

urged that its passage will speedily prepare the way. If this be the contention of the friends of the bill, then it is not wise, to demonstrate that fitness under existing foundations to which the people are adjusted, rather than to enter now upon an unsatisfactory form of abbreviated statehood, for which there is no precedent in the history of the country. But let us make a casual examination of the existing circumstances of the Territory.

"An anomalous condition of government has existed in Utah since the first settlement of the country. In a general way the history of the Territory is sufficiently well understood to render unnecessary anything like a detailed review of it here. It is also understood, and nowhere disputed, that the Church has fought to the last ditch for the preservation of its peculiar institution, and the authority under which that institution has been so stubbornly upheld. In a political sense the Territory has been divided into peculiar parties, organizations not elsewhere known — the People's party, the party of the Church, and the Liberal party, the party in opposition to Church dictation, and supporting the authority of the general government. These two parties, not to go further back, contested the election of 1890 for the delegateship in the House. The candidate of the People's party received 16,353 votes, the candidate of the Liberal party 6,912 votes. But last year the People's party formally dissolved, the reason alleged for such action being that the occasion for further existence had disappeared. In the election following, involving the Territorial Legislature, 28,030 votes were cast, 13,809 Democratic, 8785 Republicans, 7396 Liberals, and a few scattering. It will be noticed that the Liberals gained less than 500, while the Democrats and Republicans together gained more than 3000 votes. The figures indicate that the abandonment of the People's party left the real political situation in Utah practically unchanged."

THE MANIFESTO AND LOCAL PARTY DISSOLUTION.

The report next refers to the manifesto issued by President Woodruff in September, 1890, and continues:

"At the general conference of the Church in October following, the manifesto was accepted as authoritative and binding. At the general conference a year later, viz., in October, 1891, the manifesto was again introduced, a congregation of ten thousand or fifteen thousand people, it is said, being present. It was then resolved by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints that "whatever appearance there may have been in times past of a union of church and state, because men holding ecclesiastical authority were elected to offices by popular vote, there is now

NO FOUNDATION OR EXCUSE

for the statement that the Church and State are united in Utah, or that the leaders of the Church dictate to the members in political matters. That no coercion or influence whatever of an ecclesiastical nature has been exercised over us by our Church leaders in reference to which political party we shall join, and that we have been, and are, perfectly free to unite with any or no

political party, as we may individually elect, that the People's party has been entirely and finally dissolved and that our fealty henceforth will be to such national political party as seems to us best suited to the purpose of Republican government.

"The declaration so practically put forth against the presumption of a union between Church and State, coupled with the declaration that the People's party has been entirely and finally dissolved, is suggestive, to say the least. The People's committee of Salt Lake, on the 23rd of May, 1891, declared in favor of dissolution, and on the 10th of June similar action was taken by the Territorial committee of the People's party; but it remained for the Saints in annual conference in October to make the matter final."

Mr. Perkins quoted liberally from a sermon delivered by President Woodruff explaining the reasons how the manifesto came to be issued and adds:

"It will be observed that the relation of such revelation to the temporal as well as the spiritual welfare of the people is not left out of mind. The unanimity of the Church in accepting this new revelation, it will also be observed, is not less remarkable than the unanimity of the Conference in accepting the proclamation of the dissolution of the People's party.

CONCEDED THAT POLYGAMY WILL NOT BE RE-ESTABLISHED.

"It may be conceded that the practice of polygamy will not be re-established in Utah, by revelation or otherwise, though it has only been 'suspended.' All right-minded people will unite in encouraging the Mormon people in a growth of the better way, but the fact cannot be overlooked that that this abandonment of plural marriage has only been made under the strongest pressure of government and society, and that nowhere has the Presidency of the Church admitted the wrong or confessed conversion from the authority under which the practice through so many years was encouraged under peril to the soul.

"The continued existence of the Liberal party and earnestness with which that organization resists the propositions of this bill may well arrest serious attention. Salt Lake City is now dominated by the Gentile population. That population is of the progressive character upon which the great West has so marvelously flourished in recent years. It is composed of the elements that have built the cities in the wilderness, opened up farms in the desert, threaded the lands with railroads and added States to the Union. There must be powerful influence upon these people in Utah restraining them from consent to liberation from a Territorial condition. They ask for time for adjustment to the new order, if, happily, the long contest for a fact is nearing a satisfactory and peaceful conclusion."

RAKING DEAD ASHES.

Mr. Perkins next casts a glance backward and reviews at length the efforts of the People's party to inaugurate a State movement in 1887. He quotes first the reply of J. B. Rosborough, the chairman of the Democratic Territorial committee, under date of June 24 of that year, in which that gentleman characterizes the suggestion as suicidal to the peace and

prosperity of the Territory. The report of the Republican committee, which was equally emphatic, is also referred to, and following this are quotations from the subsequent reports of Governors West and Thomas bearing upon the same subject. The report continues:

"It is not altogether remarkable that after many years of contention against the government much bitterness of spirit should still be manifested. The desire on the part of the Mormon population for any relief is conspicuous, and in a measure excusable. Prudence would have suggested some delay in the matter of bringing forward this bill, which with such delay might have given place to a bill for statehood outright, but the importance has been such as to crowd events; and the presumption cannot be avoided that much that has been done has been done in the way of record-making for the session of Congress. The presence of federal officers with authority; the commission, the governor and the secretary, as well as the judges of the courts, is conspicuously galling to the Mormon mind, and any plan which will give the people early control is feverishly desired. The memorial by the legislative assembly to the Senate and House of Representatives displays this feeling in the following paragraph: 'The most vicious interference with the vestige remaining of our local liberties is in the maintenance and action of the Utah commission who, in their appointment of the registration officers, have often selected

CORRUPT AND IRRESPONSIBLE PERSONS.

These have filled the registration lists with fictitious names and resorted to other devices by which repeating, and other frauds might be successfully perpetrated at elections, yet the endorsement of that can hardly be expected by sober-minded people here or elsewhere.

Mr. Perkins, in conclusion, says:

CREATES A PECULIAR PEOPLE.

"This bill does not propose to trust the people of Utah with statehood. It proposes to make them a peculiar people. It proposes to transfer to them many of the honors of a State government, and yet to leave them subject to an act of Congress at any time that shall withdraw those honors and place them in such other territorial relations as Congress may provide. To the minority of your committee it seems that this proposition involves an added humiliation upon that people, which, just at this time, ought not to be written in the national law. If it be agreed that the Mormon Church, as there represented and dominant, is sincerely moving to free itself of the principles acknowledged as obnoxious to American law, then public policy would suggest that a separation be permitted to take place in peace and under the terms of amnesty and justice provided by a generous government. If the people of Utah, as a majority of them think, have been stigmatized by the acts of the federal government, then it may be urged that new conditions, not common to the history of our legislation, should now be imposed.

REMNANTS OF BITTERNESS.

"It may be fairly recognized that