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The Monument to Brigham Young and the Pioneers : One Hundred Years of Controversy

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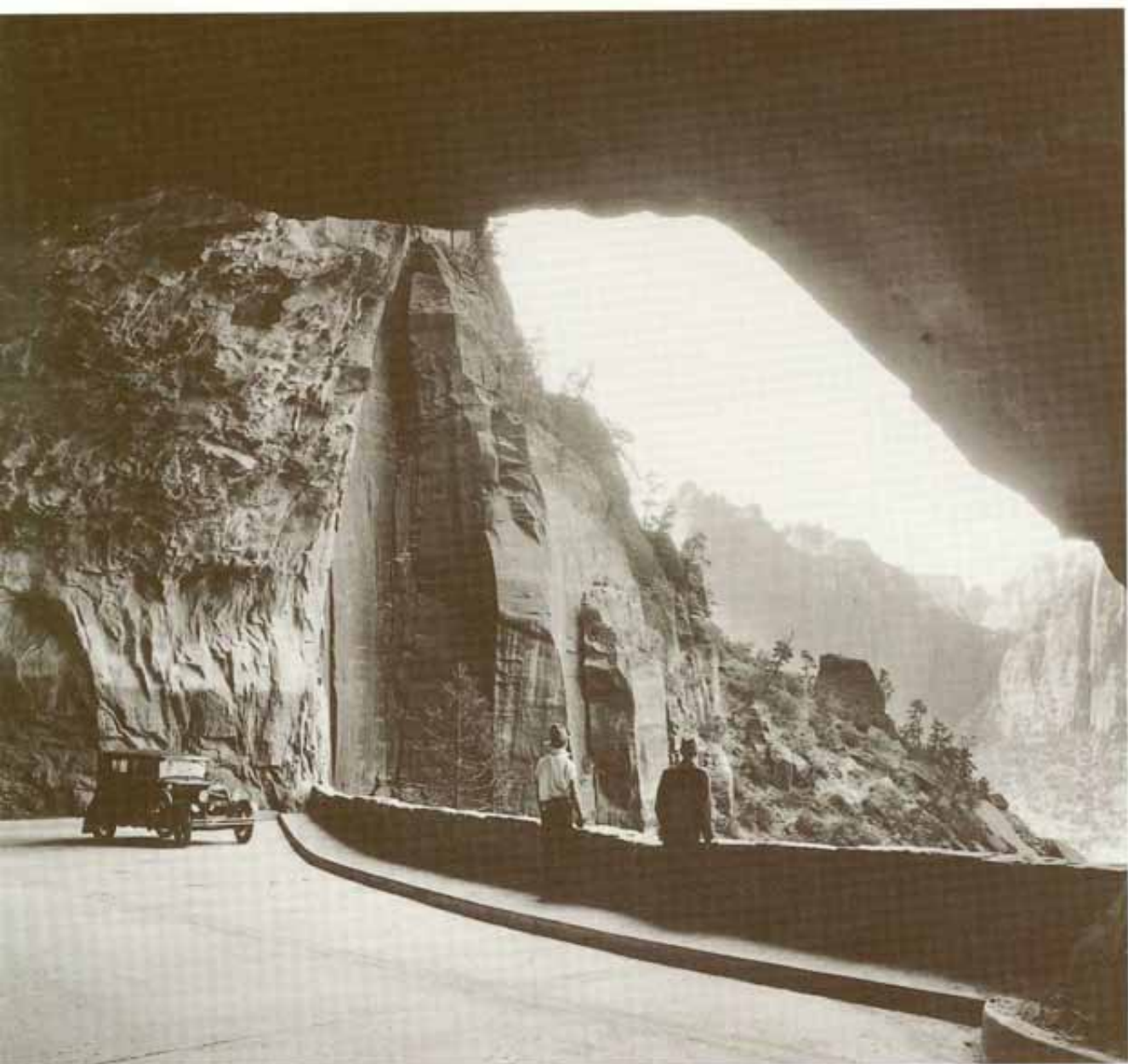
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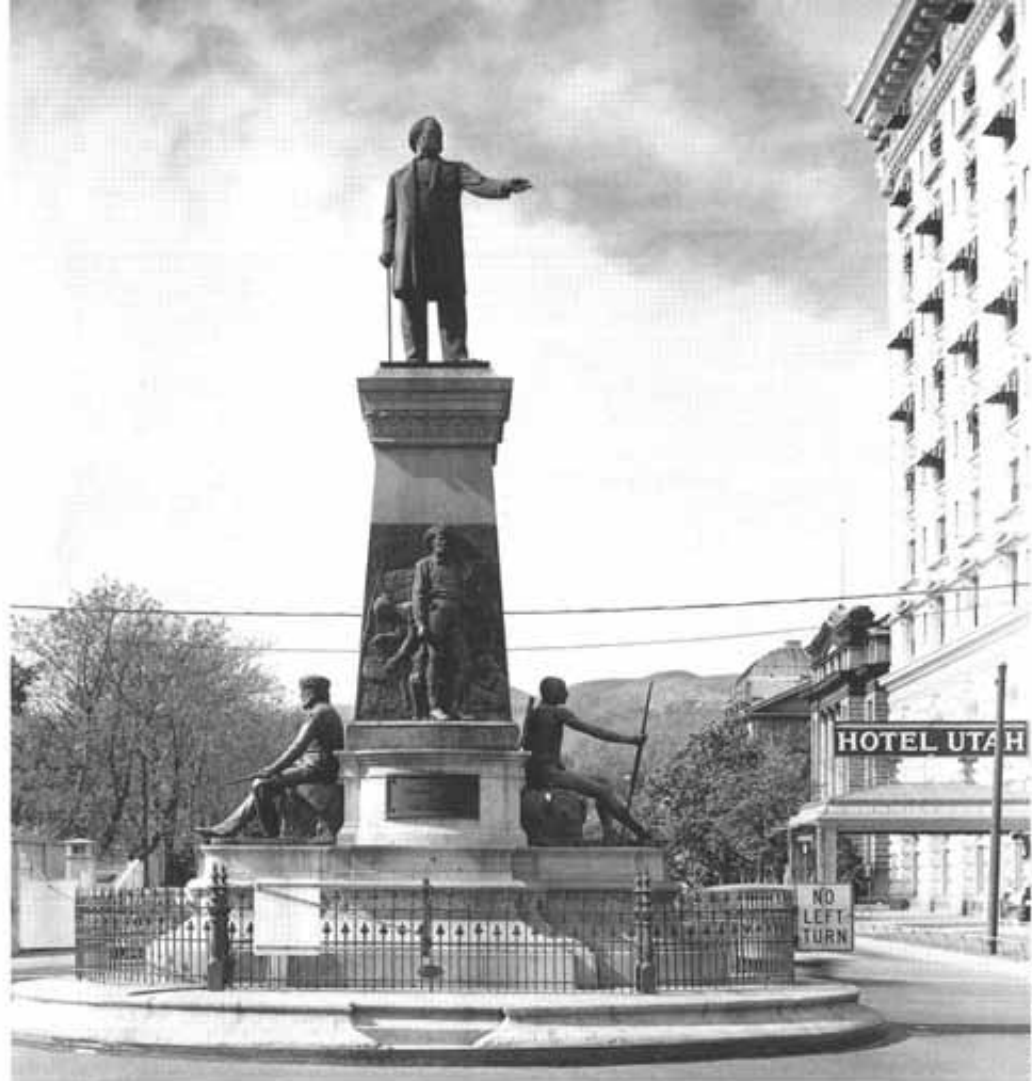
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The Monument to Brigham Young and the Pioneers: One Hundred Years of Controversy

