Otondo's time, who, on several occasions, was near losing his life by the hands of the soldiers and mariners.

The taking away this power from the fathers, I also add, will lessen the charity of his majesty's subjects, as contributions will rise or fall with their confidence of the proper and successful employment of them: but now they will have reason to fear that what they do with one hand, is undone by another. This likewise will put a stop to the personal succours both of Spaniards and of the Indians of New Biscay, who whether Californians, Indians and Spaniards, at one word from the fathers, quit their lands and come in barks as happened three years ago, when a bark of Cinaloa Spaniards came to our assistance; and the warriors among the most faithful nation of the Yaqui did the same coming over in a vessel, all very well armed, and landed at Loretto in California.

Whereas

Whereas this change of power would discourage both the Indians and Spaniards, as they could not trust to the protection and paternal love of the fathers; and would be one of the greatest detriments which could befall this new conquest, it being well known that don Isidro de Otondo, the admiral of California, captain of the garrison of Cinaloa, and governor of that province, with all his authority and repeated orders from the viceroy, could not raise a single Indian volunteer in Cinaloa and Sonora. And the few he preferred on account of their crimes, continued to act agreeably to their character, and caused the first insurrection after their entrance. And I affirm that all the said motives aim only at the preservation of the country, and the lasting establishment of christianity in it.

I likewise think proper to represent to your excellency, that the money expended in this enterprize till this day, amounts to twelve hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, exclusive of the foundation of six missions, which amount to fifty-eight thousand dollars; and of these sums the treasury, during so many years to the present time, has paid only eighteen thousand dollars, and the whole large remainder has been procured by the cares and great labours of the fathers of the society. From all

which accrues a great service to his majesty, and saving to his treasury. And it was in regard to this service, that I requested of his majesty a party of twenty-five soldiers with a commander, purely for the good of the country : A request which I do not think equal to the magnanimous disposition of our king.

I forbear animadverting on the resolution taken by the royal council in 1685, relating to the abandoning of California, after a large and fruitless expence. This council summoned the father provincial of the society : and in his absence the vice-provincial father Daniel Angelo Marras ; and to him it was proposed, and his compliance at the same time strongly solicited, that the reverend society would take upon themselves the whole enterprize of California, in consideration of which they should be annually allowed forty thousand dollars from the treasury. And the said father Daniel Angelo Marras having called together the consistory of the province, they declined the proposal. It is true, that the father provincial Bernabé de Soto returning from his visitation, began to see that, in refusing the offer, the welfare of the poor Californians had not been properly consulted : and that this was the only expedient remaining to be tried for planting christianity in this kingdom. And so strongly persuaded

persuaded was this royal council, that to commit the affair to the reverend fathers was the only probable means of accomplishing the conversion of the Californians, and the reduction of the country, that the petition of captain Francisco de Lucenilla, laid before them immediately after, and engaging to do the same service for a much smaller sum than that offered to the fathers, was rejected without deliberation.

As the society has not spared itself, but at the exhortation of the most reverend Thyro Gonzales, father general, has in the person of its sons visited all the houses of well disposed persons, the officers and tribunals, begging assistance towards the reduction of this kingdom to our holy faith; it is my opinion that it ought not to be done separately from our society. But that with fresh injunctions and recommendations from your excellency, whilst a report is transmitted to his majesty, the fathers exert themselves to take care not only of the spiritual, but of the temporal concerns, and the rather as having now the support of the thirteen thousand dollars which his majesty again offers; and which will be a help to the fathers, but to any secular person whatever, would be an incumbrance; for by the experience which the conduct of this enterprize
for

for eight years affords me, I say, that it is impossible with that sum to act up to the conditions of the schedule.

And should any one offer to fulfil those conditions, and secure the country with thirteen thousand dollars, it must be from his ignorance, or with a design to defraud the king. He will be intent only on his own private advantage. This will produce a thousand disputes with the fathers, who cannot but oppose any oppressions of the soldiers and seamen, and more particularly of the Indians, whether christians or infidels, who also would not fail to rise in arms; and whilst application is made to court in letters and memorials, even before any answers, however favourable to the Indians, can return, the flame of revolt may spread every where: these uncultivated people being strangers to any other recourse against injustice than their weapons. The said commander will for many years be obliged to buy up beyond sea all kinds of provisions; and as they are often vitiated, and maggotty, especially the flesh, before their arrival, the expences amount in effect to thrice more than what they do in a speculative computation: so that without a vast charge to the treasury, it will be impossible for any man to maintain his ground there.

From

From the premises I conclude, that the country, on account of its barrenness, will not admit of Spanish inhabitants, as not affording subsistence even for only two fathers; and at present no Spaniards are to be found who are fond of new settlements, though in a fertile soil and good climate, unless paid by the government, or as a mitigation of a punishment: and then all they do, is by their irregularities to make the country revolt and quarrel with the soldiers, and thus raise a civil war, as was a few years ago the case in Mexico, betwixt the soldiers and settlers.

The last article is my answer to the proposal concerning the new establishment of a garrison, in the opposite or western coast, along which the Philippine ships sail, an article proceeding from the most catholic breast of our sovereign, and his generous pity for so many of his subjects, who die of the scurvy, there being in some thousands of leagues not one place where they could send them on shore; though fresh meat and acid herbs would recover far the greatest part of them: my answer to this, is, that I now could die with pleasure, seeing the exalted concern of his majesty, agrees with what I have so many years wished for, being pierced to the very heart at sight of such numbers of sick, and multitudes of them dying: and in
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all my labours and enterprifes, I have had this in view. But at present, not to bring new expences upon the treasury, by any additional allowance to the fathers, who have carried their conversion of the infidels so far, as already to approach the western coast: his majesty's desires may therefore be accomplished in a little time, and without the expence of a new garrison, only by causing the subsidy of thirteen thousand dollars to be paid to the fathers, as by these and the contributions of charitable christians, there is great probability of success. As to the six thousand dollars towards the charges, they are not so much as the third part; and it is scarce to be conceived what labour and trouble I undergo, to procure contributions for making up the rest.

Besides the thirteen thousand crowns, it was necessary for a year or two, to have a bark from Peru, freighted with provisions, and well manned with sailors, in order to take a view and draught of the western coasts, harbours, creeks, and bays; and I sailed in the bark from 24 to 27 degrees: on this we made for the eastern coast, and landed at the degree appointed: while that on the western coast, joined in assisting the ship from China, and to give her notice from thence, if any enemies were on the coast of New Spain.

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The present state of California is, that his majesty, our sovereign, is possessed of fifty leagues along the coast, from Conception bay to Agua Verde, i. e. green water, a lake fifty leagues up the country, or the mountains betwixt the two seas; the whole being above one hundred leagues in circuit; and in such profound peace, that the fathers can go over it alone, without any guard of soldiers; the natives throughout the whole extent, willingly conforming themselves to whatever the fathers require of them, and obey the orders of the military captain: being ready, together with twelve hundred christians, catechumens, and gentiles, to take arms in our behalf.

Besides the country reduced or conquered, there are others only discovered, as three ways towards the opposite western coast to its very shores, two days journey along the coast, by which the Philippine ship comes, have been surveyed: and though the Indians of the western coast, from a natural fear, fled at the sight of the soldiers, yet they are now civilized, and they voluntarily come to visit father Juan Ugarte, on that chain of mountains, which runs from sea to sea. California is the refuge of such Spaniards, as by tempests are driven out their course from the South sea. And two years ago, seventy persons, whose vessels had
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been lost, and who otherwise must also perish, found safety here. And in those parts of the country that are conquered and discovered, there are very promising appearances of mines. Thus in obedience to the royal schedule, I have represented to your excellency, every thing within my knowledge; and in witness of it, I have hereunto set my name at Mexico; the 25th of May 1705.—Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra.

On the same day namely the 25th of May, the viceroy was pleased to order that this memorial should be referred to the treasurer; and afterwards by his approbation to the general assembly. There was all the reason in the world that this should be now held, father Salva-Tierra; the person best able to answer any difficulties, being then in Mexico; yet no assembly was convened: and under this disappointment of his hopes, this excellent man went in the middle of June, in the quality of provincial, to visit the Californian missions, carrying them all the relief he could collect: and with him the Portuguese don Estevan Lorenzo, now a second time obliged to take upon him the office of captain of the garrison. By the way he visited all the colleges near which he passed. At Guadaluaxara he staid till the month of August, in order, together with the members of the audience,

ence, to promote the encouragement of his mission; recommending the visitation of the other colleges to father Joseph Vellido the secretary. The father had scarce left Mexico, when an assembly was held the 27th of June. The above-mentioned memorial, which father Salva-Tierra had been ordered to draw up, was read in it: and it was resolved that in the want of experienced persons, as the royal schedule required, no alteration should be made in the affair: but that what had been resolved in the junto of the 6th of June, in the foregoing year, should be adhered to; which was to make a report to his majesty, and wait his further orders. It was not till eight months after, that an account of this resolution was sent to his majesty, in a letter of the 23d of March 1706.

Every man of sense will be amazed at this conduct; for after such clear expressions of his majesty, he will hardly think that this unrelenting harshness against the unhappy Californians, actually proceeded from a desire of remitting money to Spain: and it is not to be imagined, that the government could imbibe the common reports of the vulgar, against the great riches and insatiable avarice of the jesuits, and the rumours about the rich pearl fisheries of California, as they have more authentick informations. Therefore some other root of all this evil

evil must be searched for, and it was the following: Father Salva-Tierra not only solicited, as rector of California, that the appointments should be paid to his missions; but as provincial, he likewise interested himself for the payment of the pensions assigned to the missions of the jesuits in New Spain. The arrears were now of some years standing, that the missionaries of all of them, with their churches and the Indians belonging to them, were in a most deplorable condition. The province had petitioned for a large sum of money, though but a moderate relief: and besides the common funds and those of the colleges being greatly encumbered, there was no possibility of procuring from Europe, proper persons, books, ornaments for churches, apparel, and other necessaries for the support, however simple and mortified, of its members. But the provincial had no better success in his solicitation for this than for that of his dear Californians. He repeated his instances several times, always with proper humility, but with no greater effect; till at length, seeing that he did not prevail, and that the missions in the hands of the company, under whom they had grown up, were more irremediably falling to ruin; with the advice of the most intelligent and serious jesuits, he delivered into the hands of the viceroy, a
formal

formal renunciation and relinquishment of all the missions, signed by the oldest fathers, that his excellency, as vice-patron, might provide them with pastors. The viceroy extremely resented this step, which the company would have been glad to avoid. He ordered the appointments of that year to be paid, referring the arrears till another time. But he retained all the heat of his first passions and on every occasion, California felt the effects of it.

During these transactions at Mexico, the reports of the first assembly of the 1st of June 1704, arrived at Madrid, and were taken into deliberation by the supreme council of the Indies; and, by its advice, the king sent a new schedule, dated August the 15th 1705, in which his majesty approved of the junto's resolution, to wait for father Salva-Tierra's opinion, concerning the new garrison on the southern coast. But with regard to the thirteen thousand dollars appointed for the conquest and reduction, he again ordered, that it should be paid without any delay, and speedy advice of every thing be sent to him. This schedule was read before the viceroy, on the 20th of June 1706; and on its being referred to the Fiscal, he delivered his opinion, that father Salva-Tierra, having already given his report in writing, it should be remitted to his

majesty, with advice that the appointment of thirteen thousand dollars had been paid, it being no longer avoidable, in virtue of the royal order. The schedule and the treasurer's opinion were laid before the royal council, which, in September the 24th of the same year, after dwelling on the exhausted state of the revenue, in the viceroy's presence, resolved that father Salva-Tierra's memorial should be sent to his majesty, as containing several articles on which it was necessary to know his majesty's royal determination; and in other respects, to abide by the resolutions of the assembly, on the 27th of June 1704, of not making any alterations without fresh orders from his majesty. Father Salva-Tierra's memorial, had been remitted to court in May of that year: and now it was again sent with the viceroy's remarks on some points. These proceedings were kept so secret, that nothing transpired to the fathers, who, in the mean time, were unable to take any step in favour of their mission. These papers arrived in Spain, when it was known, that the South sea was infested by many Corsairs, who sheltered themselves in California; and of these Woods Rogers was one as may be seen in his voyage begun in 1708, the very year when this subject was deliberated on in Madrid; and these dispatches having been laid before the

supreme council of the Indies, his majesty by their advice, sent over another schedule, dated at Buen Retiro, the 26th of July 1708, which contained three parts: the first recapitulated those of the preceding years: the second contained observations on the articles of father Salva-Tierra's memorial, and the viceroy's remarks: the third again directed the immediate payment of the thirteen thousand dollars, and that the general assembly of all the ministers, military officers, and persons who had a knowledge of the coast and country of California, should as formerly directed be immediately held: and that the viceroy should determine the most convenient place for erecting on the coast of the South sea, the royal garrison so long desired: at the same time empowering him to take out of the revenue, whatever money should be necessary for this service, and send an account of the whole to his majesty. This schedule came to Mexico in the year 1709, and being referred to the treasurer, he was of opinion, that every article ought to be fulfilled: and the viceroy having also complied, signified his assent in the following order, " Agreeably to the opinion of the treasurer, it is hereby directed that, for the more proper execution of the royal warrant, relative to paying and assisting the Leeward garrisons, his majesty's new

schedule be taken into deliberation, and the several papers be laid before the council, as to it belongs the first consideration of ways and means for publick affairs, and for the present execution of what his majesty has expressly commanded; and the treasurer, agreeable to such commands, has required, the secretary's office shall make enquiry after, and register all such military persons within this city, who shall be found to be acquainted with those countries and seas, that the expedition, may, pursuant to his majesty's orders, be commenced without delay."

