
The Instructions of Viceroy Bucareli to Ensign Juan Perez

Translated by MANUEL P. SERVIN

THE NAME OF Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa is one that is revered by both Mexican and California historians. Bucareli, one of the few peninsular officials of New Spain beloved by all classes of Mexicans, is remembered in Mexico for his great achievements in administering the viceroyalty. During his term of office he “attended carefully to the organization of the military forces and coast defences; to the well-being of the new settlements in California; an honest and economic management of the royal treasury, . . . the police and administration of justice; the development of public instruction and the arts of peace.”¹ In California, Bucareli, regarded by some historians as “the greatest hero who has ever appeared in the field of California history,”² is remembered for his part in saving the province from abandonment. Besides improving the supply ship service and thus saving California from famine, he is largely responsible for both the Echeveste and Neve *reglamentos*, the opening of the overland route from Sonora to California, the exploration and occupation of San Francisco, and the discovery and exploration of the Pacific Northwest.

Bucareli’s consuming interest in the province of California, although influenced by religious motives, stemmed from his desire to prevent foreign encroachment in northern New Spain. His recognition of California’s strategic value as a buffer colony governed his measures affecting the province. Nowhere is this policy more evident than in his decision of 1773 to despatch Juan Pérez on an expedition of discovery and exploration of the Pacific Northwest. Bucareli’s decision resulted, not from scientific interest or religious zeal, but from the reports of Russian activities in northwestern North America.

Pérez’ expedition, despite his failure to discover any Russian activities

in the Pacific Northwest in 1774, is historically important. His expedition sailed as far north as fifty-five degrees latitude,³ and he became the discoverer of the area, although he did not formally claim the territory by taking possession. Perhaps as historically important as his expedition and its accounts are the instructions which he received from Viceroy Bucareli.⁴ These instructions give an insight, though extremely limited, of the Viceroy's interest in both religious matters and the welfare of the Indians. They also serve, when compared with the accounts of the expedition, as a limited means of judging the achievements and skill of Juan Pérez, the renowned naval figure of early provincial California. But of far greater significance than the above considerations is their illustration of the importance which the Spanish government attached to the ceremony of possession-taking for acquiring *terra nullius*.

A cursory reading of the entire instructions immediately reveals that the Spaniards, like the English of a previous century,⁵ adhered to the doctrine that sovereignty over *terra nullius* was obtained by the execution of symbolic acts of possession. Thus, Pérez not only received minute details on the performance of these symbolic acts but also a formulary or model for drawing the testimony or instrument of possession-taking. This formulary, which in keeping with Bucareli's extreme piety relied heavily on religious ceremonies and propounded the Alexandrine Donation of the New World,⁶ served as the model for later symbolic acts performed in the Pacific Northwest by Bruno de Hezeta and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra (1775),⁷ Ignacio Arteaga and Bodega y Cuadra (1779),⁸ Esteban José Martínez and Gonzalo López de Haro (1788),⁹ José Martínez (1789),¹⁰ and Salvador Fidalgo and Manuel Quimper (1790).¹¹ It was upon these acts, based on Bucareli's instructions to Pérez, that Spain sought to maintain her rights of sovereignty over the Pacific Northwest during the Nootka Sound Controversy with Great Britain.¹² Furthermore, the United States, after the Adams-Onís Treaty, partially based its claims to the Oregon Country upon Spanish rights, to which the possession-taking ceremonies were fundamental.

BUCARELI'S INSTRUCTIONS

Instructions which must be observed by acting Ensign Don Juan Pérez, first pilot of those appointed to the Department of San Blas, whom I have placed in

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Instrucción que debe observar el Alférez de Fragua graduado D. Juan Pérez, primer Piloto de los del número de el Departamento de S. Blas, á cuyo cuidado he puesto la Expedición de los Descubrimientos siguiendo la Costa de Monterrey á el Norte.

