votes. Ordinarily it was about that many, and it has been about the same under the republic.
Mr. CLAY. Mr. President,—
Mr. SPOONER. Has the Senator any estimate of the number of people who would be voters under the provisions of this bill, if passed?
Mr. CULLOM. I have no doubt myself that if those who were entitled to vote should register and vote under this bill there would be a majority of the people of this Territory voting.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. CLAY]?
Mr. CULLOM. I do.
Mr. CLAY. The Senator has already answered the question I intended to ask.
Mr. CULLOM. My views on the question are partially on the information which has been furnished me. I am reading now from the paper of the attorney-general:
My views on the questions are partially based on the facts of this registration, but it is evident that the native and Portuguese vote is largely in excess of the "foreign" vote.
When he says "foreign vote" he means as against the natives of the islands.
"Foreign" vote included Americans, British, and Germans, but it may be considerably reduced, because the British generally and the Germans to a large extent will not become American citizens.
They seem to be unwilling to identify themselves with the United States to become American citizens.
The number of Anglo-Saxon voters may therefore be decreased, while, on the other hand, the Portuguese male inhabitants who can read and write are largely increasing.
That would give an indication that the vote would be other than that given in the estimate I read a while ago.
Under manhood suffrage with educational qualifications only, you will see that the native voters (9,094) will largely outnumber the white or Anglo-Saxon votes. (1,208 to 9,094 or 1.08 to 1.56).
The Portuguese number some 15,000, while the Americans, Germans, and English number between six and seven thousand.
Unless some means are adopted to control the native vote the Territorial legislature would probably pass laws favorable to the interests of the natives, and the Anglo-Saxon vote would be the veto of the governor. There is no reason to believe that a single white person or American should be able to control the legislature if the natives combined, as they might, on racial grounds. Even the Portuguese, as against the Anglo-Saxon, could exclude the latter from taking any part in legislation after the monarchy the upper house was composed of nobles appointed for life.
That is the way the senate would be established.
Under the new constitution of 1857, forced upon the king by the whites, and adopted after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1858, a property qualification was imposed by the Republicans upon the electors for senators. This created a double class, and the people were to check the lower house. Without this property qualification, the property which those who built up the country by their labor and capital, those who were properly regarded as the intellectual and commercial part of the community—would have been largely without representation.
Mr. TILLMAN. I understand, if the Senator will allow me——
Mr. THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. CLAY]?
Mr. CULLOM. I want to say further—and then I will yield to the Senator—that what I have been stating is not my view, but the view of the ex-attorney-general of Hawaii.
Mr. TILLMAN. Was that the attorney-general under the republic?
Mr. CULLOM. Under the republic: yes, sir. He has resigned his office since the commission was in Hawaii, a year and a half ago.
Mr. TILLMAN. Is he an American?
Mr. CULLOM. No, sir; he is a native of one of the Hawaiian Islands, and his grandfather lived there before him, I think.
Mr. TILLMAN. I understand the Senator to say these are not his views, but yet he has adopted them in the bill he has presented.
Mr. CULLOM. No; I have not fully. I am giving the views, however, which are familiar with the subject, so that the Senate may understand the whole case as it appears to a man who has identified himself with the islands and is now living in Honolulu.
Mr. CULLOM. He was born on one of the other islands and is thoroughly interested in the prosperity of those people.
Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, if it will not disturb the Senator, I should like to ask another question.
Mr. CULLOM. Certainly.
Mr. SPOONER. Is the Senator able to afford any estimate of the number of natives who would have the right to vote upon a first educational qualification?
Mr. CULLOM. Nearly all of them who are of age. The fact is that the native Hawaiians, except the very old, are able to speak, read, and even write the English language, and substantially all of them speak, read, and write the Hawaiian language.
Mr. MONEY. If the Senator will allow me, I will say, in response to the Senator from Wisconsin, that they have had a compulsory system of education there for many years. Everybody was compelled to attend school.