This decree, suspended the execution of the schedule, relating to the immediate payment of the thirteen thousand dollars, it being referred to the deliberation of the general assembly of the royal council: though by the king's schedule, all kinds of deliberation on this point, had been precluded. However the viceroy continued in the discharge of his office, without taking any notice of California, till the end of the year 1710, when he was succeeded by the duke de Linares, don Fernando de Lancaster Noronna y Sylva, who made his entry into Mexico on the first of January 1711.

This excellent nobleman, who as son of don Augustine de Lancaster, duke de Abraites,
marquis

marquis de Porto Seguro, and Val de Fuentes, count de Mejorado, and son to donna Juana de Noronna y Sylva, duchefs of Linares, united in himself through various lines, the royal houses of Castile, Portugal, and England ; and who to his great personal qualities, added the experience he had acquired as vicar of Italy, viceroy of Sardinia, and lieutenant general of the armies of Spain. An affection to the je-suits was hereditary in this nobleman's family : and accordingly during the whole course of his government, he zealously took the missions of California under his protection, bestowed large sums of his own money, for the advancement of them, and solicited contributions from other persons of wealth in Mexico. At the expiration of his viceroyship, in which he was succeeded by his cousin don Gaspar de Zumiga marquis de Valero, being free from any disease, and preparing to return to Spain, he directed by his will, sealed on the 26th of March 1717, in the city of Mexico, the third part of his estate, which was all he had the disposal of, by reason his father was still alive, for the use of the missions of California, in the 17th clause, which runs thus :
 “ I direct that of my estate, there be given to the missions of California, five thousand doub-loons, to be at the disposal of the fathers,

who shall be in the missions, if I die in this kingdom : but if in Europe, the said sum shall be paid to the agent general of the reverend society of jesuits, to be remitted to these provinces.”

As he was on the point of going to Vera Cruz in order to embark, he was taken very ill ; and on the 28th of May in the same year, he opened his will to revise it : after which he sealed it up again. And though by two codicils he altered some other particulars, the devout legacy he left to the mission of California, remained untouched ; and in these happy sentiments he died on the 3d of June, in the same year, in the arms of father Francisco de Solchaga, a jesuit, and professor of divinity in that capital. But notwithstanding the excellent dispositions of this nobleman as a private person, he neither did, nor could do any thing for the mission as a viceroy ; the former royal schedules were so closely secreted that he knew nothing of them, and in his time no order came to court relating to California ; nor did the fathers solicit any favour knowing nothing of the last schedules before-mentioned ; having been without the least hope of any extraordinary assistance from the year 1705 : for even the ordinary pay was greatly behind in all the missions, that all they could do was by their own
means

means to forward the conquest, which however at this rate, could move but very slowly. The like happened in Sonora and Pimeria to father Kino; who, with great concern, saw the harvest of very extensive countries, ripe for the sickle of the gospel, lost for want of proper supplies and labourers. By these wants California necessarily suffered, not only on account of the succours which it might hope for from Pimeria, if once reduced and cultivated; and from its coast along the gulf which had been discovered and surveyed as far as the river Colorado; but likewise as the capital design was to carry on the conquest on both sides of the gulf to the above-mentioned river; and where the missions being joined and reciprocally assisting each other by land, to continue and extend it as far as the fruitful coast of Puerto de Monte-Rey. This enterprise, so very important, fathers Salva-Tierra and Kino would certainly have accomplished, had they been assisted according to his majesty's order; but every thing went against them. I have been particular in relating the obstacles they met with, that it may be seen whether they who throw the blame of the little progress made in these missions on the company, have so much as a shadow of reason on their side. I have connected the events of different years, that I

might not frequently break the thread of the narrative. Let us now return to father Salva-Tierra, whom, in August 1705, we left visiting the college of Guadalaxara. The father provincial had soon concluded the visitation of that college, as likewise his conferences with the members of the audience and others, benefactors to California: and having obtained for it what succours he could, he went to Matanchel, where he embarked, and on the 30th of August, after a pleasant passage, came to an anchor in San Dionysio bay, within sight of his beloved mission of Nuestra Sennora de Loretto de la California: he landed to the inexpressible joy of himself, the fathers, the soldiers, and even the Indians who looked upon them as their common father. He found them all in no very agreeable situation, notwithstanding the succours which father Piccolo was very assiduous in sending them from Sonora. The provincial had nominated him visitor of the missions of that province, as this employment required a person of his activity and zeal, and likewise, as by his authority and interest, he could most conveniently draw from these missions, though themselves but poor, those succours of provisions which were absolutely wanting in California. In this father Piccolo was so alert that his care and charity may be
said

said to have this year saved the mission. The venerable provincial on the same day, namely, the 30th of August, informing him of his arrival at Loretto, returned him thanks in the following manner: "God reward your reverence for the succours you have sent to these fathers, whom otherwise at my coming hither I should have found dead." The sufferings of the fathers were not a little increased by the cruelty and haughtiness of the captain Escalante, who as little relished his subjection to the fathers as the whole body of the garrison did his command over them. Such was the uneasiness occasioned by his misconduct, that father Ugarte found himself under a necessity of sending an account of it to father Salva-Tierra at Mexico, in order for redress. It was on this account that the father brought with him the Portuguese don Estevan Rodriguez Lorenzo, whom he now made captain: and at the same time by his wonderful sweetness, so far prevailed over Escalante's resentment of his removal, that for some time he continued in California as a common soldier, till he was promoted to be captain-lieutenant in the garrison of Nacofari, from whence he had come.

The venerable provincial staid two months in California, labouring with the people of the garrison and among the Indians, as if he had
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been a simple missionary. He was informed that the fathers immediately after his absence separated, father Bafaldua to San Juan Londo; father Juan Ugarte to San Xavier, and father Pedro de Ugarte to Loretto, in order to improve himself further in the language, and to superintend the garrison. Father Juan Ugarte had that year at San Xavier cleared many pieces of ground in order for sowing; and was habituating his Indians to the labours of the field, in which to instruct and encourage them he was always the first. He had likewise made several progresses up the country and brought several rancherias to form themselves into villages. The like had been done by father Bafaldua in San Juan Londo, the town of which was now become much enlarged; some of them settled and civilized voluntarily; others were hunted and brought like wild beasts from among precipices of the mountains: so that in these two missions, and their towns of visitation, no less than at the principal of Loretto, were performed the usual exercises of catechising the young and the adult, the distribution of pozoli, and other things pertaining to the mission. The provincial went over all the missions, visited the villages which were begun, and the rancherias in friendship with them; winning the hearts of all the Indians by the facility of his instructions,

instructions, and the endearing sweetness of his behaviour. He recommended the settlement of the two missions at Ligni or Malebat, and on the river Mulege ; and gave the proper directions for its being put in execution without delay. There being only three missionaries, it was necessary that one should take on him the care of the garrison of Loretto, and of the missions of San Xavier and Londo, whilst the rest of the fathers were settling the two other missions. This was a fatigue to which no single man was equal. The temporal care of the garrison, its magazines, the provisions, and distribution of them ; the paying of the soldiers and sailors ; the care of the sick and of the Indians ; and the remittance of provisions, and other succours to the absent fathers and soldiers, was as much as the most disengaged person could discharge. But God provided a proper remedy for this necessity. The father provincial had brought with him from Mexico, brother Jayme Bravo, a person very active and understanding, and likewise of a religious deportment : and who had attended on the deceased visitor Pineyro. For this brother understanding that he was going to California, had earnestly requested him that he might accompany him in so long and difficult a voyage. Brother Jayme's intent herein was with the provincial's

vincial's permission to remain in California to assist the fathers in offices relating to the mission. The conjuncture favoured his desire: and besides his repeated request, the father provincial saw that the missionaries greatly wanted, and were desirous of a brother to ease them of the care of temporal concerns, that they might employ themselves wholly in their priestly function. Accordingly he recommended to them this fervent brother, who, for the space of fourteen years, served the mission as temporal co-adjutor with distinguished zeal, till it was thought proper to admit him to the priesthood, that he might serve as a zealous missionary. The provincial concluded his visitation without leaving any written orders for the future government, whether from humility, or that he judged them unnecessary; only directing that copies might be taken of the institutes, drawn up for other missions by father Hernando Caverio the visitor: and such articles as were practicable in California, to observe them. Afterwards having taken his leave of the fathers, soldiers, and his Indians, with all the affection of a parent, he embarked for New Spain to superintend the government of his province, till the discharge from his office, which he had desired, came from Rome.

S E C T. IX.

The two missions of San Juan Baptista Ligui, and of Santa Rosalia Mulege; Progress of the others, and a new survey of the coast of the South-sea.

The provincial had recommended three things chiefly to his Californian missionaries; to settle without delay the two missions S. and N. of Loretto; to make progresses up the country in search of convenient spots for new missions, offering, when such were found, to provide missionaries; and lastly, to take a survey in other parts of the opposite coast of the South sea, in order to find out some place proper for the Philippine ships to put into, which had been so ardently desired. The father was no sooner out of the country, than the foundation of the missions was taken in hand. On the same day, being the last of November 1705, the two fathers, under the auspices of the great mother, patronness of the mission, set out by land, taking different routs: father Pedro de Ugarte going for the coast of Ligui, 14 leagues S. of Loretto; and father Juan Manuel de Bassaldua to the river Mulege, at the distance of 40 leagues northward, whilst father Juan Ugarte staid
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to take care of the three former missions and their villages. Father Pedro had not much difficulty in reaching the shore, the country not being that way very rugged. This tract the Monquis in their language call Ligui, and the Laymones in their's Malibat. It then received the name of San Juan Baptista, in honour of don Juan Baptista Lopez, an inhabitant of Mexico, who offered to endow this mission with a capital of ten thousand dollars, keeping the money in his own hand, and paying the council interest. Afterwards by the misfortunes of commerce, this benefactor failed, and there was an end of the mission's fund; which, however, was not forsaken, till it had converted all the Indians of the neighbouring country, and put its rancherias and villages under the care and visitation of other missions. Father Pedro Ugarte found his Indians perfectly quiet, peaceable, and without any apprehension, though the only shelter he had for some time among them, was the shade of the mesquites; and afterwards of a hut made with branches of trees, whilst the chapel and a little dwelling of adoves, or raw bricks, was building. He endeavoured by little presents and caresses, to gain the affections of his Indians, not so much that they should assist him in the building, as that they might take a liking

to the catechism, which he explained to them as well as he could, by the help of some Indians of Loretto, while he was perfecting himself in their language. But his kindness was lost on the adults, who, from their invincible sloth, could not be brought to help him in any one thing, though they partook of, and used to be very urgent with him for the pozoli and other eatables. He was now obliged to have recourse to the assistance of the boys, who being allured by the father with sweetmeats, and presents, accompanied him wherever he would have them: and to habituate these to any work it was necessary to make use of artifice: sometimes he laid a wager with them who should soonest pluck up the mesquites and small trees; sometimes he offered rewards to those who took away most earth; and it suffices to say, that in forming the bricks, he made himself a boy with boys, challenged them to play with the earth, and dance upon the clay. The father used to take off his sandals and tread it, in which he was followed by the boys skipping and dancing on the clay, and the father with them; the boys sung and were highly delighted; the father also sung; and thus they continued dancing and treading the clay in different parts, till meal time. This enabled him to erect his poor dwelling, and the church;

at the dedication of which the other fathers assisted. He made use of several such contrivances in order to learn their language; first teaching the boys several Spanish words that they might afterwards teach him their language: when, by the help of these masters, the interpreters of Loretto, and his own observation and discourse with the adults, he had attained a sufficient knowledge of it, he began to catechise these poor gentiles, using a thousand endearing ways that they should come to the catechism; he likewise made use of his boys for carrying on their instruction. Thus, with invincible patience and firmness under excessive labours, he went on humanizing the savages who lived on the spot, those of the neighbouring rancherias and others whom he sought among woods, breaches, and caverns; going about every where, that he at length administered baptism to many adults; and brought this new settlement into some form. Father Pedro was pleasing himself that his labours had at length produced some promising fruit, when a slight accident, not to mention others, had nearly ruined all. The father was sent for to assist a christian woman, who was sick; but on his coming found a forcerer whom he did not know, blowing her according to custom. The father hav-

