

**“ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING SEENERIES THAT
CAN BE FOUND IN ZION”: PHILO DIBBLE’S
MUSEUM AND PANORAMA**

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In 1786, when Charles Wilson Peale announced the opening of his cabinet of curiosities “to please and entertain the public,” he could not have forespoken better the mind and will of Philo Dibble who sought to establish a museum of Mormon art and relics as early as 1845. Dibble’s curatorial pursuits, like Peale’s, were driven in part by a fascination with a new sensation in American art—moving pictures.¹ For a time, these moving pictures, or panoramas, brought profit and popularity to an otherwise elitist field of scientific exhibition. By accessioning, collecting, and displaying relics enlivened by vivid canvases illustrating Latter-day Saint historic scenes, Dibble followed the rising tide of popular education.²

A wave of American interest in panoramas swelled early in the nineteenth century after reaching heights of popularity in Paris and London. As a form of “rational amusement,” moving panoramas were just as much an American phenomenon as they were European. They were newsreels of a sort, allowing eastern spectators a chance to view, in idealized form, the untamed frontier of the West.³

Philo Dibble, Mormon lecturer and panoramist, was born in Peru, Pittsfield County, Massachusetts, on 6 June 1806, the second son of Orator and Bulah Dibble. After the death of his father, he and his elder brother Philander were taken in by one Captain Apollos Phelps to Suffield, Connecticut, where they were to remain until they were twenty-one. Following Philo’s marriage to Celia Kent of Suffield, they moved to Chardon, located about five miles from Kirtland, Ohio. Dibble and his wife were received into Church membership by baptism on 16 October 1830, after meeting four proselyting Mormon

elders, Oliver Cowdery, Ziba Peterson, Peter Whitmer Jr., and Parley P. Pratt, in Kirtland, Ohio. Dibble was to have a close relationship with Joseph Smith as a friend and bodyguard. “Father Dibble” (so called by children and friends) was later remembered for surviving a mob attack in Jackson County, Missouri, in 1833 and remaining faithful in the Church through the Missouri and Illinois periods, migrating to Utah in 1851.⁴

Dibble probably caught panorama fever in 1841 while he was living in Nauvoo, Illinois, a growing Mormon community on the Mississippi. During the mid 1840s, St. Louis, some two hundred miles down river, was not only a port of entry for Mormon immigrants but also the major center for panorama production in America. As early as March 1841, John Banvard was promoting the first of the “largest pictures in the world” at the St. Louis Museum (then under the proprietorship of W. S. McPherson). The exhibitions included “*Miss Hayden, the accomplished American Sybil*” and the “Grand Moving Panoramas, of the cities of Jerusalem and Venice, covering an extent of canvass exceeding 100 [1,000?] square feet.”⁵

In April, Banvard announced a grand Panorama of St. Louis, which had been in preparation for some time. Between 1840 and 1850—in full view of a growing Mormon congregation—St. Louis had become the primary venue for nearly all the major panoramists. St. Louisans were presented with John Rowson Smith’s *Panorama of the Mississippi River*, Weedon’s *Panoramic View of the Hudson River*, a *Grand Historical Panorama of the Antediluvian World*, and *The Bombardment of Vera Cruz*, to name a few. And, late in 1849, Henry Lewis and Leon Pomarede presented con-

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current exhibitions of their rival panoramas of the Mississippi.⁶

At the same time, St. Louis's Mormon immigrant population numbered between three and seven hundred.⁷ During a particularly severe winter in 1843, when a host of immigrants were debilitated from travel on the river, Mormon elder Parley P. Pratt reported "as many as one thousand emigrants at different points on this river."⁸ Dibble certainly heard of the magnificent panoramas and popular museums in St. Louis from newly arriving immigrants and the daily newspaper coverage, considering his proximity to such amusements.⁹ Perhaps he was even sitting in the audience when Banvard unveiled one of the first of many awe-inspiring panoramas that spring of 1841.

Dibble's interest in panoramas may have intensified during an increased focus on science and culture among the Mormon intellectual community in 1843. On 15 May of that year, an unnamed author, undoubtedly John Taylor, made the following appeal in *The Times and Seasons*:

According to a Revelation, received not long since, it appears to be the duty of the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, to bring to Nauvoo, their precious things, such as antiquities, and we may say, curiosities, whether animal, vegetable or metallic: yea, petrifications as well as inscriptions and hieroglyphics, for the purpose of establishing a *museum* of the great things of God, and the inventions of men, at Nauvoo. We have just received the first donation at the office of President Joseph Smith. Who will come and do likewise?¹⁰

"We would recommend to the Elders that are travelling, either on this continent or any other, to pay special attention to this subject," Taylor suggested. "It only requires a little exertion on our part, to make a museum or repository of this kind, to exceed anything on the western continent, and the world."¹¹

A few days later, on 24 May 1843, "Elder Addison Pratt presented the tooth of a whale, coral, bones of an Albatross' wing and skin of a foot, jaw bone of a porpoise, and tooth of a South Sea seal as the beginning for a museum in Nauvoo."¹² Wilford Woodruff, while on his mission to England in 1845, examined the last effects of

Elder Lorenzo D. Barnes, which had been deposited in a trunk. The contents included a number of ancient coins, weights of measure, a "splended Buffalo robe with Indian Beads," and various articles of clothing, which were carefully packaged and sealed to be sent to the Nauvoo Museum.¹³ This pursuit of intellectual, educational resources continued even after the Latter-day Saints reached Salt Lake Valley in 1847. The *General Epistle* to the Saints in 1848 made such an appeal. In addition to the best examples of literature, science, and philosophy, the Church leaders asked for "natural curiosities and works of art" from which the young people could receive valuable instruction. "And if the Saints will be diligent in these matters," they wrote, "we will soon have the best, the most useful and attractive museum on the earth."¹⁴

It was this rise in intellectual awareness, coupled with an entrepreneurial spirit, that probably motivated Dibble to begin his panoramic work. Soon after the deaths at Carthage, Dibble had a dream that prompted him to begin his work. "I dreamed I was standing under a large tree in company with others," Dibble wrote later. "I looked and saw Brother Joseph coming with a sheet of paper in his hand. The paper was rolled up. Joseph threw the roll into the top of the tree. The roll came tumbling down through the limbs, and all under the tree watched the roll to catch it, and I caught it. This was the end of my dream."¹⁵ In addition to this, he wrote that he saw the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith at Carthage. Dibble pondered the dream and interpreted it as a vision that should be exhibited in pictorial form. His panorama would include all the major historical events experienced by the Saints. "Brigham [Young] said, 'go ahead and I will assist you,'" Dibble wrote. "He put his hand into his pocket and gave me two dollars. I then went and bought the canvass."¹⁶

The earliest reference to Dibble's panorama appears to be 7 March 1845 when Hosea Stout, Nauvoo chief of police, went "to see Br Major who was painting the scenery of the murder of Joseph & Hyrum at Carthage."¹⁷ Stout, apparently an avid patron of the arts, made reference to a number of occasions when he visited the studios of several Nauvoo artists. His journal provides a remarkably detailed record of Dibble's panorama project during its conception in 1845.