Artic.º 1.º

La benignidad del Rey que fió á mi cuidado este Gobierno de Nueva España, no solo me impone en la obligación de conservarle estos bastos Dominios, si no tambien en la de procurar aumentarlos en quanto me sea posible, por medio de nuevos Descubrimientos, en la extension de lo no conocido, para que atraidos los numerosos Indios sus habitantes a el dulce suave apetecido y asallaje de S. M. se derrame en ellos la luz de el ~

charge of the exploratory expedition along the coast from Monterey to the north.¹³

ARTICLE I

The kindness of the King, who entrusted this government of New Spain to my charge, not only imposes on me the obligation of preserving these vast territories for him but also that of endeavoring to enlarge them, as much as I am able, through new discoveries in unknown areas, so that their numerous Indian inhabitants, attracted to the kind, mellow, and desired vassalage of His Majesty, may receive by means of the spiritual conquest the light of the Gospel which will free them from the darkness of idolatry in which they live, and will show them the road to eternal salvation. These are the true motives that move the pious royal heart of His Majesty in these undertakings.

II

With this just and important end in view, I have decided that Don Juan Pérez, acting Ensign of the Royal Armada and first pilot of those appointed to the Department of San Blas, observing the orders which these instructions lay down, take charge of the exploration following the coast from Monterey to the north.

III

The ship which has been selected for this undertaking and which he must command is His Majesty's frigate named the *Santiago* (otherwise called the *Nueva Galicia*),¹⁴ which in accordance to his wishes will be armed, supplied with ammunition, and equipped with everything that is needed. Its complement, besides the aforesaid captain, will consist of a second pilot, a chaplain from the Apostolic College of San Fernando in this capital, a surgeon, a boatswain, a first and second boatswain mate, a first and second calker, a first and second steward, a gunner, fourteen helmsmen, twenty seamen, thirty apprentice seamen, six cabin boys, and four cooks—all of which add up to eighty-eight [*sic*] enlistments.

IV

There have been placed aboard ship a medicine chest for the prompt treatment of illness, provisions for twelve months, and the other stores which have been considered necessary for the prolonged sea voyage that is being undertaken. Four boxes of assorted beads containing four hundred and seventy bundles have also been placed aboard.

V

The captain should depart from the port of San Blas when he considers it suitable, according to his judgment and experience, which was acquired in the numerous voyages made to Monterey.

VI

Since this vessel is carrying supplies to the new settlement and missions of Monterey and for this reason must stop at this port, I strictly warn the captain to stop there only long enough to unload whatever is to remain at that presidio

and to set sail, taking advantage of the opportunities which the season offers for his course.

VII

For his course he is to ascend to the latitude which he considers suitable, keeping in mind that the landing is to be made at sixty degrees of latitude. After the landfall has been made, he will follow the coast looking for Monterey.

VIII

On the way down to this port, sailing as closely as possible to the coast, never losing sight of it, he will endeavor to make the most minute exploration and to land at those places where it can be done without obvious risk.

IX

He is not to make any settlement, no matter how advantageous and simple it may seem to him. However, he will conspicuously mark out the places which he considers suitable so that it may not be too difficult to find them if, in view of his reports, it should be decided to send an expedition to occupy them.

X

In the above-mentioned places, which he may consider suitable for settlement, he can and must take possession in the name of the King according to the terms which he¹⁵ will receive from the draft or formulary which is placed at the end of these instructions.

XI

All places where possession is taken will be marked with a large wooden cross, making its pedestal from rocks and concealing in it a bottle or glass flask in which he will place a copy of the testimony of possession signed by him, the chaplain, and the two pilots. And in order that in the days to come this document may better be preserved and may serve as an authentic testimony, the bottle will be sealed tightly with pitch.

XII

If any foreign settlement should be discovered, he will sail farther north before disembarking and beginning the ceremony of possession-taking. And since it is indeed for the good of the royal service that he do it in this manner, I especially call this to his attention so that he will regard this subject with all the consideration and care which is necessary in order not to err in the matter through lack of attention.

XIII

In the aforesaid event of discovering a settlement (which is discussed in the preceding Article XII), he will endeavor to avoid intercourse with it; but from a distance he will observe whatever he can, noting its location, the landmarks they may have built, the number of inhabitants, and if they have or do not have vessels to depend upon.

XIV

If another vessel is encountered, he must be very careful and must use all the means available to avoid communication. In the event that this should prove

inevitable (which must be proved on his return here) he will endeavor to conceal the purpose of his voyage. If the vessel encountered should be more powerful and should question him and oblige him to answer, he can state that he sailed from San Blas with provisions for the new settlement of San Diego and Monterey, provided he is within a reasonable latitude; but if he is beyond this, it will be necessary to add to the above-said that the weather has driven him further, etc.

