

**ALLUSIONS AND ECHOES:
MULTI-CULTURAL BLENDING AND
FEMININE SPIRITUALITY IN
DEATH COMES FOR THE ARCHBISHOP**

by

Karen M. Hindhede

Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop* is like a Southwestern canyon, echoing myths and stories from the past, stories that still reverberate today. Indeed, Cather's narrative works as a storytelling forum, a site of interplay among Mexican, Indian, and Anglo myths. Additionally, these myths emphasize the spiritual powers of women, thereby creating an ideal site for exploring issues relating to multiculturalism and feminine spirituality.

Given Cather's love of storytelling (I think particularly of *My Ántonia*) and her numerous visits to the Southwest, it is natural that Cather, in addition to the stories she gleaned from several area priests, particularly Father Haltermann, lent an ear to circulating Indian and Mexican myths when she came in contact with the "very old Mexicans and traders."¹ Because of her contact with the various people of the Southwest, it is not surprising that allusions to and echoes of such Native American and Mexican myths as those of Grandmother Spider and Corn Woman pepper Willa Cather's story of a Catholic priest in *Death Comes for the Archbishop*. Such myths not only enable Father Latour's growing awareness of native cultures but also become part of a living legacy of storytelling that is continually recreated and retold.

Part of the oral tradition that Cather tapped into are the Native American stories that she would have found in John M. Gunn's *Schat-Chen: The History, Traditions, and Narratives of the Queres Indians of Laguna and Acoma*, a book not only included in the Cather family library but inscribed with the words "Compliments of J. M. Gunn" on its inside front cover.² Gunn, author of the volume in the Cathers' library, was the grand uncle of Paula Gunn Allen, who drew upon *Schat-Chen* for her 1992 *Sacred Hoop: Recovering The Feminine In American Indian Traditions*. By thus positioning themselves within a living legend,

Karen M. Hindhede is currently teaching at the Lukosi Secondary School in Hwange, Zimbabwe. She has an M.A. in English from the University of Nebraska/Lincoln and a B.A. from Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois. Her areas of concentration include women's literature, 19th and 20th century British and American literature, composition and rhetoric. She has also worked as an editorial intern editing non-fiction and fiction children's books. She has written and published several short stories and poems.

Gunn, Cather, Allen, and their story-telling cousins invite us to participate in that tradition, reading the tales they retell not as fixed forms in isolated texts, but as entities that grow from and move into one another. Such a reading focuses upon cultural blending and co-existence while inviting an appreciation of the combined Mexican, Indian, and Anglo spiritual beliefs, particularly those emphasizing feminine power.

One such story is the ancient one of Juan Diego, retold in an Anglo-Christian version by Cather, then again in an Indian version by Allen as "Roses, Roses" in *Grandmothers of the Light*.³ Briefly, Cather's version recounts how Juan Diego, a poor monk in Mexico, is visited by the Virgin Mary and told to seek the bishop in order to have him build a church dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe. Juan Diego obeys, only to be rebuffed by the bishop. Having earned the bishop's wrath, Juan does not return to the lady as she had instructed. Several days later she visits him again, and after hearing that the bishop required a sign of her holiness, the Lady instructs Juan to collect roses which are growing on the hillside even though they are out of season. Juan collects the roses and then the Lady arranges them in his mantle. Returning to the bishop, Juan displays the roses and in astonishment sees that an image of the blessed Virgin is painted inside his mantle. Because of the sign, the bishop orders a church to be built to Our Lady of Guadalupe as she had instructed.

In the Indian version of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Juan Diego, an impoverished Indian man in Mexico, is surprised by the voice and figure of a woman while on an errand in the middle of winter. The story closely parallels Cather's retelling, yet in this version, Juan, having knelt beside the archbishop in reverence to the image of the Lady imprinted on his mantle, knows that Tonan (Tonatzin), the ancient Aztec and Mexican goddess, has returned to the city as Our Lady of Guadalupe, the Holy Mother.

