“Fr. Andrés Quintana’s murder at the Santa Cruz mission” in Asun Garikano (2013).

Kaliforniakoak (1533-1848). Iruñea, Pamiela.

Translation: Jennifer Ottman

On October 12, 1812, Fr. Andrés Quintana was found dead in his room at the Santa Cruz mission. Initially, it was thought that he had died a natural death, since he had been sick. He had gone to Monterrey for treatment, but he had to return before he had recovered, since his companion, the other friar at Santa Cruz—a fellow-countryman of his, Marcelino Marquínez, “a native of Treviño, Vizcaya, Spain,” in Bancroft’s words[i]—had fallen ill. Nevertheless, murder was also suspected from the beginning, and Gov. Pablo Vicente Solá, a native of Arrasate (Gipuzkoa), wrote to Father Marquínez telling him to allow the surgeon to examine the corpse. The autopsy[ii] concluded that violence had played no role in Quintana’s death, and the event was record in the mission register in these words: “In the morning, he was dead in his bed of natural causes.” However, this terse explanation, signed by Marquínez, was later supplemented by an asterisk, which takes the reader to the following note:

> The investigative activities were repeated, and it was discovered that the Christian Indians of this mission and of Santa Clara killed him; they called him to this mission’s orchard to anoint a pretended sick man, and there they strangled him. *Virilia vulnera quae pudet dicere* [He had wounds to his male members that it is shameful to state].[iii]

What happened at Santa Cruz? What led the Indians to kill the friar?

The Santa Cruz mission was not an easy posting. Founded by Fermín Lasuén in 1791, California’s twelfth mission was located halfway between Monterrey and San Francisco. Lasuén ordered the construction of some huts, which became the home of the mission’s first two friars, Isidro Alonso Salazar and Baldomero López, both of whom had arrived on the frigate *Aránzazu*. Everything had to be built from scratch, and as was customary, the older missions made donations, each according to its capacity: Santa Clara gave sixty-four head of cattle,

twenty-two horses, seventy-seven fanegas of wheat, and twenty-six loaves of bread; San Francisco, five yoke of oxen, seventy sheep, and two celemines of barley; San Carlos, seven mules and eight horses. Vestments for religious services also arrived. Despite all the aid, however, Salazar and López soon asked to be transferred to another post, after the Indians rebelled in 1793. Salazar wrote to Lasuén in a state of desperation, "In a short time, there will be no missionaries who want to be here or come from Mexico."[iv]