By J. MICHAEL HUNTER

On July 24, 1900, at 10:58 a.m. a trumpet call was sounded and Margaret Young, granddaughter of Brigham Young, pulled the cord. As the veils collapsed from the pedestal of the Brigham Young statue at the intersection of Main and South Temple streets in Salt Lake City, two new bronze statues and a bronze plaque were revealed at the base.

The thirty-piece Held's Military Band

"No left turn": The sign is a telling symbol for both the traffic patterns and controversies that have surrounded the Brigham Young Monument over the years. 1953 photo.

J. Michael Hunter is a reference librarian in the LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. The author would like to thank W. Randall Dixon and William W. Slaughter for their comments and contributions to this article. Photos on pages 336, 339, 341, and 344 are courtesy of LDS Church Archives.

played "America" and the crowd cheered as it surged about the monument to view the new figures. An eight-foot bronze Indian seated on the left side of the base represented the Native Americans displaced by Mormon settlers. An eight-foot bronze trapper seated on the right side represented the early non-indigenous explorers who made their way into Utah.¹ On the shaft was a bronze bas-relief of a man, woman, child, and covered wagon, representing the Mormon pioneers who made their homes in Utah.

The unveiling ended a tumultuous ten-year odyssey to complete the monument to Brigham Young and the pioneers—and it began a new era of controversy that would last a hundred years. The project had begun on December 1, 1891, with the organization of the Brigham Young Memorial Association. Reporting on the meeting of the organization, the *Contributor* stated:

The desire to erect a monument in memory of Brigham Young and the Pioneers has been in the hearts of the people of these valleys for many years. Time has only served to increase the desire, and, at last, people of all classes have, in a measure, united in the proposition to do honor to the men who pioneered this land, and to set up a monument worthy of the great leader and his faithful followers.²

To explain the project and the need for funds, the association circulated a letter throughout communities in Utah and surrounding states. The association also appointed fundraising committees and contracted with sculptor Cyrus E. Dallin to design and sculpt the monument.

Dallin was born in Springville, Utah, on November 22, 1861, as the second oldest of nine children. His father and grandfather, sailmakers in England, converted to the LDS church in 1849 and immigrated to Utah in 1851. Once in Utah, however, his parents joined the Presbyterian church. Dallin received his early education from Presbyterian schools and his art appreciation from his parents. He wrote:

I owe my art to my mother, Jane Hamer Dallin, who loved beauty. In childhood days she modeled things out of clay and baked them in the oven. It was a case of



Cyrus E. Dallin in his studio.

¹ In his speech at the dedication ceremony reported in the *Deseret Evening News* July 24, 1900, sculptor Cyrus E. Dallin stated that the two statues were representative of groups and not specific people. Some publications have erroneously identified the Native American as Chief Washakie and the trapper as Jim Bridger; see *Church News*, October 15, 1955.

² "The Brigham Young Memorial," *Contributor* 13 (June 1892): 337. "Pioneers," to this writer, meant members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS or Mormon church) who had arrived in Utah before the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869.



AT LEFT: In 1893 the Brigham Young statue stood in front of the Utah Building at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, then from 1893 to 1897 it had a temporary home inside Temple Square (opposite page).

heredity. I always liked art and began sketching and modeling when just a child, and she, with my father, Thomas Dallin, gave me every encouragement.³

Dallin eventually studied art in Boston. Returning to Utah in 1891, he opened a studio in Salt Lake City where he crafted three portrait busts of the LDS First Presidency—Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith. Dallin's work caught the eye of President Woodruff, who asked him to make a statue of the angel Moroni for the east-central spire of the nearly completed Salt Lake Temple.⁴

In his work for the Brigham Young Memorial Association, Dallin drew up many proposals for review. By 1892 he had created a model that was acceptable to the association. The monument would be thirty-five feet wide at the base. On top of a twenty-five-foot granite shaft would stand a ten-foot bronze statue of Brigham Young. The Indian and trapper statues would be eight feet tall, and a bas-relief pioneer group would be cut into the stone of the shaft. Dallin's charge was to be \$25,000.⁵

Dallin offered the services of his brother-in-law, Sid Southworth, to solicit funds for the monument, but the association declined the offer, explaining that the matter would be taken care of by local bishops. Dallin wrote to his father, "They have a most admirable system and it simply needs word from the authorities and presto, the thing is done."⁶ He would soon learn he was mistaken on this matter.