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ing made him depart and reproved his converts and catechumens for suffering any such thing, confessed the patient, administered the holy unction to her, and was with her till her death. A few days after, some Indians came with great joy to tell the father that they had been in quest of the blowing forcerer and had killed him: the father did not fail severely to reprimand them, and thinking it necessary on such an occasion to avoid disturbances, sent them away with some anger: but this was so far from pleasing them, that they conceived a resentment against the father, tho' they were artful enough to conceal it by a fair carriage; and the way he came to the knowledge of their bloody resolution, was by a boy who attended on him, and one night asked leave that he might go and lie with his friends: the father denied it; but finding the boy to be more than usually urgent, asked him what made him so desirous of going? The boy simply replied, "Because, father, this night they intend to kill you, and told me if I was with you, they would kill me also." The father on this sent for some of the heads, and with great resolution and an undaunted air, told them, I know that you have formed a design of killing me to night, but remember with this musket (though it was old and useless) I'll first make a slaughter of you all;

and then hastily withdrew, leaving the poor Indians so terrified, that consulting with the rest, they determined to shift their quarters that very night; such is their cowardice and dread of fire-arms. The next day the father was obliged to go and look after them: and it was with great difficulty, and after many assurances that he loved them as his children and that he meant to do them good, never intending to do them any harm, that he could prevail on them to return. They believed him as they found he did not fear them, and returned easy and contented to their huts. I have been particular in this adventure to avoid mentioning others of a like nature, which happened every day in the new missions. No patience, no courtesy, no prudence, no liberality, are a sufficient security to the life of a missionary among such savages: the sacrifice of his life is what every missionary in a savage country, should solemnly resolve on, as by the stupidity and fickleness of the Indians, it is every day in danger. Father Pedro Ugarte continued in his mission of San Juan Baptista Ligui or Malibut, till the year 1709, when his constitution sunk under such severe fatigues, that there was a necessity for the recovery of his health to send him to Mexico, where at the same time he might negotiate the affairs of the mission, and father Francisco
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Paralto came in his stead to Ligui: but that active father was no sooner recovered to a tolerable degree, than he returned to California, re-assuming the labours of his mission, till falling sick a second time, he was translated to the missions of the river Yaqui, which he desired preferably to any other; as for them he might be a very useful agent and purveyor for poor and barren California.

Father Juan Manuel de Bassaldua, who on the same day in 1705, went from Loretto northwards with great difficulty, by reason of the cragginess of the country, reached Conception bay. The distance from it by land to the little river Mulege is very short; but so rugged and woody, that it had been in vain attempted twice before. These difficulties however father Bassaldua now surmounted, by cutting thro' the wood, rolling away the stones, filling up sloughs, and opening a way large enough for beasts: and thus at length found himself happily on the banks of the Mulege, where in the most convenient spot he fixed his mission with the same labours and dangers as father Pedro de Ugarte had gone through at Ligui; besides the labour of making a road of 40 leagues from thence to the garrison of Loretto, and of frequently repairing it. His mission he consecrated to Santa Rosalia at the desire of don Nicolas de Arteaga and donna Josepha Vallego, his spouse,

inhabitants of Mexico, who endowed it with a fund of ten thousand crowns. The father built the dwelling and church with adoves, at the distance of three quarters of a league from the sea, and near the river. Betwixt this and the sierra, or the chain of hills, runs a plain of seven leagues all over covered with mesquites, which, tho' it afforded good pasture for black cattle, sheep, and swine; none of it has been turned to tillage till these three last years, when a sluice was made for distributing the water, as otherwise in a country where rain is so scarce and uncertain, all industry would be in vain. The Indians hereabouts are of a lively, mild disposition, and less fickle and variable than others: the father continued, during four years, instructing them with indefatigable care, and bringing them together and uniting them from all parts, till, on account of sickness, he was obliged to be removed to the other side, where he was invested with the mission of San Joseph de Guaymas, belonging to the government of California, that he might there attend to the relief of it. This he diligently discharged, both whilst he continued there, as likewise when he was at Raum, and the river Yaqui, whither he was afterwards removed. At Santa Rosalia Mulege he was succeeded by father Francisco Maria Piccolo, who having gone
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through his visitation of the missions of Sonora, withdrew to California: he ruled it in an apostolical manner for several years, till, on the death of the venerable father Salva-Tierra, he was ordered to Loretto. He extended the spiritual conquest northward several leagues. He made many useful progresses up the country, endearing himself to the people, preaching the gospel to them and discovering many tracts where new missions were planted, and their visitation towns, as that of Guadalupe, la Purissima Conception & San Ignacio; at length in the year 1718, he delivered up the care of the mission to father Sebastian de Sistiaga, who officiated there many years with the same zeal and fatigues as his predecessors; and turned some pieces of land into fields, which were watered by the sluice made in the river. Such was the diligence of the fathers in their instructions, that many adults of the mission are not only admitted to the annual communion, but likewise intermediately. Besides, many Indians have been brought to talk tolerable Spanish, and have served as interpreters in progresses into other nations; and likewise in assisting and teaching new ministers: some of them have laboured with extraordinary fidelity jointly with the fathers: and among these for their devotion, loyalty, and labours, Bernardo

Dababa, and Andres Comanay, deserve particular mention; and great encomiums are given them in the narratives and letters of several missionaries whom they attended: being of great service to them in all their apostolical labours and difficult enterprises.

There being only three priests in California, one having charge of three missions, and the other two employed in the foundation of the new; the second charge of the provincial to discover inland places for new missions, could hardly be complied with. But brother Jayme Bravo undertook it; and to this end went from Loretto in the beginning of the following year 1706, taking with him a proper quantity of provisions, accompanied by the Portuguese captain, seven soldiers, and some Indians. He first visited San Juan Baptista Liguí, where father Pedro de Ugarte was modelling his mission; from thence they travelled on a day and a half along the shore; brother Jayme with the captain and two soldiers walked before; but they were soon obliged to return, an Indian of the company bringing them word that the four other soldiers were dying. The case was this; one of the soldiers saw a fire where the Indian fishermen had just been roasting fish, and among them were some of a species called Botates, the livers of which contain a very active poison,
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and had been left by the Indians on some shells : a soldier seeing them, called out to his comrades, “ a fry, a fry ! ” they all stopped ; but as they were going to eat, an Indian called to them not to eat it, for that it would kill them : to this the soldier who had first spied them, answered, none of your noise, Indian, a Spaniard never dies ; and immediately gave some to the other three. Of these one eat some ; another chewed, but did not swallow it ; the other more cautious, only handled and viewed this part. It was not long before they were all proportionably seized violently with convulsive pains. The first expired within half an hour, and was soon followed by the second ; the third remained senseless till the day following : and both he and the fourth were in a very bad condition for several days. It is natural to think that brother Jayme and the others must have been sensibly affected with this misfortune. They were now obliged to give over the enterprise, and return to Liguí with the dead, who were buried in the consecrated ground belonging to the chapel ; and the sick were sent to Loretto.

In the mean time the magnanimous father Juan Ugarte made his celebrated progress for discovering and reconnoitring the coast of the South-sea, agreeably to father Salva-Tierra's

third injunction : and having made several visitations at Loretto and San Juan de Londo, his principal care was for promoting his mission of San Xavier. It was not without reason that the venerable father Salva-Tierra used always to call father Ugarte the apostle : for sublime as the title was, his labours were not unworthy of it. Always in action and indefatigable ; present every where, and doing every thing. He attempted every thing, and he accomplished every thing : but his activity never so signally appeared as in these beginnings where the difficulties seemed unsurmountable : sometimes he was preaching, assisting, admonishing, and attending the soldiers : at other times he was searching for new spots of ground for villages and fields ; sometimes baptising the children ; and sometimes instructing the adults ; sometimes administering the sacraments to the sick, and performing the last offices to the dying. Sometimes he worked in the buildings ; sometimes in the field in making water trenches, plantations, and fields ; sometimes he was mending the roads ; sometimes helping to get ready the barks for sea. In fine, he was continually labouring in every kind of employment, and the greatest fatigue he took upon himself. As he was now reaping the temporal fruits of his industry and labour for his

his Indians, they were now more easily brought to observe the appointed division of mass, prayer, catechism, rosary, explanations, and sermons, and other methods for instruction in christianity; insomuch that he had set penalties for those who were absent at these exercises; as a diminution of their allowance, or some stripes according to the nature of their offence. The children were the objects of his greatest care; their innocent age being more susceptible of a christian education. The seminary was the father's house, where some of them continued all teaching them with unwearied patience such parts of knowledge as were valuable, even among the Spaniards: and many of them made not only capable of instructing the rancharias, but an example of good behaviour to them. For the girls, especially such as were orphans, a separate house was built; where a mistress instructed them in the little works proper for the sex; the father taking upon himself the religious part of their education.

Another building was erected for an hospital, where the father's charity signally appeared in the spiritual and temporal assistance of the sick till death, which, in many, was accompanied with great signs of salvation. With one of these father Echeverria, visitor of California, being at San Xavier, was extremely affected;

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he had made his general confession to father Ugarte in his own language, and had several times in the Spanish language entered into farther particulars of his confession with the visitor, begged of him that as he was unable to go to church, he would be so kind as to come and pray over the rosary with him. He asked pardon of his countrymen for his ill example; he declared, that he desired then to die, lest he should return to his former wicked courses; he exhorted his relations to live piously, and obey the fathers: and thus amidst aspirations of love and confidence in God, he delivered up his soul into his hands. Another and he, a very obstinate forcerer, or impostor, God was pleased to bring to the faith; being strongly affected with the love shewn by the father to his little son, who he was very urgent of having baptized; but unwilling to submit to learn the catechism. At length he complied, and was catechised by the father, to whom, against his natural repugnancy, he laid open the mysteries of the prestiges with which he and others deceived the nation. At his baptism he was called Doningo; and now full of joy at being a christian, he made the house and the church his continual abode, praying night and day during the few weeks he survived his happy admission into christianity. The father, in order

to wean the savages from their superstitious burials, had his funeral performed with great solemnity. Another famous forcerer, who, for a long time had been continually stirring up the gentiles and catechumens against the fathers, came all in tears to Loretto, where father Ugarte then was, intreating that he might then be baptized. His tears and vows of amendment, and his offer to stay at Loretto, induced the father to take him under his care; and he baptized him on St. Ambrose's day, being the 7th of December 1705; giving him the name of that saint. The next day the father went to celebrate the festival of the conception at his own town of San Xavier: on the 9th he returned to Loretto, where he found the new christian had spent the greatest part of his time in the church: the same day, being taken ill, the father never left him in his last hours, and he died with great marks of having been called by that Being, in whose hands is the destiny of all men.

