

EDITORIALS.

THE SPIRIT OF ANNEXATION.

THE inhabitants of portions of the world lying contiguous to the United States are more or less envious of the beneficent forms and institutions of our government, hence more or less willing to live under it; and annexation talk is freely indulged in. The long standing possibility of the northern tier of Mexican states being absorbed into the great American Union does not wane, nor does the fear that such an event may occur grow less in the capital of Mexico, and the proposition to annex Canada is being discussed with increasing freedom and earnestness.

In line with all this comes a revival of the scheme to annex Cuba. The following from the New Orleans Times Democrat borrows interest from the spirit of the times, though it may be doubted if the reference to President Cleveland's aims is made upon good authority:

"It is asserted in New York that Mr. Cleveland will himself enter the annexation field, by suggesting the purchase of Cuba, and that Perry Belmont was appointed Minister to Spain with the special purpose of purchasing that island; that Mr. Cleveland wants to make his administration historically conspicuous by associating it with some important event, and that he regards the annexation of a rich and fertile island as having that effect and adding to the strength and wealth of the country. In ante-bellum times this proposition to purchase Cuba was frequently made, and on one occasion, at least, seriously considered by Spain and a price fixed; not beyond the resources of our treasury. There can be no reasonable doubt that the annexation would have come about but for the war, interrupting, as it did, the project and greatly checking the aggressive Americanism formerly prevailing, and which insisted that all America must become a part of the United States. Now that the war is laid at rest, these old ideas and projects come up again, and we may expect to see them vigorously pressed."

Cuba has long been for sale, and Spain once offered the island to the United States at a price which was not too great for our treasury. The negotiations were, however, interrupted by the breaking out of the rebellion, but for which event it is quite likely that Cuba would today have comprised one or more states of the American Union. The Atlanta (Georgia) Constitution, in reference to the annexation of Cuba, suggests that Spain may offer the island to Germany or England, and that our government would object to its purchase by either of those powers.

There is no doubt that the great majority of the inhabitants of Cuba would hail with pleasure a prospect of becoming a portion of the United States. The only class who would object would be Spaniards actuated by national pride. Annexation is a prominent topic of the times.

CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES.

THE Bonapartist journals of France bitterly denounce the refusal of the Chamber of Deputies to lend government aid to the Panama Canal scheme, pronouncing it ruinous to investors and a blot upon the nation itself. This would seem to argue two propositions—that the followers of Bonaparte are disposed to, as the minority of the British Parliament do, oppose the governmental policy as a matter of course, and that they uphold the doctrine of a strong paternal government. A certain amount of protection to the individual and to private interests is expected of every nation, and it is its duty to extend it whenever required, but it would be difficult to explain why France as a government should be come interested in a project the prosecution of which is the certainty of an enormous outlay and the successful outcome of which is at least questionable; or, supposing the limit of expense were demonstrated and France could afford the outlay, either as a cash advancement or by certain guarantees, it would even then be a questionable enterprise. Let the undertaking of separating the two continents become a national movement, and the Monroe doctrine will become conspicuous among the public themes on this side the Atlantic; indeed, it has already been raised and discussed, but probably no real intervention would take place if the character of the enterprise remained as it began. France had one lesson in respect to interference with foreign soil in the early sixties, when Maximilian, backed by it, sought to effect the overthrow of the Mexican Republic and establish himself as an Emperor. And the excuse of collecting a debt then existed, whereas now a very different condition of things, the contracting of a debt and a big one being evidently the consummation awaiting the further movement toward the completion of the Panama Canal.

De Lesseps has a hard time of it, and individually is entitled to sympathy. One day he weeps over prospective success; the next, his tears flow because failure stares him in the

face. No one can tell what a day may bring forth in France, but it looks now as if the scheme had received a quietus.

SAMOA.

SOME of the leading newspapers of the Pacific Coast are urging the propriety and necessity of action on the part of our government looking to the preservation of the right of the Samoans to govern themselves. There is strong evidence on which to base the suspicion that Germany desires to take complete possession of the Samoan Islands. As a naval station they would be of great value, and their commerce is no inconsiderable inducement to own them. There is no doubt that England would also like to make a province of this group of islands, if her way to do so were clear. But the commercial and other interests of the United States have induced former administrations to take an interest in the affairs of Samoa, particularly with a view to preserving the autonomy of the islands; and it is urged that the existing condition of things on them requires prompt action on the part of our government to preserve existing treaties with and relating to them, and to maintain the self-government of the natives. Germany is taking a part which affords both objection, and if not restrained she may acquire a foothold in the islands adverse to the interests of this country and England.