XV

If settlements of Indians are found on the locations where he lands, after he has treated them affectionately and given them some of the articles which he carried for this purpose, he will endeavor to learn about their customs, characteristics, their mode of life and their neighbors, the number of tribes, whether they live in peace or war among themselves, what religion they profess, what idols they worship, what sacrifices and religious rites, whether there exists among them some body of knowledge or manner of writing, and how they rule and govern themselves.

XVI

He will also endeavor to learn if they have kings; or if their system of government is republican or through family descent; what taxes and tributes they pay and render, in what way, to what persons; what are the things they value the most, which of these are found in the area, and which are those that are brought in from other places and which they esteem.

XVII

He will learn if there are metals in the region and of what quality; if it produces spices, drugs or aromatics, wheat, barley, corn, beans, chick-peas.¹⁶ For this purpose he will carry some foodstuffs, such as pepper, cloves, cinammon, nutmeg, and others, which may serve as samples to be shown to the Indians, so that they may understand more readily—the eyes providing the explanation lacking for want of knowledge of the language.

XVIII

It is also desirable to investigate whether there is some kind of precious stones or articles which our nation considers valuable; to learn which are the domesticated and the wild animals, the characteristics of cultivated and wild trees and plants, and the use made of them.

XIX

He must not be satisfied solely with making the investigations indicated in the preceding articles, but he must also learn, by any means possible, if the Indians have ever seen other vessels before; if they have ever become acquainted with people different from their own, when, what were their aims and ambitions; if they penetrated into the interior or if they followed the coastline; if they gave them gifts and treated them well; if some of their gifts or tokens are still kept; if they promised to return—in all of these he will become thoroughly informed, by means of sign language or as best he can, recognizing the very great importance of this knowledge and information.

XX

He will not take anything from the Indians against their will, but only in barter or given by them through friendship. All must be treated with kindness and gentleness, which is the most efficacious means of gaining and firmly establishing their esteem. Thus, those who may return to these places for the purpose of establishing settlements, if it be so decided, will be well received.

XXI

For gifts to the Indians, there are four boxes of beads containing 468 bundles, which he may distribute equitably, being careful to give more to the principal Indian who ranks higher among them, than to the lesser ones.

XXII

He must maintain good order among the crew, looking after them both when sailing and when a landing must be made, in order to prevent lack of obedience or of good treatment of the Indians—against whom force will never be used except when it is necessary for self-defense.

XXIII

Should the packet boat be damaged by a storm or some other accident and it cannot be repaired at sea, it will sail for Monterey for repairs. And in case of an urgent need of food, it will go to the same port for provisions. With this consideration in mind, I have ordered that the provisions which are thought necessary, in addition to those designated for the people of that presidio and its mission, be sent from San Blas.

XXIV

Whenever he should find it necessary to enter Monterey or San Diego, he must keep in mind that before entering those ports he must respond from a suitable distance to the flag that is raised at the presidio by hoisting to the top of the foremast a white pennant with His Majesty's arms, which is the signal to be given to the commandants of the above-mentioned presidios so that they may not be surprised by foreign vessels.

XXV

From the very moment that he sets sail from San Blas, he will keep an exact logbook of all the navigational details, noting down the winds, courses, shoals, landmarks, etc., and determining the position of the sun whenever possible. Thus, nothing should be missing from the logbook that may be instructive or may furnish information and data for the voyage. Everyday that he is able to do so, he will read the daily entry which is written to the ranking officers of the packet boat; and at the end of what has been read, a certified statement should be made, attesting to the truth of the events entered. If anyone should make any observations, he is to make note of it and have it signed by everyone, so that the account of the events may be more authentically attested to.

XXVI

The pilot of the packet boat will also keep a logbook with the same accuracy, promptness, verification, and the other conditions expressed.

XXVII

The commissary of San Blas will deliver to the captain and to the pilot of the expedition, in addition to the fine quality paper, the books for the log and the copies which must be kept at the same time as the original one, so that on the very day of arrival at the port of San Blas on the return voyage, the originals may be forwarded to this superior office.