Both myths emphasize the power of the Lady. To Brother Juan of the Anglo-Christian myth, the Lady's power is derived through her role as a caretaker, a bringer of hope, and the mother of Christ. She comes via a ray of light, a sign of divine Christian influence. She is beautiful and "spoke to him with all comfort," and promises to heal Juan's ill uncle. In the Indian version, the Lady also brings comfort. To the Aztec Indians, their founding mother and primary goddess embodied the nurturing, healing, peaceful, powerful aspects of nature.⁴ In Tonan's (the Lady's) presence, Juan felt "at once safe and awed," and her "voice, though soft, was warm and clear." The Indian version of the Juan Diego story also emphasizes the way feminine power brings light to the world. Tonan, in her primary function as mother of the world, resembles Grandmother Spider, who is also known as Thought Woman and Grandmother of the Light in various Native American traditions. Tribal lore of the Pueblo Indians sings of Grandmother of the Light's creation of the earth's creatures. She is the goddess who brought light into the world by thinking it into creation.⁵

While Allen argues that the Spanish conquest of Mexico enabled Catholicism to root and choke the blossoms of Indian spiritual belief, both her and Cather's stories present a multi-cultural landscape of the Southwest that supports a blending of belief, rather than a choking, an eradication. By comparing Allen's and Cather's account of Juan Diego, we see how a powerful woman has many guises and forms. However she manifests herself, the feminine face of spirituality is present in the Southwest.

Contact with the Indians, as well as inspiration from the Virgin Mary, influences Father Latour's understanding. Sitting in companionable silence with his guide Jacinto, Latour concludes that:

There was no way in which he could transfer his own memories of European civilization into the Indian mind, and he was quite willing to believe that behind Jacinto there was a long tradition, a story of experience, which no language could translate to him.⁶

While no language may adequately capture their differing cultural experiences, myths, according to Native American belief, "stir indirect memories and insights that have not been raised to conscious articulation."⁷ This Indian understanding of myth closely parallels Father Latour's Christian understanding of miracles of the Church which are "perception being made finer, so that for a moment our eyes can see and our ears can hear what is there about us always."⁸

Latour's insight into miracles follows his hearing the story of Juan Diego and of the shrine to the Virgin Mary. Latour is commencing a journey that will enable his eyes, ears and ideas of conscious rational meaning to connect and perceive a world—not limited to Anglo-centric views—but one of encompassing the various cultural beliefs that are about us always.

Making use of the parrot stories she heard and the bird motifs she likely views on church walls,⁹ Cather focuses our attention on another aspect of Native American spirituality. Cather relates the legend of Fray Baltazar, the tyrannical resident priest of the Acoma Indians who possessed the rain-making portrait of St. Joseph that "had never failed to produce rain" if "properly entreated and honored." In addition to the magic male rainmaker, the Pueblo Indians had another source of power for calling rain that involved the feminine. This source existed alongside the power of the portrait and would have been valued by the Pueblo Indians as much as the painting. Though Latour learns only of the male rainmaker—St. Joseph—the story within its broader tradition includes another allusion to feminine power, a power that would have influenced the Pueblo Indian's concept of rain. The rain-making feminine power relates to parrots and their association with salt, water, and rainbows, which Cather alludes to with the references to Father Jesus's wooden parrot.

For hundreds of years the Hopi, Zuni, Acoma, and Laguna pueblos had kept live parrots,¹⁰ honoring them, as Father Jesus tells Latour, as "the bird of wonder and desire" whose "feathers were more valued than wampum and turquoises."¹¹ The feathers were valued so highly because parrots were kept in the pueblos in reverence to the Parrot clan and their interaction with Salt Woman, *Ts'its'naku* (another name for Grandmother Spider).¹² Salt Woman introduced the crystalline compound to the Parrot Clan out of gratitude for feeding her and her grandsons, the War Twins, during their long journey eastward when all the other clans ignored them.¹³ In appreciation of their hospitality, Salt Woman leads the Parrot clan to the Laguna pueblo and then continues onward until she and the War Twins are cordially met by the Zuni Parrot clan. Because of their friendly greetings, Salt Woman, *Ts'its'naku*, calls rain, increasing a small pool to a lake, and then shakes "the lake four times and then entirely salt became there around the edge."¹⁴ Zuni Salt Lake is Salt Woman's gift to the Zuni Parrot clan. From that time forward all the Pueblos considered both the Keresan and Zuni Parrot clans the owners of salt and their permission had to be obtained for any salt-gathering expeditions.¹⁵ Additionally, the Indians knew that to collect the salt the sun had to evaporate the water, leaving behind the compound. Likewise, both sun and water are needed to create rainbows that are multi-hued like the parrots they so valued.