Dallin completed the statue of Brigham Young by early 1893. The figure was cast by the Ames Manufacturing Company in Chicopee, Massachusetts, and then placed on a temporary pedestal in front of the Utah Building at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago from May 1 to

³ Rell G. Francis, *Cyrus E. Dallin: Let Justice Be Done* (Springville, Utah: Springville Museum of Art, 1976), 3-4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 66-67; Florence S. and Jack Sears, "How We Got the Angel Moroni Statue," *Instructor* 88 (October 1953): 292.

⁵ "The Brigham Young Memorial," 337-38; *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 7, 1895.

⁶ Francis, *Cyrus E. Dallin*, 69.



October 30, 1893. According to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, the statue received “widespread commendation both for the faithfulness of the likeness and as a work of art.”⁷

After the Exposition closed, the statue was shipped to Utah, arriving in Salt Lake City on December 30, 1893. It was then placed inside the east gates of Temple Square in front of the architect’s office, almost directly in line with the southeast corner of the temple. It remained there until November 19, 1895, when it was placed on a temporary pedestal near the southwest corner of the temple in the open space between the temple and the south wall of the square. This temporary wood pedestal was constructed to resemble stone. Although there was some discussion about gilding the statue like that of the angel on the temple, this plan was never carried forth. The statue would remain in this location until the entire monument was completed. This would not happen for many years, however, and after a year or two a frustrated Dallin began writing letters to the association from his residences in Boston, Philadelphia, and Paris to protest the mismanagement of the project.⁸

In 1895, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported:

It seems the project has been permitted to languish for some time for lack of funds, the association deeming it unwise to attempt the collection of subscriptions in the face

⁷ *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 7, 1895.

⁸ *Ibid.*; *Deseret Evening News*, December 30, 1893, and November 19, 1895.



of the unparalleled hard times. Recently, however, the First Presidency of the Mormon Church issued a circular urging that the matter be taken up again and expressing the hope that by next autumn, in time for the semiannual conference, the monument might be unveiled.⁹

The association's site committee went to work trying to locate a permanent site for the completed monument. Several locations were proposed, including in front of the as-yet-unbuilt state capitol,¹⁰ near the Eagle Gate on State Street, in Brigham Young's private cemetery, in front of the temple on Main Street, and on the southeast corner of Temple Square. The association

Moving the stone for the shaft of the monument from the Livingstone quarry in Little Cottonwood Canyon. The Deseret Evening News wrote, "A vast amount of labor and considerable ingenuity have been expended in cutting the [twenty-ton] stone from the mountain and getting it ready for shipment to this city. A large force of men have been steadily employed in the undertaking for several weeks and today they have succeeded in loading it on a specially provided wagon on which it will be conveyed a distance of one mile from this quarry to the Rio Grande Western over which it will be transported to this city.... When it reaches the depot in this city it will again be transferred to a wagon and conveyed to the intersection of East and South Temple Streets where it will be made ready for placing in the shaft which is to commemorate the achievements of the Pioneers. It is estimated that it will require fifteen span of horses to draw it from the depot to the Monument site. The corner stone will be laid with proper ceremonies some day next week" (June 25, 1897).

⁹ Ibid. On June 27, 1893, the stock market crashed, resulting in four years of "unparalleled hard times." (See Ronald W. Walker, "Crises in Zion: Heber J. Grant and the Panic of 1893," *Arizona and the West* 21 [Autumn 1979]: 257-78).

¹⁰ *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 7, 1895. On April 28, 1888, Heber J. Grant proposed that Salt Lake City donate a portion of the city's Arsenal Hill to the Utah Territory for the state capitol. The next day the mayor, governor, legislators, and councilmen visited the hill and selected a site for the capitol. The city officially tendered 19.46 acres on March 1, 1888. Before the capitol was built in 1916, the area was landscaped, enclosed with an iron fence, and named Capitol Hill. See *Deseret Evening News*, February 29, 1888; "Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" LDS Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City, May 26, 1908; Noble Warrum, ed., *Utah since Statehood* [Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1919], 209.

finally chose the latter, with a plan to take down the southeast corner of the temple block wall and incorporate stones from the wall into the monument's foundation.¹¹

However, by 1897 the lone Brigham Young statue still stood on its temporary pedestal in Temple Square, and there was no sign that the remaining features of the monument were anywhere near completion. The problem, again, was money. In an attempt to revive the lagging interest in the project, the association decided to dedicate the monument in its unfinished state during the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of the pioneers in the Salt Lake Valley.

The LDS church advanced \$8,000 to the association for the granite work on the pedestal. By this time the association had decided on a new location for the monument: the intersection of Main and South Temple streets. Agreeing that a monument to the pioneers should be in this more public place, the Salt Lake City Council deeded to the association a plot of ground at the intersection twenty-five feet by twenty-five feet.¹²

Cyrus Dallin, however, was unhappy with the plan to dedicate the unfinished monument. On May 12, 1897, he wrote from Paris to Governor Heber Wells:

Your favor of April 27th just received and while I should be only too glad to give my consent to anything that would hasten the completion of the Monument, I must in justice to myself, the Monument, and to the subscribers, refuse to allow you to place the statue of President Young on the pedestal and shaft as outlined in your letter. My reasons are, first—that this would involve a material change in the design (to wit—to have the Pioneer Group cast in bronze instead of cut in stone) and the contract distinctly prohibits any such change (clause 1st and 2nd, article first).

Second—this change would involve greater expense to me to put the group in bronze, as by the contract I am simply to have cut in stone the Pioneer Group—your Association to furnish me the stone.

Third—it will be impossible for you to determine the exact propositions [*sic*] of the shaft, pedestal and etc., without my superintendence, as these must be made in relation to the bases of the statues, and this can only be done by me.

I could not allow anyone else to do this, for my own reputation, pride in my work, and the desire to be fittingly represented in my own state.

Thus, while I am most heartily in sympathy with your wishes and desires, I cannot allow these changes in my design which I have seriously studied and worked so hard to carry through as a unity.