Robert Campbell, frequently mentioned by Stout in

connection with the panorama, was busy through the summer months obtaining portraits for reference. Unfortunately, little is known regarding Campbell and his work because of long-held confusion over his name and one Robert Lang Campbell who later became superintendent of the territorial schools in Utah. It is known, however, that Campbell was born in Marsh, Cambridge, England, on 31 March 1810, the son of John and Susannah Staples Campbell. He was baptized on 21 June 1838 by Charles W. Wandall. He worked as an artist and engraver in Nauvoo until the exodus in 1847. Campbell migrated to Utah about 1849.¹⁸

Although he was not directly named in connection with the panorama project, British portrait artist Sutcliff Maudsley probably had a part in the production of reference work as well. Stout recorded a number of visits to Campbell's and Maudsley's studios for portrait taking during the summer and early fall, when Campbell was clearly making preliminary sketches for one of the canvases. On 7 July 1845, Stout "went to see Br. Campbell and engraver & Br Maudsley Portrait Painter, to have the likeness of myself & wife taken and engraved on stone, or in other words have a Stone cut of our likeness taken to be lithographed."¹⁹ Stout returned during the following week to finish the likenesses.²⁰ On 5 August 1845, the following ad appeared in the *Nauvoo Neighbor*:

WILL BE EXHIBITED

On Wednesday next, August 6th, at the Masonic Hall, the splendid painting representing the MAS-SACRE of JOSEPH & HYRUM SMITH, in Carthage Jail, June 27th 1844.

Doors open from 4 till 9 P.M.

Good music will be in attendance.

Admittance 12 1/2 cents.

N.B. Those having "the cash" are particularly invited to attend. PHILO DIBBLE Manager.²¹

On 31 August, Stout's wife, Louisa, "went to Maudsley's to have her likeness drawn." Three days later, Stout reported that he went "to Br Campbell's & had my likeness taken to be put in Scenery representing Joseph Smith addressing the Narvoo Legion on the 18th of June 1844. It is to be taken in military uniform."²² The work must have been moving rapidly on this second canvas. The artists were probably laying out preliminary drawings and visually arranging the figures and structures to be included in the picture. Evidently, Dibble

brought the design before the Legion officers for their approval. However, a few of them took issue with some elements of the design, including Hosea Stout. Stout's journal of 18 September provides an account of a meeting at the home of Sergeant Major Joseph W. Coolidge, where several officers gathered

to see about the painting of the scenery of Joseph the Prophet addressing the Nauvoo Legion on the 18th day of June 1844. The officers were dissatisfied with the plan for Br. Dibble was about to put in the likeness of officers who were not present & also some men who were to be put in conspicuous places on the scenery who were not officers and moreover betrayed the prophet & patriarch to death & also other men who had disgraced their calling as officers to all of these things I made objections and declared I would not be seen portrayed in a group of such men for it would be a disgrace to my children and roughly handled the characters of certain characters in our midst after which the matter was laid over for future consideration.²³

Two days later, the officers met again to discuss the concerns raised about the painting. Dibble, who was present at the meeting, "stated his reasons for the course he had taken," perhaps arguing for a more didactic, idealized image than a historically accurate depiction of the event. Stout then spoke "at length" on the position he had taken two days earlier and was followed by others who stated their views. In the end, "the thing was agreed to be left to the officers concerned to say what was right about it."²⁴

By mid November, concerns over the painting were apparently ironed out. On 14 November, the canvases were exhibited again in the Masonic Hall, where Stout was in attendance in company with Willard Richards and Jesse D. Hunter. "It was an entertaining time," Stout wrote, "and we staid till about 9 o'clock."²⁵ Stout continued his interest in the project, paying at least four more visits to Campbell's studio for portrait work.²⁶

It wasn't until the spring of 1848 that Dibble received official approval of his work. Wilford Woodruff, who apparently made efforts to support the project, recorded on 25 March that he "spent A part of the day in council with the Presidency & others upon the subject of the Paintings got up by Philo Dibble. The

work was finally sanctioned by the Presidency & Twelve who signed their names to it."²⁷

The panorama received a large audience during the April conference held in the Kanesville Tabernacle. Wilford Woodruff, who was present, gave a detailed account of what took place:

Philo Dibble exhibited his Paintings during the evening. At the close of the exhibition W. Woodruff Addressed the assembly upon the subject And said that his sermon was short. His text was in two divisions one on the right & the other on the left.

The right hand was A view of the marterdom of Joseph And Hiram Smith in Carthage Jail And the left hand was the canvass representing Joseph Smiths last address to the Nauvoo legion.

Before us is presented A synopsis or minature or commencement of one of the most interesting sceneries ever presented to man. I have visited the national gallery in London which is considered the best collections of painting in Europe And there is nothing in that gallery that will begin to compare with this work when Carried out. And as brother Dibble has been moved upon to set up these paintings I feel to bid him God speed & if he will get up the sceneries of this Church commencing at the beginning and go through it until now & onward And fit up a gallery in Zion It will be the continuation of the rise and Progress of the Church & kingdom of God in this last dispensation And will form one of the most interesting Seeneries that can be found in Zion.

It is true we are passing through these seenes personally but our children, future generations, & those who come to visit Zion will feel deeply inter-

ested in this matter And would present to the view at one glance All the seenes that this Church has passed through.²⁸

On 11 January 1849, a letter from Dibble to Orson



Philo Dibble
courtesy of Marilyn and Celia Smith

Pratt and Orson Spencer of the English Mission presidency was published in the *Millennial Star*. It provides a thorough description of the project and can be considered Dibble's charter to a Mormon panorama and museum. It read, in part:

