

# Apocalypse Here: Reading the Natural World in Native American Mormon Visions

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In the November and December 1874 issues of the *Juvenile Instructor*, a publication for the youth of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the LDS, or Mormon, Church), readers found a four-part article interpreting the conversion of the Deep Creek band of Goshute Indians as the fulfillment of prophecy.<sup>1</sup> John Nicholson, the author of the series, wrote that the events he narrated “should be interesting to every Latter-day Saint, as showing plainly that the Lord is working visibly among the remnant of His people, in fulfillment of the predictions concerning them, and in confirmation of His promises to their fathers.”<sup>2</sup> Nicholson’s article, which recounted a report from Mormon farmer and missionary William Lee, began with a dream and vision experienced by a Goshute man named Torbuka, whom Nicholson characterized as “a leading chief.”<sup>3</sup> Torbuka’s experience—as he told it to Lee, Lee reported it to Nicholson, and Nicholson related it to *Juvenile Instructor* readers—included a strong affirmation of the truth of Mormonism, instructions about how Torbuka and his people should live, and an apocalyptic scene of punishment for the enemies of the Indians and triumph for the Indians themselves.

Six years later in 1881, LDS missionary Christian “Lingo” Christensen used his journal to record the vision of another Native American man. Christensen later transcribed the narrative, titling it “An Indian vision by a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of L.D.S. of the Moenkopi Little Colorado Stake of Zion,” adding at the end that the narrative had been translated “through the

Navajo.” Moenkopi is a Hopi town in a region that was occupied by both Hopi and Navajo people. Thus, it is likely that the visionary here was a Hopi man, but Christensen never recorded his name.<sup>4</sup> The fact that Christensen transcribed this passage of his journal suggests that he shared it with church members and may have sought to publish it formally. Like Torbuka’s vision, the vision that Christensen recorded asserted the truth of Mormonism, instructed the visionary about how to live well, and described in detail an apocalyptic scene of punishment for evildoers and reward for the good. It is likely that Christensen and those with whom he shared this narrative, like William Lee, John Nicholson, and the *Juvenile Instructor*’s readers, found in these Native American visions a kind of independent confirmation of their faith.

Spiritual visions and dreams like the ones that Christensen and Nicholson reported were foundational to the LDS Church. Indeed, the founding narrative of Mormonism turned on the visions of Joseph Smith, Jr., who reported encounters with God the father, Jesus Christ, an angel named Moroni, and other biblical figures. Smith was not the only one to experience such manifestations. In 1893, well after Smith’s death, historian Truman G. Madsen reports that “[a]pproximately 63,000 participated in the dedicatory sessions of the Salt Lake Temple, and many reported seeing visions and hearing heavenly music.”<sup>5</sup> Visions and dreams (terms that Latter-day Saints often used interchangeably) were experiences that undergirded and augmented individuals’ faith, but they were also understood as experiences that should be shared with the community. Madsen writes that “the most crucial” supernatural experiences in the early LDS Church, many of which included visionary elements, “were shared, witnessed, and recorded.”<sup>6</sup> These experiences, told and retold, shaped the beliefs and practices of the LDS Church.

As the official name of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints suggests, Mormons in the nineteenth century incorporated a significant dose of millennialism into their faith. The expectation that Jesus would return soon led many Mormons to be on the lookout for signs of the savior’s coming, and at least some Mormons appear to have interpreted the Ghost Dance movement of the 1870s as just such a sign. James Mooney reported that “Mormon priests accepted” the Ghost Dance “as a prophecy of speedy fulfillment of their own traditions, and Orson Pratt, one of the most prominent leaders, preached a sermon . . . urging the faithful to arrange their affairs and put their houses in order.”<sup>7</sup> Mormons’ willingness to engage other religious traditions was motivated in part by the origins of their own scriptures: the Book of Mormon describes itself as the history of the ancient inhabitants of the Americas. Mormons’ belief that God spoke through people other than those recorded in the Bible, and that God had caused extra-biblical scriptures to be created and then restored in the “latter days,” suggested that additional divine communications might yet be received.

Nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints believed Native Americans were descendants of ancient Israelites called Lamanites, whose history was recorded in the Book of Mormon. As such, Native Americans’ conversion was a crucial

step in hastening the restoration of God's kingdom on Earth. For that reason, the LDS Church began sending missionaries to Native Americans almost as soon as it was officially organized in 1830. For the most part, these missions were spectacularly unsuccessful in persuading Native Americans to join the LDS Church, though exceptions did occur from time to time.<sup>8</sup> In almost every instance, the historical record of these encounters between LDS missionaries and Native peoples is entirely one-sided: it was written by the missionaries and perhaps the occasional outside observer, completely excluding the perspectives of Native peoples themselves. Scholarship on these interactions is similarly lopsided. Limited to missionaries' reports, diaries, letters, and the like, scholars have generally shied away from speculating about how Native Americans interpreted their contact with LDS missionaries. Scott R. Christensen's 1999 biography of Shoshone leader Sagwitch may be the most comprehensive treatment of the life of a nineteenth-century Native American who accepted Mormon baptism. But even Christensen did not dig deeply into the reasons behind Sagwitch's decision to join the Mormons. Instead, Christensen laid out the desperate economic situation Sagwitch and other Shoshones faced, and he suggested that these factors might have led the Shoshones to be open to baptism. Christensen then wrote that Sagwitch's decision "seems to have gone beyond a calculated response to his circumstances. Contemporary Mormon sources imply that Sagwitch and other band chiefs experienced some kind of spiritual conversion to Mormonism through dreams or visions." Christensen briefly summarized one such vision, which bore notable similarities to Torbuka's account. Nevertheless, following these remarks, Christensen's account focused more on George Washington Hill, the LDS man who baptized Sagwitch and his band, than it did on Sagwitch himself.<sup>9</sup> Christensen's strategy is understandable: it is easier (and, to many scholars, more plausible) to explain Sagwitch's baptism in terms of his material circumstances than to dissect his spiritual experiences as they were reported by a missionary invested in the success of the LDS Church.<sup>10</sup>

To modern scholars, accounts like Hill's and the two I analyze in this article may seem like wishful thinking based on an imperfect understanding of Native American languages and cultures. It is tempting to dismiss them as colonialist fantasies that confirmed for their audiences the truth of Mormonism, the success of LDS missionary efforts, and the ultimate triumph of Euro-American society and culture over Native American peoples and their traditions. Such an interpretation, however, misses a great deal of nuance in the ways these visions were narrated and reported. Both of the visions I analyze below used imagery quite specific to the visionary's immediate environment. In what follows, I read Nicholson's and Christensen's accounts of these visions with an eye to how they portrayed the nonhuman natural world and positioned the futures of the visionaries' communities in those environmental contexts. Far from illustrating the defeat of Native peoples and traditions, these visions, which situated well-lived Native lives and apocalyptic end times in local geographies, demonstrated the cultural resilience of Native people who absorbed elements of Mormonism

and narratively grounded them in the deserts and mountains of the Intermountain West.<sup>11</sup>