Were Germany to acquire control in Samoa, it is probable that full religious toleration would no longer exist there. It is therefore to be hoped that the right of self-government will not be taken from the natives, particularly by such an iron government as the German Empire.

VOTE PURCHASING.

THE New York World is entitled to credit for its enterprise in the matter of unearthing the systematic purchase of votes in the late election. It has already shown that the extent to which this evil was carried is greatly in excess of that of any other time, and wishing to obtain expressions of opinion from authoritative sources, it recently addressed a circular inquiry to the Governors of all the States with that object in view. Answers to the great majority of them were duly received, and these are printed in its issue of the 13th instant—last Thursday. The different opinions therein expressed form a very entertaining *potpourri*. Most of the executives are decidedly against the system of vote-buying, regarding it as the greatest menace to free institutions; others are milder in their denunciation, others have "no personal knowledge" of anything of the kind having taken place, and a few abruptly decline to answer. It is noticeable that none of them deny the awful charge outright, and this circumstance is of itself somewhat significant.

SHOULD GO SLOW.

THE coroner's jury sitting on the bodies of the murdered Mrs. Hawes and her two daughters, at Birmingham, Alabama, have succeeded in finding that the husband and father, R. R. Hawes, was the author of the crimes in each instance. It was the belief on the part of the populace that he was the guilty man that caused the attempted lynching and fearful tragedy at that place a few days ago, and upon the heels of that awful affair a jury of any kind would be apt to yield to the pressure and construe doubts against the prisoner. Hawes may be guilty; in fact, circumstances are said to point so strongly to him as the perpetrator of the crimes charged that such a conclusion is irresistible; and if that be the case his punishment is certain. It is as well, however, to give him a fair and impartial trial, for appearances are frequently deceptive and he may be innocent. In any event the people have nothing to lose by quitting down and letting the majesty of the law have full and uninterrupted sway. The fact that the sheriff who resisted the gathering with such terrible results has been twice arrested and is now held in jail on the charge of murder for having done only what seems at this distance his plain duty, shows that the whirlwind of passion engendered by the belief that Hawes was guilty, and reaching the point of all but irresistible fury immediately after the conflict with the sheriff occurred, has not yet entirely subsided, and Birmingham would not seem to be the place where a jury to try the case should be drawn at any time. The manner in which the coroner's panel skimmed over the surface of the case in the matter of findings to reach the solemn conclusion that death was inflicted by Hawes, when the evidence was purely circumstantial, illustrates the foregoing conclusion with tolerable clearness.

CHICAGO, Dec. 20.—Special from Louisville: Bryant and Scroggins have sold to J. B. Haggin, Proctor Knott, for \$80,000.

THE CHURCH AND STATE QUESTION.

GREAT complaint has been made concerning Utah for having within its borders an incongruous mixture of politics and religion. The charge has often been preferred against her that there exists amongst a portion of her people an amalgamation of church and state. We have taken frequent occasion to point out this anomalous condition of affairs, but, in the face of the most potent evidence our averments have been met by the flatterest kind of denials. Still the existence of a marriage relationship between religion and politics in Utah remains a living fact.

This co-operative association dates back a considerable period and the evidences of it have cropped out conspicuously in the concerns of this Territory at different times in the course of its history.

As an instance it will be remembered by the older residents of the Territory that, on Sunday, May 7th, 1882, a meeting was held in the Methodist Church in this city. It was announced to be one amongst ten thousand others under the auspices of the same denomination that were to be held on the same date. The object of these gatherings was to arouse an anti-"Mormon" feeling in the populace of the country and bring a pressure to bear upon Congress to crush the Latter-day Saints.

The Salt Lake meeting was presided over by the Rev. Mr. Rudisill, who, with other members of the cloth, represented the religious wing of the anti-"Mormon" love feast, while Governor Murray, J. R. McBride, J. S. Boreman and others duly represented the political section, each side hobnobbing with the other and getting in its work, according as it was religious or political.

It was a touching spectacle to see these astute clergymen and cute politicians figuratively falling upon each others' necks and weeping, having a common purpose in view, only operated from two separate standpoints—one the obtaining of religious advantage and the other political pre-eminence. It was on the one side several hearts under clerical coats beating in tuneless harmony to a sweet anti-"Mormon" symphony, rattled under political vests on the other.

In speaking on the occasion Mr. Rudisill asserted that Methodism had always occupied a front rank in opposing "Mormonism," and that principally through the operations of his church Congress had been compelled to pass the Edmunds law, although that measure was not near what was wanted, being but "a step in the desired direction." One of the political spouters of the occasion, with the glee with which he seemed to be carried away, announced the startling fact, that he felt himself to be, on that particular evening and for the special purpose sought, an excellent Methodist. Being not only a politician but an infidel, or at least understood to be, it is doubtful whether this conversation lasted beyond the pronouncing of the benediction which dismissed the meeting. However, the whole proceeding showed with much clearness a marvelous amalgamation between church and state.