Amidst these occupations, father Juan Ugarte also made the last dispositions for the progress towards surveying the south coast, the chief of the Yaqui nation, of whom the father had asked forty warriors for the enterprise, came with them himself. The captain of the garrison of Loretto attended the expedition with twelve soldiers

foldiers and some Indians; the beasts and provisions for the march were all got ready, and father Ugarte and brother Bravo on the 26th of November 1706, with these several bodies divided into three companies, set out in good order from Loretto. The first place they came to was the mission of St. Xavier; next to the visitation town of Santa Rosalia; afterwards they came to a brook, to which they gave the name of San Andres, having by the side of it celebrated mass on that apostle's day. By the way they met with several Indians who behaved peaceably. But when they came near the sea, above two hundred Indians of the Guaycura nation, who bore an inveterate hatred to the Spaniards, who now found it necessary to march circumspectly and ready for action. They took a view of the coast for many leagues southward; but found only several creeks and some rancherias, who lived by fishing. But the only fresh water along the coast was in little wells dug by the Indians. They marched back towards the north, and unhappily found the coast much the same, so that they were for some time greatly distressed for want of water: they halted near the bed of a dry rivulet, along which, in times of rain, the waters run down into the sea, and the willows and flags manifested the moisture of the soil. From thence they sent
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some to take a farther view of the coast, with orders not to travel ten or eleven leagues. In the mean time they followed the bed of the river both upwards and downwards in quest of water, but without success. They then dispersed themselves several ways to look out for a clean spot of ground which had some water, for passing the night; but during the whole month of December no water could be found for man or beast. Thus tired and perishing for thirst, they found a shelter for that night, and kindled fires to relieve themselves from the cold; they also let loose the beasts, as they possibly in roving, might find water: but with all their contrivance and diligence, it proved a very painful night to them. In the morning the father celebrated the mass of the conception of our lady, with humble supplications to God, through the immaculate mother, that he would not permit them all to perish on a day so much his own. All devoutly accompanied the father's supplications, at the same time that father Pedro was saying mass at Loretto, for the good success of the discovery. After mass our lady's litany was sung; but before service was over, a Yaqui Indian called out in his tongue, water, water! On coming up to the place it was found to be the same, which, in the evening, and at night, several had
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passed and viewed without perceiving a drop of water. The place besides was dry; that no water was naturally to be expected there: however it now afforded a sufficiency for satisfying the whole company, together with the beasts, and for filling several vessels to serve in the return, which was resolved on the very same day, after a solemn thanksgiving to the blessed virgin; for the surveyors were returned, reporting that they had, according to orders, reconnoitred the coast till they came to a wide bay, but that it afforded no water. Thus, without any advantage from this chargeable expedition, they returned to Loretto, where they again celebrated a mass to the patroness of the mission; for having so remarkably saved them from perishing on these barren coasts.

S E C T. X.

Father Salva-Tierra returns to CALIFORNIA; his labours there. The mission of San Joseph de Comonda founded by father Mayorga; the mission greatly suffers by the loss of the barks, and the shipwreck of the fathers Guillem and Guisci, the latter of which was drowned.

Whilst the missionary fathers in California were thus employed in the execution of father Salva-Tierra's orders, his discharge from the office of provincial, which he had petitioned for, came from Rome: wherefore the father, general Miguel Angel Tamburim, conferred the patent of provincial on father Bernardo Rolandegui, the province's agent at Madrid and Rome, who being returned to Mexico, entered on his office on the 17th of September 1706. Father Salva-Tierra with great satisfaction returned to the college of San Gregorio, that together with father Alexandro Romano appointed agent for California, he might provide the accounts required by the soldiers, and the goods and provisions for the garrisons and missions. Father Julian de Mayorga, already appointed missionary, though but lately arrived
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from Spain, together with father Rolandegui, directing that they should be forwarded from Matanchel harbour whither the bark should be sent: but the father, instead of embarking at Matanchel travelled above four hundred leagues by land through the provinces of Cinaloa and Sonora as far as the harbour of Ahome, in compliance with the desires of the benefactors of his mission; and to collect free contributions and succours for it. The father in his last voyage from California to Mexico, had brought with him five Indians of a good genius from different rancherias, leaving the three which he had brought the first time, for their further improvement: as having seen the beauties of christianity in the settled churches in New Spain, they might give the more favourable account of them to their countrymen. The five Californians were received every where with great kindness by the jesuits, who looked on them as the first fruits to God and the lamb in this laborious mission.

But by the unhealthiness of the country, the change of climate and food, they all five fell sick in this long voyage, and the delays which their case now required, greatly increased other severe inconveniences which happened

to them. At length they came to Ahome, where, on the 30th of January 1707, they embarked for Loretto. They were scarce at sea when one of the Indians, called don Jego Joseph, was again seized with a fatal illness. But such was his serenity and resignation, that he fervently prayed the Almighty to remove him from this life before he reached California, if he had no further service for him. The father visited him in his last moments, and these were employed in such acts of all religion expressed with a spirit and energy, as filled even the oldest christians with a devout envy of his felicity. The loss of this excellent person was followed by a furious storm which father Salva-Tierra thus describes :

“ The night of the 31st of January was extremely dark, we were with the mast lashed, but without a rudder; and amidst rocks and islands, the sea continually making a free passage over us; the sailors, spent with toil and hunger, having been without food for a day and a half, were prostrate, giving all over for lost. The least damage which we could expect was to be drove into the sea of Galicia, or Acapulco; “tristissima noctis imago!” The Californians got about me like chickens, and they were not my least confidants, as being new-born sons of the great madonna, and had run

this risk in her service ; “ Ne quando dicant gentes,” &c. Lastly, concludes the father, after all my journeys and voyages, I never knew what dangers or distresses by land or sea were, till now.” They were driven by the tempest to San Joseph, ten leagues S. of Loretto ; in which they set up the first cross, and afterwards the sea being a little calm, they on the 3d of February reached the desired shore, where they were received with universal joy. As for the Californians, they could not express their astonishment at the wonders which their four countrymen related to them about New Spain. A few months after father Julian de Mayorga came from Matanchel, accompanied by the captain of Loretto, Rodrigues, who had gone over to be married to a lady of distinction of that province, and father Ignatio Alvarando, appointed for the missions of Sonora ; father Julian was soon taken ill, his sickness was owing both to the fatigue of the journey and the sea, and the alteration of the climate ; and his being also quite unaccustomed to the salt meat and maize, which was all the garrison then afforded. And his illness daily increasing by the unavoidable duty of assisting at the offices, father Juan Maria resolved to remove him to the coast of New Spain : but father Mayorga hearing of it, entreated him on his knees to die

in California, whither God, through the choice of his superiors, had sent him. However it pleased the divine mercy that he recovered; and inuring himself to fatigues and hardship, he served in this mission with unwearied application, for the space of thirty years. In the beginning of the year 1708, the fathers Salva-Tierra, and Juan de Ugarte carried him to a country twenty leagues N. W. of Loretto, in the center of the mountains, and almost at an equal distance from both seas: and in the country town called Comondu, in which were several rancherias of Indians situated near a little brook. Here father Mayorga was invested with the mission which was consecrated to St. Joseph, and endowed by that magnificent nobleman, the marquis de Villa Puente, as were the other two, of which we shall presently speak. The fathers attended the new missionary for some days, assisting him in getting his Indians together, and civilizing them; in building a chapel, and setting up huts of boughs, and bringing the mission into some form; after which they returned to their former occupations. Father Mayorga by degrees, and with the usual fatigues, constituted his mission. He had some years before consecrated his church with great solemnity. The greatest part of his Indians he got together in two visitation towns, San Ignacio and

San Juan, besides San Joseph the capital, and some scattered rancherias, who however constantly attended the catechism. He erected a seminary of boys in his house, and another of girls with a mistress, as likewise an hospital; and entirely supplied all the three. He laid out some small fields for maize near San Ignacio, the soil of the other two, admitting only of vines, which thrive very well there. His spiritual labours he discharged with such zeal and affection, that it was a pleasure to see the acquisitions, the devotion, and good deportment of this little community; and in which it still happily perseveres, many Indians being admitted to the sacrament within the year. Some years after he was succeeded in this cure by father Francis Xavier Wagmer, who died here on the 12th of October 1744, amidst his successful endeavours for the advancement of religion.

Some other spots convenient for founding missions had already been discovered: and within a few years on the return of father Salva Tierra to California, others more convenient were found; but the misfortunes and distresses by sea and land, at that time hindered the total accomplishment of the father's fervent desires. The San Xavier bark, which, from the beginning of the mission, had hitherto been of great use

use in transporting provisions, sailed from Loretto in August 1709, with three thousand dollars on board for purchasing a supply, and to bring it over, together with what should be given by the missionaries: but a violent storm, which lasted three days, drove it on the barren coast of the Seris, beyond Puerto de Guaymas, and sixty leagues north of Yaqui, where it was stranded among shelves and rocks; some of the men were drowned, and others saved themselves in the boat. This disaster at sea was followed by another on the land, and of no less consequence: for this country being entirely inhabited by gentile Seris and Tepocas, at that time bitter enemies to the christians of the missions among the Pimas, Cocomaques, and Guaymas, they were obliged after taking all the treasure out of the launch, and burying it, to return in the boat, through a thousand dangers and distresses to Yaqui. But the Seris soon raked up the depositum, took the helm from the bark, and damaged it very much in several places, to get out the nails. A diving bark was sent to father Salva-Tierra with this account, and there being at the mission, no other vessel but the Rosario, and that in a very bad condition, he resolved to go in person, to repair the San Xavier. The father, whilst visitor of Sonora, had made a peace betwixt the Seris christians,

and the Pimas. However, it was not long before the Seris were guilty of a cruel violation of it, in the murder of forty Pimas; and though the soldiers of the nearest garrison pursued them to their coasts, it availed little, for they made for the islands of Sal-fi-puedes, and there was no dislodging them without vessels. Father Salva-Tierra had been applied to for those of his mission, but there was no sparing them, especially as the fathers intended to go in person to the Seris, both for surveying the gulf, as far as the river Colorado, as likewise for restoring tranquility a second time; hoping that by extending the spiritual conquest from California, he should have no difficulty to convert and make christians of them. Thus both coasts would be reduced to the king and the gospel. At the time this expedition was deferred, the distresses of his poor and vacant mission would not admit of the execution of any of these zealous schemes, however well concerted. But now, on the 6th of October, he went in the Rosario to Guaymas, where he directed that the bark should sail to the ancient deserted port of San Juan Baptista, with seamen, officers, and provisions; others were ordered in the boat to the shore, where the San Xavier was stranded. As for the father himself, he chose to go by land, attended by fourteen Yaqui Indians, though

though it was extremely rugged, and inhabited by enemies, purely to have an opportunity of planting peace and religion among the Seris, and visiting the Pimas and Guaymas.

In this journey, which was attended with great hardships, he came to the villages of the two last newly assembled by the fathers Piccolo and Bassaldua, where he instructed the adults, and baptised the children. He brought many of the rancherias of the Seris and Tepocas to peaceable inclinations, which happy work, besides his persuasive elocution, was not a little forwarded by the respectable sweetness of his air, which never failed immediately to gain the hearts of the savages. Two days he and his company suffered a terrible thirst, not having seen a single drop of water during that time. At length he came where the San Xavier was stranded, and found the men belonging to the boat, destitute of all food, having only wild herbs to eat, which they boiled. He relieved them with what provisions he brought, but they were soon spent among such numbers. He had wrote to the fathers Fernando Bayerca and Miguel de Almazan, as the nearest missionaries, to send him provisions; but neither Indians nor Spaniards would venture to bring them through the country of the Seris, except one Indian, who boldly came with a small sup-

ply, and to him the Seris were so friendly, as to shew him the way to the shore. The distress was such at this time, that the father expecting nothing but death, wrote a letter to the marquis de Villa Puerte with a list of the debts of the mission, in order to the discharge of them; and this letter he gave to a faithful lad, to be delivered at Guaymas: but providence reserved him for farther services, for by the assistance of a little maize, furnished him by the savages, he was enabled to undertake a new journey to the harbour of San Juan Baptista, which the Rosaria had already reached, though he had still fourteen leagues to travel. At a little distance, he found the rancheria of Indians, who had carried off the cargo of the San Xavier, and damaged the bark. These appeared provoked and stood to their arms: an old man animating them with terrible vociferations. The father advanced alone towards them, and though unacquainted with the language, which is different from that of Pimera, he, by signs, kind gestures, and little presents to the old chief and his sons, gained the good will of the Indians: but hearing the explosions of the bark's pateraoes, an unusual sound to them, many of them were terrified, and brought him the money and goods they had plundered, and agreed to terms of peace with their neighbours.