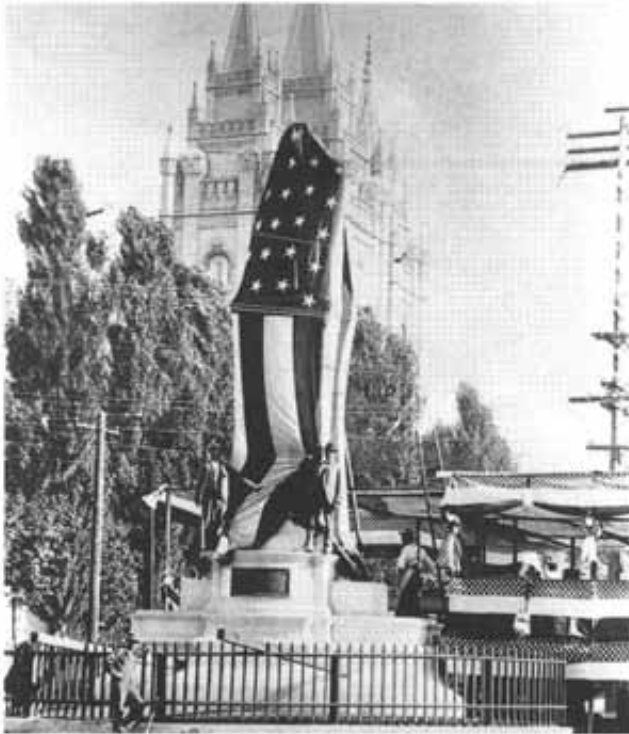
To put the single figure of President Young upon a large unadorned pedestal, as you design, would be manifestly inappropriate and would not only hurt me, but might seriously endanger the final completion of the Monument.

Human nature is human nature, and those who have contributed to this Monument will be critical of any defects they find and I feel assured that this proposed action would bring down ridicule, not only upon me, but as well as yourselves. I cannot for these most substantial reasons, sanction this proposition of yours¹³

¹¹ "Journal History" May 27, 1897, June 3, 1897; *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 7, 1895.

¹² "Journal History," May 26, 1897, June 3, 1897.

¹³ Cyrus E. Dallin to Heber M. Wells, May 12, 1897, Brigham Young Memorial Association papers, LDS Church Archives.



AT LEFT: The monument was draped in an American flag before its unveiling. OPPOSITE PAGE: Thousands gathered to watch as the statue of Brigham Young, standing atop the unfinished monument, was unveiled on July 20, 1897.

Pressed to collect the needed funds and confident that the dedication of the unfinished monument would bring in more funds, the association ignored Dallin's wishes. A contract was entered into on June 6, 1897, with Watson Brothers to complete the granite pedestal at the intersection of Main and South Temple streets. A five-day Utah Pioneer Jubilee celebration had been planned, and the Brigham Young portion of the monument, standing on its new pedestal, was to be unveiled on the first day of the jubilee, July 20, 1897.¹⁴

As soon as the midnight hour tolled, veterans of the defunct Nauvoo Legion (Utah Territorial Militia) started the jubilee on July 20 by firing six shots from a small brass howitzer. Then, at 7 a.m., the Legion fired eighteen shots from three guns. LDS pioneers who were still living assembled on Pioneer Square,¹⁵ where they were greeted with music from the Dimick B. Huntington Martial Band and the Twenty-fourth Infantry Band. At 10 a.m., 318 pioneers marched east on 300 South and then turned north on Main Street. Cheered by crowds on the street, the procession headed toward the Brigham Young statue at the intersection of Main and South Temple streets.

The statue stood wrapped in an American flag on its new pedestal. Behind the statue a platform to accommodate the pioneers had been erected six feet high and covered with an awning. Sitting in the front of the platform was LDS church president Wilford Woodruff, who was the oldest living pioneer, his counselors, the Quorum of the Twelve, Governor Heber

¹⁴ Watson Brothers' contract, 1897, Brigham Young Memorial Association papers.

¹⁵ Pioneer Square, between 300 and 400 South and 300 and 400 West, is now called Pioneer Park.



Wells, Bishop Lawrence Scanlan of the Catholic church, and Judge John M. Zane. When recent presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan arrived, the crowd stirred with enthusiasm.

At 11 a.m., Orson F. Whitney read the dedicatory prayer prepared by President Woodruff, and then the Tabernacle Choir sang "Ode to the Pioneers," an anthem with words by Orson F. Whitney and music by Evan Stephens. James H. Moyle presented the monument to the state, stating that the remaining figures would be added to the monument in due time. President Woodruff then arose and said, "In the name of God, I now unveil this monument." The stars and stripes fell away, revealing the lone statue of Brigham Young. Cheers arose and a cannon boomed.¹⁶

Even though a telegram written in Paris by Cyrus Dallin was read to convey his "Best Wishes," Dallin was unhappy about the situation. He wrote the Brigham Young Memorial Association in February 1898:

Since the unveiling of the Brigham Young Statue in July 1897, (against my protestation) the monthly payments due me have ceased (in fact before then) and I wish to call your attention to the fact that you have broken your contract with me. It is now six months since I received the last word from you.... I am a poor man and am dependent on my work for my livelihood.¹⁷

In September 1899 Dallin traveled to Salt Lake City to meet with the association and the LDS First Presidency. In the meeting he made it clear

¹⁶"Journal History," July 20, 1897, 2-6. James Moyle, a member of the Brigham Young Memorial Association, was called in at the last minute to take the place of the president of the association, James Sharp. I have not been able to determine why Sharp was unable to attend. Moyle explained in his speech that he was very unprepared for the occasion.

¹⁷Cyrus E. Dallin to Brigham Young Memorial Association, February 27, 1898, Brigham Young Memorial Association papers.

that he had been against the 1897 unveiling and had warned the association that the people would lose interest in the monument after such an unveiling. His warning seemed to be coming true. The delay in the monument's completion had been due to the slow process of collecting funds. Since the Brigham Young statue had not yet been completely paid for, Dallin threatened to remove the statue or "cover it from public gaze."¹⁸ His directness and persistence paid off. The association told him to finish the monument and gave him \$5,000 in cash to continue his work. Up until that point, Dallin had only received \$12,500, half of his contracted fee.¹⁹

The remaining bronze figures for the monument were finally completed and shipped from the Henry Bonnard Bronze Company in New York to Salt Lake City in June 1900. The unveiling ceremonies of 1900 were brief and simple compared to the 1897 jubilee unveiling. President Woodruff had died in 1898, and Lorenzo Snow was now president of the LDS church. President Snow's poor health prevented him from attending the ceremony, but his counselors, George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, as well as many LDS apostles and civic leaders, were in attendance. Utah Secretary of State James T. Hammond was a special guest.