Kanesville, Council Bluffs, July 11th, 1848.
 Beloved Brethren, Orson Pratt and Orson Spencer,—The mission of brother Levi Richards to England affords me an opportunity of addressing you upon a subject, the interest of which I know lies very near to your hearts, inasmuch as your name, Brother Orson Spencer, was first given to sanction and influence my feeble efforts in support of the noble cause of illustrating by paintings the history of the Church. Others in common with yourself gave the helping hand until the pencil of the artist yielded to the inspiration of mind, and the mighty passing events, the changing scenes, the vicissitudes of the Saints under the direst persecutions, and the travails of the church contending against the oppressions, errors, and superstitions of ungodly men, will stand for ever as way-marks of the rise and progress of the church of the last days. . . . I have already nearly completely *two scenes* of a series; one illustrating Joseph addressing the Nauvoo Legion three days prior to his imprisonment in Carthage jail; the other, the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith while under arrest. Each scene comprising 128 feet of canvass. The designs are by brother Robert Campbell, who is engaged in visiting places, taking sketches, and making himself acquainted with all the essential matters and facts as they may connect themselves with historical painting. The execution of the designs of the above sceneries had established the reputation of brother Campbell among us for faithful portraiture. Brother Major, of many years' experience, has also devoted his labors in this work. Many painters have made a sacrifice of time in responding to my calls upon their labors. Brother Campbell has many sketches of the sceneries mentioned in my "Preface;"²⁹ these will appear as soon as means can be obtained to carry on the work in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. *Exhibitions* of the sceneries are given from time to time as wisdom shall dictate. Every Exhibition increases the interest, inasmuch as they display st [*sic*] one glance the most striking likenesses of the great actors of these scenes; the familiarity they associate with times, places, buildings, &c., even the persons who are the spectators have frequently to exclaim, "I was there;" so that all, while they feel anxious to hand down to posterity our illustrious martyrs, and record these visions of the past events, at once embrace subjects connecting their own salvation interests with these

sceneries. Again, these exhibitions form a text from which the most important transactions are expatiated upon at large by our public speakers, and a flow of light and intelligence bursts upon both speaker and audience; and here let me remind you of the evening when the most thrilling effects were produced by the brilliant addresses of brother Woodruff, yourself, and brother Joseph Young during the April conference. Nor was the exhibition given on the 4th of July without its interest; many things were elicited from brother George A. Smith worthy of record, touching the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith—of the few remaining since the first organization of the church—of himself, and those left of the Smith family—of the honor conferred on brother George Watt for his "enscetching" (phonographic outline of the trial of the murders of the Smiths). Brother Campbell was present also, and made remarks relative to the sceneries coming up through sacrifice and tribulation.³⁰

At this point in the document, Dibble began to describe his proposal for a museum. Very little is known regarding Dibble's Museum at Kanesville, but the proposal provides insight as to its mission:

I would wish to speak further upon the necessity of the Saints abroad waking up to this subject. God has from time to time, by revelation and by epistle, made it their duty to help by their means and substance in the building up a museum. My object in addressing you is to obtain the necessary materials of glass, nails, oils, paints, &c., to take to the valley for its erection. Will not the Saints, scattered throughout England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, help me in this matter, that a museum may be established in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, as a repository in which shall be collected from all parts of the earth, specimens of the works of nature and art, to connect with these sceneries? And will you not, dear brethren, continue to exert an influence in supporting and aiding on this work, that returns may be made by the fall season? I hope, also, that the English artists will not fail to bring all necessary means connected with their profession to assist in painting these designs.

Deposits necessary to obtain a perpetual right to the museum, &c.:—

Any person depositing one dollar has a free

admission to the museum until the dollar is drawn.

Any person depositing five dollars may obtain a medal, which shall be a perpetual right to admission, and shall record his history in the "museum record;" also, each right shall entitle him to a portrait of himself upon a separate scenery, connecting him with brothers Joseph and Hyrum, and the twelve, as the principal actors in this great work to be handed down to rising generations.

Any person depositing one hundred dollars, or more, shall receive a receipt in full of the authorities constituted to receive the same, and shall receive a medal giving a perpetual right, and on presentation of the receipt shall have money refunded in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, with the privilege of the museum record and portrait.

Any person living abroad, who shall purchase a perpetual [*sic*] ticket or medal, shall receive a receipt for the same, and by presenting his receipt to the museum shall receive the medal.

The names of the depositors must be sent with the means to the proprietor of the museum, Philo Dibble, Council Bluffs.

As soon as sufficient means are obtained for the erection of a museum no more rights will be issued.

Brother Woodruff is in the Eastern States, using his influence in obtaining means for this object.—I remain, as ever, your brother in the bonds of the everlasting covenant. PHILO DIBBLE.³¹

Unfortunately, because of the lack of historical accounts, the success or failure of the museum cannot be documented, although two poems entered in the *Frontier Guardian* may allude to Dibble's museum. One read:

A link from the chain of an argument,
A lock of hair from the head of a stream,
Butter from the cream of a joke,
A toe from the foot of a mountain,
A knife used by the wind in cutting,
A tooth from the mouth of a river,
Cheese from the milk of human kindness,
An Eagle coined from a golden dream,
Quills from the wing of the wind,
The gun of a shooting star,
A spoke from the wheel of time.
For which the highest market price will be paid if
delivered soon.³²

What relics were received for the museum may never be entirely known. However, from subsequent accounts of Dibble's panoramic lecture, it is clear that he displayed a phrenological chart of Joseph Smith's head, possibly a seer stone that reportedly belonged to Smith, a pair of Siamese twin calves, documents relating to prophecies of Joseph Smith, and two busts of Joseph and Hyrum Smith copied from the original death masks.³³

Dibble reportedly had obtained the death masks of Joseph and Hyrum, taken when their bodies were being prepared for burial in 1844. A reference to the masks was made in a letter written by John M. Bernhisel, Brigham Young's agent, who wrote to Young from Lockport, New York, on 10 September 1849: "I neglected to say that I saw Bro. Rowley at Burlington. He had disposed of the casts of the Prophet Joseph and the Patriarch Hiram to brother [Philo] Dibble for the sum of one hundred dollars. . . . The casts just referred to are in the possession of Brother Dibble, who will probably take them to the valley next year."³⁴

In 1850, John Taylor, who was on a mission in England, advertised busts sculpted by a noted artist, "Mr. Gahagan." Taylor had procured the death masks and drawings for the artist's reference and to get "a correct likeness of these two martyrs." Copies of the busts were sold throughout the territory and may have been purchased by Dibble, who featured them in his exhibit in place of the original death masks.³⁵

At this time, Dibble continued to exhibit his paintings in Kaneshville, Nebraska, and other Mormon settlements in the region. On one occasion, he went to Savannah, Missouri, for work painting and whitewashing buildings. After a series of fires broke out in Savannah, Dibble was implicated and forced to flee Missouri without his canvases. After Dibble immigrated to the Salt Lake Valley, the canvases were transmitted through several thoughtful individuals to Dibble's cousin, Ira. The canvases remained in Kaneshville in the possession of his cousin's wife for three years until they were delivered to Salt Lake, sometime in 1854.³⁶