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The people of the Rosario came with provisions to the shore where the San Xavier bark lay; but it was two months before she was fit for the sea; during which interval, they were several times in want of provisions. For though the missionaries, who had now nothing to apprehend from the Seris, were not wanting to send them supplies, the quantity was not sufficient for so large a number of people, this having been a very barren year through all New Spain. The father knowing, that thirty leagues up the country, there was a garrison called Nuestra Sennora de Guadaloupe, the captain of which, at that time, was don Francisco Xavier Valenzuela, who had served as a common soldier in Catalonia; he writ to him, who immediately sent what succours he could, and soon after came in person, with some of his men and a larger supply. But neither he nor his veterans, when they saw the distresses of the father and his company, could refrain from tears. The father, unwilling to lose the time necessary for refitting the San Xavier, undertook the conversion of the savages of that coast. In order to this, he desired father Almanaz to translate the catechism into their language; and incited by little presents, the Indians took it so readily, that he thought all his labours fully recompensed. The Seris had some years before desired
baptism,

baptism, and the fathers to instruct them like their neighbours: and above three hundred at the invitation of father Gasper Thomas, missionary of Qucuguerpe had agreed to live at his mission. And many others desired the same favour of father Adam Gil, missionary of Populo, who undertook to visit them, offering to remove to his mission, though the climate was far from being desirable. But father Gil, unable with all his application, to overcome the difficulties of their language, could never instruct them. He petitioned the father provincial, to be missionary to the Seris; but his mission was prevented by the revolt of the Tarahumares and their subsequent wars with the neighbouring Pimas and Guaymas. Their former requests, and their present instances, together with the desire of instructing all from Guayma, and the opposite coast of California, to which the reduction of them was of such importance, now determined father Juan Maria, to baptise their children, which they offered with a kind of emulation; but still the reconciliation betwixt them was wanting; and in order to this, he invited the children of the several nations of the Seris, Pimas, Tepocas, and Guaymas, to a grand feast on the day of killing the cattle, which had been brought from the garrison of Guadaloupe, for supplying the

two barks. The old Indians came with the children, as the father imagined, without any apprehension, confiding in the respect which all paid him as their common benefactor. Here a peace was readily concluded, and the Seris were promised that they should soon see missionaries among them, to instruct and take care of them.

The father was extremely affected at the unhappy state of so many mortals, so well disposed for embracing christianity. On the other hand, he knew the arrears and incumbrances of the provinces, the difficulties of new missions, and above all, the want of subjects, on account of the calamities and disturbances, that then reigned in Europe.

California, however, required the father's presence; and accordingly, as soon as the bark was refitted, and he returned from visiting, instructing, and comforting the people of Guadalupe, he embarked and sailed through the channel, betwixt the islands of Sal-si-puedes, finding it, contrary to common report, navigable. He afterwards went to San Xavier, and sent back the Rosario to Loretto, going in the former to the bay of Conception, to pay a visit to father Piccolo, who was already appointed to the mission of Santa Rosalia Mulege. From thence he sailed to the bay of San Dionysio,

Dionysio, or Loretto, highly pleased that he had discovered the part of the gulf desired. He travelled over great part of the coast of the Seris, and along the mountains as far as the sea. He settled peace among the inhabitants, and prepared them for the reception of the gospel: and the Rosaria was saved from being taken by the Pitchilingues or pirates, better known among Europeans by the name of Freebooters, and the English and Dutch privateers which infested those seas. These, indeed, alarmed the viceroy's vigilance, but he sent orders at that time to Loretto, that the Californian vessel should go out to meet the ship from the Philippine islands, and give them notice to keep at a great distance from the coast, as the enemy were looking out for her. The vessel would certainly have fallen into their hands, being under a necessity of passing in sight of the harbour of La Paz, where some of them lay. But the misfortune of the bark, hindered the execution of the viceroy's orders, and saved the vessel from being taken by the enemy.

Soon after these transactions, the small pox broke out in a terrible manner among the Indians, sweeping away the far greater part of the children, and many of the adults. Nor was this all; the frequent scarcity, which reduced them to live only on maize and salt meat, unless

less when some refreshments happily arrived from the other shore, gave rise to many distempers in the garrison, and proved fatal to several persons. These epidemias it was apprehended, would produce insurrections in many rancherias already converted, the forcerers imputing the distempers to the father, and persuaded the Indians that they killed the children with the water in baptism, and the adults with the extreme unction. These seditious reports and falsities found too much credit, on account of the great number of people who died: and had not the Neophites been remarkably faithful to the fathers, the fruit of all their labours would at once have been lost. Besides these calamities, New Spain had from the year 1709, laboured under a continual scarcity, which greatly increased the difficulty of sending succours to California; and to complete the misfortunes of the mission, it lost two barks, the expences of which were very heavy.

In November 1711, father Juan Maria sent to Matanchel father Francisco Peralta, who came to California two years before, and had the superintendency of San Juan Liguí. in the room of father Ugarte, desiring that he would assist at the intended repair of the Rosaria, and, if it was found necessary, to build another vessel. But such were the arts and frauds of the
officers

officers and sailors, who had the care of the work, that, availing themselves of the father's want of skill, after an expence of some thousands of dollars, the bark was in a worse condition than before; and within a few days, by the wicked contrivance of those very persons, though there was but little wind, run ashore, though only in ballast, and broke to pieces. There was now a necessity for building another. The master builder was a Chinese or Philippine, who, besides his ignorance of his business, was an artful deceiver, having conducted the chargeable repair of the Rosaria, which he had the chief hand in running ashore. Above a year and a half was spent in building this vessel, through the various frauds of the persons employed, so that the charge of it amounted to twenty-two thousand dollars. And after so enormous an expence, the vessel, instead of being safe, or a good sailer, had neither beauty nor proportion. In this vessel, however, they were to embark with the accounts and provisions. They accordingly put to sea, but the vessel was immediately the sport of the winds and waves, amidst the continual murmurs and imprecations of the seamen, some of whom had been employed in building her. The wind drove them to cape San Lucas, and back again to the islands of Mazatlan, where some, from a sense of

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of their danger, were unwilling to go on board a second time. The others continued their unfortunate voyage; till, after many difficulties, they had sight of the coast of Loretto. But on the night of the 8th of December, a storm came on which drove the vessel to the other coast, where they ran her ashore.

In this extremity, they awakened all who were asleep, that they might make use of boards and pieces of timber, or get on to the poop, where twenty-two persons had sought their safety, and among these the fathers Guillem and Doye, the others, to the number of six, besides father Bensto Guisi, being drowned. The dismal scene of such danger and distress, increased by the obscurity and tempestuousness of the night, may be better conceived than described. Four of the seamen cleared the little boat, and, thinking of nothing but their own safety, committed themselves to the sea. The others, who lay floating with the bark on the stern and main mast, after a great deal of labour, unlashd the larger boat, but had nothing to bale out the water, except two small calabashes. They took what first offered to serve for oars, and a piece of an old sail: and thus put off, committing themselves to the mercy of the waves till morning, when they found they were several leagues from the land. On
this

this discovery, they made sail towards it, and continued rowing for a day and a half against the current, mistaking the land for California. But on going ashore, the failers took it for the coast of Yaqui, though it proved to be of Cinaloa, one hundred leagues from Yaqui, whither the strength of the current carried them in a few hours, to a small creek called Barva-Chivato. How great must have been the miseries of this short passage, eighteen persons in one boat, and all naked, wet, pierced with the cold, quite spent with rowing, without water, without food, and, when landed, without any other comfort than that of having escaped the sea. They found no fire, nor utensils for making any. And to satisfy their hunger, they were obliged to eat the oysters, wilks, sea weeds, roots, and wild herbs. The country was covered with briars and brambles, and though at every step, their flesh was lacerated in a terrible manner, there was a necessity for making their way through in quest of the inhabitants. In this two days were spent, in extreme toil and pain, when it was their good fortune to find an open plain, where by the information of an Indian of the country, the governor of the town of Tamazula visited them with horses, water, and maize-cakes for their relief, and to enable them to reach
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the residence of the general Rezaval, which was but a few leagues off, and from thence they travelled to Guazave, the nearest Cinaloa mission in that country. Here they refreshed themselves three days with father Francisco Mazaregos, who, to cloath and entertain these shipwrecked persons, liberally expended all the apparel and provisions he was master of, the Indians chearfully following his example. Thence they proceeded to the town of Cinaloa, where they were several days entertained by father Juan Yrazoqui, rector of the college, till each departed to his appointed station. All these hardships and dangers, instead of deterring father Guillem, were rather incentives to him; so that in a few days, he set out by land, on the long journey to the missions of Yaqui, in order, at the end of the following month of January 1714, to pass over into California, when, in the San Xavier bark, he suffered a second shipwreck. This occasioned his being invested with the mission of San Juan Ligui, where he resided several years, till he was called to the visitation town. Now the missions and their support, a second time came to depend upon the San Xavier bark; and the provisions and the other goods in the new Rosario, being utterly lost, the cloathing and other commodities, sent for by the fathers, seamen,

and foldiers, were wanting. They were without money, it having been exhausted in purchasing of an unfortunate vefsel and goods. And though the audience of Guadalaxara were pleased to take into confideration the frauds committed by the officers and fhipwrights, in building that vefsel, which had been loft, and inflicted fome punishment upon them; yet thefe examples had little effect in California. At laft thefe misfortunes and dangers reached Mexico, and the viceroy immediately ordered the bilander, called Nuestra Sennora de Guadaloupe, which had been regiftered, to be fent to California. She was valued at four thoufand dollars, chargeable on the affignment, with orders likewife to go on the difcovery of fome harbour for the Philippine fhip: but after the third voyage, father Ugarte caufed the bilander to be furveyed by an intelligent fhipwright, who difcovered great defects and frauds in her keel, the bottom and upper works; and the whole vefsel appeared to be patched up with pieces of a French fhip, caft away on the coaft of Peru: and accordingly, the next voyage fhe was loft, only by ftriking on a fand bank. At the fame time, another bark belonging to Peru was alfo loft. She had been purchafed about that time, inftead of the San Jofeph, which, finking at Acapulco, had been fold.

The San Xavier bark also suffered by bad weather; and her frequent repairs ran away with a great deal of time and money.

In the mean time the provisions for the garrison and mission, were brought in the diving barks of the inhabitants of the other shore; but the freights occasioned an enormous expence without end. Such a series of misfortunes hindered father Salva-Tierra from surveying the gulf on both sides, with its islands, as far as the river Colorado, as he earnestly desired. The reduction of the Seris and Tepocas, of so much importance and so happily begun, was also discontinued, together with the search for the harbour, on the south coast, so much desired for the Philippine ship. The missions in the north of California, were far from being settled as they ought to have been: and those to the northward were at enmity with the Guaycuri, whom it was so necessary, both for the interest of the king and religion, to appease and convert, that no enemies might be left behind, from Loretto to cape San Lucas.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties and solitudes, the Californian missionaries did not, as far as circumstances would permit, abate their labours. They reduced many wandering rancherias into towns, whither the Indians used to repair for instruction, while the ne-

cessity of searching for fish and wild fruits, did not disperse them among the forests and along the shores. Father Ugarte made several progresses to the southward from San Xavier, whilst father Piccolo did the like to the northward, from Santa Rosalia Mulege; the Indians had several times come in great numbers from the rancherias of Cadigomo, near the coast of the South sea, lying N. W. of Mulege, requesting that he would come and visit them, and bring with them a father to live in their country. Accordingly, in the year 1712, though in a bad state of health, he complied with their desire, being attended by the captain, some soldiers, and Indians. By the help of guides, they passed the mountains of Vajademin, and on the west side of it, met with a small brook, which they followed to its issue into the sea, in order to survey that part of the coast. But finding it by no means proper for a settlement, they returned the same way, and at eight leagues distance from the sea, the father marked out the ground for a new mission. Hither all the neighbouring rancherias resorted, entreating him that he would stay with them; and as an inducement to comply with their desires, they promised to give him their best pitahayas and feathers, as likewise their children for baptism. The father promised them a
missionary,

missionary, and was not wanting on the first opportunity, to beg that the father provincial would send a proper person; but it was not till five years after, that the mission could be founded, though the father, in the interim, visited them several times from his own mission, whither they used to be continually coming with the same entreaties, though at the distance of thirty leagues, and the road very craggy and broken. The same request was also made at different times, by the N. Cochimes, of the rancherias of Cada-kaaman, which in their language signifies Sedge-brook, lying on the skirts of the ridge of mountains, towards the coast of the South sea, forty leagues distant from Santa Rosalia. This journey he undertook on the 6th of November 1706, with only three soldiers and some Mulege Indians, to take care of two large asses, on which they carried the provisions for the whole company. After travelling three days, he was met on the shore of Amuna by the rancheria, to which in other progresses, the father had given the name of Santa Aguida: hence he visited those of Santa Lucia and Santa Nympha: and lastly, on the 19th, came to the spring of the brook, where he found three new rancherias. They made great entertainments for the father, and accompanied him all the way from the

place where they met, going before to remove the stones, and presenting him with strings of pitahayas, and shewing all possible demonstrations of joy: as on the other hand, they shewed themselves extremely concerned at seeing the hampers of provisions wet; the asses having by the carelessness of the attendants, run down into a pond, overgrown with sedge. Many of the rancherias of the neighbourhood, also came hither with the same alacrity, the women eagerly bringing their children for baptism, which the father administered to fifty. He remained with them till the month of December, comforting and instructing them, and a large arbour was made for the celebration of mass. He ordered the brook to be traced, and it was found that ten or twelve leagues further, it loses itself under ground. As the place was fit for fields and pastures, and every way convenient for settling a mission, he promised to send them a father who should live among them, and take care of them, though for the want of labourers and other impediments, this could not be performed till the year 1728, when a mission was founded under the title of San Ignacio.