The female creator of the world, who called rain from the heavens and gave salt to her people, was symbolized by parrot motifs on Pueblo water carrying vessels and on insides of adobe church walls. In her travels Cather surely came across these images and heard the legends relating to Salt Woman. In this case then Father Jesus's parrot and his emphasis on parrots as treasures becomes an allusion to female power.

While the Juan Diego and Salt Woman myths are examples of the ways various cultural beliefs co-exist and influenced Cather in writing *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, she uses the Pecos Snake legends to parallel Father Latour's growth process. Despite Latour being a "priest in a thousand," he is limited by his inability to disassociate himself from the "white man's burden" mentality. He is often judgmental in his assessment of the Mexicans and Indians. As the new Bishop, he writes to this brother that, "The Church can do more than the Fort to make these poor Mexicans 'good Americans.' And it is for the people's good; there is no other way in which they can better their condition."¹⁶ In giving mass at Acoma, Latour thinks "Those shell-like backs behind him might be saved by baptism and divine grace, as undeveloped infants are, but hardly through any experience of their own."¹⁷

In these instances we see Latour discounting any ability on the part of the Mexicans and Indians to improve their economic and spiritual lot or even to consider whether the people want "improvement." When Latour hears Father Vaillant has contracted black measles, he imagines his friend "lying dangerously ill in the dirt and discomfort of an Indian village in winter."¹⁸ Latour's view of the

Indian village is a stereotypical one, yet in his continuing contact with the Indians, he grows in awareness and appreciation of the uniqueness of their culture. Latour arrives at Father Vaillant's bedside finding him well cared for as "he was sitting up in a bed of buffalo skins, his fever broken, already on the way to recovery."¹⁹ Though Vaillant's recovery is somewhat attributed to Kit Carson's strength-building venison supply, Latour sees that his friend has not been lying "in the dirt and discomfort of an Indian village" as he once mistakenly imagined. Throughout the novel, but particularly in this case, Latour is given room to err in his misconception about the Mexican and Indian peoples, then to redeem himself by learning more about them and their cultures.

Latour also has a stereotypical view of the Indians' spirituality which he begins to overcome as a result of his cave experience. Latour's growing acceptance of Native spirituality and cultural identity relates to myths of the Indian goddess, Corn woman or *Iyatiku*. Corn Woman's story is bound with the Snake legends, both of which Cather would have found in Gunn's book.

In meeting with Jacinto to make their way to the ill Father Vaillant, Latour recalls several "dark legends" surrounding the Pecos pueblo, which worshipped snakes and allowed the serpents to accept sacrificial babies, thereby killing off the tribe. En route to see Father Vaillant, Jacinto and Latour encounter a blinding snow storm, and Jacinto leads Latour to his people's ceremonial cave for safety. As Sharon O'Brien has pointed out, the scene evokes the female womb imagery of the cave:

In this space of seeming safety and shelter, then, the Archbishop confronts something fearful that he has not incorporated into his waking life, a sound associated with the "voice" of nature, [an underground river and a "fetid odour"] Indian rituals, serpent worship, the unfamiliar, and the matriarchal power of female sexuality and creativity which his patriarchal religion domesticates in the figure of the Virgin.²⁰

The feminine voice of nature and the matriarchal power of Indian rituals are in the forefront of Pueblo and Navajo (Diné) myths, and there are striking similarities between the genesis myth John Gunn recounts and the scene in *Death Comes for the Archbishop* where Father Latour puts his ear to the opening in the stone floor. Gunn retells in the Keres genesis myth that "Somewhere in the north, a few days' travel from the present Pueblo villages, is a deep hole or pit in the earth. Into this pit flowed four mighty rivers from the four cardinal points. . . ."²¹ People lived in this abyss where no moon or sun shone until the War Twins inspired the people to descend "to the uttermost depth of this chasm . . . they stood in the presence of E-yet-e-co [*Iyatiku*], the mother of life, and spoke the wish of the people and asked her consent to leave the pit and tread the earth outside."²²

As Cather owned Gunn's book, it is likely that she knew of and drew upon Gunn's story of the deep pit within the earth and the mighty river. Latour crouching and "listening to one of the oldest voices of the earth . . . moving with majesty and power"²³ recalls the Pueblo abyss within the earth where rivers flow "ceaselessly" and "rhythmically" in the home of the feminine life force, mother of the Keres People and daughter of Grandmother of the Light. The underground river Latour hears is one of feminine and Native American power.