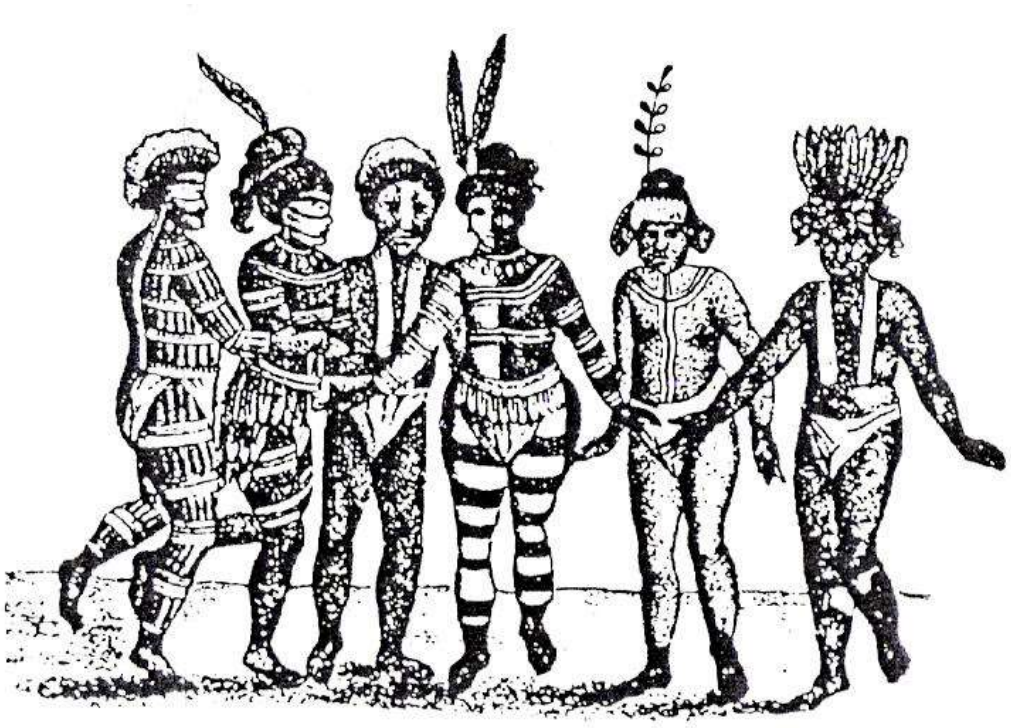
A church and a plaza were built, and a mill as well, but at century's end, the mission's future did not look at all promising. Salazar and López finally succeeded in leaving, and one of the friars who replaced them, Manuel Fernández, wrote in 1798 complaining that at Santa Cruz, everything went badly. Only 30 or 40 neophytes were left to work, 138 having deserted; the fields were flooded and only half cultivated; floods had damaged the church; the livestock were half dead; and the cadaver of a whale that had washed up on the beach was attracting a large number of wolves and bears to the area. In the friars' opinion, nevertheless, the chief reason for the Indians' discontent was the settlement of Branciforte, founded alongside the mission by Governor Borica. The colonists stole, did not leave the Indians in peace, and tried to convince them to leave the mission. To make matters worse, an epidemic that was spreading from mission to mission arrived in Santa Cruz in 1802.

Father Fernández left the same year he came, and his place was filled by Fr. Domingo Carranza, a native of Loza (Araba). Carranza was at the mission until 1808. Between 1806 and 1808, Jose Antonio Uría, from Azkoitia, and Francisco Xavier de la Concepción Uría, from Aizarna, made brief stays at Santa Cruz, and other friars did as well, but they all left immediately. Compared to the others, Andrés Quintana lasted a long time in his post: from his arrival in 1805 until he was murdered on October 12, 1812.

The only biographical data we have for Andrés Quintana are the few facts set down in his baptismal record. The son of Ramón de Quintana and Josefa Ruiz de Alda, he was born on November 27, 1777, in Antoñana (Araba), and was baptized three days later by Fr. Andrés Ochoa de Alda in the church of San Vicente Mártir in that locality. He entered the Franciscan order at the age of seventeen, and after finishing his studies in 1804, he embarked in Cádiz for

Mexico. The passport register tells us that he was of medium height and had a strong constitution, dark hair, blue eyes, and thick eyebrows. After a very brief stay at the Colegio de San Fernando in Mexico City, he volunteered for the California missions. On August 31, he was in Monterrey, and by November, he was at Santa Cruz. In other words, this young man, twenty-eight years old, went almost directly from the convent of Vitoria to the Santa Cruz mission; he took up his post as a missionary in Alta California with the education and training he received as a child in Antoñana and as a young man in the Vitoria convent. What did Quintana find at Santa Cruz? What were the natives of that place like?

In 1811, with the aim of learning about the situation of the inhabitants of the Alta California missions, the Spanish authorities in Mexico sent a questionnaire to all the missions, to which the friars were supposed to respond. The resulting reports provided information about different peoples and languages that would soon disappear. According to the anthropologist A. L. Kroeber, they are one of the very few sources of information we have about the natives' way of life before their first contact with Europeans. In this scholar's opinion, it was Andrés Quintana who replied to the questionnaire at the Santa Cruz mission, and the Indians he described were the Awaswas of Chatu-Mu and the Ohlone towns in the surrounding area.