Long before Joseph Smith experienced his first vision, Native American cultures recognized visions and dreams as an important element of human experience through which people gained a more complete understanding of their world, access to cosmic power, and knowledge about how to wield that power. Like Latter-day Saints, Goshute Indians understood visions and dreams to be two forms of the same basic experience. For the Goshutes, this experience was a medium through which spirits provided guidance for the individual and the community, and the primary way in which shamanic powers were conferred.<sup>12</sup> Dreams, then, were a means of individual and social empowerment, moving the dreamers to act in ways that benefited themselves and their communities, whether through traditional or innovative action.<sup>13</sup> In contrast to Goshutes, Hopi Indians emphasized dreams and visions less and placed higher priority on prophecy, regardless of how the prophetic message was received. Like dreams and visions for Goshute Indians, Hopi prophecies both affirmed tradition and advocated change. The Hopi vision I analyze here fit well within the Hopi prophetic tradition as that tradition has been reported and analyzed by scholars.<sup>14</sup> However, because Christensen's journal entry indicates that the visionary did not conceive of his vision as a prophecy, I analyze the narrative in its original framing as a vision rather than interpreting it in the broader context of Hopi prophecy. Given their capacity to both affirm tradition and introduce innovation, visions like those I analyze below may have been a crucial conduit for the absorption of Mormonism into Native American worlds.

The Goshute Indians lived in the southwestern part of the Great Basin. They are part of the Newe, the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Intermountain West. Culturally, then, they shared much with other Indian groups in the area: the Utes, Paiutes, Shoshones, Bannocks, and others.<sup>15</sup> When the Mormons emigrated to the Great Basin in 1847, that very fragile environment suddenly had to support a much larger human population. White settlers' livestock destroyed Goshutes' food sources; water was quickly in short supply. The Goshutes responded by killing livestock and threatening settlers, trying to drive them out. In an attempt to ameliorate the situation, the U.S. government established a farm at Deep Creek, near the present-day Utah-Nevada border, in the late 1850s, the same place where Torbuka and his band would later be baptized [see Figure 1]. Mormon farmers had already established farms in the area by the early 1850s. They sporadically engaged in attempts to help the local Indians by employing them as farm laborers. The U.S. government's Deep Creek Indian farm initially seemed successful, but the agent who established the farm resigned at the end of the decade, and the government abandoned the project shortly thereafter.<sup>16</sup>

Instead of supporting farming projects like the one at Deep Creek, the federal government forced the Goshutes to sign a treaty in 1863. The terms of the treaty allowed the construction of telegraph lines, railways, and stage lines



**Figure 1:** Deep Creek and Skull Valley, with present-day state boundaries. Map by Meghan Kelly.

through Goshute territory. It also allowed white settlers to cut timber, build mills, dig mines, and maintain ranches in the area. In return, the federal government would pay the Goshutes one thousand dollars a year for twenty years. However, the government annuities were insufficient for the Goshutes' survival, and they were cut off long before the twenty years had elapsed. Despite the government's failure to meet its treaty obligations, the Goshutes moved to adopt an agricultural lifestyle, settling on farms at Deep Creek and in Skull Valley. In Skull Valley, a Mormon farmer named William Lee helped the Goshutes get their farms going. Lee gained the trust of the Skull Valley band and ultimately acted as a spokesperson for them in their ongoing negotiations with the government in the 1870s. The federal government kept trying to relocate the Goshutes to a reservation; the Goshutes persistently refused to cooperate with this strategy. As white encroachment continued, the Goshutes faded into the background, becoming invisible to even the whites who occupied their lands.

This history might incline us to see the Deep Creek Goshutes' decision to accept LDS baptism as a strategy to gain access to additional resources that the LDS Church could provide to a native population on the brink of collapse. Torbuka's dream and vision, in this interpretation, might just be window dressing, a story that Torbuka told the missionary to smooth the Goshutes' path into

the church's good graces. But a close reading of Nicholson's account reveals that the events that led to the baptisms of Torbuka and the other Goshute Indians who accompanied him were ripe with meaning in both Goshute and LDS cultural contexts.

The chain of events that resulted in the Goshutes' baptisms began with Torbuka's dream and vision. In the spring of 1874, Torbuka and some part of his band were camped west of Deep Creek. One night, Torbuka had a dream. "He thought he saw a beautiful meadow, through which flowed a fine stream of clear water," Nicholson wrote. "He thought he saw Elder Lee, who told him that himself and [his] people must wash in that stream." In Newe tradition, unsolicited dreams were the most effective way of acquiring spiritual power, so Torbuka already had a religious framework within which to make sense of this dream.<sup>17</sup> Placing this dream within that framework makes Lee a spirit tutor, a bearer of supernatural power. Spirit tutors frequently gave their pupils very specific instructions about behavior, dress, and so on, so this instruction to wash was not all that surprising. Newe shamans frequently painted themselves following the directions of their spirit tutors.<sup>18</sup> The only difference here was that Torbuka and his band were, essentially, "unpainting" themselves. This move was consistent with what Lee probably said in the flesh: Mormons were constantly after the Indians to stop painting themselves. Indeed, in the second part of his article, John Nicholson told his readers that "Almost the first question asked of the Elders by those Lamanites who were baptized was: 'What can we do to be independent? We wish to support ourselves and be like the white people.'" The elders—men who held the LDS priesthood—responded that the Indians should cease drinking alcohol and that "it was better to wash their faces and keep them clean than to paint them, and many of them have ceased to use paint."<sup>19</sup> When Torbuka awoke, he went with his people to wash in a creek that was nearby, enacting the instructions from his spirit tutor and perhaps preparing for the tutor's subsequent teachings.