Provisions now beginning to fail, and the cold setting in, which is there very sensible, it was thought adviseable to return. And the
Indians

Indians sent with him guides, that he might take another way by several unknown rancherias, whom he found equally inclined to receive the gospel, if there had not been an irremediable want of preachers. The venerable father, not content with the discovery made by those under him, was continually forming measures for surveying the gulf, and, at least, once more visit the Seris and the Tepocas, so unhappily forsaken. In the year 1716, he laboured very diligently towards pacifying the Guaycuros. In order to which, he sailed in the Guadaloupe brigantine to La Paz, that being the scene of the ill-advised attempt of Otondo, the memory of which was continually refreshed, by the mutual violences committed by the pearl fishers in the neighbourhood. He carried with him three Guaycuri prisoners, whom he took out of the pearl fishing barks of New Spain, that he might deliver them in peace to their countrymen: and that they might be witnesses of the kind treatment, which the Indians at Loretto received from the fathers, but the design totally miscarried. The father landed, together with the captain, soldiers, and Loretto Indians, who first leaped over-board and swam ashore. The Guaycuros, who lived in huts along the shore, at the sight of such a number of people, hastily betook themselves to flight, with their

wives and children, the Loretto Indians, and hurried on by that brutal impulse, when it perceives cowardice in another, run after them among the rocks and woods, without regarding the orders of the father to stop. The Guaycuros out-ran them, but they came up with their wives, who finding the impossibility of making their escape, turned about, and made a short defence with stones. But the Loretto Indians fell upon them with savage barbarity; and in their fury, had infallibly destroyed these innocent creatures, had not the captain and some of the nimblest of his soldiers come up to this infamous encounter, though it was with some difficulty our savages were restrained from any farther cruelties. But though the Guaycuri women must perceive the resentment both of the captain and the soldiers, for this savage usage, they did not overcome their fears, for the captain approaching them with an air of kindness, they immediately turned their backs, and betook themselves to a second flight. Father Salva-Tierra was extremely concerned at this adventure, but concealed his displeasure. This was, however, no time for bringing about a peace, after this fresh insult on the natives, in the persons of their wives, nor would other circumstances admit of any long stay at La Paz, till the minds of the savages were quiet-
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ed; so that all the father could do, was to make the prisoners sensible that what had been done, was entirely contrary to the will and intention of himself and the Spaniards, the sole end of whose coming to being enter into connections of friendship. He distributed little presents among them, and dismissed them very affectionately, that they might prepare their countrymen to accept of offers of peace on another occasion. He now returned to Loretto, in the bilander, and afterwards sent her to Matanchel for the goods, in which passage she was stranded in a storm, the whole cargo lost, and nine persons drowned. The only vessel now left them, was the San Xavier, which had served eighteen years, namely, from the commencement of the mission.

S E C T. XI.

Father Salva-Tierra establishes a spiritual and civil government for the missions of CALIFORNIA, and of the Indians.

In the same year 1716, amidst so many disappointments, father Salva-Tierra had the satisfaction of seeing the several benefactions to the missions, already founded, secured in the manner he desired, and likewise a better form of government established. This will give us
occasion

occasion to speak of that which the father introduced into California. From the first entrance into that country, the father saw the absolute necessity of having an agent at Mexico, for collecting the revenues of the missions already founded, the contributions and succours of the benefactors, for buying up the cloathing, provisions, and other goods for supplying the fathers, soldiers, and mariners, employed in the reduction, together with the service of the churches and the Indians; and likewise that he should solicit the affairs of the mission, depending before the royal audience and the viceroy, attend to the purchase, building and repairing of vessels, and manage all the temporal concerns of this conquest, so remote, and necessitous. During the first year, this was in an exemplary manner discharged by father Juan Ugarte. He was succeeded in his agency for California, by father Alexandro Romano, with a dispensation at the remonstrance of father Salva-Tierra, from any other function or business, than the concerns of the mission, both as it required an agent free from any other incumbrance, and as the monies appropriated to California could by no means be mixed with those of the colleges and the province; nor be exchanged or employed to any other end, than the intention of the benefactors,

nefactors. The father discharged this office with great zeal for several years, till in 1719, he was appointed provincial of New Spain: his successor was father Joseph Echevirria, who held it eleven years; when, in 1729, being nominated visitor of California, he was succeeded by Hernan Francisco Tompez, who, after acquitting himself with a prudence and activity, greatly to the advantage of the mission, was removed by death, in May 1750. His majesty's assignment to the missions of New Spain, both those served by the jesuits and other orders, is three hundred dollars a year, for the support of the missionary and his unavoidable expences with the Indians: an allowance, which in Europe, for want of better information may appear extravagant: whereas for America it is very scanty, especially with regard to the remote missions, both on account of the small value of silver, and the excessive price of all European goods; but much more on account of the difficulty, expence, and waste of the transportation of them, which costs half the the value, and sometimes the whole is lost: For what must the expences in a journey of four or five hundred leagues through a country for the greatest part desert, and for several leagues together, covered with craggy mountains and thick forests, amount to? and where besides

besides there is an absolute necessity of carrying all the provisions both for man and beast? The expences in California, being much enhanced, on account of the distance, vessels, loss of goods, and barrenness of the soil, even for provisions, the allowance for each missionary, has been stated at five hundred dollars per annum: so that they, whose good disposition lead them to found a mission, have endowed it with a principal of ten thousand dollars, the interest of which, at five per cent, furnishes the stated support for the missionary. All the missions of California, hitherto, owe their foundation to private persons, not one of them being on the treasury establishment: for though his majesty ordered others to be founded on his account, nothing has been done in conformity to his commands.

The benefactors and founders did not put this money into the society's hands, but it remained with them, the interest being paid every year, whilst the mission was founding, till father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra being provincial, and on a visitation in California, he judged that it would be better to lay out the capitals in land, that thus they might not be exposed to the hazards of commerce, as in the affair of don Juan Baptista Lopez, the founder of San Juan de Ligui; who failing, all the capital of
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that mission was lost. Besides, as the missionaries of California were obliged to buy cattle and corn in New Spain, they might supply themselves much cheaper from the products of their own lands. Accordingly he opened his mind to father Ugarte, who approved and commended the project. On his return to Mexico, that the affair might be considered with that precision, which the society on all occasions observes, he laid it before the provincial consistory. The design met with great approbation, especially from father Alexandro Romano, agent for California, and soon after provincial.

Accordingly father Romano was commissioned to collect the funds, and purchase farms, and manage them for the account of the mission. Thus he successively bought the farm of Guadaloupe, in the valley of Acolman or Oculna; that of Huasteca for breeding sheep; that of Huapango, and that of Sarco. In these purchases, were laid out all the capitals of the seven missions already founded; the five thousand dollars, left to California by the duke of Abrantes and Linares; four thousand dollars, the legacy of a gentleman of Guadalaxara; and a great part of the smaller donations.

Nothing in this world is so excellent, but it may be viewed in different lights, and thus

be liable to exceptions. But this procedure seemed to be dictated by prudence, regularity, and religion. The missionaries might have been sent among the Indians, as sheep among wolves, without scrip or staff. But whoever admires the apostles, in founding churches after this manner, will not therefore condemn them, for making collections among the brethren, nor the distribution of sustenance to orphans and widows, which was the office of the deacons. How can the missionaries live on the charities of the Indians, when almost the only means of bringing about their conversions, is to support them at the missions?

Thus the agent at Mexico superintended the management of these farms, and received their products, and likewise the eighteen thousand dollars, assigned by the king for the payment of the royal garrison, and the men belonging to the barks. Out of the produce of the farms, every missionary is provided with apparel, utensils, provisions, medicines, mules, and other necessaries for himself and his Indians, to the neat amount of his stipend, which never rises to any thing considerable, the charges and losses being regulated by a genuine average for preserving harmony and equality, if there be any surplus, it is employed in travelling expences, purchasing of vessels, gratuities to the
soldiers

foldiers and failors, preparations and charges of new expeditions, and extraordinary succours for the more speedy advancement of the missions. And if there be a deficiency in the necessary expences, it falls on the missionaries. Philip V. was pleased to order, that the missions of California, should, like the other missions in America, be supplied at his expence, with every thing necessary for divine worship; as bells, images, ornaments, lamps, oil, and wine for the masses: yet this gracious order has never been put in execution. Every thing has been purchased out of the allowances of the missionaries, the contributions, or the effects of the mission. The building, repair, whether ordinary and extraordinary, of the church, is done at the charge of the missionary, who is the parochial priest of the Indians: but this is not the only conveniency of the priests of California: in all parts the labourer is worthy of his hire, and he who serves at the altar, may be allowed to eat of things belonging to the altar. Wherefore it seems just, that he who sows the spiritual seed, should reap some temporal advantages. On this account it was not strange, that the new christians of California supported their priests, and returned their affectionate services, with some temporal benefits. Whereas, on the contrary, the priests and
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missionaries, who are jesuits, are obliged not only to maintain their churches, but even their parishioners.

At first the fathers subsisted all the Indians, who came to settle in villages, on condition that they should no longer wander among the woods and mountains, but be instructed in the faith: and in these charities, great part of the contributions of the benefactors, has been expended. And after they were thus brought together, it being impossible to subsist all, and equally so to make fields for sowing in many parts, either from the nature of the soil, want of water, or the innate indolence and sloth of the people, the following method was taken. First, the missionaries supported all the Indians, who attended divine service. Every morning and night, they have an allowance of Atole, the name they give to their pottage, made of maize, boiled and afterwards bruised, macerated in water, and put a second time over the fire: at noon they are served with Pozoli, or boiled maize, with fresh or salt meat, and fruits or vegetables, according as the mission is provided. In the same manner the Indian governor of the village, the sick, the aged, and the children of all the rancherias, male and female, from six to twelve years, are provided with food. Besides this, every week the same allowance

allowance is given to all the Indians of two rancherías, male and female, in consideration that they all come in their order, two by two, to the head village of the mission, in order to renew their instructions. Lastly, every Sunday, all who attend divine service have a portion of victuals, and in passion week, the like is sent to all the rancherías.

The missionary priest likewise cloathes all his parishioners with serges, bays, and palmillas, a sort of coarse cloth woven in Old Spain : he also provides them with cloaks and blankets, which he procures from Mexico on his stipend. Those who can work are instructed by the fathers in the management of the fields, and watering the ground ; the product of which, is entirely for their own advantage ; and the consequence is, that they gather it, and immediately waste the whole, unless the fathers take care to save it up, in order to make a proper distribution, or to send relief to another mission in necessity. Wine is the only product withheld from them, and this in order to prevent drunkenness ; and it is for this reason, that though the vintages are but inconsiderable, some quantities of it, there being but few consumers in California, have been exported to New Spain, in exchange for other commodities. What wine the father has is chiefly given to the sick, whom he

likewise supplies with medicines; so that a missionary and priest of California, is not only charged with the care of their souls, but likewise with all the several duties of a father of a family: together with the several mechanical occupations from a labourer to a cook. He is likewise a tutor, apothecary, surgeon and physician to all: and this without the least profit, advantage, or reward, spending his own substance, abridging himself of conveniencies, even necessaries, to supply their wants.