XXVIII

If the above-mentioned case (stated in Article XXIV which concerns the necessity of landing at the port of Monterey or of San Diego) should occur, he will inform this superior office of the causes and reasons which have obliged him to do so, delivering sealed copies of his log and the pilot's to the commandant of the presidio, so that they may be sent overland to the governor of Lower California in order that the latter may forward them from Loreto to this superior office on the first opportunity.

XXIX

On resuming the voyage, the captain and pilot will begin another copy. With this in view, I have ordered that six books be delivered to each of them.

XXX

Under no circumstances should he antagonize the Indians or forcibly take possession of land. If he should encounter difficulties in some location, he can perform it in its adjacent regions, realizing that his principal concern is limited to exploration of the coast as far north as he can sail, in order to learn if there is a foreign settlement and to bring back some information concerning the difficulties or the means for a better examination of the intelligence he may obtain.

XXXI

Notwithstanding that the charts published in St. Petersburg in the years 1758 and 1773, concerning the alleged voyages of the Russians, may be of little use to him, copies are included so that he may not be without this information.

XXXII

He, and those who accompany him, must expect compensation for their labors from the generosity of the King in accordance with their zeal and its good results, for I shall inform His Majesty at the opportune moment.

Mexico, December 24, 1773.

Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa

The formulary which must be used as a model in writing the testimonies of possession-taking in the discoveries of which Ensign Don Juan Pérez is in charge.

In the name of the most holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three persons and a single true God, who is the Beginning, Maker, and Creator of all things, without whom nothing good can be made, begun, or preserved.

And because the good beginning of anything whatsoever must be in God and for God, and because it is fitting to begin it in his name and honor, in his most

holy name let it be known to all those who may see the present testimony, instrument, and letter of possession that on this day, which is _____^a, the _____^b, day of the month of _____^c, of the year 1774, on the arrival of the frigate named the *Santiago* (otherwise called the *Nueva Galicia*), belonging to the Very Mighty, Very Illustrious and Catholic Lord, Don Carlos III (King of Castile, of León, of Aragon, of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Navarre, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Seville, of Sardinia, of Cordova, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Jaén, of the Algarve, of Algeciras, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, of the East and West Indies, of the islands and mainland of the Ocean Sea; Archduke of Austria; Duke of Burgundy, of Brabant, and of Milan; Count of Hapsburg, of Flanders, of Tyrol, and of Barcelona; Lord of Biscay and of Molina, etc.) which by order of the Most Excellent Lord, Bailío¹⁷ Frey¹⁸ Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa Henestrosa Laso de La Vega Villacís y Córdoba (Knight of the *Gran Cruz* and Knight Commander of the *Bóveda de Toro* in the Order of His Majesty with the privilege of entrance; Lieutenant General of the Royal Army; Viceroy, Governor, and Captain General of this New Spain; President of its Royal *Audiencia*; Superintendent General of the Royal Treasury; President of the Board of Tobacco, Judge Conservator of this Branch; and Subdelegate General of the Postal Revenues of this same Kingdom) sailed from the port of San Blas, one of those of the Southern Sea in the territory of the same viceroyalty, on _____^d, of the present year for the purpose of discovery along the coast from Monterey to the north, and which was under the command of Don Juan Pérez, Acting Ensign in the Royal Armada; and while it [the *Santiago*] was anchored in this _____^e, now newly renamed _____^f, the aforesaid captain (having landed with the greater part of the frigate's sailors and troops, and with Fray _____^g, a religious of our Father Saint Francis of the Apostolic College of San Fernando of Mexico) took a cross on shore and with all of the complement devoutly adored it on his knees. The religious sang the canticle "Te Deum Laudamus." In a loud voice he [the captain] said that in the name of His Majesty the King, Don Carlos III, Our Sovereign (whom may God Our Lord keep for many years with an increase of greater states and kingdoms for the service of God and the well-being and prosperity of his vassals and of the very powerful lords and monarchs, his heirs and successors in the future) he, as captain of this frigate and by virtue of the order and instructions which in the royal name were given to him by the aforesaid Most Excellent Viceroy of New Spain, was taking and took possession, was seizing and seized possession, of this land where he has at present disembarked, which he has discovered forever and ever in the said name of the Royal Crown of Castile and León (as stated above) as its own property, which it is and which really belongs to it [the Crown] by reason of the Donation and Bull of the Very Holy Father Alexander VI, Supreme Pontiff of Rome (which he issued *motu proprio*, giving one half of the world to the Very High and Catholic Lords Fernando V and Isabel his wife, of