Later, sitting alone in his tent, Torbuka was visited by a handsome, gray-bearded man. Nicholson wrote that Torbuka

gazed at this personage for a few moments, when he, the stranger, addressed Torbuka, the substance of his words being that the time had come for the Indians to be buried in water, baptized; that the "Mormons" were their friends; that they had a book which told about their fathers, that Brigham [Young] held communion with God, and they must hear him. He also told Torbuka that the enemies of the Indians had driven, robbed, plundered and abused them, but that the time when their enemies could do that was nearly past, that the time had almost arrived when those who had wronged them would be like the "dry wood upon the mountains that would be consumed, and they," the Indians, "would walk over the ashes."<sup>20</sup>

The visitor then left the tent and disappeared. Torbuka later received a second visitation, this time from two different personages who repeated what the first visitor said. These two left in the same way as the first, apparently disappearing into thin air. Finally, one of them came back for a third visitation and repeated, again, what had already been said. The visitors, even more than the dream-state Elder Lee, were clearly spirit tutors, instructing Torbuka.<sup>21</sup>

The repetitive nature of these visits suggests that a formal structure undergirded Torbuka's narrative, requiring a threefold repetition. However, the replication of visits may have been an artifact of Goshute storytelling practice instead. Folklorist Sven Liljeblad observed that in Great Basin cultures, "after finishing a detail of the plot, the storyteller used to pause for response or questions, whereupon he repeated or rephrased his utterance. Thus, an episode or a single phrase would recur in the same or in a slightly different form, as the narrator continued his story step by step. Repetition also gave the narrator an opportunity to elaborate an incident with epic embellishment."<sup>22</sup> In the translation of Torbuka's vision narrative to text, William Lee might easily have mistaken such repetitions for separate episodes, rendering three visitations when Torbuka only recounted one.

By predicting the destruction of the Indians' enemies, Torbuka's visitors articulated a millennialist vision that Torbuka and the other Goshutes would have found particularly attractive. Although it remained unstated, circumstances suggested that the "enemies of the Indians" marked for destruction in the first visitor's remarks consisted of white settlers and agents of the federal government, whose combined efforts had essentially made it impossible for the Goshutes to follow their traditional lifeways. This distinction between the "Mormons" and other white Americans was consistent with messages the Goshutes and other Indians had heard from Mormons for years. In 1857, for example, Mormon missionary Dimick Huntington recorded in his journal that he had met with "5 Goshah Utes," and "I told them that if the [U.S. federal] troops killed us they would then kill them[.] I told them all that they & the mormans [*sic*] was one but the Lord had throuen [*sic*] the Gentiles a way [*sic*]."<sup>23</sup>

The millennium, as the visitors described it to Torbuka, would occur within a Great Basin environment: camped near Deep Creek, the Goshutes were surrounded by mountains. The Indians' enemies would be destroyed by fire, a force with which Torbuka and other Goshutes were so intimately familiar that they described it as their Grandfather. Lightning strikes were and are a frequent occurrence in the Great Basin summer heat, and they regularly sparked forest fires. In addition, some Great Basin peoples may have deliberately set fires in order to maintain bighorn sheep habitat and to capture game animals.<sup>24</sup> Fire researchers have used a variety of sources to reconstruct the fire history of the western United States, and the results show that forest fires burned regularly in the region, though their frequency appears to have diminished in the nineteenth century due to some combination of climatic factors, Euro-American settlement, and the decline of Native American populations.<sup>25</sup> Goshute men hunted in



the mountains, so they ran across burn sites fairly frequently, and they walked over the ashes in pursuit of game.

The destruction of the Indians' enemies in Torbuka's vision was thus less a fantasy of vengeance and more a forecast of a natural cycle. The decline of fires in the nineteenth-century Great Basin was, in some ways, more threatening to the Goshutes than a large-scale conflagration would have been: without fire, vegetation changed and game animals were forced to find new habitat. Although John Nicholson and his readers might have associated the fire-charred landscape in Torbuka's vision with death and destruction, within the Goshute world the ashes were the ground from which new life might spring. Torbuka's spirit visitors thus invoked a cycle of renewal with which the Goshutes were intimately familiar.

Having received the message of the vision, Torbuka swung into action. He gathered as many people as he could and set out for Deep Creek. Once he got there, he sent a message to William Lee, the elder who had appeared in Torbuka's original dream. Torbuka was probably already acquainted with Lee, because Lee had worked for several years on behalf of the Goshute Indians. Lee met Torbuka and the Goshutes and, Nicholson wrote, "preached the Gospel to them, explaining the principles thereof in as simple a manner as he could, to meet their capacities." Then Lee and the Mormon men who accompanied him baptized as many as wanted to be baptized, a number Nicholson pegged at more than one hundred, despite the heavy rain that "commenced to pour down" during the baptismal ceremonies.<sup>26</sup>

Water, a key element throughout the story that Nicholson told, was (and remains) an important resource for the Goshute people. One native etymology of their name traces it to a native word meaning "desert people," describing the ecology of the Great Basin and indicating the importance of water to their survival.<sup>27</sup> Like fire, water occupied a respected kinship role, that of "Grandmother."<sup>28</sup> This was one way of recognizing the nurturing, sustaining qualities of this particular resource and the Goshute's foundational relationship with it. In addition, water was a source of power in Goshute cosmology. Anthropologist Jay Miller wrote that for Great Basin peoples, including the Goshute, water was "the keystone of the religion because power as the life force-and-energy has a very great affinity for all living things, all of which depend on water."<sup>29</sup> The scene that Torbuka witnessed in his dream, "a beautiful meadow, through which flowed a fine stream of clear water," corresponded pretty closely in physical description to the Deep Creek valley where Torbuka and his people were camped but also includes a key element of power, figured as both familial relation and life force, in the form of the stream. Likewise, the Goshutes may have experienced their baptisms and the downpour that accompanied them as an outpouring of spiritual power, an immersion in the physical manifestation of life force.

The millennialism of Torbuka's vision was consistent with Mormonism, which expected the second coming to occur at any moment, but the expecta-