Such was the government established by father Salva-Tierra, relating to the temporal provision of California, and it is observed to this day. The civil government introduced by the same father at Loretto, and partly by his example and direction in the other missionaries, consists chiefly in the following articles: that in every mission newly founded, the father is attended by a soldier, who within certain bounds has the power of the captain of the garrison. When the father has assembled any rancherias, he appoints the person, whom he thinks most proper, as governor of the village: another Indian to take care of the church, and out of each rancheria, a person of the most promising morals, and particularly instructed, is appointed catechist. The governor's office is to keep peace and good order; and if any thing happens

happens that he cannot remedy, he is to acquaint the father and soldier with it. The church-warden is to take care of the church and keep it clean; he is also to take notice of those that fail coming to mass, and other exercises of devotion; those that do not behave with proper respect; and those who either return to their former superstitions, or betray any ill will against the fathers, or disgust at the instructions. The catechist of the rancheria summons them every morning before they go to the woods to repeat their prayers and catechism: and if any thing deserving animadversion happens in the rancheria, he acquaints the father of it.

During the absence of the father, either to visit villages and rancherias, attend the sick, or terminate quarrels, the soldier acts as his vicegerent, and has an eye to every thing. He is at the father's order to go wherever it is necessary; he can seize delinquents, and mildly punish them, unless in capital cases, when he is to lay the case before the captain of the garrison, who is invested with the juridical power. Lesser faults are punished with whipping, and the greater with imprisonment or the stocks. Towards introducing the punishment of whipping practised in other provinces on the Indians, father Salva-Tierra made use of the method proposed by the captain of the garrison, there be-

ing in the beginning great numbers of pilferers, that an example became necessary, the captain surpris'd one of these with the booty in his hands. On this all the Indians being called together, the boy was charg'd with the theft before them, and the turpitude of his crime expos'd in the blackest colours. The captain had sentenc'd him to a very severe punishment, and all agreed that he deserv'd it as a warning to the rest. Then father Salva-Tierra interceded that it might be chang'd into a whipping; this was complied with, and he suffer'd only a few lashes. Thus the punishment was introduced, which however it may in Europe cause disorders, is otherwise in America, by reason of the temper of the Indians, to whom greater rigour and strictness would be unsupportable; and this is execut'd by their countrymen and companions. As to the spiritual government, besides what we have said in speaking of the foundations of some missions, in general it is uniform in all: the first care is of the children, as the whole depends on their education. Some from all the missions are brought up at Loretto, which has a reading, writing, and singing school, with proper masters who come from the opposite coast. They become gradually polish'd by conversation; they are taught the Spanish, and afterwards are promoted to be church-

church-wardens or catechists in their rancherias, where they are greatly respected. At the head villages every morning, the church-warden assembles all the inhabitants in the church, whether the rancherias come by turns, and there the Te Deum is sung. This is followed by the mass, and afterwards by the catechism, which is translated into their languages: and several times a week, the whole concludes with an explication, or sermon; instructing and animating them in every part of the christian life. The adult christians then undertake some employment, or go among the woods in quest of sustenance. At night they all meet again in the church, and perform their devotions. Every Sunday they walk in procession round the village singing; they then return to the church, where a sermon is preached to them. The like is done at Loretto every Saturday, in Spanish, for the garrison.

S E C T. XII.

Account of the Government established by father Salva-Tierra, in the royal garrison, and among the soldiers, vessels, and seamen, belonging to California; as likewise of that established by his advice in pearl fishery.

In order to give at once a complete idea of the government of California, in all its branches, it will be proper to subjoin that which father Salva-Tierra procured to be established in the royal garrison and shipping, as the government to this day, continues on the same footing. The judicious reader, will, doubtless, be pleased with the reasons for erecting these garrisons among the savage Indians, for the protection of the missionaries and preachers of the gospel, against insults: and likewise, with an apology for that prudent and salutary measure, in opposition to those who are loud in their complaints, that the garrison and military escorts, with which the missionaries take care to be guarded, destroy that freedom, with which the christian religion should be received. This is a point which concerns not only California, but likewise many other provinces of America, where the gospel is preached
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under the protection of the garrisons. It is a point, which for many years has been deliberated upon, by order of the kings of Spain, and after the most impartial and mature examination, this method has been established as the best, or even the only one, by which the reduction and conversion of the Americans might be accomplished. They who will not admit as a reason the example of innumerable religions, of several orders, who having undertaken to go alone, without any guard, to preach among the savage Indians, have only obtained the crown of martyrdom by their hands, leaving them at the same time under greater blindness and insolence: Such, I say, may in F. Acoſta's excellent work, *De procuranda Indorum Salute*, see the reasons for this measure, which is no contrivance, or institution of the jesuits, but of the kings of Spain, with the repeated advice of their supreme council: it will soon be seen how in California itself, the want of a garrison, which the jesuits had frequently solicited, was very near proving the ruin in a few days of all the christian communities, formed with immense labour and expence, in the course of forty years. It is sufficient at present, to say that no one is compelled by force to receive the faith; that all who are baptised, desire it not only freely, and

without the least compulsion, but all possible assurances are given of the sincerity and perseverance of the subject. The garrison and soldiers check the insults of the savages: but if the orders and intentions of his majesty, and the Spanish government be complied with, they never offer them the least injury, never so much as pursuing them unless provoked: the chief end of their service is no more than as a just and prudent safeguard for the lives of the missionaries.

Garrisons being thus necessary for the reduction of California, father Salva-Tierra established them from the beginning, but of what little force we have seen: afterwards the number of soldiers was increased or diminished, according to the amount of the contributions, and the possibility of paying and subsisting them. When father Piccolo had procured the effectual payment of the six thousand dollars allowed by his majesty Philip V. the number of soldiers became more settled: yet this could not cause any great augmentation, as every soldier in the garrisons of New Biscay, Sonora, and Cinaloa, received from the king three hundred, and the captain five hundred dollars. But the soldiers of California, as their expence was greater, were not contented with this pay. Besides, the pay of the sailors, belonging to the
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the barks, was also extravagant: but at last, both, not only conformed to the pay allowed by the king, as we shall shew, but the number of them has been increased, as absolutely necessary, and paid out of the funds of the mission. Father Salva-Tierra's first care, was to solicit for the garrison, a legal jurisdiction to be lodged in its captain, as an instrument of the regal power. This he obtained, by means of the count of Galvez, viceroy: and in the warrant for this purpose, were granted to him, all other licences and privileges necessary for an establishment in California, and specifying the respective appointments for the father, the captain, and soldiers, with the privileges to which they were intitled. And though the execution of this was opposed at Mexico, yet his majesty was pleased to confirm the several articles in the schedule, already mentioned of the 28th of September, directing that no alteration should be made in the government of California, as settled at the beginning. Of these appointments, privileges, and favours, some were nominated for the father, others for the soldiers in common, others for the captain, or the ensign his substitute. The viceroy granted to the father, a licence for carrying soldiers to California, and maintaining them at his own expence; and though at present the king pays the soldiers,

diers, this privilege has not been repealed, of appointing a captain or commander, that is, a person of courage, prudence, experience, and religion, but he must be confirmed by the viceroy, of inlisting and discharging soldiers; and lastly, the captain or soldiers were to be under his orders, in progresses, escorts, and other occasions, which are not immediately military, these being under the captain's direction: the soldiers were to enjoy all the rights and privileges of the officers, and soldiers of the king's army; their service was to be accounted as in time of war, and on the frontiers, their pay to be on the same footing with those of Sonora, Cinaloa, and New Biscay; and that the certificates which they should bring, signed by the captain and the father, should be admitted as authentick, in order to entitle them to those immunities, which they had acquired by their service; the captain of the garrison, was appointed judge and chief justiciary of all the country of California; of the soldiers in every case, whether military or civil; of the seamen, servants, and settlers, and of the Indians: to hear and determine all causes, and execute his sentences. He was likewise nominated captain general, not only within the country, but of the sea and coast of California: on which account, the principal vessel

vessel of the garrison, should be called the capitana, and carry a suitable ensign, and hoist it at coming into any harbour, unless at Acapulco, when the Philippine ship should happen to be there. Lastly, he was invested with the superintendency over the pearl fishery, as shall be related in the sequel.

The military government of the garrison is the same as that of the other frontier garrisons: and the captain is to take care that it be strictly observed, to punish delinquents, and if necessary, cashier them: though even in this case, if the fault be not very great, the man discharged is indulged with a certificate: no out-laws are capable of being admitted soldiers: and though in the difficulties of the first year, the treasurer Miranda, proposed to father Salva-Tierra, the sending to him such persons, as should be banished by the audience to serve without pay; the father declined the offer, as they would do more harm than good, with regard to the moral improvement of the new commencements; most of the soldiers are always on duty within the garrison: the others are employed in escorting the fathers, sometimes in progresses up the country, sometimes in the new settlement. In every mission there is constantly a soldier for an escorte; for though this has been desired to be dispensed with, when
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under no apprehensions from the Indians, no way has hitherto been found for it. No Indian servants of the other coast are admitted into the mission, this being attended with very great inconveniencies. The father is often obliged to go from the head village, to visit others and the rancherias, besides, he is every hour liable to be called to the sick in different parts. One particular in this government, which may seem strange to some people, is, that the captain and soldiers are under the father; and this has given such displeasure to some of his majesty's ministers, that in their zeal for the honour of the sword, they have even formally remonstrated against it to his majesty. Many other persons have, and still do express great indignation at it: some, I am willing to believe, from a good intention; but the generality are carried away by that spirit of contradiction which has ever attended the society in all its proceedings from its commencement; and which it must expect, whilst it acts up to its obligations, in pursuit of the great end of its institution: the cashiered soldiers also have frequently furnished New Spain with stories and complaints against the fathers; they have easily met with ears open to their calumnies; and have even been abetted in them; and sometimes with assurances that
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their pretended wrongs should be redressed. Father Salva-Tierra was not ignorant of the reports spread against the society, and especially against himself.

These reports were strengthened by the clamours of a captain and several soldiers, who in those years returned full of rancour against the father. It was further well known, that the coast of California abounded in pearl beds: and to think that the fathers did not make use of their Indians, and even of the Spaniards of the garrison, whom they paid for fishing for them, was, in the opinion of the ministers, paying a very high compliment to the fathers. On the other hand, none of these pearls came into the hands of private persons at Mexico, as they expected, nor was the king paid his fifths. What could be thought, but that they were concealed, to the detriment of the royal revenue, and violation of publick faith? Where was the advantage and decency that the king should put his troops under a scandalous subjection to religious, pay salaries, furnish vessels, and expend large sums, for the supply and protection of the defrauders of his revenue, only for the thread-bare pretence of devotion and religion? Would it be just to drain the treasury, only to gratify the ambition of the jesuits? All this, and many more invectives,
equally

equally well grounded, were known to father *Salva-Tierra*. He saw also how much himself and the fathers were considered for their care of the temporal concerns of California; and likewise the misunderstandings, in which they were frequently involved with the soldiers and mariners. But having, besides his natural sagacity, a long experience of those countries, he was perfectly acquainted with the climate, soil, and temper of the inhabitants: and knew from the beginning, that the enterprise of the reduction of California, was not to be measured by the rules, which obtained in the European countries, and even in America itself. It was clear to him that all endeavours, labour, and expence would be lost, unless the captain and the garrison were at his command; and that without taking this temporal command, though so disagreeable and expensive, there would be no possibility of accomplishing the spiritual conquest. Of this he was so convinced, that till he had settled this point, he did not enter on his work. The weighty reasons, on which he proceeded, are partly mentioned in the memoir, inserted above (2) and partly deducible from what we have said relating to the province of Sonora. (3)

(2) Part III. sect. VIII.

(3) Part III. sect. V.