Ohlone dancers at Mission San José.

In his report, Quintana offers curious information that is of great interest for anthropologists. For example, discussing customs related to marriage, he explains that when an Indian man wanted to get married, he went to the home of the woman he wanted to marry and sat down next to her. Subsequently, without saying a word, he sighed, cast some pieces of shell or small spiral shells threaded on a string at the feet of the woman's father, and left, considering himself now married.

ohlone dance headdress - 1816 (choris)

Leaving these curiosities aside, however, Quintana's authoritarian perspective is the most striking aspect of his replies. He had been at Santa Cruz six years by that time, but his mental framework did not permit him to see anything positive in the way of life or customs of those peoples. His mentality was that of an eighteenth-century friar educated in a provincial convent, and he judged everything from this perspective. He found the Indians' dances dreary, and the songs with which they accompanied them disagreeable. In war, their behavior was ruthless. When they killed an enemy in battle, they cut him into pieces, removed the upper part of his cranium, and stuck his head on the end of a lance and carried it home as a kind of trophy.[v]

This was how Andrés Quintana saw the Indians of Santa Cruz, not very differently from the way other friars and all the whites in general saw them. In addition to his disdain, however, Quintana apparently possessed another trait that had a negative impact on the natives' feelings toward him. According to some accounts, he was especially cruel when it came to imposing physical punishments.

In 1877, Thomas Savage, one of Bancroft's collaborators, had the opportunity to speak with Lorenzo Asisara, who gave him first-hand information about Quintana's murder. Asisara was the son of an eyewitness to the friar's death, and he knew in great detail how and why the

Indians of Santa Cruz and Santa Clara took vengeance on Andrés Quintana, because his father had told him.

Asisara's narrative tells the story of one of the most dramatic events in those first years in Alta California. Until then, murders of the missionaries had taken place in the broader context of a general rebellion against the mission as an institution. Andrés Quintana's murder, however, was something else: the result of a perfectly organized plan to get rid of that man and no one else.

Andrés Quintana's murder, narrated by Lorenzo Asisara

> The following story which I shall convey was told to me by my dear father in 1818. He was a neophyte of the Mission of Santa Cruz. He was one of the original founders of that mission. He was an Indian from the *ranchería* of Asar on the Jarro coast, up beyond Santa Cruz. He was one of the first neophytes baptized at the founding, being about twenty years of age. He was called Venancio Asar and was the gardener of the Mission of Santa Cruz.
>
> My father was a witness to the happenings that follow. He was one of the conspirators who planned to kill Father Quintana. When the conspirators were planning to kill Father Quintana, *they* gathered in the house of Julián the gardener (the one who made the pretense of being ill). The man who worked inside the plaza of the mission, named Donato, was punished by Father Quintana with a whip with wire. With each blow it cut his buttocks. Then the same man, Donato, wanted vengeance. He was the one who organized a gathering of fourteen men, among them the cook and the pages serving the Father. The cook was named Antonio, the eldest page was named Lino, the others were named Vicente and Miguel Antonio. All of them gathered in the house of Julián to plan how they could avoid the cruel punishments of Father Quintana. One man present, Lino, who was more capable and wiser than the others, said, "The first thing we should do today is to see that the Father no

longer punishes the people in that manner. We aren't animals. He [Quintana] says in his sermons that God does not command these [punishments], but only examples and doctrine. Tell me now, what shall we do with the Father? We cannot chase him away, nor accuse him before the Judge, because we do not know who commands him to do with us as he does." To this, Andrés, father of Lino the page, answered "Let's kill the Father without anyone being aware—not the servants or anyone, except us that are here present." (This Lino was a pure-blooded Indian, but as white as a Spaniard and a man of natural abilities.) And Julián the gardener said, "What shall we do in order to kill him?" His wife responded, "You, who are always getting sick—only this way can it be possible—think if it is good this way." Lino approved the plan and asked that all present also approve it. "In that case, we shall do it tomorrow night." That was Saturday. It should be noted that the Father wished all the people to gather in the plaza on the following Sunday in order to test the whip that he had made with pieces of wire, to see if it was to his liking.

