Mr. TILLMAN. And yet they are having a constitution.

Mr. TELLER. But to a large extent we are modifying it or repealing it. I should have liked to see a provision here—and that is all we are doing to a large extent—and that is putting all those who are in favor of enlarging the suffrage in that community; but I am very much opposed to restrictions except where they are absolutely necessary.

Mr. MORGAN. I wish to correct the impression of the Senator from South Carolina about the constitution. This bill does not give Hawaii a constitution.

Mr. TELLER. No; I know it does not.

Mr. MORGAN. It wipes it out entirely; and the words to which the Senator from South Carolina refers are merely descriptive words which have been struck out.

Mr. TELLER. I was about to say that we have repealed the constitution and almost all the laws, and we are to reenact them to some extent.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. TELLER. I would not be willing to apply to those people provisions that I would not be willing to apply to some of the other new possession we have acquired. We acquired those islands in fee by arrangement with the people. We are under some obligations to them that we are not under to some other people, whether it be the people of Puerto Rico or the Philippines. I want to give those people American citizenship, self-control, self-government over their affairs as is possible, and I believe it is in our power to give them absolute control over their affairs, if we see fit, except, of course, the general laws that govern States as to import duties, etc., would have to prevail there. For that reason we had better leave this provision in here and let the governor appoint the judges.

I have had some experience in a Territory, and I have seen, with the best of intention on the part of the President, very vicious and bad men appointed to places of that character. Once appointed, we always found it almost impossible to get them out. We might make just as many representations as we chose to the executive department, but the people who had secured their appointments always had more strength than we had, and we suffered immensely. Every Senator here who has lived in a Territory will bear me out. One of the great evils in Territorial life has been that we were not in condition either to send or get rid of them when they turned out to be bad. Is not that true?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, I am not able today to speak at any particular length or with any particular vigor, on account of my health, but my judgment, formed as it was by the President of the United States is, I believe, a reason which grows out of my desire that what we do here shall be best for the people of Hawaii. I believe it is much better for the people of those islands that the appointing power of the judges should reside in the President, rather than reside in the Executive department, where there is the danger that there will develop in Hawaii American politics, with all its evils and all its benefits. They have never yet had political parties in Hawaii; that is, among the people who are now to take control of the government and whom it is hoped will maintain and continue their control of that government. They have been one party. The law and the government have not been consistent in establishing a new republic. That binds them together. But when they become a Territory, there will be plenty of politics in that Territory, and among this small class of American citizenship. There will be the rich man in politics in that Territory, seeking to control elections and the control legislation. There will be the ward heelers in Politics there, seeking to do the same thing, and as time goes on it will be a miracle practically if those people who are now in control of the government, and who, it is hoped, will continue to control the government, shall succeed in keeping out corruption and keeping out self-seeking and keeping in the people.

Now, it is inevitable, Mr. President, that the American citizens there are going to divide politically; that when divided into two parties or more, each wing will seek, by appeals to the Hawaiian citizenship and the Portuguese citizenship, to carry their point; and while no man can set himself up as the harmonizer, any man may give danger. It is going to be the same in that way. While we admit that the people now in control—President Dole and the judges—are men of high character, the time is coming when the judges, if left to the appointment of a governor there, will not be of high character that they are now; and it is because I want to protect the people of Hawaii against themselves and against the class of people who I think will finally get in control of the politics of the islands that I want to retain a little control over the islands in the hands of the President of the United States.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, but I hear American citizens from Hawaii now talking about the "Dole gang." They have got that far in Hawaii, at least, in politics. They talk about the party in power and the president and those who sympathize with him as a gang. They have learned some bad words from the political slang of the United States; to say the least. I believe it better for the people of Hawaii, more for their protection, more for their future interest, that they shall have something to rely upon besides themselves.

I would agree with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] if that entire citizenship were to be made citizens of the United States, the American citizens there. I would then be entirely willing to give them what would amount to practical self-government, retaining only the sovereignty of the United States over them and the ultimate power which we should exercise only under circumstances of the greatest necessity. I think I am entirely consistent with the doctrine of our Constitution and with the Declaration of Independence. I believe self-government in Hawaii or Puerto Rico or the Philippines, or any other possession which we may acquire, when the people are fitted for it, is entirely consistent with our sovereignty, and I believe the time is not far distant when the people of the States of the Union will have to submit to the sovereignty of the United States, and they have in many things to be controlled by the United States Government.

However, I did not rise for the purpose of making any extended remarks, for I am not equal to it to-day, but simply for reasons of this hour, I think we have reason to be thankful that the people of Hawaii themselves that they shall be protected against the evils which I think are surely coming upon that people. It is a great experiment that they and we are entering upon, and it is well for them and for us that some power should still be retained and reside in the United States Government that can turn out in the future that everything was harmonious there, that the citizenship there became homogeneous and harmonious, and that these dangers which I think I can see are only imaginary, it will be time enough then to give them larger power.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, I want once more to revert to the fact that this bill contemplates that the government of those islands is to be dominated by 4,000 people out of a hundred and fifty thousand, and that it will be almost impossible to continue that state of affairs.

Mr. CULLEN. If the Senator will allow me, I hope that the developments by trial in that Territory will be such that it will not be very long, certainly not many years, before more power can be placed in the hands of the people than the bill proposes, and I shall certainly hope that the time will very soon come when the elective franchise can be granted safely to the great body of the people there.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It would be very difficult to frame a bill in which more power would be given to the people of that Territory than is given in this bill. Of course, we could allow them to elect their own governor and their own secretary of state, but with that excepted, it is giving the power that can be given under this limited and arbitrary power at that.

Mr. CULLEN. I referred more to the voting power, the legislature, and that sort of thing, than to any other point.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. If that time shall come, then it will be quite time enough, it seems to me, to extend their power, and if we have not extended to any people wherever we have organized a Territory.

Now, it is said that this is an entirely different case from the ordinary organization of a Territory: that ordinarily we have organized a Territory over large areas of land, sparsely settled. That is true, but as a matter of fact, which has been in existence for three or four years, rescued from the queen and from monarchical institutions. That is true. But Senators overlook the fact that wherever we have organized a Territory heretofore we have organized it with its entire population, whether sparsely occupying the country or not, drawn from the queen and from monarchical institutions. That is true.