Cannon gave the first speech, stating, "I am not much of a believer in monuments, for I think that men and their good deeds should live in memory; but this present monument is a very proper one." He was followed by James T. Hammond, who said he did not believe in the worship of a monument but thought the accomplishment that it represented was the thing to be revered. Hammond was followed by Cyrus Dallin, who stated, "Art of every kind is simply the realization that beauty lies around us on every hand, and the artist is only he who possibly realizes more fully this truth, and he only becomes an artist in trying to reveal this truth to his fellow man." He also said, "I feel somewhat as though I were exposing some early sin, and I only regret that I could not do it over again as I am confident I could do it better."²⁰

Dallin was unsatisfied with the completed monument. As he had predicted earlier, the measurements of the granite shaft were inaccurate, and the bronze bas-relief of the pioneer group did not cover the granite. He asked the association to cut off fifteen inches of the shaft and add a bronze plate to the top of the relief to carry the bronze to the cap. Dallin's wishes were once again ignored.²¹

Unfortunately, the completion of the monument in 1900 did not bring

¹⁸ Cyrus E. Dallin to Heber M. Wells, Boston, July 29, 1899, Brigham Young Memorial Association papers.

¹⁹ By July 1900 the association had whittled its debt to Dallin down to \$5,336.05. The association then set up a regular payment plan with Dallin to pay him the remainder over a three-year period at eight percent interest. As late as January 17, 1902, an editorial in the *Deseret News* called on the Saints to donate funds to clear the debt of the Brigham Young Monument. As donations came in they were reported in the *Deseret News*. Funds continued to come in from members of LDS wards and stakes as late as January 1904, and the association managed to pay off its debts; see Memorial Association papers.

²⁰ *Deseret Evening News*, July 24, 1900.

²¹ Cyrus E. Dallin to Heber M. Wells, March 10, 1901, Brigham Young Memorial Association papers.



an end to controversy. The question of who owned the monument was raised several times during the next hundred years. Some said Salt Lake City owned it. Others said the association had presented the monument to the people of Utah. Still others claimed that the LDS church owned the monument.²²

A group gathers at the base of the completed monument soon after the dedication on July 24, 1900.

In early November 1917, the Manufacturers Association of Utah took literally the suggestion that the monument belonged to *all* the people of Utah by placing a “flashy electric sign” on the monument that blinked the words “I am for Utah,” the slogan for Utah Products Week. Even after the public called it “vandalism” and “desecration,” the association strung a chain of lights from Brigham Young’s outstretched hand to “the blazing sign below.” However, the *Deseret News* printed a scathing editorial on November 10, denouncing the placement of the sign, and the sign was removed by November 12.²³

The rise of the automobile brought more controversy. Because the monument was located in the busiest intersection in the city, it was considered a menace to traffic. In 1929 the Salt Lake Rotary Club requested the removal of the monument, and a public argument began that one *Salt Lake Tribune* reporter said resembled “a tempest in a teapot.” Governor George H. Dern wanted the monument placed on Utah’s Capitol Hill where it could be surrounded by flower gardens and where the public could view it up close. The Sugar House Business Men’s League offered a site in Sugar House.²⁴

In July 1929 two organizations met to oppose the removal of the monument. The Brigham Young Family Association, made up of Brigham Young’s descendants, met in the Hotel Utah and “by an overwhelming majority” voted to “vigorously oppose” the removal of the monument. The

²² The Brigham Young Memorial Association had operated under the direction of the LDS First Presidency, and the monument was funded by donations from LDS wards and stakes.

²³ *Deseret News*, November 10 and 12, 1917.

²⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 15, July 2, July 27, 1929.

Daughters of Utah Pioneers (DUP) also met and “unanimously protested” against any effort at removal. The matter made its way to George P. Parker, state attorney general, who concluded that the site had been dedicated for the monument and it could not be legally moved without a majority vote of the people. The matter was put to rest for the time being.²⁵

On July 6, 1951, the Salt Lake Traffic Commission made the mistake of again bringing up the monument move. J. M. Bamberger of the Engineering Committee of the Salt Lake Traffic Commission tried to steer the commission away from moving the monument and toward simply reducing the size of its base. However, the Traffic Commission declared that the monument would eventually have to be moved; why not now? Bamberger answered that he had met with the president of the Brigham Young Family Association. “The association,” he said, “is not opposed to remodeling the base of the monument.” Bamberger was aware that a suggested move could stir emotions and ruin negotiations for reducing the base, but the naive commissioners insisted on stirring up the hornets’ nest all over again.²⁶

Opponents to moving the monument went on the defensive. They included the Brigham Young Family Association, the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, the Sons of Utah Pioneers, Mayor Earl J. Glade, and officials of the LDS church. Kate B. Carter of the DUP said, “I think I speak in behalf of every woman in my organization when I say that we don’t want it moved. Other cities, bigger than ours, preserve their historic buildings and monuments.” She said she had on file in the DUP thousands of signatures of people who in 1929 had opposed moving the monument.²⁷

“The National Sons of the Utah Pioneers organization is absolutely against it,” said SUP president Fred E. Curtis. “We feel they already have destroyed too much of pioneer history in this city and state.” Mayor Earl J. Glade said that the monument was “a large part of the trademark” of Salt Lake City, and “you take away that monument out of the intersection, and you take away a large part of Salt Lake City.”

The Brigham Young Family Association met and looked at drawings of how the monument would look on the southeast corner of Temple Square. After reviewing the possible locations, the association voted to oppose a move. Howard R. Driggs, president of the American Pioneer Trails Association, said, “It’s absurd—plain ridiculous, to think of moving the Brigham Young Monument.”