Another artist who figured prominently in Philo Dibble's venture was a British artist, William Warner Major. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine the extent of Major's role as a contributing artist, since few

examples of his work are extant. However, judging from his surviving artwork, it is difficult to imagine that Major's abilities were not utilized fully, even though, according to Dibble, the designs were chiefly Campbell's. One of the most noted examples of Major's portraiture is an oil of Brigham Young seated with one of his wives and children, *Brigham Young, Mary Ann Angell Young and Family* (1845-51), now in the possession of the LDS Museum of Church History and Art. Major is best remembered for his work in Utah as official artist of Brigham Young's visiting party to southern Utah settlements. In May 1852, Major accompanied Young's party to newly-settled Fillmore and Parowan, where he painted views of the settlements and surrounding scenery and where, according to Wilford Woodruff, he "took the likeness of an Indian Chief."³⁷ Two watercolor field sketches, *Parishort or Leap of Elk, Chief of the Corn Creek* (1852), and *Wash'echick, Chief of the Shoshomas Tribe* (c. 1852), now in the possession of the Springville Museum of Art,³⁸ reveal a competent, but primitive, handling of the medium, not unlike American-born George Catlin (1796-1872) and Irish-Canadian Paul Kane (1810-71).

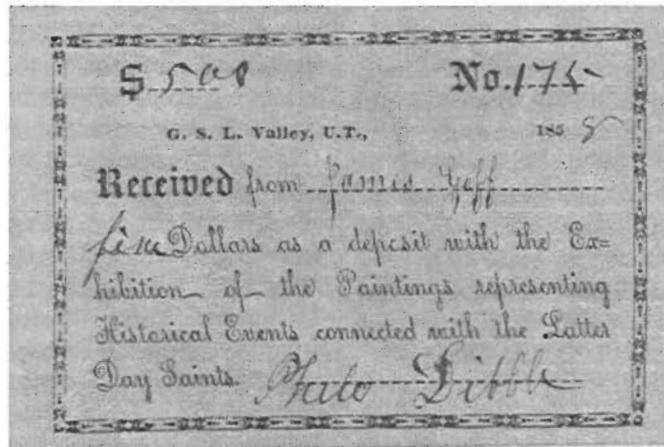
Major's part in producing the Smith martyrdom canvas must have been significant at any rate. During the Church conference in April 1845, Major was named as the exhibitor of "a painting of the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith by the mob at Carthage."³⁹ In addition to the martyrdom canvas, Major was actively engaged in portraiture, landscape painting, and drawing. On 17 July 1845, Apostle John Taylor reported having his portrait taken, perhaps as a source of reference for one of Dibble's canvases. Interestingly, Taylor had assisted Major earlier that year "to draw a design for a seal for the

Twelve [Apostles], designed by Bro. [Brigham] Young and myself."⁴⁰ At Winter Quarters, Major kept busy producing portraits and landscapes. On one occasion, Wilford Woodruff noted that he "set for A Portrait to be taken by Major to be put in a work with others of the Twelve."⁴¹ Soon thereafter, Patty Bartlett Sessions wrote on 26 April 1847 that she "went to several places. Br Mager [sic] is taking our portraits."⁴² At Winter Quarters, Robert Lang Campbell wrote that after attending a meeting at which Brigham Young preached, he visited William Major's home where he "saw some beautiful landscapes, also several profiles."⁴³

Major immigrated to Utah in May 1848 as a captain of fifty in Brigham Young's division. Interestingly, Thomas Bullock, camp historian, reported that Major took several sketches along the trail. The timing is significant, considering James F. Wilkins would also make sketches of the trail the following summer for his ambitious plan to produce a *Moving Mirror of the Overland Trail*.⁴⁴ Whether Major

intended for his sketches to be included in Dibble's panorama is unknown. The timing is curious, nonetheless.

The scenery along the trail would have been a perfect backdrop for one of Dibble's canvas scenes. The Platte River country was probably one of the most spectacular regions along the Mormon trail. After a long day's journey, members of the company would often occupy their time scouting the nearby terrain, climbing mountains and picking wild fruit.⁴⁵ On 10 July 1848, the camp ascended the Willow Springs bluff where they stopped to gather gooseberries. It was then, Bullock recorded, that he and Major ascended to the top of Prospect Hill, where Major took "a Sketch of the coun-



Ticket for one of Philo Dibble's Shows
courtesy of Marilyn and Celia Smith

try from where Prests. Young, Kimball, Richards & T.B. stood, last Spring."⁴⁶ Such excursions must have been a common occurrence. Although no other diaries mention Major taking sketches of scenery, many who traveled with Brigham Young's division in 1848 remembered enjoying the scenery and climbing prominent landmarks along the way. Louisa Pratt remembered her time at the Sweetwater having "many rambles on the steep hills where we could overlook the surrounding country."⁴⁷ It may have been during one of these excursions near the Sweetwater that Major took "a Sketch of a Kanyon West of our Camp."⁴⁸ Later, on 23 August, near Willow Creek, Bullock recorded that "on clearing out of this place & ascending the hill we had a fine view of Upper California, Old Mexico, New Mexico, Indian country, Missouri Territory & Oregon which W.W. Major took a drawing of."⁴⁹

In the spring of 1857, Dibble's panorama of Church history was exhibited in Spanish Fork, Utah. Scottish immigrant Henry Hamilton, a Spanish Fork settler, wrote that the artist "and others" gave descriptions of the scenes.⁵⁰ Charles Twelves of Springville remembered attending the panorama show at Cluff's Hall saying that Dibble "would come every winter and take all kinds of produce for tickets."⁵¹ These exhibitions became popular in the Springville area, and Dibble was seen frequently at meeting houses and social halls.⁵²

In addition to showing the busts, Dibble often held his panoramic lecture by candlelight. The candlelight panorama and pioneer relics were seen in Washington, Iron County, Utah, when John D. Lee recorded on 28 February 1860 that

This Eveing Bro. Dible Exhibited his Painting (in My Family Hall) containing the Martyrdom of the Prophet Jos. [Joseph] & his Bro. Hyrum, also the assemblage of the Nauvoo Legion & Jos. last address to them. The scene in connection with spirit was quite interesting. By request of Bro. Dible I assisted in giving a historica[l] account of the whole Tragedy.

The following evening, Dibble exhibited his panorama to another full house. Again, Lee was in assistance:

About 9 m. by Request of Bro. Dible, I accompanied him to Fort Clara, also Bro. Barney & Winslow Farr.

