HOME RULE.

The Report on the Bill by the House Committee Recommends its Passage.

THE TERRITORIAL SYSTEM AN ANOMALY.

Showing Tribute Paid to Utah and Its People.

ITS HIGH EDUCATIONAL STATUS.—VAST RESOURCES.—ENTERPRISE AND INTELLIGENCE OF ITS POPULATION.

Men Fitted For Full Self-Government.—The Report Does the Creditor Credit.—It is a Generous and Statesmanlike Document.

[Special to the *Herald*] Washington, D. C., March 30th, 1892.

Mr. Joseph E. Washington, the chairman of the House territories committee, has finished the majority report on the House Utah bill. It is quite voluminous and is made up largely of statistics showing the social and political conditions and the population and material resources of Utah Territory. The chairman treats the subject in a spirit so broad and liberal that its citizens of Utah, however radically he may differ from him, can fail to be flattered by what he says.

REASONS FOR RECOMMENDING ITS PASSAGE.

He begins by saying that his committee has had the House Utah bill under favorable consideration and that they herewith report it back to the House with the recommendation that it be passed. Continuing, the chairman says:

"Given the resources and the people qualified for self-government, there was no argument known to our revolutionary ancestors which could prevent the people of the right to order its own affairs. A territorial government is an anomaly in our political relationship, a thing which the founders of this republic never contemplated as a permanency. If they contemplated it at all. When it was established it was for the purpose of maintaining order until the local community should grow and develop into a county compact to be admitted a State when the political establishment existing by them should become an integral part of the Union.

"This is the well established to require argument. The community which is qualified for statehood seeks only an opportunity to demonstrate its capacity for self-government by its statement, presents an appeal to which Congress cannot close its ears without sustaining the theory and the well-established principles of local institutions."

FIELDS FACTS AND FIGURES ABOUT UTAH.

"Utah has been peculiarly the subject of Federal control, for she has grown into a Territory which in all the essentials of population, growth and character, by all simply justify the grant of the local measure of political power which the bill seeks to vest in her people. The Territory has a population of 207,905 as shown by the census of 1890, and an area of 84,476 square miles.

At this point two tables are introduced which are taken from the governor's report of 1891, and which explain the way this area has been taken up and in part used. The report says:

"From the same source it is learned that the assessed valuation of all property last year, personal, exclusive of mines and lands, was for the year 1891, $21,145,088.23. The assessed valuation of the incorporated towns and cities was $85,341,981.37 and the indebtedness of the same $1,231,100.36, the greater part of which, or $1,250,000, constitutes the debt of the prosperous cities of Salt Lake and Ogden, the first of which has an assessed taxable list of $17,203,695 and the latter a taxable list of $13,210,000. This leaves an indebtedness of $81,110,881.01 resting upon investment towns which have taxable values amounting to $8,134,300.00, the twenty-six towns remaining having no debts whatever, but having taxable lists amounting to $3,336,155.07. The bonded indebtedness of the Territory is over $924,000 bearing 5 per cent. interest.

A TYPICAL AMERICAN PEOPLE.

"As the statistics clearly show, the Territory is the home of a typical American people, people with the energy and pioneering the enterprise which have made this beautiful commonwealth country the habitation of industry, refinement and wealth. For the year ending June 30, 1891, there were started or under contract for erection in the cities and towns of the Territory 2,600 dwellings of the value of $2,340,420, 130 business houses of the value of $1,134,900, a total value in buildings of $3,475,420."

Then follows an interesting analysis showing in detail the expenditure for public and private buildings in 1890, the number of industrial concerns established in 1890, and the capital invested therein; the number of acres of all lands in the Territory, the assessed value of the various farm products of the Territory including live stock and the various mines.