Leaders of the LDS church were mixed in their feelings. “They say it now is a traffic hazard,” said Joseph F. Merrill of the Quorum of the Twelve. “If that is the case, it should be removed.” He believed it should be moved

²⁵ *Deseret News*, July 9, August 9, 1929; *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 15, 1929.

²⁶ *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 6, 1951.

²⁷ *Deseret News*, July 7, 1951.

inside Temple Square to attract more tourists to the square. However, Harold B. Lee, also of the Quorum of the Twelve, said:

Of course, this has been an oft-discussed question. The monument serves as a perfect traffic guide, and should remain where it is. I don't think it is a traffic hazard. This has been reviewed time and time again—when I was in the city commission and later. It was the opinion then that it was no traffic hazard but served as a traffic guide. It is no different now.

Levi Edgar Young, president of the LDS Council of Seventy and a member of the board of the Utah State Historical Society agreed, saying, "Such spiritual things should be first in the minds of people. To me, the monument stands not only as an ideal for those people who come here to see it, but as a sort of a safety center. I'm opposed to moving it."

Finally, the LDS church-owned *Deseret News* came out against moving the monument. "Certainly," said the *News* in an editorial, "one of the most shocking notions that has ever been born of an excess of zeal is the short-sighted proposal which has been informally launched by some of the members of Salt Lake City's advisory Traffic Commission." The *News* went on to say that the suggestion was like proposing that Independence Hall or the Washington Monument be moved to a more convenient location.²⁸ A stunned Traffic Commission quickly backed down on the idea of moving the monument, and it would be another five years before anyone would seriously bring up the subject again.

Perhaps if the commission had listened to J. M. Bamberger they could have negotiated trimming the base sooner than they eventually did. In 1955 Salt Lake City officials approached the LDS First Presidency, who were presumed to hold the deed to the Brigham Young Monument, about trimming the base of the monument to aid the traffic flow at the intersection of Main and South Temple streets. The First Presidency agreed to the change, and the Salt Lake City Commission appropriated \$2,225 for the work.²⁹ By March 1956, the *New York Times* reported that the city had chipped fourteen feet from the base and had paved around the statue. This action was taken despite an outcry from pedestrians who stated that the base provided an "island of safety in a sea of traffic."³⁰ Because the monument was not being moved, however, the action did not elicit the opposition that the 1951 proposal had.

The monument existed in relative peace for another fifteen years, until traffic congestion and pollution became major issues in downtown Salt Lake City. In 1973 the Environmental Protection Agency mandated that Salt Lake City adopt a strategy to reduce air pollution, and the city decided to reduce traffic downtown by turning Main Street into a pedestrian-friendly shopping and business district. A \$2.8 million Main Street Beauti-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, July 7, 12, 13, 1951.

²⁹ *Church News*, October 15, 1955.

³⁰ *New York Times*, March 11, 1956.



Reducing the base of the monument in 1956. The stone eagle and beehive at the lower right are decorations at the top of one of four lightposts installed in 1947. Located on the intersection's corners, these were specially placed to light the monument.

fication project was launched. As part of that project, in 1975 the city built a large base around the monument that included water fountains on the east and west ends. The base extended across Main Street and made through-traffic impossible. Planners believed that the base would cut down on traffic and thus reduce pollution, but the intersection remained congested as new businesses moved into the downtown area.³¹

However, the large base made it possible for pedestrians to get a close look at the monument, and this brought up yet another controversy. A plaque on the monument listed the pioneers of 1847, including three men labeled as "colored servants." At a Salt Lake City Council meeting in April 1975 Commissioner Stephen M. Harmsen said that the wording on the plaque could be "an embarrassment to our city," and he suggested removing the phrase beside the men's names.

Letters came out protesting any change as an attempt to alter history. "Why should anyone try to change or alter or camouflage what really occurred?" one citizen asked. "To evade, avoid, or deny the proven fact of history tends to undermine the credibility of those who made the record in the first place, which is manifestly unfair to them." Mrs. Bertha Udell, granddaughter to one of the men listed as a "colored servant," said, "I hate to bring up the word 'slave,' but that is what he was. I would just as soon they left well enough alone." In the end, that's exactly what "they" did.³²

On April 11, 1978, the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce stirred up another hornets' nest by proposing the relocation of the Brigham Young Monument from the intersection of Main and South Temple streets to a spot directly in front of the temple on Main Street. The \$100,000 plan

³¹ *Deseret News*, May 17, 1980.

³² *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 14 and 24, 1975.

called for a mini-park around the monument, but it did not indicate who would foot the bill. According to the chamber, the plan had been privately hammered out by LDS church officials, city officials, and the chamber. A primary reason for the proposal was the Crossroads Plaza shopping mall that was to be built on the block south of Temple Square. The mall was expected to dramatically increase traffic at the intersection of Main and South Temple, causing more downtown congestion and pollution.³³

Letters to the editor in Salt Lake City's two major newspapers expressed the public's strong emotional response to the announcement. Many citizens were in favor of the move, citing the city's traffic and pollution problems. Others believed that a move would make the monument more accessible to the public, giving people an opportunity to read the inscriptions on the plaques as they stood on a red brick walkway that the chamber proposed to place around the monument.³⁴

One citizen thought the move would put an end to "snide and satirical remarks" that had been made about the monument's location for many years. This concerned citizen was, no doubt, referring to the irreverent jingle that had sprung from the fact that the temple was behind Brigham Young and Zion's Bank stood before him.

There stands Brigham
High on his perch
With his hand to the bank
And his back to the church.³⁵

The new proposal would put Brigham's back to the corner grocery store³⁶ and his hand toward the Hotel Utah.

However, the proposal to move the monument seemed to bring out more opponents than supporters. Opponents ridiculed the city for spending \$130,000 in 1975 to expand the monument's base, only to turn around and destroy the base three years later. They also scoffed at the city's contention that a smaller base would reduce pollution, when in 1975 the city had argued that an expanded base would do the same thing.

One citizen attacked the idea that the monument was causing traffic congestion, saying that "the real traffic snag isn't Brigham, it's the stupid way the lights are set up."³⁷ Others appealed to the community's sense of tradition, historic preservation, and heritage. "Would the people of Paris move the Eiffel Tower to make way for more traffic?" one woman asked. Another wrote, "We, who are trying to save some of our monuments and landmarks, are not only called preservationists, but obstructionists, but we are the ones with real vision." This opponent went on to explain that cities

³³ Ibid., April 13, 1978.