Reached the settlement about 3 P.M. dis. 12 ms. Obtained refreshments at Sister Crousby's. At candle light Exhibitd the scenery in Pres. J. Hamblin's Hall; the spirit of god rested upon Bro. Dible & myself to overflowing. A lasting impression was made on the assembled Multitude. At 10 the scenery closed. The young folks then had a Dance. Elder Dible's term was 50 cts. each over 12 years & 25 cts. under.⁵³

On 22 January 1864, Dibble took his traveling panorama to North Ogden where Henry Holmes reported witnessing "an exhibition in the evening by Bro. Dibble showing on canvass the early mobbings of the Saints."⁵⁴

Music was also a feature of Dibble's panorama and lecture. For some time, Dibble lived in Centerville and used the talents of the Wood String Orchestra for accompaniment. The small orchestra, consisting of four to five musicians, was organized in 1864 and was directed by Daniel Cotten Wood, who played trombone.⁵⁵

Transporting and setting up the large canvases must have been a strain on Dibble in his later years. By 1878, the scenes were scarcely mentioned in connection with his historic lecture and relics when the engagements were far distant. A few descriptions of Dibble's show suggest that he began using lantern slides instead of the canvases. According to Mary Finley of Springville, Dibble projected the images on a suspended backdrop, while he described the scene to spectators:

During the winter our fellow townsman, Philo Dibble, gave a number of illustrated lectures with his magic lantern. These were held in the White Meeting House which was dimly lighted with kerosene lamps. A heavy curtain was hung across the stage on which he showed slides of painted canvases depicting church history. Among these was an illustration of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith at Carthage jail. The most unique attraction was pictures of the trip of the Mormon Battalion to Mexico, among which was one showing the stampeding of buffalo when they attacked the long train of wagons. The spectators were held breathless as he showed the narrow escape of Levi Hancock as he was attacked by a bull but came off none the worse except for the loss of his cap which the buffalo clev-

erly snatched up from his head and ran away with it. All these pictures were accompanied by a dramatic recital of the story which Mr. Dibble gave in his nasal voice. Another picture showed a frightened buffalo goring several horses as they dropped in their harnesses.⁵⁶

Often, Dibble asked for other individuals to stand and add their first-hand experiences of early Church history to the exhibit and lecture. On 18 November 1878, Dibble was heard in Smithfield retelling his first-hand experiences with Joseph Smith during his final days in Nauvoo.⁵⁷ George Barber reported that "Elder Dibble exhibited his Busts of Josh [*sic*] & Hyrum Smith &c at the school house 4 of the children went."⁵⁸ Following Dibble's remarks, Wilford Woodruff stood and spoke for twenty minutes.⁵⁹ On another occasion, "at a public exhibition of paintings, by Bro. Phil Dibble, at Bountiful in Jan. 1881," Anson Call stood before the gathering to give his account of one of Joseph Smith's prophecies, declared near the Masonic Hall in Nauvoo.⁶⁰

Dibble's candlelight lectures were, by most accounts, a favorite with children as well. On 20 October 1883, a writer to the editor of Provo's *Territorial Enquirer* reported that Dibble had lectured in Springville. "Dibble," he wrote,

proceeded to relate with great force and clearness many important items connected with the rise of the Church, its persecutions and the wonderful manifestations of both the good and evil powers that were exhibited from time to time. He spoke very impressively in reference to the cruel tragedies of Haun's mill and Carthage jail and other terrible and affecting incidents, the recollections of which were well stored up in his memory, and with which he is desirous of making the saints generally acquainted, especially the Young.⁶¹

The children sat transfixed. Everyone present was attentive to the scene before them. "The young people were particularly quiet and listened with deep interest to all that was said, and doubtless a strong and lasting impression was made upon all present. . . . Brother Dibble ought to be well received, and all who can do so should go and hear him when he comes in their midst."⁶²

The impact of Dibble's historical lecture and display

cannot be underestimated. Amy Brown Lyman, a former Relief Society general president, remembered her childhood experience of seeing Dibble's panorama:

He had great canvasses ten feet or more high, as I remember them, upon which were painted thrilling scenes with almost life-size figures. These, together with his dramatic descriptions and narratives, held us children spellbound. The scene of the martyrdom at Carthage Jail was so real and was so vividly stamped upon my mind, that whenever I have since visited this historic place I have in my imagination visualized the whole sad episode in all its details. For footlights Brother Dibble used to place a row of tallow candles, which were set up on a plank, at the base of the pictures, and these were lighted as the lecture was about to begin. In addition to the pictures, plaster of Paris busts of the Prophet and the Patriarch were displayed. These he carefully wrapped in cotton batting while traveling.⁶³

Their inspirational value among the children, at least for one young man, was far-reaching. The mother of the noted Utah sculptor, Cyrus E. Dallin, recounted a story involving Dibble who inspired her son to a life of art. Dibble, she said, "used to go about from town to town carrying a show. He was a character indeed. The main features of the show were, a panorama of the exodus from Nauvoo, an oil portrait of Joseph Smith, and clay busts of Joseph and Hyrum Smith."⁶⁴ When Dallin was about twelve years old, he came to his mother asking to see the show in Springville. "I had not the money," she said, "so he sold corn and paid his own way, for see the show he would." After seeing his first statue, the boy spent the next day sculpting two busts out of clay mud. As it turned out, Dibble, during a visit to the Dallin home, happened to notice the busts displayed in the window sill. He recognized the busts as Joseph and Hyrum Smith and broke into a prophecy that Dallin would some day become a great sculptor and create figures or busts for the Salt Lake Temple.⁶⁵

One of Dibble's last appearances with the relics and panorama took place in Cache Valley, on 25 July 1885. Logan pioneer John C. Dowdle wrote that a group "met in the Millville hall and listened to a very interesting lecture delivered by Elder Philo Dibble, on the principles of the Gospel. He referred to his acquaintance with the Prophet Joseph Smith. He spoke on the principle of plur-

al marage.”⁶⁶

The LDS Museum of Church History and Art has in its collection a watercolor and ink drawing identified as Robert Campbell’s work. It is a relatively small drawing measuring 16¼ inches by 11½ inches (41.3 x 29.2 cm). The work, most likely one of the “sketches” mentioned in Dibble’s charter, is entitled *Gen. Joseph Smith Addressing the Nauvoo Legion* (1845). Joseph Smith and other leaders are shown standing on a platform addressing the Nauvoo Legion. The Nauvoo Mansion is on the left with two men on horseback in the left foreground. Other Nauvoo buildings are shown in the right background portion of the drawing. The colored drawing is quite primitive and has been characterized as “an idealization of the Nauvoo period.” Idealizations include the portrayal of the Legion in full uniform and architectural inaccuracies in most of the buildings.⁶⁷

The reliability of Joseph’s dramatic gesture as depicted was confirmed by others who were present at the time of his address, including Jacob Miller who, as a young man, “saw the Prophet Joseph mounted and in uniform, and listened to the speech and drawing of the sword as represented in a certain picture.”⁶⁸ Other artists appear to have relied upon Campbell’s visual arrangement as well. John Hafen’s lithograph, the *Last Public Address of Lieut. Gen. Joseph Smith* (1888), contains noticeable similarities in the arrangement of figures and structures.