Why, it is not longer ago than a year that another striking illustration of the union of Church and State in this Territory was furnished. The Utah Commission has for several years made two annual reports to the Secretary of the Interior, the one issuing from the majority and the other from the minority, the former being misrepresentative of the major portion of the population of Utah and the latter aiming to be fair to all classes of the people. At a conference of the Presbyterian Church, held in Sanpete County, a number of red-hot anti-"Mormon" resolutions were adopted. They advocated the deprivation of the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by Congress of all political rights. Thus the formulators showed as a church a disposition to interfere in a religious capacity with the affairs of the state. The politicians who comprised the majority of the Utah Commission recognized this union of church and state as eminently proper. This recognition was accorded in a most demonstrative way—the commissioners embodied the Presbyterian Church resolutions in their annual report to the Secretary of the Interior. Thus the resolutions were made a portion of a state document, and officials of the weight of their political influence to help along a religious crusade.

If such proceedings do not indicate a union of church and state, what in the name of common sense would?

Then we have the anti-"Mormon" organ of this city following in the wake of the political roustabout who, at the Methodist meeting of May 7th, 1882, declared himself a devout Methodist for the occasion. This unreasonable red-hot paper is now assuming the role of a most devout Methodist sheet. Hence its absurd and frequent chuckles over a few alleged conversions from the ranks of the "Mormon" to those of the Methodist Church. It is barely possible that the ecstatic paragraphs may be written by the hand of the minister whose name has figured so conspicuously in them—one Franklin—but that does not relieve the excessively political sheet from the role of Methodist organ, so far as it goes in that direction. To say the

least it lends itself as a conduit to carry off religious slops.

Our readers have doubtless perused the dispatches that have given particulars regarding some movements at Washington in the direction of clothing Utah with statehood. As a matter of course this has agitated the portion of the minority here who are opposed to the political advancement of Utah so long as they are not the majority. They are taking steps accordingly, and are whipping up the religious wing of the political combination to bring it into line, that church and state may march off as a unit, "one and inseparable now and forever," hand in hand as an ardent, stalwart bridegroom and a loving and devoted bride on a honeymoon excursion to Garfield that they might bathe together in the pool of politics.

The chairman of the Liberal party has sent out circulars to all parts of Utah instructing the henchmen to get up protests against statehood. The circular embodies the following paragraph to the priests of the different sects:

"We request the Christian clergymen of the Territory to call upon members of their respective churches throughout the Union to emphatically protest against the movement for the introduction of an unrepresentative and priest-ridden state into the Union."

Candidly is not this another evidence of the union of church and state in Utah? Not only this, but it is an attempt on the part of those engaging in this business to bring this nation into the pitiable and humiliating position of a priest-ridden country. The priests are not only asked, as their part of the programme, to interfere in matters of state in a purely local capacity, but to urge their fellow-clergymen throughout the land to direct their church members to bring a pressure to bear upon the state affairs of the nation at large, and use a compulsory process upon the national legislature in order to attain their desires and designs.

It has been exemplified times without number that those who have sold the charges of priestly interference, priest-ridding and union of Church and State at the doors of the "Mormons," are glaringly guilty of those acts themselves. To cover up their own doing they cry "Is you who are guilty." But whoever expects consistency from the source referred to will meet with disappointment.

One thing is clear in this connection; all disclaimers regarding the pressure brought to bear against the Latter-day Saints being largely in the nature of a religious as well as political crusade fall flat before the cumulation of mountains of evidence establishing the fact.

The question resolves itself into this point—Whether the nation and the Congress are to be dictated in a coercive and unscrupulous spirit regarding the treatment of Utah by a combination of politicians and priests.

THE DIRECT TAX BILL.

A FEW days ago, a dispatch published in the News announced that the House of Representatives at Washington had passed the direct tax bill, a measure which has been pending before Congress for a long time and the subject of considerable discussion then and throughout the country. It is not, as some people think, a bill imposing a tax, but the reverse—it proposes to refund money collected under a tax. This would, on the face of the proposition, strike the average reader as a very liberal and just arrangement for disposing of the surplus, or a part of it, but that is a question concerning which there are as usual two sides.