Under the head of

WHO PEOPLE AND THEIR OCCUPATION.

the report says: "The 206,000 people of Utah are permanent residents of the Territory, identified with its interests and fixed in their habitations. They are not nomades or itinerants. They have their homes in the towns, cities, productive mining camps and on the productive farms which they have opened and developed. Much attention is being given to the cause of education, and the school system of the Territory gives promise of great development and usefulness. The city of Ogden has longed beside the amount of $100,000 for the purpose of building sectional school houses. From capital No. 5 of the addition to the Constitution, incorporated in the governor's last message, it appears that a Territory and district school tax amounting to $124,565.21 was levied for the benefit of the common free schools in the year 1891. Notwithstanding the remarkable growth, Utah has its due proportion of government and denominational schools. Only about 3 per cent. of the people of Utah are illiterate, and this fact, considered in connection with the educational facilities of the Territory and the ambitious character of its people, is ample assurance of one of the most essential characteristics of good citizenship. But the aim of citizenship in Utah is not merely to reduce the number of those who are technically denominated illiterate, but to give to the public the same training and learning that may be had in the best schools in the east, and therefore the course of study includes not only the usual and ordinary branches but extends to the higher grades to take distinguish the courses in the schools of the older communities."

After showing that the total amount invested in educational establishments in Utah is $1,138,141, the report continues:

CAUSE OF PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY.

"The results exhibited and the prosperity which they indicate have been brought about by the intelligence and energy of the people of Utah, in spite of adverse conditions, and the rule of a necessarily harsh government which these conditions produced. The Territory was settled by the Mormon people in 1847, and the first territorial government was organized in 1850. The Mormons had not long practiced polygamy from the time of the settlement until a recent date. Within this long period Congress passed many laws, which were intended to meet the peculiar conditions existing in the territory, most of which conditions were due to the teaching and practice of the Mormon Church, and to the fanatic resolve to by the Mormon people, to preserve their institutions.

THE PEOPLE DESIRED SELF-GOVERNMENT.

"Your committee does not deem it necessary to review in detail this long process of stringent legislation, but in the main to confine this part of its report to the more recent experiments made in the present status of the government in the Territory. From this it may readily be seen that Utah is the victim of a system which involves vital principles of government and which is wholly subversive of their present attitude and disposition towards the Constitution and the laws. This Territory should be an exception to the rule of the general government, which is an exception to the rule of our country with. The Organic Act of the Territory vested in the governor the absolute and unquestioned authority to veto every act of the legislature by whatever majority enacted, and from that veto there was no appeal. The will of the people even unanimously expressed could be thwarted by the act of a single officer and by generally one not a citizen of the Territory.

"Demurrable as this condition of affairs may now appear to those who have been accustomed to regard a public office as a mere servant of the people, this provision of the law is to have today, and the governor of Utah may now, as always, defeat any measure passed by the people's representatives merely by interposing his objection, more dangerous perhaps to its possibilities than its exercise down to this time. The power is exercised by one which is wholly inconsistent with the most cherished principles of a free government, and there is not waiting instances of the exercise which flagrantly illustrate its pernicious character. Without reflecting upon anyone who has felt it his duty to use this instrument, your committee calls attention to the following cases in which the responsibility has been taken: In 1886, the governor refused to sign the general appropriation bill, although for two years the whole machinery of the Territory was required to be suspended in south.

"The act creating the Utah commission contemplated the dissolution of that body upon the passage by the legislature of a bill of proper character was, now the date of the passage of such law the governor has, upon more than one occasion, prevented their going into effect, and has thus continued the existence of the commission. The last legislature of this Territory sent its memorials to Congress for relief against the action of the governor's veto of a bill making an appropriation for the representation of Utah at the World's Fair; of an election law and others which had passed by the representatives of the people. These are but instances, and are a catalogue of the governor's vetoes.

RELATING TO THE UTAH COMMISSION.

"The Utah commission, a body of five men, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, was created by the ninth section of the act of March 22, 1882, to act as an election board, and the object of its creation was the enforcement of the laws existing the polygamous from the exercise of the elective franchise. Its power is to appoint registrars and judges of elections, and receive their returns. It is a board of nonresidents to control the machinery of local elections. It is a significant fact that there has never been a conviction of a Mormon for a violation of the laws which this body is supposed to enforce since the establishment of the board in March 1, 1882. The government has paid in salaries to its members $241,908.91, and for contingent expenses of the board $105,194.52, and for commissioner and assistant commissioner and examiners of elections $135,412.14, a total of $482,515.57.

THE STATUTES ACCOMPLISHED THEIR PURPOSE.

"The justification of the statutes which have been applied to Utah are that they have destroyed the political influence of the Mormon Church. The statutes have accomplished their purposes and there is no danger of a return to the continuance of the existing system of government."