³⁴ Ibid., April 26, 1978.

³⁵ *Deseret News*, April 27, June 1, 1978.

³⁶ The Temple View Market, later Mormon Handicraft.

³⁷ *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 29, 1978.

with rich traditions of preservation are also rich in tourism.³⁸

Coming out in support of the monument move, the *Salt Lake Tribune* disputed the preservationist view by stating, "Moving the monument will not mock history nor will it detract from the statue's utility. Preservation ideals and the urgent demands of a growing society are both satisfied by the Chamber of Commerce proposal." The *Tribune's* argument was that the monument was placed at the intersection for "no discernible reason of historical significance."³⁹ The *Deseret News* also came out in favor of the move, stating that "few people were ever more foresighted or more receptive to constructive change than was Brigham Young."⁴⁰

But many argued that the newspapers and other supporters were missing the point. "Why do the business community, Chamber of Commerce, press, city commissioners and other powerful organizations feel they need always move or tear down our historic landmarks in order to build something new?" one concerned citizen asked. "The point instead," another wrote, "is that the distinctive and human qualities of our city should not be subverted to the convenience of the automobile."⁴¹ One poet, Paul Cracroft, waxed eloquent:

That hand, if it were cast again in flesh
Instead of bronze, would form a fist against
Designs and men who call for monuments
To yield to Mammon, money and the mute
But strident hiss of gold....
Why cage that silent lion who in life
Strode stage and pulpit openly so men
Could see and judge him at his work and play?⁴²

Even in the camp that wanted the monument moved there was disagreement. Everyone had an opinion on where it should be moved, and the ideas varied widely: Temple Square, the LDS Church Office Building plaza, a site near West and North Temple streets, the state capitol grounds, and the Daughters of Utah Pioneers museum at the head of Main Street. It was déjà vu going all the way back to 1897.

George Cannon Young, a grandson of Brigham Young, said he was "shocked to read" that the chamber and the church supported a plan to make the temple the backdrop to the monument. As architect of the Church Office Building and plaza, he said he had had to "strive to preserve that unobstructed view" of the temple when designing the plaza. He was against moving the monument in front of the temple on Main Street. Another person urged that the monument be moved to Utah's Capitol Hill so that Salt Lake would not be getting rid of "brother Brigham simply

³⁸ *Ibid.*, May 9, 1978.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1978.

⁴⁰ *Deseret News*, April 14, 1978.

⁴¹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 9 and 10, 1978.

⁴² *Deseret News*, April 26, 1978.

because he is in the way." A move to the state capitol grounds, he explained, "would be placing the first citizen of our history in the premier position of honor at our seat of government."⁴³

As the fight dragged on, opponents pulled out every weapon at their disposal. Supporters of the move cited traffic studies, including a report that between 1975 and 1978 thirty-six accidents had occurred at the intersection of Main and South Temple streets, 30 percent of them caused by the statue. Supporters also predicted that the 17,000 vehicles using the intersection in 1978 would increase to 29,000 by 1983. They also cited the backing they had from the Salt Lake Valley Traffic Advisory Council, the Salt Lake Planning Commission, the LDS church, and the Brigham Young Family Association. The LDS church, however, largely stayed out of the fight, and many members of the Brigham Young Family Association voiced opposition, not support, stating that they had not been consulted on the matter.⁴⁴

Opponents challenged the city's legal right to move the statue. George Cannon Young said, "I don't believe the city has a legal or moral right to take this action. The Brigham Young Monument belongs to all the people, not just the city." The next day he was quoted as saying, "Nowhere in the county records can be found a deed of ownership for the monument. The people own it."⁴⁵ The opposition's best weapon, however, was a *Salt Lake Tribune* poll conducted by Bardsley and Haslacher, Inc., showing that 60 percent of Salt Lakers disagreed with the proposal to move the monument.⁴⁶

As the fight continued, citizens came up with more creative ideas to settle the matter. One man suggested mounting the monument on wheels so it could be moved about without a fuss. Another suggested relocating it to the corner of the intersection and making Brigham's arms moveable so he could direct traffic.⁴⁷

Like their predecessors in the 1950s, city officials were stunned by the determination and strength of the opposition. Planning Commissioner I. J. Wagner, a chief backer of the proposal to move the monument, said, "I feel like I ought to get a black hat and black horse. I feel like a villain." After listening to opponents' passionate arguments, one member of the city planning commission said, "Cars should just have to work around it...traffic plans should have to work around it. Like the Grand Canyon, it's there."⁴⁸

In the end the city council voted against moving the monument, commenting that the automobile had become "a Frankenstein" and that the monument should not be "sacrificed for convenient traffic management." Following the exact course of their 1956 predecessors, city officials waited

⁴³ *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 28 and May 6, 1978.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, April 27 and 28, 1978.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, April 27 and 28, 1978.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, October 14, 1979.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, May 10, 1978, October 27, 1979.

⁴⁸ *Deseret News*, April 28, 1978.

several months for emotions to cool and then worked out a quiet plan in 1980 to trim the large base added in 1975. As the base and water fountains disappeared in 1980 the *Deseret News*, picking up on the pattern, asked, "Will the city and its citizens have another go at the monument in 1985?"⁴⁹

Not much happened with the monument in 1985, but there was a small ripple in 1989. On November 15 and 16 the Salt Lake City Planning Commission held open meetings to discuss plans for the future of downtown. One of the items discussed was a move of the Brigham Young Monument. "Everything we do to try to fix things on the north end, the monument is always in the way," said Doug Dansie, downtown planner for the city. While traffic flow was a major issue, meeting participants also discussed the monument's hindrance to a future light-rail transit up Main Street and plans for a well-defined LDS church campus that would include the closure of Main Street between North and South Temple. The possibility of moving the statue into this closed area was discussed.

