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On Zion’s Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape. By Jared Farmer.

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**Author**
Heaton, John W.

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that *white* was "a constructed and fluid category" that led to greater opportunities in the English-speaking Atlantic world. Highland Scots earned their "white" status in a variety of ways: through military service, as settlers, or as economic agents and state administrators. Although it took some time, Highland Scots ultimately "faced fewer obstacles to admission" than even the Irish faced and became "white" (234). The chapter "Highland Men and Indian Families" clearly highlights this process of "whiteness." At first, Scots traders involved in the fur trade "took up with Indian women in large numbers, far more proportionately than did their English counterparts" and their American-born neighbors (149). By the nineteenth century, many Highlanders living in North American fur trade society were succumbing to notions of white racial superiority. Traders increasingly abandoned their Indian and Métis wives and families as the number of white women and missionaries increased and strengthened the racial divide (159, 162). However, although Calloway effectively outlines the processes involved in constructing "whiteness," is there something else that helps explain the speed of the process? Was it ultimately easier for Highland Scots in a multiethnic American environment to prove that they were "white" because they, like the other colonizers, were fair skinned? If hardening racial lines negatively impacted Native Americans, did those same racial barriers conversely benefit the tribal Highlanders by speeding up their process of "whiteness"? It seemed that Calloway circled around that particular idea without ever directly stating it.

Despite that minor criticism, Calloway has created a well-crafted study that should fit in well with any course dealing with the Atlantic world, colonialism, and comparative tribal histories.

*Shawn Wiemann*
University of New Mexico

**On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape**. By Jared Farmer. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008. 455 pages. $29.95 cloth.

Jared Farmer's *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape* offers a story about the creation of a local Utah landmark called Mount Timpanogos as a means to understand larger questions about how Americans have perceived the landscapes on which they live. Utah Lake was the center of an oasis in an arid Great Basin region. For hundreds of years, it served as the subsistence and cultural center of life for Ute Indians who lived on its shores and fished in its depths.

The richness of Utah Lake's resources did not go unnoticed by the Mormon settlers who streamed into the Great Basin in the late 1840s. By 1849, these invaders began to colonize the valley and lay the foundation for an agrarian economy. Mormons believed that the Utes, like all Indians, were ancient Israelites, a branch of the covenant people whose skin God darkened as a sign that they had rejected his truth. Mormon leaders, such as Joseph Smith

and Brigham Young, taught the faithful they had a prophetic duty to help hasten the millennium through the redemption of the Lamanites. Utes failed to appreciate this prophecy and took exception to the increasing numbers of outsiders usurping their resources. Eventually, conflict broke out between the competing groups. The Utes suffered horribly and finally accepted removal from their ancestral home to a waterless landscape east of the Wasatch Range.

Utah Lake no longer served as the center of Ute life, but it retained a special significance to the new irrigated Mormon farm economy. Second-generation Mormons relied on the lake for irrigation, fishing, and a new recreational and tourism economy made possible by trains. Over time this Aquarian Age, as Farmer calls it, a time when humans experienced an intimate relationship with local nature and the sources of life-giving water, gave way to the Hydraulic Age, a time when industrialized societies lost touch with local nature and the source of their water. The new age, coupled with the outbreak of World War II, heralded a shift in focus and perspective from Utah Lake as a landmark to the elevated peak known as Timpanogos high above the valley in the Wasatch. Wartime demands necessitated the construction of the Geneva Steel mill on the lake's shores. The pollution it spewed, along with overfishing and the introduction of alien species such as carp into lake waters, led to the collective loss of memory about the earlier role of Utah Lake in the lives of Utes and the early generations of Mormons.

As suburban valley residents increasingly sought a weekend connection to nature, their recreational interests shifted to alpine sports and waterskiing in clear mountain lakes artificially created by hydraulic projects. Utah Lake became a local joke, noted for its foul smell, high levels of industrial and bacterial pollution, muddy color, and shallow waters. It no longer mattered to Utah Valley residents and was largely forgotten.

What happened in Utah Valley? How did the lake recede and the mountain grow in the minds of residents? Farmer traced the emergence of Timpanogos to a Provo, Utah and Brigham Young University (BYU) promotional campaign in the 1910s and 1920s to create a national landmark and a place that they could celebrate as their own special mountain. Eugene Roberts organized community hikes, concocted a fake Indian legend about a Ute princess, and tirelessly promoted this landmark to local valley residents. In the process, boosters failed to create a national landmark, but they put "Timp" on the local mental map of valley residents. In the collective memory, Lake Utes and the history of contact and conflict were forgotten along with early Mormon connections to the lake.

Mount Timpanogos is a landmark, part of "a perceptual landscape that overlaps a physical one" (6). Individually and communally constructed, landmarks are, Farmer suggests, the memorable places within mental maps of a space. Major landmarks tend to anchor more people than those recognized by only a few. Timpanogos affects several communities' mental maps including Provo residents, the Sundance film community, and BYU students. Landmarks can be man-made as well, but the main point is that they must stand out. But, Farmer asks, "*why* do they stand out" (8). Why do some become "totems" while others blend into the land- or cityscape? Geology and

sociobiology, for the most part, decide the issue. But they are also contingent and subject to time; they are dependent on human attention to survive.

Farmer asserts that the making of the US map brought about the unmaking of indigenous geographies. Utah history has been written mainly by and for Mormons, and few people outside the region pay much attention to it when they write national histories. His telling of this history through the lens of landmarks draws connections to the colonial enterprise that links Utah to the national story. It also presents the more unique features of the region's past to an audience who may have overlooked it. He divides his study into three narratives that cover roughly the same chronological period through a separate point of view. In the first part, a bioregional examination, Farmer looks at the Wasatch Front to re-create a water-based geography of Utah Lake and the connection of the Ute peoples to that resource. It also discusses the invasion of Mormon settlers and their impact on the Utes, and then looks at the process by which the lake loses its significance as a resource and symbol of place. In part 2 he divides the cultural geomorphology of Mount Timpanogos into two halves. One is a local history of Provo that probes the Mormon background and why and how the residents came to associate themselves with a mountain. The second discusses the legacy of the man who first promoted "Timp" into the late twentieth century. Farmer describes the last part as an extralocal history. Here, he moves out of a chronological narrative to show how locals infused Timpanogos with its Indianness. He connects this discussion with a broader American cultural phenomenon of whites "playing Indian."

Farmer demonstrates that all individuals and societies engage in place making and memory making. This story of Mount Timpanogos has implications especially for colonizing nations that displaced indigenous populations. This biography of a local mountain probes the ancestry of precedent landmarks and explicates the lives, cultures, and living patterns of those who first imagined them and "took care" of them. An understanding of this landmark pedigree informs Farmer's view of "place" in the world. Ultimately, Farmer's purposes are focused on the problem of how people understand home. He wants to know how settlers gave meaning to lands that they colonized and how their children also went through that process of creating a familiar place. Utah is significant, Farmer asserts, it is the only place in the United States in which there is a colonial American population that claims a Native homeland. The Mormons call the region Zion, a promised land given to them by their God.

Farmer hopes that his study will help readers to develop new eyes for the landmarks that surround us and that we will better understand how memories of place are made, forgotten, and dismantled. Although this reader was disappointed by the absence of a concluding chapter, in sum, *On Zion's Mount* is elegantly written, exhaustively documented, and an engaging and informative read. It will appeal to students of the environment and the American West especially and to geographers and those interested in US history more generally. Farmer accomplishes his goals. His book will undoubtedly become a classic and required reading in many graduate seminar courses.

*John W. Heaton*
University of Alaska Fairbanks