Mr. SPOONER. I was aware of that; but I wish to know how many people who are capable as far as education is concerned would be disfranchised because of the want of property?
Mr. CULLOM. I have not. Does the Senator mean as to the natives?
Mr. TILLMAN. I simply want to know how many voters there would be who would have the property qualification necessary to vote for senators, and I would like to know what their native nativity is.
Mr. CULLOM. So far as their nativity is concerned, I do not suppose I could very well answer the question.
Mr. TILLMAN. Or their nationality, I should have said.
Mr. CULLOM. Before we get through with this subject I shall furnish statistics on that point to the Senator or to the Senate, if that is required.
The attorney-general proceeds as follows:
My own experience, as well as that of others who took part in public affairs, convinces me and them that with an excessively large native vote without property qualifications, the government of the island would be in the control of the natives, to the great detriment of the interests of the whites and of the Territory.
The danger to be apprehended from the native voter: (1) They can cast about 4 votes to the Anglo-Saxon 1, and, under the new provisions of the bill regarding citizenship, may cast about 4 times as many as they will be entitled to vote in proportion.
That is under the educational qualification.
Mr. CLAY of Connecticut. Natives?
Mr. CULLOM. Yes; natives. I may say this is not appropriate here, because the attorney-general is referring to the bill pending in the House of Representatives.
The statement continues:
This enormous power is of itself liable to great abuse. A party of Polyne- sian aristocrats might control large masses of 8,000 to 1,500 or less will not hesitate to use that power.
The native has lived for one generation under the American system of jurisprudence and American institutions owing to the strong influence of the Americans who have resided in the islands, the most of whom are known to have been of a class not unlike that which now disfranchises them from servitude, the despotic rule of the king and chiefs. He had little education, a servile condition of life. More than all, he has not acquired the habit of self-government, which is the safety and staying power of the Anglo-Saxon. If Polynesians, recently "civilized," were now cast into power, it seems to me, the most remarkable example in the history of the rapid rise of a people, and utterly distance the Anglo-Saxon in his condition of servitude.
(3) The natives yet remain "children of the Tropics," and have hardly parted with the economic ideas which the race has held for over a thousand years, and very few want and little time of the sandalwood.
I desire to say that so far as the natives are concerned they are a kindly, affectionate, docile, listless class of people, not desiring to give any trouble to anybody or to have any themselves, but wishing to be let alone; and if they could get rid of the demagogues they would always support the Government in its best interests.
Mr. SPOONER. I wish to add nothing further from this paper, but the end of it is that the substantial people there, who have been intimately identified with the government in its struggle for independence, in the effort to get rid of the monarchy, and to assist in the establishment of good government have not been properly provided for in the bill, so that, as an experiment, if you please, they would feel that they were safe in not having their statutes overturned and their government and the prosperity of their people destroyed.
Mr. TELLER. I wish to ask the Senator from Illinois a question.
Mr. THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Colorado?
Mr. CULLOM. Certainly.
Mr. TELLER. Has the Senator stated it at a time when I was not in the Chamber. Has there been a property qualification imposed there heretofore?
Mr. CULLOM. Yes, sir.
Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Under the republic.
Mr. CULLOM. Under the republic. Under the monarchy, as I have been compelled to state in the first place, the body equivalent to the senate was a council appointed by the monarch, so that it did not make much difference what the house did.
Mr. TELLER. The house was elected?
Mr. CULLOM. The house was elected.
Mr. TELLER. Under the monarch, as I understood it, the house was elected. Under the republic, as I understood it, the house was elected. I think there was a property qualification for house members, but none for the voters, and that existed under the republic as it is now.
Mr. TILLMAN. As a matter of fact, was not the monarchy which instituted that property qualification under duress and was it not forced by the revolutionary body? led by Mr. Dole and others, to put that very provision in the decree?
Mr. CULLOM. I do not care to go into a discussion as to how the republic came to be established.
Mr. TILLMAN. I am not talking about the republic. I am