The captain of the garrison, being likewise captain of the sea and coast of California has complete jurisdiction over all the vessels and and seamen belonging to them: with the same subordination to the fathers. The vessels properly belonging to California, are generally a large bark, for bringing the accounts and payments from Acapulco, Matanchel, or other distant ports, and a smaller for the conveyance of provisions and necessaries, from the coasts Sonora and the adjacent parts. Both vessels to be built and maintained, together with their crews, at the king's expence: but of sixteen vessels, large and small, which, till the year 1740, belonged to California, no more than twelve were built or purchased at the expence of the mission. It must be owned, that ever since the viceroyship of the marquis de Casa Fuerte, the vessels have every two years sailed to Acapulco, and there careened at the expence of the revenue. It has very often happened that there has been only one vessel at California, to its extreme danger and distress. It was owing to this want of barks, that the discoveries in the gulf have not been made: for even the very last was performed in boats along the shore, and with what danger, will be seen in his journal. And for the same reason the other surveys on the western coast on the

South-sea, were intimated, as much more difficult and expensive; though these have been enjoined by warrants from his majesty. The superiority of the captain over the barks, is no less essential to the maintenance and good government of California, than that naturally annexed to his post over the soldiers of the garrison: and his subordination to the fathers in this article, is even more necessary than in the concerns of the country. The principal reason, exclusive of others, is shewn by father Salva-Tierra in his memoir. The soldiers are very desirous of fishing for pearls along the coast. But the mariners are still more desirous, as they see some of their acquaintance on the coast of New Galicia and Cinaloa, suddenly enriched by this fishery; so that had not the captain of the garrison the command of the barks, it is natural to conclude that they would be more frequently employed in the service of the missions: so that there could be no relying upon them, for the necessary supplies: and were the captain and soldiers independent of the jesuits, they would be the first to set the example of diving for pearls: and instead of guarding the part of the country already reduced, escorting the fathers in their progresses, and assisting the mission in other parts of their duty, they would force the barks and

and the Indians for the more speedy gratification of their avarice. Hence oppressions of the Indians; and immediate consequence of these would be complaints, resentments, despair, plots, a general insurrection; and after all the expences and labours, the total loss of the conquest. If any thing happens otherwise, it is owing to their want of information.

Thus it was necessary, that both in civil and military cases, the vessels belonging to California should be subject to the captain of the garrison; and that both should be under the direction of the fathers. But the entire jurisdiction over all vessels, sailing on the gulf, was, by the government of Mexico, conferred on the captain. The entrance of the jesuits into California, and the restoration of a good harmony along its coast, from the bay de la Paz to Conception, gave occasion a second time to the fishing and trading for pearls, without the usual opposition from the Indian inhabitants. The insulars of St. Joseph, and the Guaycuri and Coras, from La Pas to cape San Lucas, alone offered to molest the divers, who had formerly suffered too much from them, to venture coming near their shore. The inhabitants of the coast of New Galicia and Cinaloa, who before, used but seldom, and then in small barks with great danger, to

go and fish for pearls, began to build larger barks: and in them, without any apprehension, to sail to the opposite coast, to trade for pearls, but much more to fish for them; employing the Californians who lived along the shore, and generally by compulsion, though they never made them any allowance. The soldiers and seamen of the garrison were several times urgent with father Salva-Tierra, that they might be allowed to dive; but the father, in order to put a stop to the evil, absolutely refused to grant the least privilege of that kind.

This caused great discontent among them, many demanded their discharge, and all complained. The father, however, continued unshaken in his intention, on no account to admit them to dive for pearls.

He was confirmed in this opinion, by a particular incident. He had sent a bark to the neighbouring island of Carmen, which made a longer stay than the service required. The father suspected that they spent their time in diving, and he afterwards had private intelligence that his suspicions were well founded. The father was highly displeased at it, but the garrison being very thin, on account of the many discharges for the same offence, he deliberated with himself, whether he should likewise discharge

charge all offenders, and remain in California alone. At last, he determined to discharge them, relying on providence, for a fresh reinforcement of men; in which he was not disappointed.

Towards the end of the year 1702, two barks committed such disorders, that the captain was obliged to march with some of his soldiers, in defence of the Indians. Having parted the fray, he demanded from the men in the bark, to produce the viceroy's licence for diving: and their answer was for him to produce the warrant by which he acted as judge and superior. But not having any particular warrant, the affair went no farther. The captain, on his arrival at Loretto, sent the viceroy an account of this quarrel, and many other violences committed on the Indians, the danger of a general discontent and revolt; and desiring instructions how to behave on similar occasions. This letter was read in the royal council of Mexico, on the 18th of January 1703; and being referred to the treasurer, his opinion was, that circular orders should be sent for prohibiting the fishing for pearls, till an account should be laid before his majesty; that enquiry should be made after all who had presumed to dive without licence, in order to bring them to punishment, according to the

new institutes by which it was prohibited: and to prevent all disorders for the future, a warrant should be sent to the captain of California, empowering him to stop all vessels which came to fish for pearls.

But the assembly, on the 27th of the same month, and in the same year, resolved, that the fishery should not be prohibited to any, having the viceroy's licence. That the warrant proposed by the fiscal, should be sent to the captain of the royal garrison of California: and lastly that the fathers Salva-Tierra and Piccolo, should be desired to acquaint the assembly, whether this grant would be attended with inconveniences: for as to the violences committed on the Indians, they might be prevented by vigilance, or suppressed by proper severities; and therefore it was by no means proper to interdict a publick advantage for fear of an evil, where the remedy was so easy.

Accordingly the orders correspondent to this decree, were sent to California, where the captain was now invested with a full power for suppressing all clandestine and illicit diving; and likewise for hindering any injuries to be done to the Indians. Father Piccolo being absent, father Salva-Tierra sent his particular answer to the viceroy in a letter dated at Loretto 1704, the original of which, written in
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his own hand, is among the records in the secretary's office of Mexico: the substance of it is, that to permit the inhabitants of the other coast, from diving for pearls, is, on many accounts, proper and just: and among other advantages, the increase of the royal revenue in the fifths; the encouragement of navigation, and the building of vessels in the gulf and neighbouring seas, where every vessel was a kind of garrison; the suppression of pirates, the greater readiness and safety of transporting provisions in a time of scarcity, the training up great numbers to the sea: and lastly, that it was reasonable California should make some returns to the crown for the benefits it received. But at the same time, it was by no means proper, that either the seamen belonging to the barks, or the captain and soldiers of California, should be allowed to fish for pearls, much less to be preferred; as this would be followed by the greatest inconveniencies. He concluded with saying, that little could be expected from the soldiery, either as to the defence of the country, escortes in progresses or wars, if they were allowed to dive for pearls. Such was father Salva-Tierra's answer; and it confirmed the junto in their former resolutions; and the viceroy took the best measures against any illegal diving, as also against defrauding the revenue

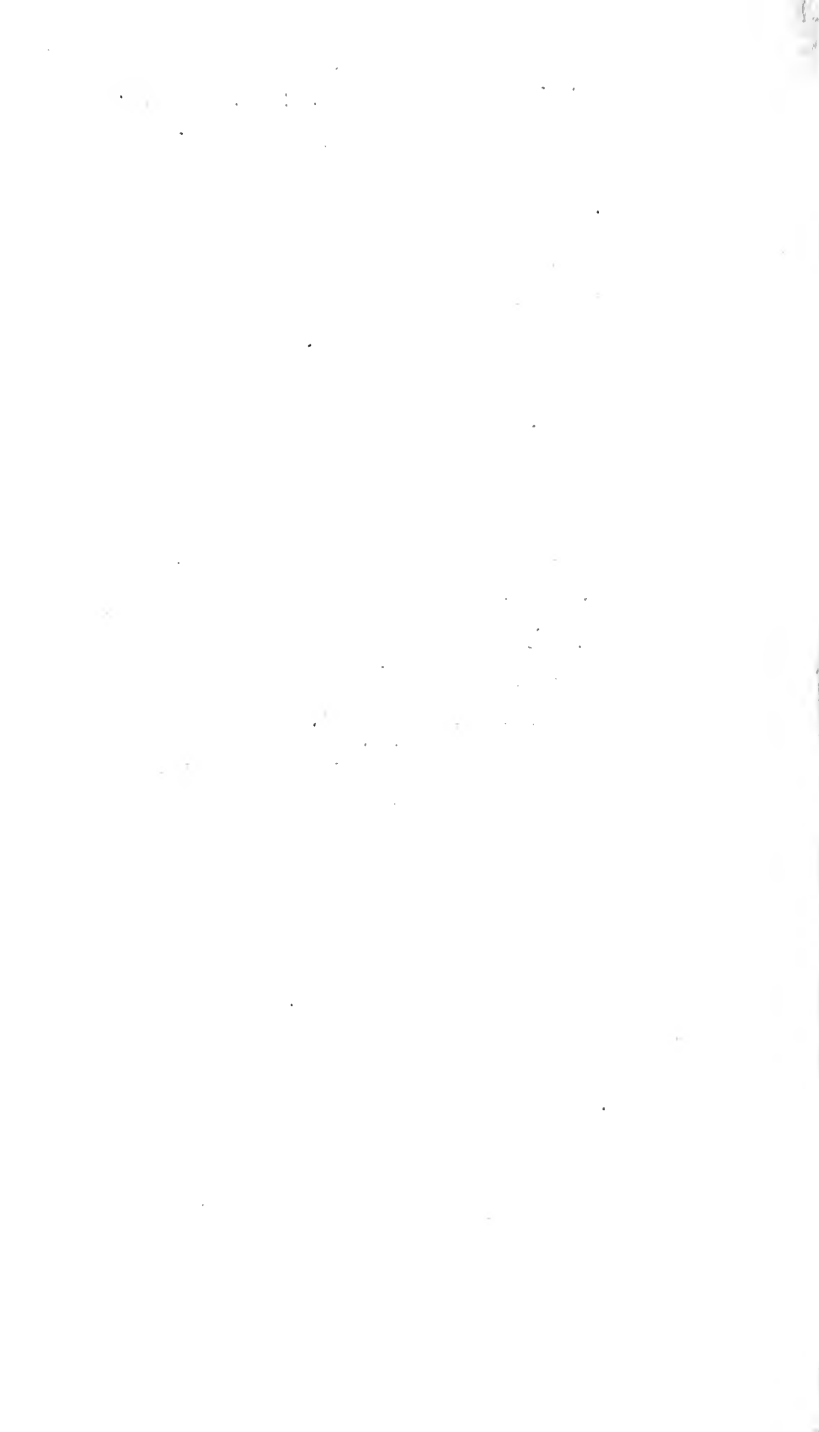
revenue of the fifth due to the king. It is certain, that the fifth of every diving bark was yearly farmed for twelve thousand dollars (7); an article which alone proves, that the value of California is more advantageous, and might be greatly augmented.

Such was the government then established in the pearl fishery of California, on the opinion of father Salva-Tierra, and this he maintained during his whole life; as on the part of the jesuits, the garrison of Loretto, and the barks belonging to it, still continue to this day. It is true, that this measure extremely irritated the soldiers, much more than the seamen, and even than any of the divers of New Spain: and they have all joined in filling the new world with calumnies against the fathers. No sooner were the viceroy's orders, concerning the pearl fishery, and the power invested in the captain of California known, than the divers of that coast, whose illicit practices were now checked, filled all places with their complaints: but among all these, the most remarkable was that made by the soldiers, that the conquest being the fruits of their valour and fatigue, they were not allowed the enjoyment of the only valuable thing in the country, the pearl fishery; when it was open to every one from the other coast.

(7) See part III. sect. XXI.

That it was a great hardship on those, who, by prodigious labour, had reduced the country to a state of peace, to be denied the privilege of gathering the fruits of it; that the fathers taking up with the fantastical conquest, neither employed the Indians to fish, nor allowed them to dive: and the only privilege they had, was to trade for pearls, and this under restrictions and conditions unreasonably favourable to the Indians, and consequently disadvantageous to them.

This was the complaint of the soldiers and seamen, who were actually, or pretended to be, cashiered. But as justice should be done to all, it must be owned, that there have been and still are some soldiers in California, who proved of great advantage to the fathers, particularly the old captain don Estevan Rodrigues Lorenzo, whose good conduct can never be too highly commended. But on the other hand, the fathers have found themselves under a necessity of enlisting as soldiers, men who were the refuse of the world, few others caring to go to so distant a place. This always rendered the garrison and the vessels, very troublesome to the mission. If these difficulties subsist, when the soldiers are under the direction of the fathers, what would become of the missions, if they were all independent?









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