Judging by the similarities in handling of figures, C. C. A. Christensen may well have drawn from Campbell’s work for his own *Mormon Panorama* (1869-1890).⁶⁹ In fact, correspondence between Dibble and President John Taylor in 1879 suggests that Christensen posed a threat to Dibble’s traveling show. According to Dibble, Christensen and his painters “manifested a disposition to entirely supplant me in my business” and even approached his painter “and tried to stop him from painting for me and to join their company.”⁷⁰ Sadly enough, this competitiveness may have marked the beginning of the end of Dibble’s traveling show.

After a lifetime of promoting the panorama and museum, Dibble faded into retirement. What became of the canvases can only be surmised. According to family tradition, the canvases were destroyed by the elements after being stored under a bed for a number of years.⁷¹

The only record of Dibble’s panorama may be the lantern slides, which still await discovery. The relics and historical documents came into the possession of Wilford C. Wood and other Church agents. Evidence suggests that Dibble’s collection may well have been added to the permanent holdings of what is now the LDS Museum of Church History and Art.⁷²

The bulk of Campbell’s and Major’s panorama work has yet to be discovered as well. A number of unidentified primitives are extant and worth comparing to Campbell’s known work.⁷³ Copies of a Campbell lithograph of Hosea Stout are at the Utah State Historical Society and the Henry E. Huntington Library in California. William Major’s paintings seemed to disappear when he met an untimely death while serving a mission in England in 1854. According to one account, “he carried some of them with him,” but they have not surfaced since his death.⁷⁴

Although other Mormon artists promoted and displayed traveling panoramas, Philo Dibble can be credited with the first of such work among Latter-day Saints. Other artists and promoters, C. C. A. Christensen, Alfred Lambourne, Edward Stevenson, William Armitage, Charles Hancock, and Reuben Kirkham, exhibited panoramas—but probably not with as much long-term success as Dibble. His lifelong efforts to educate and entertain the Mormon community through his panorama and lecture deserve notice. Indeed, as one Utah pioneer reportedly said, “every pioneer remembers Philo Dibble of Springville showing his canvas picture of Church History in every town and hamlet of Utah.”⁷⁵

Notes

1. Peale’s fascination with moving panoramas is discussed in Charles Colman Sellers, *Mr. Peale’s Museum: Charles Willson Peale and the First Popular Museum of Natural Science and Art* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1980), 12-15, 19-20. See also Jeremy Belknap, “Account of a Picture Exhibition Worth Going 400 Miles to See,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 37 (1913): 493.

2. See, for example, Edward P. Alexander, “Early American Museums: From Collection of Curiosities to Popular Education,” *International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship* 6 (1987): 337-51; Joel J. Orosz, *Curators and Culture: The Museum Movement in America, 1740-1870* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1990), 165-79; Dillon Ripley, *The Sacred Grove: Essays on Museums*

(Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969), 38-43. For essays on the history of museums in America, see Whitfield Bell Jr., *A Cabinet of Curiosities: Five Episodes of in the Evolution of American Museums* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967).

3. The literature on American panoramas is extensive. A few studies, however, deserve mention. The most comprehensive work on American panoramas is John F. McDermott's *The Lost Panoramas of the Mississippi* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958). See also Henry Lewis, *Making a Motion Picture in 1848: Henry Lewis' Journal of a Canoe Voyage from the Falls of St. Anthony to St. Louis*, ed. by Bertha Heilbron (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1936); John F. McDermott, "Newsreels—Old Style," *Antiques* 44 (July 1943): 10-13; Curtis Dahl, "Mark Twain and the Moving Panoramas," *American Quarterly* 13 (Spring 1961): 20-32; and Llewellyn Hubbard Hedgbeth, "Extant American Panoramas: Moving Entertainments of the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1977).

4. See Philo Dibble, "Philo Dibble's Narrative," in *Early Scenes in Church History; Eighth Book of the Faith-Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor's Office, 1882), 74-96; "Life History of Philo Dibble, Sr.," in *Pioneer Journals* (n.p., n.d., Ogden Kraut, 1967?); Marilyn A. Smith and Celia Smith, comps., *Philo Dibble's Reminiscences of Early Church History and the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Logan, Utah: Authors, 1995); Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *East of Antelope Island: History of First Fifty Years of Davis County*, 4th ed. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1971), 267. See also Philo Dibble, "Recollections of Joseph Smith," *Juvenile Instructor* 27 (15 May 1892): 303-04.

5. McDermott, *Lost Panoramas*, 12, 22.

6. See Henry Lewis, *Das illustrierte Mississippithal . . .* (Dusseldorf: Arnz & Co., 1854). See also Joseph Earl Arrington, "Henry Lewis' Moving Panorama of the Mississippi River," *Louisiana History* 6 (Summer 1965): 239-76; *idem*, "Leon D. Pomarede's Original Panorama of the Mississippi River," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* (April 1953): 261-73; Monas N. Squires, "Henry Lewis and His Mammoth Panorama of the Mississippi River," *Missouri Historical Review* 27 (April 1933): 244-56.

7. See Conference Minutes, St. Louis Branch, 10 February 1845, *Times and Seasons* 6 (15 February 1845): 806; "Followers of 'Holy Joe' in St. Louis," (St. Louis) *People's Organ*, 16 May 1844, 2. See also Eldon J. Watson, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1801-1844* (Salt Lake City: published by the author, 1968), 167.

8. Parley P. Pratt to publishers, 19 March 1843, *Times and Seasons* 4 (15 April 1843), 165.

9. See Samuel A. Burgess, "St. Louis in the Early History of the Church," (RLDS) *Journal of History* 17 (January 1924): 37-61; Louise Linton Salmon, "St. Louis in the Story of the Church," *Improvement Era* 57 (November 1954): 788-89, 830-31; Kate B. Carter, comp., "The Mormons in St. Louis," *Heart Throbs of the West* 3 (May 1962): 437-500; Stanley B. Kimball, "The Saints and St. Louis, 1831-1857: An Oasis of Tolerance and Security," *BYU Studies* 13 (Summer 1973): 489-519. St. Louis was a hotbed of museum culture and amusements. In 1856, the mummies and papyri in connection with the Book of Abraham were exhibited at the St. Louis Museum. See Walter L. Whipple, "The St. Louis Museum of the 1850s and the Two Egyptian Mummies and Papyri," *BYU Studies* 10 (Autumn 1969): 57-64. For more information about the museum culture in St. Louis, see John F. McDermott, "Museums in Early Saint Louis," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* 4 (April 1948): 129-38.