glorious memory, and to their successors and heirs), given at Rome on May 4 of the year 1493. By virtue of this, these lands belong to the said Crown of Castile and León, and as such he takes and took the aforesaid possession of these lands and their adjoining districts, seas, rivers, coves, ports, bays, gulfs, archipelagos, and this said _____^h where this frigate is presently anchored; and he was placing and did place them under the power, possession, and dominion of the said Royal Crown of Castile and León (as stated above) as its own property, which it is. As a sign of possession, *vel quasi*, drawing out his sword which hung at his side, he cut trees and branches and plants, and he moved stones, and he walked back and forth on the fields and beaches without encountering opposition, asking those present to be witnesses of it and me _____ⁱ, being the notary appointed by the captain of this expedition, to draw the deposition of witnesses in public form. Then immediately taking a large cross on their shoulders, the men of the frigate, having been disposed in battle order with muskets and other arms, carried the cross in procession while the religious, _____^j, chanted a litany with everyone answering the responses. The said procession having ended, the aforesaid captain planted the cross and placed a pile of stones at its foot as a monument and sign of possession of all these discovered lands, seas, and their limits, continuous and contiguous; and he named this _____^k (as stated above). As soon as the cross had been planted, they adored it a second time and all of them prayed, asking and beseeching Our Lord Jesus Christ to be pleased, for this would be for his holy service, for the exaltation and increase of our holy Catholic faith, and for sowing the seed of the holy Gospel among these barbarous nations (which up till now have been deprived of the true knowledge and doctrine) in order to guard and to free them from the devices and dangers of the devil and from the blindness in which they live, that their souls may be saved. Then the religious sang the hymn "Vexilla Regis"; *and immediately afterwards, on an altar which had been built, the aforesaid religious celebrated Mass, which was the first to be said in this territory for the glory and honor of Our Almighty Lord and for the extirpation of the devil and all idolatry.* _____^l *confessed and received Communion; and the same religious gave the sermon.*^m After the services had ended, the captain as a more lasting sign and monument of possession, *had a treeⁿ stripped which he ordered made into a cross on which was engraved the Most Holy Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ with the four initials I.N.R.I.; and at the foot of the cross he put "Carolus tertius Rex Hispaniarum."* In order that this should thus be recorded, it was signed by the captain and by the witnesses _____^o. And, I, the notary appointed by the said captain, attest and certify that it happened as has been related.

NOTE: That an identical instrument to that made of the possession-taking must be placed in a glass bottle or flask, which will then be well-sealed with pitch, so that in accordance with Article XI of the instructions it may be left hidden as a

perpetual testimony among the stones of the pile or mound which must be made next to the cross.

Mexico. December 24, 1773.

- a. Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, etc., will be placed in this blank.¹⁹
- b. The date of the day will be written here.
- c. The month will be written here.
- d. The day and month of departure from San Blas will be placed in this blank.
- e. Bay, port, coast, anchoring place, or whatever it may be, will be placed in this blank.
- f. The name which the captain may give will be written here.
- g. The name of the religious will be placed in this blank.
- h. The port, roadstead, etc., and name given to it will be placed in this blank.
- i. The first and last name of the person whom the captain has authorized as notary will be placed in this blank.
- j. The name of the religious will be placed in this blank.
- k. The port, roadstead, etc., and name given to it will be placed here.
- l. The names of those who went to confession and received Communion will be placed in this blank.
- m. The sentences in italic²⁰ must be included whenever Mass is celebrated and there is time for confession and Communion.
- n. If there are no trees available, it will suffice to make an equivalent which will be described in the location where the words are in italics.²¹
- o. The names of the religious and of all the rest who sign it (stating their occupations) will be placed in this space.

NOTES

1. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1883), III, 372.
2. John W. Caughey, *California* (2d ed.; Englewood Cliffs, 1960), p. 115; Robert Glass Cleland, *From Wilderness to Empire*, ed. by Glenn S. Dumke (New York, 1959), p. 38.
3. Pérez apparently reached the northern point of Queen Charlotte Island. See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast* (San Francisco, 1886), I, 153-154.
4. Bucareli's instructions to Pérez bear the following Spanish title: "Ynstrucion que debe observar el Alferes de Fragata graduado D. Juan Perez, primer piloto de los de numero de el Departamento de Sn. Blas, á cuyo cuidado he puesto la Expedicion de los Descubrimientos siguiendo la Costa de Monterey á el Norte." The manuscript of the translation that follows is found in the Archivo General de la Nación (hereinafter indicated as A. G. N.), Mexico City, *Historia*, Vol. 68.