Cather's depiction of the Pecos tribe being particularly addicted to snake worship echoes Gunn's description of a monstrous green serpent. In his chapter entitled "Ancient Religion and Beliefs of The Queres," Gunn mentions that the only aspect of their religion indicating totemism was the veneration of *Siti Shri Wa*, a "monstrous green serpent, with horns, that they [the Keres (Pueblo) Indians] say inhabited the big water."²⁴

The Navajo myth of Yellow Corn Girl, which relates closely to Pueblo ones because of the close proximity and intermarriage of the tribes, also gives us insight into Latour's cave experience in the chapter "Snake Root."²⁵ Describing the Navajo chant and ceremony, *Beauty Way*, Patricia Clark Smith and Paula Gunn Allen tell of the developing relationships between Yellow Corn Girl and The Snake People and the land. Though Smith and Allen recount the *Beauty Way* chant today, it is a well-known, old Navajo chant that Cather may have heard. The connection between Yellow Corn Girl and the Snake People parallels Father Latour's cave experience and his growing acceptance and understanding of the Mexican and Indian populations.

Latour's flight from the snowstorm into the sanctuary offered by Jacinto parallels Yellow Corn Girl's descent into the underworld. Yellow Corn Girl, like her sister, White Corn girl, is promised in marriage to the best of the warriors, who happen to be sickly old men. During a victory celebration dance the sisters become enamored with two handsome strangers and consummate their marriage to them with sexual relations. Upon awakening in the morning they find the handsome youths are none other than the old men. The girls run away and are separated, and the *Beauty Way* chant follows Younger Sister, Yellow Corn Girl, as she flees from her elderly husband, who is actually Big Snake Man. Yellow Corn Girl arrives weary and thirsty at a pool where a handsome stranger offers her safety beneath the earth, which she accepts, slipping through a crevice into the underground world of her in-laws, the Snake People.²⁶ Just as Yellow Corn girl flees what she perceives as physical danger (an unwanted elderly husband), Latour flees from the blinding snowstorm. Yellow corn Girl enters a crevice in the earth's surface; Latour seeks safety in the rounded mouth-like rock formations that thrust upward to form the lips of a cave.

Latour's growth in learning harmony, patience, and humility while living among the many cultures of the Southwest also parallels Yellow Corn Girl's training during her time with the Snake People. Latour bungles some of his tasks and misunderstands some aspects of the Mexican and Indian cultures. He

formally dismisses the genial Father Gallegos and places Father Vaillant in charge of the parish. Father Vaillant made "The holy-days, which had been occasions of revelry under Padre Gallegos . . . now days of austere devotion" which "the *fickle* Mexican population soon found as much diversion in being *devout* as they had once found in being *scandalous*" (my emphasis).²⁷ According to Jerome J. Martinez y Alira, the Mexican population, which shared similar beliefs with Native Americans in their respect for nature, the presence of the divine in everyday life, and perseverance and long suffering, had developed a unique religious culture that the French clergy misunderstood and thought of as dormant or "fickle" or "scandalous."²⁸

Latour's limitations are similar to Yellow Corn Girl's inability to interact with nature or others. The Snake People, who have disguised themselves from their daughter-in-law by assuming human form, target practice with lightning arrows and care for jars "containing wind, hail, male and female rain, and mist."²⁹ The Snake People give Yellow Corn Girl:

tasks or set her prohibitions which she bungles each time out of ignorance, absent-mindedness, or impetuous curiosity. Each time, when the Snake People confront her with her errors, she puts up a remarkably realistic adolescent defense, presenting herself as a hapless, put-upon innocent stumbling through life, a girl from whom little should reasonably be expected.³⁰

While Father Latour does not put on a false face or put up a facade of innocence, even saying, "I am not very young in heart, Jacinto,"³¹ he—like Yellow Corn Girl—needs to learn humility and understanding for others.