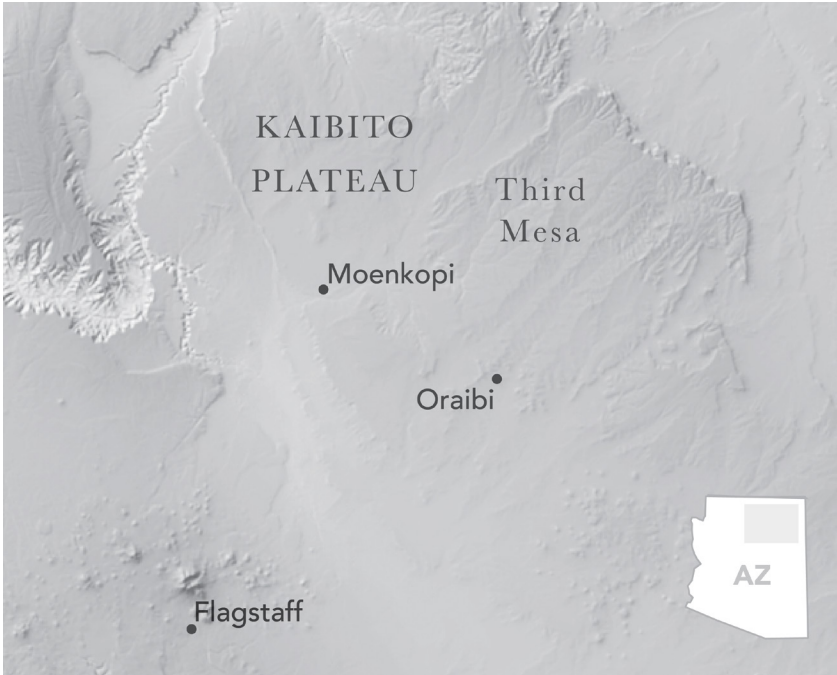


tion of an imminent end to the existing world was also a common feature of other religious movements among native peoples in the Great Basin around the same time. One of the most well-known of these is the 1870 Ghost Dance movement, which had taken hold a few years before Torbuka's visitations.<sup>30</sup> Historian Greg Smoak wrote that Ghost Dance prophets "returned [from the land of the dead] with a message of identity and community healing. Ghost Dances were a community curing rite that promised the restoration of a world free of disease, death, and spiritual disharmony."<sup>31</sup> Torbuka received a very similar message, but rather than the Ghost Dance, Mormonism was the vehicle by which the Goshutes would arrive in that restored world. Torbuka's dream and vision, which called for an immersion in Grandmother Water and the people's vindication by Grandfather Fire, incorporated elements of Mormonism into a Goshute apocalypse in the Great Basin environment, making the events meaningful and plausible.

That millennial vision was less than clear on the ultimate relationship between the Indians and the Mormons, but within the visitors' instructions, the Indians were always kept separate from "the Mormons." The Mormons were cast as the Indians' "friends," not as the people the Indians would become. The Indians were the ones who would have revenge on their enemies, and though it looked like the Mormons were not part of the group that "would be like the 'dry wood upon the mountains that would be consumed,'" the enemies of the Mormons were left out entirely. Thus, Torbuka's vision afforded a glimpse of triumphant Indian identity, bolstered by, but not entirely dependent upon, white Mormons, constructed from Mormonism but congruent with Goshute culture and religion as well, and, importantly, located in the Goshute environment.

Mormons and other outside observers described the Goshutes in derogatory terms, frequently referring to the people whose homelands they had invaded as "Diggers" because of the Goshutes' practice of digging up wild roots for food.<sup>32</sup> In 1859, U.S. topographical engineer James Simpson wrote in his diary of the Goshutes that "[t]hey are most wretched-looking creatures, certainly the most wretched I have ever seen, and I have seen great numbers in various portions of our country."<sup>33</sup> But the Latter-day Saints characterized the Hopi Indians to the south as "a more noble race."<sup>34</sup> The LDS Church began missions to the Hopis in 1858 and maintained a fairly steady presence among the Hopi people for the next several decades. Shortly after the Hopis converted the settlement of Moenkopi from a seasonal farming settlement to a year-round colony in the 1870s, Mormon missionaries established a mission outpost there<sup>35</sup> [Figure 2]. Despite the missionaries' best efforts, few Hopis accepted the LDS gospel.<sup>36</sup>

Christian "Lingo" Christensen may have taken comfort in the vision he recorded in his journal, reported to him by a Native American man whose name he did not record, but whom he identified as a "member of the Church of Jesus Christ of L.D.S. of the Moenkopi Little Colorado Stake of Zion." This man experienced his vision on a hill one morning while praying. "After saying a few



**Figure 2:** Moenkopi and surrounding region. Map by Meghan Kelly.

words,” he recounted, “two persons came to me, one large man with red hair and beard, the other one was small and did not have much to say.” The men introduced themselves as “brothers to my Fathers,” a phrasing that suggests they were not claiming a genealogical relationship, but rather a ceremonial relationship that signified bonds of affection and respect.<sup>37</sup> The visitors told the visionary that he had done well to ask for confirmation of the LDS message, and they said that the Mormons preached the truth. The Mormon way was “the straight road,” and eventually, the speaker said, the majority of the Indians would believe in the LDS gospel.<sup>38</sup>

In the meantime, these spiritual beings had some very specific advice for the visionary and other Indians:

He said for us to always to tell the truth nothing deviating, nor steal nor even use anything that did not belong to them. Be kind and cleanly, raise your children in love. Adultery is the greatest ruination of all people and very ugly in the sight of our Great Father. Rise early in the morning so you will be stout and then you will love to work and sustain life that is good. Do not buy guns nor make arrows to kill men with. You may kill deer, antelope, and rabbits; they are your food. Cat-

tle and horses does not belong to you. Do not touch them for it will make enemies of your superior race the Americans.<sup>39</sup>

The narrator's self-positioning vis-à-vis his spiritual visitors shifted over the course of this passage: he began by speaking about the visitor in the third person ("he") and the Indian community in the first person plural ("us"). By the second sentence, he had adopted the visitor's point of view, addressing the Indians in the second person ("your children"). This shifting point of view raises a question about the identity of "them" at the end of the first sentence: To whom does this pronoun refer? One way to interpret this passage is to read "them" as referring to the Indians. Such an interpretation is thematically appropriate, given the content of the passage, and it is easy to imagine a glitch in the translation process yielding "them" instead of "us." This reading of the instructions would have fit well with Christensen's understanding of the behavioral guidelines he hoped to impart to the Indians and with a Euro-American understanding of private property.

However, perhaps "them" referred to the two visitors the visionary met. This reading establishes a close connection between the visitors and the Indians, extending the ceremonial relationship they constructed in their introductions by requiring the Indians to use only those items that belonged to the visitors. This reading also helps explain the distinction the visitor drew between wild game and domesticated livestock: deer, antelope, and rabbits were all animals native to the Hopis' world and could be understood as belonging to the divine beings to whom the Hopis were related, whereas cattle and horses were European introductions. In that sense, the proscribed livestock might have been seen as animals "that did not belong to them," the brothers of the visionary's fathers.