All of the conspirators present at the meeting concurred that it should be done as Lino had recommended. On the evening of Saturday at about six o'clock [October 12] of 1812, they went to tell the Father that the gardener was dying. The Indians were already posted between two trees on both sides so that they could grab the Father when he passed. The Father arrived at the house of Julián, who pretended to be in agony. The Father helped him, thinking that he was really sick and about to die. When the Father was returning to his house, he passed close to where the Indians were posted. They didn't have the courage to grab him, and they allowed him to pass. The moribund gardener was behind him, but the Father arrived at his house. Within an hour, the wife of Julián arrived [again] to tell the Father that her husband was dying. With this news the Father returned to the orchard, the woman following behind, crying and lamenting. He saw that the sick man was dying. The Father

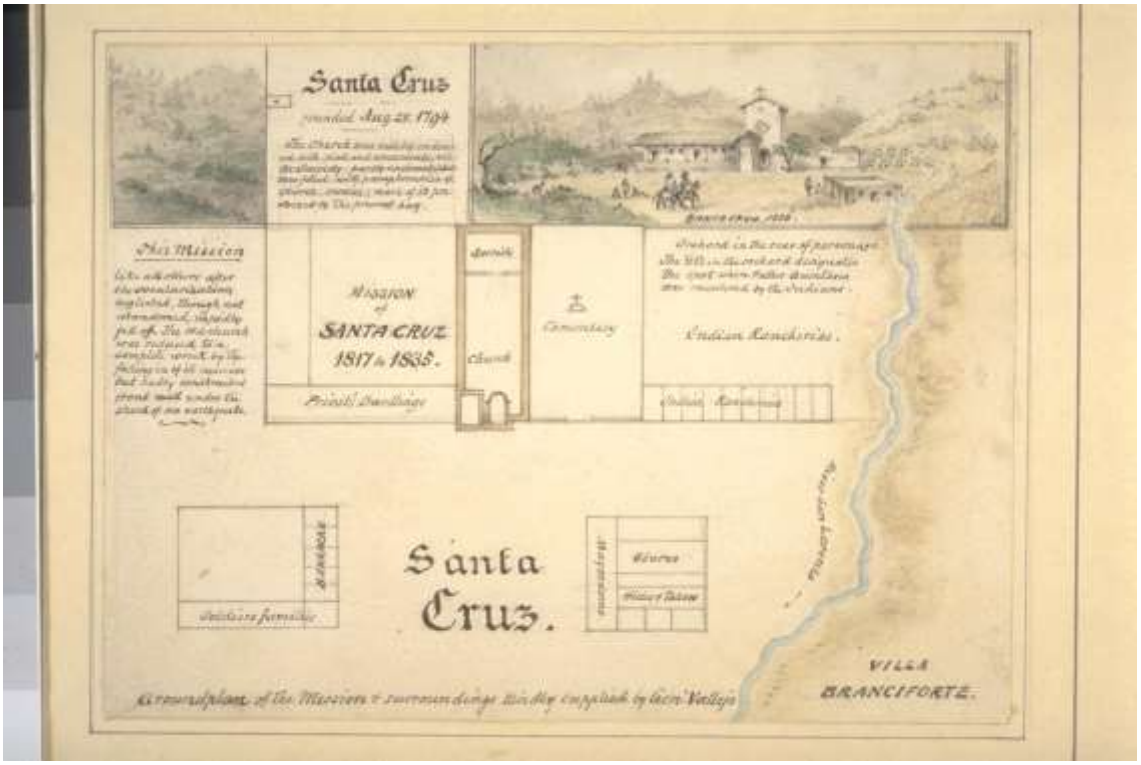
took the man's hand in order to take his pulse. He felt the pulse and could find nothing amiss. The pulse showed there was nothing wrong with Julián. Not knowing what it could be, the Father returned to pray for him. It was night when the Father left. Julián arose and washed away the sacraments (oil) that the Father had administered, and he followed behind to join the others and see what his companions had done. Upon arriving at the place where they were stationed, Lino lifted his head and looked in all directions to see if they were coming out to grab the Father. The Father passed and they didn't take him. The Father arrived at his house.