Throughout *Death Comes for the Archbishop* Father Latour is being slowly socialized in tolerance and understanding for others by the land and people he works among. He has learned that the Indians had aided Father Vaillant's recovery, and through Jacinto, Latour realizes that the Indians had their own names and explanations for natural phenomena such as rock and stars. Just as the Snake People sigh and confront Yellow Corn Girl with her errors, Jacinto says quickly, "Oh, Indians have nice names too!" when Father Latour says somewhat patronizingly that the Laguna name of the nearby mesa is pretty. Jacinto also rejects the "wise men's" understanding of the stars, stating that he believes the stars "are leaders—great spirits."³² Part of valuing Native beliefs for Latour necessarily means learning not to privilege his culture over theirs.

The way people help rejuvenate Latour's faith is also similar to Yellow Corn Girl's restoration. After Big Snake Man restores Yellow Corn Girl to life when she is crushed by stones through her carelessness, she leaves for home to teach her people the rituals, prayers, and sand paintings she has mastered. Eventually, Yellow Corn Girl returns to the Snake People to take her place among them. As a result of her experiences with the Snake People, Yellow Corn Girl is skillfully,

but without suppression, socialized into a relationship based on preserving, caring for and respecting the power of others and the wilderness. She learns to balance her relationships among herself, the land, and others.

After his cave experience, Latour still thinks of the Snake legends as unpleasant, but he is "already convinced that neither the white men nor the Mexicans in Santa Fé understood anything about Indian beliefs or the workings of the Indian mind"³³ indicating a grudging respect for Native beliefs. In addition Latour remarks that he likes the commonality existing between Native and Christian spirituality that includes a veneration of old customs.

As part of a patriarchal religion, Latour will never fully accept the feminine power that drives much of Native American spirituality. For instance he remembers the cave with horror though it probably saved his life. Yet Latour needs a member of the opposite sex to balance him just as Yellow Corn Girl required Big Snake Man's power. Yellow Corn Girl needs Big Snake Man to physically restore her when she is crushed just as Latour needs the Mexican slave woman, Sada—and ultimately the Virgin Mary—to aid and spiritually restore him.

The time comes when Latour has felt disassociated from his parishioners for many months. He thinks of his body as isolated from his soul. In the middle of night, three weeks before Christmas, Latour goes to his church to pray, hoping for comfort. He finds Sada at the church door and taking her inside learns that though she has not seen a church altar for nineteen years, her faith surpasses his. Kneeling in prayer beside the woman:

he seemed able to feel all it meant to her to know that there was a Kind Woman in Heaven, though there were such cruel ones on Earth. . . . Only a Woman, divine, could know all that a woman can suffer.³⁴

This is the closest Latour comes to understanding and experiencing the power of feminine spirituality. The Virgin Mary is the "food and raiment, friend and mother" sustaining Sada and himself.

Toward the end of his life Father Latour visits France, his birthplace, but returns to the people of the Southwest whom he has embraced—as Yellow Corn Girl visits her tribe but returns to the Snake People to take her place among them. Father Latour's realization of the uniqueness and fragility of the cultural landscape comprising New Mexico parallels the Indian guide, Eusabio's, discovery of the early wind-trembling, delicate crimson flowers that "The Indian call rainbow flower. . ."³⁵ Latour realized that "the old legends and customs and superstitions were already dying out,"³⁶ yet the people are strong enough—just like the crimson flower—to bloom. Latour no longer believed "as [he] once did, that the Indian will perish,"³⁷ instead recognizing that "The Mexicans were always Mexicans, the Indians were always Indians."³⁸

Having been influenced by the Indians' actions and the myths relating to their spirituality, Latour realizes the Indian way is to blend with the land. Because of these Indian influences, Latour's thought processes even reflect a more harmonious understanding. He

observed also that there was no longer any perspective in his memories . . . He was soon to have done with the calendared time, and it had already ceased to count for him. He sat in the middle of his own consciousness; none of his former states of mind were lost or outgrown. They were all within reach of his hand, and all comprehensible.³⁹

Latour's consciousness, unbound by linear space and sequential time, parallels the more spherical, cyclical and internal world-view often credited to "feminine" and Native American thought.