5. For English possession-taking activities and their respective acceptance see James Simsarian, "The Acquisition of Terra Nullius," *Political Science Quarterly*, LIII (March, 1938), 111-128; Manuel Servín, "La toma de posesión inglesa," *Revista de Indias*, Madrid, XVIII (Abril-Junio, 1958), 185-200.

6. Concerning European religious ceremonies in possession-taking activities see Manuel Servín, "Religious Aspects of Symbolic Acts of Sovereignty," *The Americas*, XIII (January, 1957), 255-267.

7. Escrituras de posesión tomada por Bruno de Hezeta, MSS, Archivo General de Indias (hereinafter indicated as A. G. I.), Seville, *Estado*, Legajo 38, Docs. 6 and 7; Escritura de posesión tomada por Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra, MS, A. G. I., *Estado*, Leg. 38, Doc. 9; Escritura de posesión tomada por Francisco Antonio de Maurelle, MS, A. G. I., *Estado* Leg. 38, Doc. 8. For location of acts see Henry Raup Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800* (Berkeley, 1937), I, 176-177.

8. Escritura de la posesión tomada por Ignacio Arteaga, MS, A. G. I., *Estado*, Leg. 38, Doc. 12; Escritura de la posesión tomada por Bernardo de Quirós, MS, A. G. I., *Estado*, Leg. 38, Doc. 12. For location of the acts see Henry Raup Wagner, "Creation of Rights Sovereignty through Symbolic Acts," *Pacific Historical Review*, VII (December, 1938), 312-313.

9. Seis escrituras de posesión tomada por Esteban José Martínez, MSS, Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereinafter indicated as A. H. N.), Madrid, *Estado*, Leg. 4289.

10. For translation of Martínez' act of 1789 see F. H. Howay, "The Spanish Settlement at Nootka," *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, VIII (July, 1917), 164-167.

11. Escrituras de posesión tomada por Salvador Fidalgo, MSS, A. G. N., *Historia*, Vol. 68; Escrituras de posesión tomada por Manuel Quimper, MSS, A. G. N., *Historia*, Vol. 68.

12. For the official Spanish views on the validity of symbolic acts for obtaining sovereignty over *terra nullius* see "La Junta de ocho Ministros . . .," MS, A. H. N., *Estado*, Leg. 2848; "Apuntamientos sobre los actos de posesion en el Mar del Sur . . .," MS, A. H. N., *Estado*, Leg. 4291; Manuel Antonio Florez to Antonio Valdés, Mexico, December 23, 1788, A. H. N., *Estado*, Leg. 4289.

13. The editor is gratefully indebted to Miss Haydée Noya, of the Huntington Library, and Dr. Donald C. Cutter, of the University of Southern California, for reviewing the first draft of the translation. Their suggestions have, indeed, been most helpful.

14. The *Santiago* was the largest of the San Blas vessels. Built in San Blas in 1773, it was of 225 tons burden. See Donald C. Cutter, *Malaspina in California* (San Francisco, 1960), p. 80.

15. Although the instructions are written in the first and third person (e. g., "I strictly warn the captain . . ."), Bucareli at this point, and only on this occasion, addressed Pérez by using the abbreviation *Vm.* (Vuestra Merced). For the sake

of clarity and consistency this expression has been rendered as *he* instead of *you* or *Your Honor*.

16. Some California historians prefer to use the Spanish word *garbanzo* for chick-peas. *Garbanzo*, however, is generally an unknown word to people living north of the Spanish Borderlands.

17. *Bailío* is a member of certain military orders who holds a dignity or commandery in the order.

18. *Frey* is the form used in addressing knight commanders or particularly distinguished knights of certain military orders.

19. The instructions for filling the blanks in the formulary are found on the left margin of the original manuscript.

20. The sentences are underlined in the original manuscript, not italicized.

21. The words are not italicized in the original manuscript but are underscored with dots.