Reading "them" as referring to the visitors highlights the traditionalist thrust of these teachings that was evident elsewhere in the visitors' instructions as well. Not creating nor acquiring the means to kill other humans, and killing only wild game for food, were both ways of perpetuating the traditional Hopi lifeway, which centered around the hard work of raising corn in the desert. Likewise, not committing adultery and loving children were ways of strengthening families, counterbalancing the clan structure of Hopi society with kinship ties and thus creating strong bonds throughout the society. As Emory Sekaquaptewa and Dorothy Washburn put it, this way of life was and is based on a shared moral system "institutionalized in reciprocal obligations among kin and clan that are practiced by all community members."<sup>40</sup> Following the visitor's instructions would ultimately allow the visionary and his community to "sustain life that is good," which some scholars have argued was the supreme goal of Hopi life.<sup>41</sup>

From instruction, the vision turned to apocalypse. The visionary was "carried away in the Spirit," and, he said, "I saw the earth as a Garden of Eden, a level plain. All things looked beautiful and [the visitor] said it would be so again."<sup>42</sup> The flatness of the Garden of Eden was telling: if the land was not

flat, the roads could not be straight. The “straight road” of Mormonism, which the visionary mentioned at the beginning of his narrative, presupposed a “level plain,” as in this Edenic scene. The Garden of Eden was a vision of the world as it once was, but the visionary and his spirit guides knew that this picture did not reflect the world as it currently existed. Indeed, the land around Moenkopi was hardly flat: located on the Kaibito Plateau, Moenkopi was surrounded by canyons and separated from the Third Mesa, where its “mother” village of Oraibi was located. If the world had once been level, as the Garden of Eden appeared in this vision, by the time of the visionary its surface had been rent by chasms dividing the mesas and plateaus from one another. The visitor explained “that in its present state [the Earth] had become old and not desirable through the transgressions and foolishness of mankind.”<sup>43</sup> This explanation for why the world was no longer perfect was strikingly similar to Hopi origin myths, which described human ancestors living in a series of worlds. As human society in each world broke down because of fighting and general disobedience to divine commands, the world in which humans lived also broke down, and eventually a divine ancestor led the people to the next world, where they began again. Thus, the idea that the “transgressions and foolishness of mankind” had made the earth “old and not desirable” was perfectly consonant with traditional Hopi cosmology. The difference here is that the visitor did not predict a journey to a new world; rather, this world would be made new again, but not before things got worse.

“I saw that the Mormons and my people were living on the tops of the Mountains,” the visionary went on.<sup>44</sup> The phrasing here was very LDS and may have been an artifact of translation: Mormons conceived of their settlement in the Rocky Mountains as the literal fulfillment of prophecies in Isaiah and Micah that the house of God would be built in “the tops of the Mountains.”<sup>45</sup> However, it also described the exact state of affairs at the time of the vision: Moenkopi was situated on a small plateau at approximately 4,800 feet above sea level.<sup>46</sup> The rest of the Hopi people lived on mesas even higher than Moenkopi. Though mesas and plateaus may be distinguished from mountains in topographical terms, the difference is slight. But far from being the idyllic refuge that the Utah settlers invoked, or even the site of the Indians’ vindication, as in Torbuka’s vision, the Hopi visionary saw this mountain home as the site of great strife for both the Mormons and the Indians. It stood in stark contrast to the Edenic “level plain” the visionary described earlier.

It was in “the tops of the Mountains” that the Mormons and Native Americans came face to face with the consequences of their disobedience to God. As the visionary explained, “the Lord was a little angry with us all for not being good and the Gentiles came against us for our belief and threatened us with destruction and we were entirely surrounded by our enemies.”<sup>47</sup> The Indians made common cause with the Mormons in this dire situation, and, strikingly, it was in this passage that the visionary chose to describe “the Gentiles” (a label Mormons commonly applied to non-Mormons) in terms of their lack of relationship

with the natural world. Recall: earlier the visionary was told not to buy guns or make arrows for killing people, and not to touch cattle or horses because they belonged to the Americans. At the climax of this story, the Gentiles “loaded their guns,” and, the visionary said, “horses and carriages and money was all their desire.”<sup>48</sup> None of these items—guns, horses, carriages, or money—were a part of the traditional Hopi world. The Gentiles were entirely foreign, and their lack of connection with the natural elements of the Hopi world strengthened their association with death, which they were threatening to bring upon the Native Americans and Mormons alike.

Although a scene of apocalyptic destruction would have fit well at this point in the vision, with Gentiles threatening the lives of both Native Americans and Mormons, instead the scene turned into a cosmic joke. “They cocked their guns and aimed at us and I saw that water came from the muzzle of the guns and they were harmless,” the visionary recounted.<sup>49</sup> Historian of religions Jonathan Z. Smith would point us to the incongruity in this passage: that guns, an instrument of death, instead deliver water, the stuff of life.<sup>50</sup> According to anthropologist John Loftin, “Moisture . . . is perceived by the Hopi as the ‘spiritual substance’ of the cosmos.”<sup>51</sup> The incongruity in this scene was heightened by the juxtaposition of the natural world and the world of manufactured goods: guns were produced by Gentiles, yet in place of bullets was water, a foundational element of the Hopis’ natural world.<sup>52</sup> This seemed to be a joke that the Great Father himself authored; he at least enjoyed it, according to the visionary. “I looked,” he continued, “and saw our Great Father standing at the extreme south end of our people laughing and he said nothing but his power could have preserved them alive and all was happy.”<sup>53</sup>

Placing the Great Father in the south was a curious choice: the Hopi cardinal directions are not north, south, east, and west (as they were for Christensen and other Euro-Americans), but northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest. It is possible that an ambiguity in the translation muddled the speaker’s meaning: there are two terms in the Hopi language for *southwest*. One of them, *atkya*, means “down below.” To Christensen, whose directional orientation was forty-five degrees different from his Hopi interlocutor, it might have made the most sense to render *atkya* as “south” rather than “southwest.”<sup>54</sup> If so, Christensen missed a great deal of the meaning in the Great Father’s position: the Hopi considered (and still consider) the San Francisco Peaks, to the southwest of their homeland, a sacred site. They were and remain the site of shrines as well as one home of the *katsinam*, “spiritual beings who play a prominent role in Hopi cosmology and ethical life.”<sup>55</sup> Indeed, the visionary may have understood the Great Father to be a *katsina* himself, rather than the supreme deity that Christensen believed him to be.

This scare was not the end of the Mormons’ and Native Americans’ trials in the visionary’s narrative; instead, the joke served as a prelude to tribulations. First, polygamists were persecuted; then all who believed in the Book of Mormon were targeted. Finally, the visionary told Christensen, “there began a fam-

ine that lasted for 7 years and my people consumed everything, corn, horses, dogs, snakes and all reptiles and then they suffered.”<sup>56</sup>

Contrasting this list of items the people ate during the famine to the earlier list of animals the Indians were allowed to kill for food—“deer, antelope, and rabbits”—reveals the striking disjunction between the ordinary time in which the visionary lived and the apocalyptic time he saw. Corn was understandable: it was one of the Hopis’ main crops and a central symbol in their religious system. The Hopi people identified with corn to such a degree that they saw it as their sacred Mother, again invoking a kinship relationship with the natural world.<sup>57</sup> But the people ate “everything,” the visionary said: that meant they were left without seed corn for the next growing season. In practical agricultural terms, this was a problem, but for the Hopi it was also a spiritual problem. As the Hopi understood the religious practice of growing corn, they planted kernels of corn not because these kernels would germinate and produce new corn stalks, but because the kernels would communicate to *Muy’ingwa*, the underworld god, what kind of plants the people wanted him to send to grow on the earth.<sup>58</sup> Thus, consuming the seed corn removed one of the Hopis’ important avenues of communication with the divine.