Latour's consciousness has expanded to include a oneness between the spiritual and the commonplace which is what Cather was interested in as she consciously wrote her novel "in the style of legend" and stressed that, "it is as though all human experience measured against one supreme spiritual experience, were of about the same importance."⁴⁰ Cather hoped for a novel where the mundane and arcane merge, something typical of Native American Indian worldview and Native American stories.⁴¹ In attempting a narrative where the mundane coalesces with the arcane and the sacred, Cather emphasizes throughout *Death Comes for the Archbishop* how divine, feminine power, whatever her guise, fuses with daily living. Father Jesus's wooden parrot and Eusabio's rainbow flowers remind us that like the parrot's multi-hued feathers and the many-colored rainbow, stories echo cultural plurality, often involving powerful aspects of a feminine spirituality, that Latour has just begun to understand and accept and that we must continue to create and recreate, tell and retell.

NOTES

1. Willa Cather, "On Death Comes for the Archbishop," *Willa Cather on Writing*, (Lincoln, Nebraska University Press, 1992), 7.
2. John M. Gunn lived among the Laguna Indians during the majority of his adult life. He spoke Laguna (Keres), married into the tribe, and recorded much of their history and legends. *Schat-Chen* found in the Cather Family Collection, Willa Cather Historical Center, NE State Historical Society, Red Cloud, NE, Ann Billesback, curator.
3. I wish to thank Susan Rosowski for directing me to Paula Gunn Allen's Juan Diego version and for our subsequent discussions on mythmaking.
4. Paula Gunn Allen, *Grandmothers of the Light* (Boston: Beacon, 1991), 171, 240.
5. John M. Gunn, *Schat-Chen: History, Traditions, and Narratives of the Queres Indians of Laguna and Acoma* (Albuquerque, Albright & Anderson, 1917), 15, 89.
6. Willa Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 1927 (New York: Vintage, 1990), 92.
7. Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop* (Boston: Beacon, 1992), 117.

8. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 50.
9. Southwestern adobe churches, used for both Catholic services and Indian dances, often included Pueblo bird and rain images and scenes from Native American rituals on their interior walls. Hartley Burr Alexander, *God's Drum and Other Cycles From Indian Lore* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1927), 146; Rick Dillingham and Melinda Elliot, *Acorna and Laguna Pottery* (Santa Fe: School of Am. Research Press, 1992), 99.
10. Dillingham and Elliot, *Acorna and Laguna Pottery*, 99.
11. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 86.
12. Allen describes the Keres Indians as depicting Grandmother Spider, Thought Woman as the grandmother of the War Twins. Boas addresses Salt Woman as Ts'its'naku (Ts'i-tyicots'a) which is another name for Grandmother Spider, Thought Woman. Gunn also refers to Ts'its'naku (Sitch-tehe-na-ko) as the "feminine form for thought or reason," "creator of all," thereby recording Ts'its'naku as Grandmother Spider, Thought Woman, *Schat-Chen*, 89. Salt Woman, then appears to be synonymous with Ts'its'naku, Grandmother Spider, the creator of the world.
13. Franz Boas *Keresan Texts*, Vol. VIII, Part I (New York: Stechert & Company, 1928), 17-22.
14. Boas, *Keresan Texts*, 22.
15. Boas, *Keresan Texts*, 295.
16. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 36.
17. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 100.
18. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 119.
19. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 133.
20. Sharon O'Brien, *Willa Cather: The Emerging Voice* (New York: Ballantine, 1988), 203.
21. Gunn, *Schat-Chen*, 109.
22. Gunn, *Schat-Chen*, 109.
23. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 130.
24. Gunn, *Schat-Chen*, 91.
25. The Navajos are descendants of the intermarriage between the Pueblo Indians and a race from the north who settled in the Southwest. Consequently, though Navajo cosmogony differs from the Pueblos, many of their myths and stories are versions of Pueblo ones.
26. Patricia Clark Smith with Paula Gunn Allen, "Earthy Relations, Carnal Knowledge: Southwestern American Indian Women Writers and Landscape," *The Desert Is No Lady*, eds. Vera Norwood and Janice Monk (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 179.
27. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 117.
28. Jerome J. Martinez y Alira, "The Apotheosis of Bishop Lamy: Local Faith Perspectives," *Willa Cather Pioneer Memorial Newsletter* 35.3 (Fall 1991), 20.
29. Smith with Allen, "Earthy Relations," 179.
30. Smith with Allen, "Earthy Relations," 179.
31. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 91.
32. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 93.
33. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 133.
34. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 217.
35. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 232.
36. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 274.
37. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 296.
38. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 284.
39. Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, 288.
40. Cather, *On Writing*, 9.
41. Allen, *Grandmothers*, 5.