In an opinion piece in the *Deseret News*, Dennis Lythgoe responded by stating, "Anything that is almost 100 years old should be considered untouchable." He went on to write, "While reading the inscription would be nice, the overriding need is to have Brigham stand in a place of authority, so that he can preside over the city. He belongs in that intersection—in the center of action. Let's leave him alone." Since the meetings of the planning commission were "informal meetings" to generate ideas, and since no immediate action or decisions were made, little controversy came from the discussions. Certainly the response was nothing compared to the 1978 debates.⁵⁰

The monument sat quietly at the intersection of Main and South Temple streets for three years, until a brash new mayor came to office in 1992. Deedee Corradini became known for her head-on, sometimes abrasive, way of getting things done in Salt Lake City. She balanced the budget, obtained the sleek Franklin Quest baseball field in eighteen months, and went out of town to hire city department heads. She also worked quickly and quietly behind the scenes to have the Brigham Young Monument moved. Negotiations began between Salt Lake City and the LDS church in late 1992; according to Mayor Corradini, the LDS church initiated the meetings. The Brigham Young Family Association was brought into the discussions, and Truman Clawson, president of the association and a great-grandson of Brigham Young, later said that family members "had plenty of input."⁵¹ From the negotiations came a compromise between city officials and the Young family. Rather than move the monument in front of the Salt Lake Temple on Main Street as was proposed in 1978, the group decided to

⁴⁹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 18, 1978; *Deseret News*, May 18, 1978, May 17, 1980.

⁵⁰ *Deseret News*, November 14, 16, 21, 1989.

⁵¹ *Daily Universe*, May 25, 1993; *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 28, 1993.

move the statue eighty-two feet north, between the newly remodeled Hotel Utah (renamed the Joseph Smith Memorial Building) and the southeast corner of Temple Square. This satisfied the city by getting the monument out of the intersection, and it satisfied the Young family by keeping the monument in a prominent location. Former Mayor Ted Wilson, who had been involved in the heated 1978 monument debates, said, "I think [moving the statue eighty-two feet north] was a brilliant solution. I wish we had thought of it."⁵²

The monument was dismantled and removed on October 25, 1993. But before it was placed in its new location it was taken indoors for refurbishment. The old patina was taken off with a low-pressure spray of glass beads. Chemicals were then used to darken the statues, and they were coated with a bronze lacquer that contained an ultraviolet inhibitor to block out damaging sunlight. Finally, they were waxed with a natural carnauba wax and buffed. The reconditioned monument was placed in its new location on November 15.⁵³

"We woke up one morning and Brigham was gone," said Jay Evensen, a *Deseret News* editorial writer. Carl Kates wrote of the move in *Salt Lake City* magazine: "No public protest ensued; indeed, almost nobody cared. Voilé [*sic*]. Mission accomplished. Government as it was meant to be." The *Deseret News* called the move "uncharacteristically quiet," and the *Salt Lake Tribune* stated that it was the kind of outcome "Utah's founder would have appreciated." While some called Corradini naive and declared that her abrasive manner had alienated her from her party and city officials, her naive pushiness managed to accomplish something that city officials had been discussing for nearly a hundred years, and she achieved it with virtually no controversy.⁵⁴

"Except for a vocal neighborhood activist, most people haven't seemed at all concerned about the statue's relocation," said Catherine Hofmann, director of Salt Lake Public Services. The "activist" Hofmann was referring to was Hermoine Jex, a member of the Capitol Hill Neighborhood Council. The lack of public comment and seeming ease with which the monument was moved concerned Jex. "Why was the early notification ordinance violated and no councils notified?" she asked. "Why no public hearings? Is this a prelude to the eventual closure of North Main between North and South Temple?"⁵⁵

As Jex suggested, the move was indeed part of a larger plan by the LDS

⁵² *Deseret News*, November 12, 1993.

⁵³ *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 26, 1993; *Church News*, November 20, 1993.

⁵⁴ Carl Kates, "The Mayor's Brand of Politics," *Salt Lake City*, September-October 1995, 38-40; *Deseret News*, November 12, 1993; *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 10, 1993.

⁵⁵ *Deseret News*, October 22, 1993. There was another controversy here as well. As the plaques on the monument became more accessible to pedestrians, Jeanetta Williams, the local NAACP chapter president, was concerned about the reference to three "colored servants." Williams wanted the plaque amended to clarify that the three men were African Americans who were slaves. No action was ever taken on this (see *Deseret News*, November 12, 1993).

church to acquire Main Street between South Temple and North Temple streets and turn it into a pedestrian mall that would link Temple Square with the Church Office Building plaza. This plan would result in the monument being on church property in the pedestrian plaza.

On April 13, 1999, Salt Lake City Council members voted 5-2, along Mormon/non-Mormon lines to sell two acres of Main Street between Temple Square and the Church Office Building plaza to the LDS church for \$8.1 million. The city maintained a public easement on the property but approved certain "easement restrictions." The restrictions, to be enforced by LDS church security, included a ban on loud music, drinking, smoking, and passing out propaganda on the property. The LDS church, however, maintained the rights to broadcast conference speeches and Mormon Tabernacle Choir performances in the plaza and to distribute LDS literature there.

On April 27, the deed was transferred to the church, and the city's twenty-four-hour easement restrictions were recorded. The American Civil Liberties Union promised to fight the restrictions, claiming that they violated First Amendment rights. The ACLU contended that U.S. courts do not allow cities to restrict rights on property while maintaining public easements on that property. Salt Lake City officials contended that the LDS church now owned the property and could do whatever it wanted there. The city pointed out that forty-nine streets in Salt Lake City had been sold since 1986, many of them to churches. The Main Street property, according to the city, should be like any other private property with the property owner given the right to establish restrictions.⁵⁶

At the beginning of 2000, the year when the monument to Brigham Young and the pioneers would celebrate its one hundredth anniversary, it sat behind construction walls with a deep hole behind it as the LDS church continued to build an underground parking garage. In its new setting the monument sat, as it was accustomed to, in controversy as the ACLU continued its lawsuit against Salt Lake City for selling Main Street with easement restrictions. Whether the monument will face another hundred years of controversy remains to be seen.

⁵⁶ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 18, 1999.

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