Later, when the Father was at his table, dining, the conspirators had already gathered at the house of the allegedly sick man to ascertain why they hadn't seized Father Quintana. Julián complained that the Father had placed herbs on his ears, and because of them, now he was really going to die. Then the wife of Julián said, "Yes, you all did not carry through with your promised plans; I am going to accuse you all, and I will not go back to the house." They all answered her, "All right, now, go and speak to the Father." The woman again left to fetch Father Quintana, who was at supper. He got up immediately and went, where he found the supposedly sick man. This time he took with him three pages, two who walked ahead lighting his way with lanterns and behind him followed his majordomo Lino. The other two were Vicente and Miguel Antonio. The Father arrived at the gardener's house and found him unconscious. He couldn't speak. The Father prayed the last orations without administering the oils and said to the wife, "Now your husband is prepared to live or die. Don't come to look for me again." Then the Father left with his pages, to return to his house. Julián followed him. Arriving at the place where the two trees were (since the Father was not paying attention to his surroundings, but only the path in front of him), Lino grabbed him from behind, saying these words: "Stop here, Father, you must speak for a moment."

When the other two pages who carried the lanterns turned around and saw the other men come out to attack the Father, they fled with their lanterns. The Father said to Lino, “Oh, my son, what are you going to do to me?” Lino answered, “Your assassins will tell you.”

“What have I done to you children for which you would kill me?” “Because you have made a horsewhip tipped with iron,” Andrés answered him. Then the Father replied, “Oh, children, leave me, so that I can go from here now, at this moment.” Andrés asked him why he had made this horsewhip. Quintana said that it was only for transgressors. Then someone shouted, “Well, you are in the hands of those evil ones, make your peace with God.” Many of those present (seeing the Father in his affliction) cried and pitied his fate, but could do nothing to help him, because they were themselves compromised. He pleaded much, promising to leave the mission immediately if they would only let him.

“Now you won’t be going to any part of the earth from here, Father, you are going to heaven.” This was the last plea of the Father. Some of them, not having been able to lay hands on the Father, reprimanded the others because they talked too much, demanding that they kill him immediately. They then covered the Father’s mouth with his own cape to strangle him. They had his arms tightly secured. After the Father had been strangled, [they did not beat him but] took a testicle so that it would not be obvious that he had been attacked, and in a moment Father expired. Then Lino and the others took him to his house and put him in his bed.



Santa Cruz [ground plan; sketch of mission in 1825]. Kindly supplied by Genl. Vallejo. Date:1878?
http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/tf3c6007bk/?layout=metadata&brand=calisphere

When the two little pages, Vicente and Miguel Antonio, arrived at the house, the former wanted to tell the guard, but the others dissuaded him by saying, "No, the soldiers will also kill your mother, father, all of the others, and you, yourself, and me. Let them, the conspirators, do what they want." The two hid themselves. After the Indians had put the Father in his bed, Lino looked for the two pages, and he found them hidden. They undressed the body of Father Quintana and placed him in the bed as if he were going to sleep. All of the conspirators, including Julián's wife, were present. Andrés asked Lino for the keys to the storeroom. He handed them over, saying, "What do you want?" And they said silver and beads. Among the group there were three Indians from the Santa Clara Mission. These proposed that they investigate to see how much money there was. Lino opened the box and showed them the accumulated gold and silver. The three Indians from Santa Clara took as much

as they could carry to their mission. (I don't know what they have done with that money.) The others took their portions as they saw fit.