The chairman here quotes from section 13 of the constitution adopted in 1877, declaring polygamy to be a misdemeanor, and continues as follows:

ABLATION OF SOVEREIGNTY.

"To this constitution and admission under it the objection was urged that the declaration of the Mormon concerning polygamy might not be true, and if they were not, the court then making the section inevitable would be of no avail to prevents return to the practice. The Mormon candidates for statehood had never since the adoption of that constitution polygamy but had only been practical, for that it has been discontinued by the Church, and, to date, only one association of a Mormon has taken place since that time. The authority of the Church promptly disclaimed responsibility for violation of the law."

He next quotes at length from the statement made by Mr. F. S. Richards before the Senate territorial committee on the 19th of February regarding the basis of the labors of that committee, and he follows this with a brief quotation from the last report of the Governor of Utah, who, referring to the manifesto of President Woodruff, says:

"I have no doubt that, as they have been led to believe, it is the best step by divine counsel, it will be received by the members of the Mormon Church as an authoritative rule of conduct, and that in effect the practice of polygamy is formally renounced by the people."

Commenting upon this, Chairman Washington says:

"In the face of such evidence as this, and from all causes of doubtful and Mormons, both political and official, there can be no longer a question as to the status of polygamy in the Territory. That institution has been abolished, and the laws relating to it are as strictly obeyed in Utah as in any other Territory or any State in the Union.

ANOTHER OBJECTION REMOVED.

"The second and most serious objection, so far as the government of the Territory was involved, was that the church assumed to control not only the religious but the political action of the people of Utah, and that for the purpose of political control it organized and managed a political party, composed in the main, if not entirely, of its people. This—the People's party—was by all parties and by the Mormon Church, and in the public mind, that there was no connection between the two. It was admitted that the People's party was a party of the Mormon people, organized to protect that people against the aggression of the Liberal party, but it was insisted that the church, as a church, had no authority over it, that its priests did not minister to the party.

THE DEATH OF THE CONTROVERSY.

"Confronted by the evidence of the People's party, are no material to the subject now under consideration, for that party ceased to exist nearly a year ago. Polygamy having been abolished, and the People's party having been dissolved, a large number of the leading Democrats and Republicans who had been associated in the Liberal party abandoned the organization and have since acted with the parties to which they respectively belonged. The governor says, in his report for 1891, as to the division of the people of Utah upon the usual party lines:

"It was to be expected that the determined policy of the general government in punishing the practice of polygamy, and in withdrawing from the people political privileges usually enjoyed by the people of other Territories, with the influence of our civilization, would gradually force the people to make a change, and that wherever the change should come it would lead to the organization of political parties. There is no doubt the mass of the Mormon people have been steadily hoping for such a change for many years, and have been waiting for the opportunity to step out from under the shadow which has so long darkened their homes. That they have remained passive so long is a sufficient proof of the force of the influence which religious belief has upon the minds and actions of men. I believe the mass of people have gone into the party movement in perfect sympathy, and that it is their present determination not to retract their steps."

Mr. Washington then says:

THE MORMON DIVISION POLITICALLY.

"The Mormon people have divided upon political issues, many of them going into each of the parties and many prominent members of the Liberal party have withdrawn and returned to their original allegiance, the last election in the Territory having been conducted along the lines which divide the Democratic and Republican parties, though the Liberal party maintained its organization and had a ticket before the people. The ground upon which this organization was and is maintained is a doubt as to the good faith of the people relative to polygamy and the dissolution of the People's party, both of which matters seem to be too recent to justify any doubt whatsoever.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL.

"The purpose of the bill is a simple one. It is to give to a large part of the American people a limited power of self-government. Under it the Congress will retain all invading authority and all rights. It does not seek to vest absolute power in the people, but only to afford them an opportunity to demonstrate their sincerity and their capacity to exercise their local affairs. Congress may at any time take of or control any act of the Territorial authorities. The bill is in no wise affects the Canada against polygamy. There is made in full force, and the only their enforcement is left where it now exists, save that the Territory is made a District of Utah, and the district court, which is the court, the judge of which is to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The jurisdiction of this court is preserved by the twenty-fourth section of the bill. It may be seen that the federal government will retain its present jurisdiction over offenses against these laws.