10. "To the Saints Among all Nations," *Times and Seasons* 4 (15 May 1843): 201.

11. *Ibid.*, 203.

12. Joseph Smith Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1949), 5:406.

13. Woodruff, Journal, 23 April 1845, in *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, edited by Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85), 2:538-39.

14. "General Epistle from the Council of the Twelve Apostles," *Millennial Star* 10 (15 March 1848): 85.

15. Philo Dibble, "Journal of Philo Dibble, Sr.," typescript in the possession of Edwin S. Dibble, Provo, Utah.

16. *Ibid.* A copyright for the panorama was filed by Dibble on 11 March, 1845. See Copyright records, Illinois, U.S. District Court for District of Illinois, Vol. 18 [August 1821-1848]; copy of document on file in library of LDS Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City, Utah.

17. Stout, Journal, 7 March 1845, in *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, edited by Juanita Brooks, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, Utah State Historical Society, 1982), 1:25.

18. Susan Easton Black, *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1847*, 49 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1989), 8:507-510, hereafter cited as *Membership*. Campbell served for more than thirty years as Salt Lake City recorder. Interestingly, in 1851, Campbell was trying his hand at daguerreotype photography in Salt Lake City. On 14 June, the *Deseret News*, page 279, bore

the following ad:

DAGUERRETYPE MINIATURES!!

THE UNDERSIGNED is prepared to take likenesses at his room, south of the post office, where he will be ready to wait on those who may give him a call. ROBERT CAMPBELL.

The ad appeared through the months of July and August, but it never continued thereafter, presumably because Marsena Cannon, the favored photographer in Salt Lake, had too many devout customers. Campbell died at the age of eighty-one in Salt Lake City, Utah [see *Deseret Evening News*, 5 June 1890, 2].

A considerable amount of confusion surrounding the two Campbells arose during their lifetime and continues today. Juanita Brooks misidentified Campbell in *On the Mormon Frontier*, 51, n. 15, as Robert Lang Campbell. Robert Lang Campbell (1825-74), could not have been the artist, since he was historian of the Willard Richards company that left Winter Quarters on 3 July 1848, the day before the artist of the panorama "was present also" at its exhibition in the Kanesville Tabernacle [see Dibble's charter below and *Journal History*, 3 July 1848, 1, and supplement, 17]. Church historian, Andrew Jensen, reported on 2 January 1855 that Robert Lang Campbell began to use Lang to avoid further confusion [*Journal History*, 2 January 1855, 1]. See Frederick S. Buchanan, "Robert Lang Campbell: 'A Wise Scribe in Israel' and Schoolman to the Saints," *BYU Studies* 29 (Summer 1989): 5-27.

19. Stout, *Journal*, 7 July 1845, 1:51.

20. *Ibid.*, 8, 9, and 14 July 1845, 1:51-52.

21. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, 5 August 1845, 3. See Stout, *Journal*, 6 August 1845, 1:56.

22. *Ibid.*, 30 August and 2 and 19 September 1845, 1:59, 60, 68.

23. *Ibid.*, 8 September 1845, 1:61.

24. *Ibid.*, 10 September 1845, 1:61. For an in-depth discussion on this and other depictions of the Nauvoo Legion, see Glen M. Leonard, "Picturing the Nauvoo Legion," *BYU Studies* 35 (Spring 1995): 110-16.

25. Stout, *Journal*, 14 November 1845, 1:91.

26. *Ibid.*, 20 November and 31 December 1845, and 3 and 6 January 1846, 1:93, 101, 102. See also Patty Sessions, *Diary*, 12 February, 1846, in *Mormon Midwife: The 1846-1888 Diaries of Patty Bartlett Sessions*, edited by Donna Toland Smart (Logan, Utah: Utah State University, 1997), 32.

27. Woodruff, *Journal*, 25 March 1848, 3:334.

28. Woodruff, *Journal*, 7 April 1848, 3:340.

29. According to the "preface" document mentioned here, Dibble "having seen a vision representing the beauty, glory, and wisdom of painting the scenes and sufferings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" would represent "a full and complete history of all the important transactions among the Saints upon principle of perpetuity." Transcript in Marilyn and Celia Smith, *Philo Dibble's Reminiscences*, 38-39. Original in the LDS Historical Department Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

30. "Brother Philo Dibble's Sceneries, Museum, &c.," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 11 (11 January 1849): 11-12 (hereafter cited as *Millennial Star*).

31. *Ibid.*

32. "Wanted for the Kanesville Museum," *Frontier Guardian*, 27 June 1851, 4; *idem*, *Millennial Star* 13 (15 September 1851): 281. See also "More Curiosities Wanted," *Frontier Guardian*, 19 September 1851, 4.

33. Philo Dibble to John Taylor, 3 January 1881, LDS Church Archives; Mary J. Finley, *A History of Springville* (Springville, Utah: Art City Publishing, 1988), 58. Dibble reportedly had a diagram drawn by Joseph Smith, "The Wings of the Earth," showing the location of the Ten Tribes of Israel (see Francis M. Darter, *The Time of the End* [Los Angeles: Author, 1928], 134, and Ogden Kraut, *The Gathering of Israel* [Dugway, Utah: Kraut's Pioneer Press, 1974], 150-52). For a discussion and photograph of the seer stone, see D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 40 and fig. 9.

34. Bernhisel to Young, 10 September 1849, quoted in Ephraim Hatch, "What Did Joseph Smith Look Like?" *Ensign* 11 (March 1981): 65-73.

35. "To the Saints," *Millennial Star* 12 (1 November 1850): 329. Dibble sold the death masks to Harris Brown of Logan, Utah, for \$50 on 21 November 1885. "Article of Agreement made between Philo Dibble of Springville, Utah, and Harris Brown of Logan, Utah," 21 November 1885, microfilm copy, LDS Church Archives. Wilford C. Wood of Bountiful, Utah, purchased them from Brown's widow in December 1936. Hatch, "What Did Joseph Smith Look Like?" 66; "Utahn Has Death Mask Casts of Prophet, Brother," *Deseret News*, 23 December 1936, 18.