Then they asked for the keys to the convent, or nunnery [women's dormitory]. Lino gave the keys to the *jayunte*, or barracks of the single men, to one of them in order to free the men and gather them together, below in the orchard, with the unmarried women. They gathered in the orchard so that neither the people in the plaza, nor in the *ranchería*, nor in the guardhouse would hear them. The single men left and without a sound gathered in the orchard at the same place where the Father was assassinated. There was a man there cautioning them not to make any noise, that they were going to have a good time. After a short time the young unmarried women arrived in order to spend the night there. The young people of both sexes got together and had their pleasure. At midnight Lino, being in the Father's living room with one of the girls from the single women's dormitory, entered the Father's room in order to see if he was really dead. He found him reviving. He was already on the point of arising. Lino went to look for his accomplices to tell them that the Father was coming to. The Indians returned, and they crushed the Father's other testicle. This last act put an end to the life of Father Quintana. Donato, the one who had been whipped, walked around the room with the plural results of his operation in hand, saying, "I shall bury these in the outdoor privy."

Donato told Lino that they should close the treasure chest: "Close the trunk with the colored silver (that is the name that the Indians gave to gold), and let's see where we shall bury it." The eight men carried it down to the orchard and buried it secretly, without the others knowing.

At about two o'clock in the morning, the young girls returned to their convent and the single men to their *jayunte*, without making any noise. The assassins gathered once more after everything had occurred, in order to hear

the plans of Lino and Donato. Some wanted to flee, and others asked, "What for? No one except us knows." Lino asked them what they wanted to take to their houses—sugar, *panocha,* honey, or any other things—and suggested that they lie down to sleep for a while. Finally everything was ready. Donato proposed to return to where the Father was, to check on him. They found him not only lifeless, but completely cold and stiff. Lino then showed them the new whip that the Father was planning to use for the first time the next day, assuring them that he (Father Quintana) would not use it now. He sent them to their houses to rest, remaining in the house with the keys. He asked them to be very careful. He arranged the room and the Bible in the manner in which the Father was accustomed to doing before retiring, telling them that he was not going to toll the bells in the morning until the majordomo and corporal of the guard came and he had talked to them. All went through the orchard very silently.

This same morning (Sunday), the bells should have been rung at about eight o'clock. At that hour the people from the *Villa de* Branciforte began to arrive in order to attend the Mass. The majordomo, Carlos Castro, saw that the bells were not being rung and went to Lino, who was the first assistant of the Father, to ask why the Father had not ordered him (to toll the bells). Lino was in the outer room feigning innocence and answered the majordomo that he couldn't tell him anything about the Father because he was still inside, sleeping or praying, and that the majordomo should wait until he should speak to him first. The majordomo returned home. Soon the corporal of the guard arrived, and Lino told him the same thing he had told the majordomo. The majordomo returned to join in the conversation. They decided to wait a little while longer. Finally, Lino told them that in their presence he would knock on the door of the room, observing, "If he is angry with me, you will stand up for me." And so he did, calling to the Father. As he didn't hear noise

inside, the majordomo and corporal asked Lino to knock again, but he refused. They then left, charging him with calling the Father again, because the hour was growing late. All of the servants were busy at their jobs, as always, in order not to cause any suspicion. The majordomo returned after ten o'clock and asked Lino to call the Father to see what was wrong. Lino, with the keys in his pocket, knocked at the door. Finally the majordomo insisted that Lino enter the room, but Lino refused. At this moment, the corporal, old Nazario Galindo, arrived. Lino (although he had the key to the door in his pocket) said, "Well, I am going to see if I can get the door open," and he pretended to look for a key to open the door. He returned with a ring of keys, but he didn't find one that opened the lock. The majordomo and the corporal left to talk to some men who were there. Later, Lino took the key that opened the door, saying that it was for the kitchen. He opened another door that opened into the plaza (the key opened three doors), and through there he entered. Then he opened the main door from inside, in front of which the others waited. Lino came out screaming and crying and carrying on in an uncontrolled manner, saying that the Father was dead. They asked him if he was certain, and he responded, "As this light that illuminates us. By God, I'm going to toll the bells." The three entered, the corporal, the majordomo, and Lino. He didn't allow anyone else to enter. The corporal and the majordomo and the other people wrote to the other missions and to Monterey to Father Marcelino Marquínez. (This Marquínez was an expert horseman and a good friend.) The poor elderly neophytes, and many other Indians who never suspected that the Father was killed, thought he had died suddenly. They cried bitterly. Lino was roaring inside the Father's house like a bear.