Perhaps even more importantly, for the Hopi, planting corn was a fundamental part of what it meant to be Hopi. Hopi origin myths explained that they had selected the growing of corn as their means of subsistence before arriving in this world. They were given corn and taught to farm it, and this work, Loftin explained, “recall[ed]—or, more accurately, reactualize[d]—the timeless time when everything was one with the sacred. Paradoxically, by working, by doing specifically human activity, the Hopi re-experience[d] the creation of their world.”<sup>59</sup> The choice of corn for subsistence meant a life of hard work for the Hopis. Loftin wrote that “hard work embodies the spiritual essence of the Hopi way.”<sup>60</sup> Planting corn thus fulfilled the visitor’s instruction that the people should “love to work and sustain life that is good,” and consuming all the corn left the Hopi without a way to comply with what the visitor had said they should do.

After the corn, the people ate horses and dogs, the work animals. Horses were one of the two animals that the visitor specifically proscribed in his instructions, because killing them would make enemies of the Americans. But at this point in the vision, the Americans had already proven their enmity to the Indians by persecuting them, so killing the horses no longer carried the potentially dire consequences the visitor had predicted. While the earlier instruction seemed to mandate a traditional lifestyle, the move here to kill and eat horses and dogs expressed desperation. The seven-year famine exhausted the stores of corn; now the work animals had to be killed for their nutritional value.

The turn to horses and dogs also illustrated another problem in the famine-stricken world of the vision: the deer, antelope, and rabbits that the visitor had said were acceptable to kill as food were nowhere to be found. This might have been because the people had already wiped out the wild game as food became

scarce, so the supply of deer, antelope, and rabbits had simply been exhausted. Another explanation, which may go along with the first, is that the Great Father had hidden the wild game because he was upset about the people's transgressions.

The full extent of the famine became clear from the last two items in the list of animals the people consumed: "snakes and all reptiles." These animals were not included in the Hopis' traditional diet, so in one sense these items were of a piece with the previous two: the famine was so bad that they ate anything that they could. But from another perspective, the inclusion of snakes was particularly perverse. The Hopi ceremonial cycle included a Snake Dance, performed every summer in order to bring rain for the crops: corn, squash, and beans. The ritual featured men dancing with live snakes in their mouths, so the visionary's image of the people eating snakes formed a parallel. However, in the dance, the snakes were subsequently released outside the village in order that they might spread the message of the renewal of life throughout the land. Eating the snakes would prevent them from carrying this message. The consumption of snakes as a result of famine may thus have signified to the visionary a malignant inversion of the Snake Dance: instead of bringing rain so that the corn would grow, it destroyed the very means of producing corn. No seed corn, no work animals, no snakes to bring rain: these were, indeed, the end times. The visionary might have been familiar with dire circumstances like the ones he was shown; from 1866 to 1870 the Hopis experienced "a nearly total crop failure," resulting in the abandonment of some villages. Moenkopi, which had an irrigation system (in contrast to many Hopi settlements, which used dry farming techniques), may have become a permanent settlement as a response to this agricultural disaster.<sup>61</sup>

The visionary went on:

I saw men walk in the street and fall dead, them that took the name of God in vain and talked lightly of sacred things. I saw sickness of all kinds amongst both man and beast and the Earth opened and many like the sand fell in the cracks. I [saw] lightnings and big winds and everybody was scared to death and I saw war and so many other things that it made me sick and [I] asked why all this and he [the visitor] said because they would not believe in the True God and his books, and [I] saw the water was angry and Poison an[d] destroyed many people so there were but few left and I saw a time when all that are dead will come up upon the Earth and the good will rejoice.<sup>62</sup>

Attending to Hopi conceptions of the nature of water reveals that several of these events—sickness, earthquakes, the anger and poisonousness of the water, and the return of the dead—may have been related phenomena. As I noted



above, water was sacred to the Hopi, to the extent that they saw it as the spiritual substance of the cosmos. But water was not always beneficent. In fact, as we might expect about a religiously charged substance, the Hopi surrounded water, and especially springs, with taboos. Springs were thought to be the home of water serpents, divine beings who controlled all kinds of bodies of water, and who made it available to humans. The serpents had to be propitiated and treated correctly, and if the local communities maintained a good relationship with the water serpents in the nearby spring, all was well. However, water serpents could also cause fatal illnesses, often resulting in individuals becoming bloated with water or dehydrated to the point of death. The water serpents visited illnesses like this upon people who violated the taboos surrounding springs, but they could also range more widely, striking people who disrupted the community.<sup>63</sup> Earthquakes were the result of the writhing of the water serpents underground. A Hopi story about the destruction of Hisatsongoopavi attributes the destruction of the settlement in the fifteenth century to earthquakes caused by the water serpents.<sup>64</sup> Thus, the idea that there were earthquakes and that the water was angry were connected here as two manifestations of the water serpents' displeasure. Likewise, the poison water and the widespread sickness might be interpreted as two more signs of the water serpents' destructive activity.

The apocalyptic situation resolved with the return of the dead to the earth and the joy of the living. In one sense, this conclusion sounded much more LDS than Hopi. In Hopi cosmology, when the world became old and degraded, the good people went to a new world; the restoration of the existing world did not fit this pattern. But Hopi beliefs about rain offer another interpretation: Loftin noted that "the Hopi petition their own departed ancestors to visit their villages in the form of clouds to bless them with the sacred gift of rain."<sup>65</sup> Thus, the return of the dead might have meant the return of rain, the renewal of life with the new possibility of agriculture and the blessing of water that was neither angry nor poisonous.

While the Hopis' resistance to outside influence is well known and was largely successful in warding off LDS missionaries, the Goshutes have generally been seen as victims of colonization by Mormons and other white Americans.<sup>66</sup> But attending to how Torbuka and the Hopi visionary portrayed the natural world and situated their own communities' futures in their local environments reveals the cultural resilience of both the Hopis and the Goshutes. Both visions absorbed elements of Mormonism into Native worldviews: in Torbuka's vision, the LDS cultural proscription on body paint paralleled a spirit tutor's instruction to wash in the creek; in the Hopi man's vision, the world had lost its Edenic perfection because of humans' bad behavior, just as Hopi emergence myths said. Both visions also situated LDS and Native American millennialist expectations in local contexts, using imagery specific to the visionary's immediate surroundings. For Torbuka, the Indians' enemies were like "dry wood," ready to be consumed in a forest fire, an image that made sense in western Utah where forest fires were as inevitable as the changing of the seasons. For the

Hopi man, people who were destroyed were like sand falling through the cracks of the earth, an image that fit perfectly in the desert environment of Moenkopi.