The direct tax upon the property of individuals was made at an early stage of the war, it being then a settled conclusion that all the existing resources of the nation were not sufficient to meet the enormous expenditures required to keep up the fight. The greenback had not then been brought into existence, we bled, and money from some source in large volumes, or letting the Confederacy go, was the issue before the people. At such a time, and thoroughly imbued with the Union spirit as the great majority were, the tax was paid without much holding back; those who were silently opposed to it were discreetly so, and paid without apparent protest, as the others did. By this extraordinary means an immense fund was collected; but no one that we have heard of ever attempted to justify the proceeding except on the plea that war sets aside all rules conflicting with it, and becomes supreme in itself.

Of course none of this tax was paid by the States in rebellion, for obvious reasons. The Territories were also exempted for a different reason. The proposition, then, is to refund to the States which paid it the amounts respectively received from them, as estimated. This makes it not only a partisan but a sectional issue, the Republicans for and nearly all the Democrats against it. Of course the latter do not expect nor require that the Southern States should get anything out of the distribution, because none of them paid any of the amount which it is proposed to distribute; but they do claim that war measures were settled by the war, and the Northern States received the full benefit of what they paid for; furthermore, that a complete distribution so as to restore to the individuals

or their heirs the amount of their respective payments would be impossible, that the money now in the Treasury was largely paid by the Southern States for the purpose of carrying on the government as it is, and that the proposed proceeding is unlawful, unjust and unprecedented.

The whole amount collected by the direct taxation measure proposed to be returned is \$11,410,334, divided as follows:

State.	Amount Repayable.
Delaware.....	\$ 74,683
Maryland.....	439,821
Michigan.....	501,763
Minnesota.....	168,524
Missouri.....	761,127
New York.....	2,603,918
Ohio.....	1,567,089
Pennsylvania.....	1,916,719
Illinois.....	1,145,551
Indiana.....	90,187
Iowa.....	452,068
Kentucky.....	713,693
West Virginia.....	208,479

With a Treasury containing a surplus of twelve times that amount, or thereabout, it would seem to be a small matter after all; but the opposition does not arise because of the amount so much as on account of the example. Those who oppose again bring up their argument of a surplus being a temptation—an incentive—to departure from well-settled principles of good government, causing us to drift into new inventions for disbursement and speculative if not corrupt schemes to make the national account balance with that of the people; they point to the direct tax bill, to the Blair educational bill—both, as they admit, having the semblance of fairness behind them, but both, as they claim, being abrupt departures from the terms of the original compact, the natural tendency of which is the weakening and undermining of the whole fabric.

Taxation is always a vexation. However patriotic and public-spirited the citizen, he is not disposed to part with his substance for no immediate, corporeal consideration. He realizes, of course, that governments must be upheld or all that he has would be valueless by reason of being insecure; for this reason he generally pays without complaint, but he complains and with good reason when the government overtaxes him and engages in questionable and unauthorized proceedings with what it does not require for its own use. It is such things that provoke contention between the Democrats and Republicans as partisans whenever any such measure as the direct tax bill is up for consideration.

LEGAL PENALTIES.

THE severity of the punishment inflicted upon a prisoner who has been convicted of a public offense cannot, in many cases, be even approximately estimated from the length of the term of imprisonment, or the amount of the fine, to which he is sentenced by the court. A striking illustration of the truth of this statement is furnished by the case of Harper, an officer of the Fidelity Bank of Cincinnati. The failure of this bank created a great stir in financial circles about two years ago. Harper used its funds with which to speculate in wheat, and disaster attending his illegitimate ventures, the bank failed for a vast sum, and Harper was sentenced to imprisonment for a term of years.

He was a brainy and ambitious man, and was devotedly attached to his wife and family. His realization of his position, and the mental anguish which he suffered in consequence of it, were as much greater than those of a common thief meeting a similar fate, as his intellect was greater than that of the ordinary criminal. He has only been in prison about a year, yet has lost his reason. He imagines that he is in communication with heavenly beings, and that he has the power to foretell future events. He is but forty years of age, and should be in the enjoyment of his highest powers; but agony of mind has seated a phantom on the throne of reason, and he who was called the Napoleon of finance has become a gibbering lunatic.

We are not objecting to the sentence upon him. Many a man, in the same community, has received a heavier one for stealing a minute fraction of the sum which he unlawfully appropriated from funds entrusted to him by unsuspecting depositors. His crime carried poverty and distress into many a home and counting room, and it was right that the law should be vindicated and that he should suffer. The points we make are that a man of his temperament would suffer more in serving a sentence of days than many criminals would were they condemned to confinement as many years, and that courts ought, in passing sentence, to exercise wisdom and discretion in measuring the punishment they are meting out from the standpoint indicated by the case of Harper, as well as by other rules for estimating what justice requires in a given case, always remembering what a blessed quality is mercy.