The Fathers from Santa Clara and from other missions came, and they held the Father's funeral, all believing that he had died a natural death, but not before examining the corpse in the entrance room and opening the stomach

in order to be certain that the Father had not been poisoned. Officials, sergeants, and many others participated in these acts, but nothing was discovered. Finally, by chance, one of those present noted that the testicles were missing, and they were convinced that this had been the cause of death.[vi] Through modesty they did not reveal the fact, and buried the body with everyone convinced that the death had been a natural one.

A number of years after the death, Emiliana, the wife of Lino, and María Tata, the wife of the cook Antonio, became mutually jealous. They were both seamstresses and they were at work. This was around August, at the time of the lentil harvest. Carlos Castro was with his men, working in the cornfields. Shortly before eleven o'clock he returned to his house for the meal. He understood the language of the Indians. Returning from the cornfields, he passed behind one of the plaza walls near where these women were sewing and heard one tell the other that she was secretly eating *panocha*. Castro stopped and heard the second woman reply to the first, "How is it that you have so much money?" The first replied, "You also have it because your husband killed the Father." Then the second accused the husband of the first woman of the same crime. The war of words continued, and Castro was convinced that Father Quintana had been assassinated, and he went to tell Father Ramón Olbes, who was the missionary at Santa Cruz, what he had heard. Father Ramón went to tell Father Marquínez. The latter sent one of his pages to the orchard to warn Julián and his accomplices that they were going to be caught. At noon, at about the time of the midday meal, Father Olbes spoke to Lino and asked him to send for his wife to come there to cut some pieces of cloth. Emiliana arrived, and Father Olbes placed her in a room where there was clothing and gave her some scissors with which to cut some pieces, telling her, "you will eat here." Then he sent a page to bring María Tata to take some dirty clothing out of the church to wash. The majordomo was observing the

maneuverings of the Father. He made María Tata stay to eat there. He placed her in another room to cut some suits for the pages. The majordomo and the two Fathers went to eat. After the meal, and when the two women had also eaten, Father Olbes said to Emiliana, "Do you know who eats a lot of white sugar?" She answered that it was María Tata, "because her husband had killed Father Quintana." The Father made her return to the room and called for María Tata. The Father asked her, "Tell me if you know who it was that killed Father Quintana, tell me the truth so that nothing will happen to you." Lino and Antonio often took their meal in the kitchen. María Tata replied, "Lino, Father." Father Olbes then sent the women to their houses to rest, offering them a present. Then the Father sent for the corporal, Nazario Galindo, to arrest the assassins. They began with the orchard workers and the cook, without telling them why they were under arrest. Antonio was the first prisoner. They put him in jail and asked him who his accomplice was. He said who his accomplice was, and the man was arrested, and they asked each one the name of their respective accomplices. In this way they were all arrested, except Lino, who was looked upon as a valiant man of great strength. He was taken through the deceit of his own *compadre* Carlos Castro, who handed him a knife to trim some black and white mares, in order to make a hackamore for the animal of the Father. Suspiciously, Lino said to Castro, "*Compadre*, why are you deceiving me? I know that you are going to arrest me." There were already two soldiers hidden behind the corral. "Here, take your knife, *compadre*, that which I thought is already done. I am going to pay for it—and if I had wanted to, I could have finished off the soldiers, the majordomos, and any others that might have been around on the same night that I killed the Father."