36. Dibble, "Journal of Philo Dibble, Sr."

37. Woodruff, *Journal*, 4 May 1852, 4:137. See also

- William Clayton to Willard Richards, 27 April 1852, in *Deseret News*, 15 May 1852, 2. A view of Parowan and Fillmore came into the possession of the Church from the private collection of Brigham Young, who donated them to the Deseret Museum in 1870. See "Chronicles of Utah," *Contributor* 2 (June 1881): 270, and *idem*, 2 (July 1881): 303.
38. See Vern G. Swanson, Robert Olpin, and William Seifrit, *Utah Art* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books; Springville Museum of Art, 1991), 14.
39. See "Fine Arts," *Nauvoo Neighbor*, 16 April 1845, 2-3; Smith, *History of the Church*, 5: 42; Journal History, 4 April 1845.
40. Taylor, Journal, 23 January and 17 July 1845, in Dean C. Jessee, ed., "The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal, January 1845-September 1845," *BYU Studies* 23 (Summer 1983): 34, 78.
41. Woodruff, Journal, 1 April 1847, 3:144.
42. Sessions, Diary, 26 April 1847, in *Mormon Midwife*, 78.
43. Robert Lang Campbell Journal, 21 March 1847, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
44. James F. Wilkins, *An Artist on the Overland Trail: The 1849 Diary and Sketches of James F. Wilkins*, edited by John F. McDermott (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1968); Joseph Schafer, "Trailing a Trail Artist of 1849," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 12 (1928): 97-108; John F. McDermott, "Gold Rush Movies," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 33 (1954): 29-38.
45. See Leonard J. Arrington, "To Zion: Brother Brigham's Last Pioneer Trek," *Pioneer* 41 (July/August 1994): 8-11.
46. Thomas Bullock, "Camp Journal Kept by Thomas Bullock of the Journey of the Camp of Israel from Winter Quarters, to the Great Salt Lake City—in the Year 1848," (hereafter cited as Camp Journal), 10 July 1848, typescript, LDS Church Archives.
47. Kate B. Carter, comp., "Journal of Louisa Barnes Pratt," in *Heart Throbs of the West* 8 (1947): 244.
48. Bullock, Camp Journal, 21 August 1848.
49. *Ibid.*, 23 August 1848.
50. Hamilton, Diary, 3 March 1857, holograph, LDS Church Archives.
51. Charles Twelves, "Early History of Charles Twelves and Family," microfilm of typescript], 4, USU Special Collections and Archives.
52. For examples, Historical Record and Minutes, Springville Ward, Utah Stake, and Springville First Ward, Kolob Stake, LDS Church Archives.
53. John D. Lee, Diary, 28 and 29 February 1860, in *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee*, edited by Robert G. Cleland and Juanita Brooks, 2 vols. (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1955), 1:239.
54. Henry Holmes, Journal, 22 January 1864, typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.
55. *East of Antelope Island*, 442.
56. Finley, *A History of Springville*, 58.
57. Woodruff copied the account of Joseph Smith's address of 22 June 1844 from Dibble's record. The account was kept on file in the Historian's Office and was later included in the History of the Church, edited by B. H. Roberts. See "Addresses of the Prophet Joseph Smith, Smithfield, Cache Co., Utah. Nov. 18th 1878," Journal History, 18 November 1878, 4-7.
58. George Barber Journal, 18 November 1878, typescript, USU.
59. Woodruff, Journal, 18 November 1878, 7:439.
60. Oliver B. Huntington, Journal, January 1881, typescript [vol. 2, p. 163], Harold B. Lee Library, BYU.
61. "An Interesting Meeting," (Provo) *Territorial Enquirer*, 30 October 1883, 3.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Amy Brown Lyman, "In Retrospect," *Relief Society Magazine* 29 (January 1942): 6.
64. Alice Merrill Home, "Cyrus Edwin Dallin," *Young Woman's Journal* 21 (September 1910): 491.
65. *Ibid.* Also, Alice L. Reynolds, "Interview with Mrs. Thomas Dallin, Mother of the Sculptor," *Relief Society Magazine* 9 (October 1922): 510-11; Rell G. Francis, *Cyrus E. Dallin: Let Justice Be Done* (Springville, Utah: Springville Museum of Art, 1976), 5, 77.

66. John C. Dowdle, *Journal*, 25 July 1885, 140, typescript [p. 66], USU Special Collections and Archives.
67. Information obtained from the bibliographic record, LDS Museum of Church History and Art.
68. Jacob Miller, *Journal of Jacob Miller*, edited by Joseph Royal Miller and Elna Miller (Salt Lake City: Mercury Publishing, 1967), 24-25.
69. Christensen's panorama received national attention in Carl Carmer's article, "A Panorama of Mormon Life," *Art in America* 58 (May/June 1970): 52-65. See also Jane Dillenger, "Mormonism and American Religious Art," in *Reflections on Mormonism: Judaeo-Christian Parallels*, Religious Studies Monograph Series, no. 4, edited by Truman G. Madsen (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1978), 187-200. An excellent historical account of Christensen's panorama is found in Richard L. Jensen and Richard G. Oman, *C. C. A. Christensen, 1831-1912: Mormon Immigrant Artist* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1984), 17-20.
70. Philo Dibble to John Taylor, 16 March and 29 April, 1879, LDS Church Archives.
71. Nellie Dibble Knowlton, from a recorded interview with Rell G. Francis, 14 November 1974, in the Cyrus E. Dallin Collection, Springville Museum of Art, Springville, Utah.
72. "Local and Other Matters," *Deseret Evening News*, 5 February, 1870, 3. See also Lila Carpenter Eubanks, "The Deseret Museum," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Fall 1982), 361-76.
73. A watercolor and ink drawing of Ann Davies Dalley (1792-1875), mother of Campbell's second wife, Mary Dalley, bears primitive characteristics and may have been executed by Campbell (photograph of drawing in the A. J. Simmonds Photograph Collection, USU). A Dalley family portrait in the possession of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers museum, Parowan, Utah, also bears such characteristics and warrants further examination. See Suzanna Mae Clark Grua, "The Migration of the Dalleys," typescript [25 March 1944], and "Biography of Ann Davies Dalley," typescript [n.d.], LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah; also, *Black, Membership*, 8:507.
74. "History of the Life of William Warner Major," 2, LDS Church Archives. See "Decease of Elder Major," *Millennial Star* 16 (4 November 1854): 698; "Death of Elder William Warner Major," *ibid.*, 700; and poem, "On the Death of Elder William Warner Major," *ibid.*, 704. A probate record for William Warner Major could not be found among Salt Lake County records. "His wife, Sarah Coles Major, resided in Salt Lake for some time after the death of her husband. She later met a man from Sanpete County by the name of Joseph Ellis, a member of the Church, whom she married. They moved to Spring City, Utah. The property in Salt Lake was in the name of Sarah Coles Major but after her marriage to Ellis, he obtained possession of the property thru fraudulent methods. . . . Because of the trouble which arose over the title to the property in Salt Lake, a clear title was never obtained until about 1920" ("History of the Life of William Warner Major," 2-3). Presumably, Major's work was included in the effects of his estate. Whether his work is still in England or among the Ellis family is yet to be determined.
75. Statement of Henry Fowler, quoted in Kate B. Carter, comp., *Heart Throbs of the West* 1 (1962): 209.