

ganic Act of the Territory vested in the governor the absolute and unqualified 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 he generally one not a citizen of the Territory.

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

"The act creating the Utah commission contemplated the dissolution of that body upon the passage by the legislative body of proper election laws, but notwithstanding the passage of such laws 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 effect 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 been passed by the representatives of the people. These are but instances, and not 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 excluding the polygamists from the exercise of the elective franchise. Its power is to appoint registrars and judges of election and canvassers of returns. It is a board of non-residents 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 appointment of this board to March 1, 1892. The government has paid in salaries to its members \$241,063.91, and for contingent expenses of the board \$105,184.82, and for compensation and expenses of officers of elections \$193,442.14, a total of \$539,670.86.

THE STATUTES ACCOMPLISHED THEIR PURPOSE.

"The justification of the statutes which have been applied to Utah has been the polygamous practices and the

political influence of the Mormon Church. The statutes have accomplished their purposes and there is no longer a reason for the continuance of the existing system of government."

The chairman here quotes from section 12 of the constitution adopted in 1877, declaring polygamy to be a misdemeanor, and continues as follows:

ABOLITION OF POLYGAMY.

"To this constitution and admission under it the objection was urged that the declarations of the Mormons concerning polygamy might not be sincere, and if they were not, the provision making the section irrevocable would be of no avail to prevent a return to the practice. The Mormon people have always insisted that ever since the adoption of that constitution polygamy has not only been practical, but that it has been discountenanced by the Church, and, in fact, only one conviction 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 13th of February regarding the fruits of the labors of that convention, 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 was put forth by divine sanction, 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 classes of Gentiles and Mormons, both official and unofficial, there can be no longer a question as to the status of polygamy in the Territory. That institution has been abolished forever, 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 persons not belonging to it at least regarded as the party of the Mormon Church, though it was always asserted by the party and church 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 aggressions of the non-Mormons, organized into the Liberal party, but it was insisted that the church, as a church, had no authority over it, that its priests did not dictate to the party.

THE MERITS OF THE CONTROVERSY, occasioned by the existence of the People's party, are not 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 whenever 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 silently 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 testimony to 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 MORMONS DIVIDED 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 likewise 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 well settled 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 its existing authority over Utah. It does not seek to vest absolute power in the people, but merely to afford them an opportunity to demonstrate their sincerity and their capacity to manage their local affairs. Congress may at any time alter or annul any act of the Territorial authorities. The bill in no wise affects the statutes against polygamy. These remain in full force, and the duty of their enforcement is left where it now rests, save that the Territory is made a United States judicial district, with a district court, the judge of which is to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The jurisdiction of this court is prescribed by the twenty-first section of the bill. It may be seen that the federal government will retain its present jurisdiction over offenses against these laws.