"The Legislature of Utah meets biennially and for the years in which it meets the cost to the federal government for territorial expenses is about $15,000 in 1891 it was $101,000 and the legislative expense being $21,000. The Utah commission and the contest of election cost annually about $50,000. In 1891 it cost $51,278.55. Under this bill, if it shouldn't become a law, the federal government will be

RELIEVED OF ALL EXPENSES

except for such officers as it would have if Utah were a State. That is to say, for the officers not necessary to the administration of justice through the United States district court, all other expense will be borne by the people of the Territory. The act creates three new judges of the Supreme court, three new judges of District courts, and an attorney-general. In place of the commissioner of schools it creates a superintendent of public instruction and makes all the officers elective, whereas under the present system the President appoints the governor, the judges and the secretary, the former of whom in turn appoints the treasurer and auditor, and the treasurer and auditor appoint the superintendent of schools. The act abolishes the Utah commission and vests the power of that body in the governor, the secretary and the three commissioners to select university lands in the Territory, subject, however, to the action of the legislature. It makes a different disposition of those lands. It also changes the existing law by permitting the legislature by a two-thirds vote of both branches to enact a law overwhelming the governor's veto, thereby, thus rendering the executive of an autocratic power.

UTAH QUALIFIED TO ENTER THE UNION.

"Your committee is thoroughly convinced of Utah's entire capacity for admission to the union with all the powers of full statehood, and its inference is a doubt which may soft rise in some quarters we report this measure, which moves to Congress to full jurisdiction over the Territory while establishing in Utah a government which differs in so that jurisdiction will permit is essentially like the governments of the various states. The enfranchise which your committee has conferred is entirely fair justified by the facts and conditions which are exhibited in the report, and certainly by the hearings which took place in the committee room, which hearings have been printed in full. Utah is shown to be entirely fit to assume statehood, many of which have been greatly developed, but the most of which lie dormant, awaiting the touch of enterprise which seeks only what we have given, the government of the people by the people is by both of the wealth which nature has provided, the people of the Territory are the farms, in the mines, and in the cities and towns have in spite of such repression made a strong, wealthy and refined community, which is in all the essentials of American citizenship is fairly comparable to any other community of equal population within our borders."

CAPABLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

"These people are capable of maintaining a government of their own, and there is no argument known to our constitution which would deprive them of the common right of the American people to self-government, which is adequate to prove the propriety of conferring upon the people of the whole country, through the general government, the national authority which is exercised which is at once unnecessary and unAmerican. We think, in view of these things, it is the plain duty of Congress to enact the bill set forth here, and your committee therefore recommends that the bill be passed."

LINCOLN'S LAST HOURS.

WHAT HE TOLD HIS WIFE BEFORE HE DECIDED NOT TO ATTEND THE WAR WAR OFFICE.

Boston Christian Leader: A letter on the religious character of President Lincoln by Mr. Minter, an old neighbor and friend of the president, contains some facts not heretofore known. We give its concluding: "It has been a matter of regret to good many men that in course in this tragic end in cork a place. But if the circumstances of his going there were fully known it might relieve their minds somewhat. It has been said that Mr. Lincoln urged her husband to go to the theatre against his will. This is not so. On the contrary, she tried to persuade him not to go, but he insisted. I have the statement from Mrs. Lincoln herself. He said: 'I need have a little rest. A large proportion of earthly and unjudged people will visit me tonight. My large nerves are now stretching hands with the multitude, and the people will be no in peace.' He went to the theatre, not because he was interested in the play, but because he was concerned and needed quiet and repose. Mr. Lincoln informed me that he meant to take no notice of what was going on in the theatre that night, and he adhered till the discharge of the fatal shot. He was overjoyed at the thought that the war was over and there would be no further destruction of life. He said the last day he lived was the happiest of his life. The very last memorials of his consciousness were spent in conversing with his wife about the future plans and what he wanted to do when his term of office expired. He said he wanted to visit the Holy Land and see the places hallowed by the face and footprints of the Savior. He said there was no city he so much desired to see as Jerusalem, and with this word half spoken on his tongue he passed from the jubilee of the assassin entered his brain and the soul of the great and good president departed."

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