By expressing the apocalypse in imagery drawn from the environments in which the visionaries lived, these visions quite literally brought Mormon millennialist expectations down to earth. The LDS sacred time of beginnings was located in North America according to the Book of Mormon, but the end times also found a concrete location in North America in these visions, rooting elements of Mormonism in specific local environments. These case studies thus illustrate that cultural changes such as a conversion to Mormonism may become naturalized by their narrative grounding in local environments and that Euro-American religions like Mormonism may be adapted through the same process. These visions and others like them both affirmed traditional ideas and values and opened the way for Native American peoples to absorb Mormon beliefs and practices into their changing worlds.

## Notes

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1. John Nicholson, "The Lamanites," *The Juvenile Instructor* 9, no. 23 (November 7, 1874): 274–75; "The Lamanites," *The Juvenile Instructor* 9, no. 24 (November 21, 1874): 280–81; "The Lamanites," *The Juvenile Instructor* 9, no. 25 (December 5, 1874): 291–92; "The Lamanites," *The Juvenile Instructor* 9, no. 26 (December 19, 1874).

2. Nicholson, "The Lamanites," November 7, 1874, 275.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Christian "Lingo" Christensen, "An Indian Vision by a Member of the Church of Jesus Christ of LDS of the Moenkopi Little Colorado Stake of Zion," 1881, MSS SC 775, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

5. Truman G. Madsen, "Religious Experience," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1992), 1210.

6. *Ibid.*, 1209.

7. James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report 14 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), 703–4, <https://archive.org/details/ghostdancerelig01moongoog>, quoted in Gregory E. Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity: Prophetic Religion and American Indian Ethnogenesis in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 131.

8. See, for example, Lori Elaine Taylor, "Elder Nigeajasha and Other Mormon Indians Moving Westward," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 24 (2004): 111–24.

9. Scott R. Christensen, *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822–1887* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999), 84 and, more generally, 77–102.

10. Sagwitch may well have understood his material circumstances and spiritual experiences to be indivisible from one another. My concern here is simply that Christensen did not analyze the reported vision, choosing to focus solely on the economic circumstances of Sagwitch's band instead.

11. As such, narratives like these suggest that Native American conversions to Mormonism may fruitfully be interpreted as utopian movements. See B. C. Mohrbacher, "The Whole World Is Coming: The 1890 Ghost Dance Movement as Utopia," *Utopian Studies* 7, no. 1 (1996): 75–85.

12. Carling I. Malouf, "The Gosiute Indians," in *Shoshone Indians* (New York: Garland, 1974), 53–54.

13. Lee Irwin, "Dreams and Visions," in *American Indian Religious Traditions: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 242–44, 248.

14. On the Hopi prophetic tradition, see John D. Loftin, *Religion and Hopi Life*, 2nd ed., *Religion in North America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 112–15; Armin W. Geertz, *The Invention of Prophecy: Continuity and Meaning in Hopi Indian Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Richard O. Clemmer, "'Then Will You Rise and Strike My Head from

My Neck': Hopi Prophecy and the Discourse of Empowerment," *American Indian Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (1995): 31–73.

15. On the formation of distinct people-groups in the intermountain West, see Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*, 15–47. On Goshute ethnogenesis specifically, see Jared Farmer, *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 31–32.

16. The information in this paragraph and the following paragraph is based on Dennis R. Defa, "The Goshute Indians of Utah," in *Utah History to Go: Utah's Native Americans*, [http://historytogo.utah.gov/people/ethnic\\_cultures/the\\_history\\_of\\_utahs\\_american\\_indians/chapter3.html](http://historytogo.utah.gov/people/ethnic_cultures/the_history_of_utahs_american_indians/chapter3.html); and Malouf, "The Gosiute Indians," 79–130; See also David Hurst Thomas, Lorann S. A. Pendleton, and Stephen C. Cappannari, "Western Shoshone," in *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 263–64.

17. Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*, 51–52.

18. *Ibid.*, 53; Julian H. Steward, "Culture Element Distributions, XXIII: Northern and Gosiute Shoshoni," *University of California Anthropological Records* 8, no. 3 (1943): 345.

19. Nicholson, "The Lamanites," November 21, 1874, 280.

20. Nicholson, "The Lamanites," November 7, 1874, 275.

21. These visitors may have been manifestations of the figure the Deep Creek Goshute knew as *Toyanum*, or Mountain man, a spirit who could give several different kinds of power to dreamers. But Malouf's description of this figure makes this identification less likely. According to Malouf, "Typically this personage was described as being two or three feet high." Nicholson did not mention the size of Torbuka's visitors at all, instead describing the first as "having a white or rather a grey beard, and a very handsome countenance" and the visitors who came next as two personages, one "considerably taller than the other." Nicholson, 275; Malouf, "The Gosiute Indians," 54; Steward, "Culture Element Distributions, XXIII: Northern and Gosiute Shoshoni," 283.

22. Sven Liljeblad, "Oral Tradition: Content and Style of Verbal Arts," in *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 650.

23. Dimick B. Huntington Journal, 1845–1859, MS 1419, folder 2, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, entry for August 18, 1857, digitized as images 00010 and 00011. On Mormon efforts to draw a distinction between themselves and "Americans" in Indians' minds, and the U.S. federal government's concern about these efforts, see Brent M. Rogers, "A 'Distinction between Mormons and Americans,'" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 82, no. 4 (2014): 251–72. The Mormons also fought with the Goshutes, particularly in the early years of contact. For more on LDS-Goshute conflict, see Todd M. Compton, "Becoming a 'Messenger of Peace': Jacob Hamblin in Tooele," *Dialogue* 42, no. 1 (2009): 1–29.

24. Stanley G. Kitchen, "Historical Fire Regime and Forest Variability on Two Eastern Great Basin Fire-Sheds (USA)," *Forest Ecology and Management* 285 (December 1, 2012): 64, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foreco.2012.08.012>; Malouf, "The Gosiute Indians," 13–14.

25. Kitchen, "Historical Fire Regime and Forest Variability on Two Eastern Great Basin Fire-Sheds (USA)," 63–64; Scott Mensing, Stephanie Livingston, and Pat Barker, "Long-Term Fire History in Great Basin Sagebrush Reconstructed from Macroscopic Charcoal in Spring Sediments, Newark Valley, Nevada," *Western North American Naturalist* 66, no. 1 (2006): 64–77; Franco Biondi et al., "Dendroecological Testing of the Pyroclimatic Hypothesis in the Central Great Basin, Nevada, USA," *Ecosphere* 2, no. 1 (2011): 1–20; Thomas A. Minckley, Cathy Whitlock, and Patrick J. Bartlein, "Vegetation, Fire, and Climate History of the Northwestern Great Basin during the Last 14,000 Years," *Quaternary Science Reviews* 26, nos. 17–18 (2007): 2167–84; Emily K. Heyerdahl, Penelope Morgan, and James P. Riser, "Multi-Season Climate Synchronized Historical Fires in Dry Forests (1650-1900), Northern Rockies, USA," *Ecology* 89, no. 3 (2008): 705–16.