The result of all this was that the accused were sent to San Francisco, and among them was my father. There they were judged, and those who killed the Father were sentenced to receive a *novenario* (nine days in succession) of fifty

> lashes for each one, and to serve in public works at San Diego. The rest including my father, were freed because they had served as witnesses, and it was not proven that they had taken part in the assassination.
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> All returned, after many years, to their mission.
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> The Spanish Fathers were very cruel toward the Indians. They abused them very much. They had bad food, bad clothing, and they made them work like slaves. I also was subject to that cruel life. The Fathers did not practice what they preached in the pulpit. The same Father Olbes was once stoned by the Indians for all his cruelties.[vii]

How much credibility should we grant to Asisara's narrative? The Franciscan historian Engelhardt's opinion is that abuse of the Indians was merely an excuse, but is Engelhardt's judgment trustworthy? Doesn't he always take the Franciscans' side whenever there is an accusation against them?

In this case, Engelhardt based himself on the opinions of the governor and the father president of the missions in taking Father Quintana's side. According to this historian, Solá, after reading the trial documents, set in motion what he himself called, in a letter sent to the viceroy on June 2, 1816, "the most secret and closest investigations."[viii] After examining information from all nineteen missions, the governor came to the conclusion that the friars treated the neophytes "perhaps more lovingly than natural parents treat their children." With regard to Father Quintana himself, Solá maintained that "he was excessive not in punishing his Indians, but rather in the love with which he always looked on them."[ix]

In a letter addressed to Vicente de Sarría, the president of the missions, Solá considered Quintana innocent. Sarría agreed with the governor and replied that his description of Father Quintana struck him as very accurate.[x]

Andrés Quintana's name has remained linked *per saecula saeculorum* to the unfortunate affair of abuse of the Indians. Rightly so? In law, the value of testimony depends on the witness's credibility. In this case, knowing that Lorenzo Asisara was the son of one of the

conspirators who plotted Father Quintana's murder, and that theft also played a role, prudence counsels retaining some degree of doubt about his testimony's truthfulness.

Garikano, Asun (2013). *Kaliforniakoak (1533-1848),* Iruñea, Pamiela.

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[i] Engelhardt, Zephyrin (1897). *The Franciscans in California,* Harbor Springs, Michigan, Holy childhood Indian school, page 371.

[ii] The examination of Andrés Quintana's body is considered the first autopsy performed in California.

[iii] http://missions.huntington.org/DeathData.aspx?ID=46048.

[iv] Omaetxebarria, Ignacio (2001). *Franciscanos misioneros vascos. Biografias y semblanzas,* Arantzazu E. F., Santuario de Arantzazu, Oñati, page 290.

[v] Putnam, Frederic Ward; Kroeber, A. L. edit. (1908-1910). *University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology,* vol. 8, The University Press, Berkeley, vol. 8, no. 1, 1–27;
http://www.archive.org/stream/universityofcal08univuoft#page/n7/mode/2up.

[vi] Fray Narciso Durán gave news of the murder to Fray Norberto de Santiago in a letter written on October 2, 1814: "Those of the house murdered him in so barbarous a manner that I doubt if such cruelty has ever been resorted to in the most barbarous nations for they tortured him in pudendis and suffocated him at the same time with the cloths he used in administering extreme unction" (Geiger 1969, 205).

[vii] Beebe, Rose Marie; Senkewicz, Robert M. (2001). *Lands of promise and despair. Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846,* Santa Clara University, Heyday Books, Berkeley, California, pp. 284-92.

[viii] Engelhardt, Zephyrin (1930). *Missions and missionaries of California III,* Mission Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California, page 13.

[ix] Ibid., pp. 14–15.

[x] Ibid., 16.