26. Nicholson, "The Lamanites," November 21, 1874, 275.

27. John W. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names: A Comprehensive Guide to the Origins of Geographic Names: A Compilation* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 159; Carling I. Malouf, *The Gosiute Indians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1950), 30.

28. Forrest S. Cuch, *We Shall Remain: A Native History of Utah*, videorecording (KUED, 2009).

29. Jay Miller, "Numic Religion: An Overview of Power in the Great Basin of Native North America," *Anthropos* 78, no. 3/4 (1983): 344; see also Michael Hittman, "Power, Great Basin," in *American Indian Religious Traditions: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 750.

30. On the 1870 Ghost Dance, see Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*, 113–51. On the better known 1890 Ghost Dance, see Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*; Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*, 152–90; Mohrbacher, "The Whole World Is Coming." On contemporary scholarly understandings of the Ghost Dance, see especially Joel W. Martin, "Before and beyond the Sioux Ghost Dance: Native American Prophetic Movements and the Study of Religion," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59, no. 4 (1991): 677–701.

31. Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*, 58.

32. Malouf, "The Gosiute Indians," 16.

33. James Simpson, *Report of Explorations across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for a Direct Wagon-route from Camp Floyd to Genoa, in Carson Valley* (1876; rpt., Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1983), 52, entry of May 9, 1859, quoted in Compton, "Becoming a 'Messenger of Peace,'" 7.
34. Jacob Hamblin, in LDS Church Journal History, September 10, 1858, quoted in Charles S. Peterson, "The Hopis and the Mormons, 1858-1873," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1971): 181.
35. John C. Connelly, "Hopi Social Organization," in *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 542; Peterson, "The Hopis and the Mormons, 1858-1873," 192. In contrast, anthropologist Shuichi Nagata suggests that the Mormon settlement made possible the conversion of Moenkopi to a year-round colony. *Modern Transformations of Moenkopi Pueblo, Illinois Studies in Anthropology* 6 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), 31-33, 301-3.
36. Peterson, "The Hopis and the Mormons, 1858-1873," 193.
37. Mischa Titiev, "The Hopi Use of Kinship Terms for Expressing Sociocultural Values," *Anthropological Linguistics* 9, no. 5 (1967): 46-48.
38. Christensen, "An Indian Vision," fol. 1r.
39. *Ibid.*, fol. 1v.
40. Emory Sekaquaptewa and Dorothy Washburn, "As a Matter of Practice ... Hopi Cosmology in Hopi Life: Some Considerations for Theory and Method in Southwestern Archaeology," *Time and Mind* 2, no. 2 (2009): 212.
41. See, e.g., Sekaquaptewa and Washburn, "As a Matter of Practice," 202.
42. Christensen, "An Indian Vision," fol. 1v.
43. *Ibid.*, fol. 1v.
44. *Ibid.*, fol. 2r.
45. The prophecies are in Isaiah 2:2 and Micah 4:1. No translation that I have found uses "tops" (plural), but for examples of Latter-day Saints using this phrasing, see, e.g., George J. Adams remarks, Thomas Bullock minutes, April 8, 1844; Brigham Young, Winter Quarters Council meeting, February 26, 1847; and L. Marcham, Provo School of Prophets Minutes, June 8, 1868, all in Ronald K. Esplin, "'A Place Prepared': Joseph, Brigham, and the Quest for Promised Refuge in the West," in *Window of Faith: Latter-Day Saint Perspectives on World History*, ed. Roy A. Prete (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2005), 71-97, <https://rsc.byu.edu/archived/window-faith-latter-day-saint-perspectives-world-history/place-prepared-joseph-brigham-and>; and "History of the Church (Continued)," *Juvenile Instructor*, August 17, 1872, 135.
46. For elevation, see "Moenkopi, Arizona Terrain Map," Google Maps, <https://www.google.com/maps/@36.1125221,-111.2303702,15z/data=!5m1!1e4>. For comparison, many mountains in the Adirondacks are shorter than this plateau.
47. Christensen, "An Indian Vision," fol. 2r.
48. *Ibid.*, fol. 2r.
49. *Ibid.*, fol. 2r.
50. Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 265-309.
51. Loftin, *Religion and Hopi Life*, 16.
52. Observers have commented on the use of humor in Hopi religious ceremonies, most especially the activities of "clowns." See, for example, Jake Page, "Spider Coming Down," *Journal of Religion and Health* 42, no. 2 (2003): 111-16; Louis A. Hieb, "Social Memory and Cultural Narrative: The Hopi Construction of a Moral Community," *Journal of the Southwest* 44, no. 1 (2002): 91-92; and John D. Loftin, "Supplication and Participation: The Distance and Relation of the Sacred in Hopi Prayer Rites," *Anthropos* 81, no. 1/3 (1986): 188.
53. Christensen, "An Indian Vision," fol. 2r.
54. Maria Glowacka, Dorothy Washburn, and Justin Richland, "Nuvatukya'ovi, San Francisco Peaks: Balancing Western Economies with Native American Spiritualities," *Current Anthropology* 50, no. 4 (2009): 557.
55. *Ibid.*, 556.
56. Christensen, "An Indian Vision," fols. 2r-2v.
57. Loftin, *Religion and Hopi Life*, 42.
58. *Ibid.*, 7-8.
59. *Ibid.*, 5.
60. *Ibid.*, 5.
61. Edward A. Kennard, "Hopi Economy and Subsistence," in *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 555. Nagata attributes the move to year-round occupation of Moenkopi to the arrival of Mormons, who could effectively limit Navajo depredations on the otherwise vulnerable Hopi settlement. See Nagata, *Modern Transformations of Moenkopi Pueblo*, 31-33, 301-3.
62. Christensen, "An Indian Vision," fol. 2v.

63. Lyle Balenquah, "Connected by Earth: Metaphors from Hopi Tutskwa," in *Thinking like a Watershed: Voices from the West*, ed. Jack Loeffler and Celestia Loeffler (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 56.

64. Ekkehart Malotki et al., eds., *Hopi Tales of Destruction* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 2.

65. Loftin, *Religion and Hopi Life*, 11; see also Marianne L. Stoller, "Birds, Feathers, and Hopi Ceremonialism," *Expedition* 33, no. 2 (1991): 37.

66. See, for example, Malouf, *The Gosiute Indians*, 73–133.