can read and write or pay taxes on $600 worth of property is allowed to vote. There are in the State some fourteen or fifteen thousand colored voters registered. Of the balance of the vote, white, 97 per cent is Democratic.

Mr. CLARK of Wyoming. What is the total vote?

Mr. TILLMAN. The total registered vote is 114,000 or 115,000. I say 97 per cent of the white vote is Democratic. Well, now, at this Democratic meeting, at this convention, the party candidates, held in the summer, at least 90 per cent of that vote turns out, and there is great interest and excitement, as some of you have heard in the papers in the campaigns in which I have been interested down there for governor and Senator. There is no lethargy there in politics, door being as much politics as in any other part of the Union. There has been no organized Republican party in the State since 1884. The Republicans do not hold any State convention; they do not nominate any candidates for governor and other State officers.

In one Congressional district they did so up to the time when the last Congress passed the annexation resolution, and what is known as the black district, where we strung the negroes together for the purpose of giving them one district, and then we turned around and took it away from them, having the usual greed of the Anglo-Saxon and his unwillingness to allow the colored race to dominate him or have any influence in government, just as you gentlemen northerners have done in the South.

I said there were no Republican nominations except for Congressmen in the black district. The Republican machine is composed of those who are appointed by the Republican President to the post-offices and the Federal pensions and the post-office collection, for the collection of the postal revenue, and the district attorney. They control the patronage. They send delegates to the national convention for the Republican party. It is as rotten a borough as any other State in the Union so far as Republican influence is concerned, because there is no hope, no possibility, of any electoral vote for any Republican there.

Well, in no candidates opposing our-Democratic nominees at the last election in November, being merely a ratification of the last election or nomination in August, what object is there for men to turn out and vote? They simply do not do it. Therefore, three or four thousand or four or five thousand in one Congressional district votes in November and ratify the action of the party in August.

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. WOLCOTT] I see is absent from the Chamber. I think if he had known all the circumstances of the debate he would not have waltzed into it in the way he did. His State in the last election in one Congressional district voted for a Union ticket. The colored ticket in Connecticut the same year the vote was 125,000, out of a total vote of 224,000. Nobody will contend that the vote of Massachusetts was suppressed; there was interference with anybody. I presume that the Republicans had a full swing there, as they have almost always had, except for occasional uprisings of the negroes; they felt that they were as safe, and enough Republicans went out, seeing that the Democrats were not active and were taking no interest, and voted to save the ticket and elected it. The Democrats feeling no interest in the election, knowing they could not carry it, remained at home. Nearly 400,000 voters in Massachusetts did not turn out.

Why not allow other people to have the same rights and exercise them when you are indifferent in politics? Why accuse us of the South always of suppressing and oppressing the colored race? We do enough of it; I do not dispute it; but we are not doing in my State half the devilish, nefarious, and dishonest as some of these to be done in this Hawaiian law that you are now enacting.

You said in 1867 and 1868, when you passed the constitutional amendments, that involuntary servitude in the United States and all the Territories thereof should cease, or in any territory under its dominion. In 1867, Mr. Chairman, Hawaii that there were 20,000 contract slaves there who were whirled when they refused to work and were driven to their work under the lash. What did you do? Did you put in a provision in the resolution of annexation annulling those contracts and protecting those people? No. What in your position do, or rather, what did this committee resolve colors do? The bill has been amended, but we have got to take it as the committee sent it here, as showing the latter-day Republican policy. Here is the way they brought it in. Here is the provision for which the committee stands sponsor and is responsible as far as its action goes. Any amendment or assistance or benefit to those people that will come from legislation will come from the Senate itself as proposed by the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts.

In Section 14 is the provision that contracts, rights of action, suits at law and in equity, prosecutions, and judgments existing prior to the taking effect of this act shall continue to be as effectual as if this act had not been passed.

In some section we reel the provision of the Hawaiian constitution and all the Hawaiian enactments or statutes failing that contract for compensation and whipping, and then turn around and say that all existing contracts must be fulfilled, and that the law, so far as they are concerned, must continue in effect. It is to give three or five more years of slave labor to the sugar corporations which are behind this bill. And behind this bill and behind this bill stands the Senate, who have sent their sugar in here until we have remitted duties to the amount of $80,000,000.

And then you get up and attack South Carolina because her vote is small! What kind of a vote do you propose to give those people? The proposition here is not and cannot be altogether a matter of no objection to that; we are doing it ourselves; but you go forward and say that Senators shall not be voted for by any man who does not own a thousand dollars' worth of property, whereas our provision is that if you own $300 worth and do not read and write you have the right to vote.

Now, in Hawaii in a way, the 4,000 white men or white women, with young men and children, Americans, 7,000 all told. I do not want them massacred. I do not want them put under the domination of the Kanaka. They are not going to be. If you were to let them loose, they would hire enough or control enough labor to take care of this labor. We have been doing it now in some of the Southern States, to elect their government; or they would cheat them, as we used to do. What I object to, gentlemen, is the hypocrisy of those in this Chamber who stand up here and contend and contend and contend that the South must be treated differently from other States. If that is the case, then the white man in the Southern States is not a citizen of the United States and must be disfranchised.

If it is good to have white supremacy in the Hawaiian Islands, why is it not in my State? We are Americans, gentlemen. The white people in that State are almost wholly the people that fought in the Revolution. There are but 9,000 foreign-born citizens in it; and if we are backward and old-fogy in some things, we love liberty as well as you do. We know the inherent superiority of the Anglo-Saxon, and when we were forced by the Federal Government to submit to the oppression of a majority of colored people, ex-slaves, from 1868 to 1875, when life had become not worth living on the terms you were giving it to us, we all rose in our manhood and, in spite of Grant and his army, we took the government away from those people. We have held it ever since, and we will hold it for all time.

I do not object the superior men in Hawaii being protected, but we protect them with hypocrisy and cant. Be men! Stand up! Come out and say why you do this thing.

This provision in the bill providing for contract laborers—that is, for the contracts with contract laborers being carried out—has been amended. The Senate has endeavored, and I have endeavored, to get the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts; but you still have all these judges appointed by the governor, with the governor recommended by the sugar planters to the President, with no means of communication between that country and this, with the large number of Americans over there who are not in the service, but of the senator, with the provisions of this bill looking to the perpetuation of the rule of wealth without regard to the old slogan of the Republican party, manhood suffrage, God, and morality, and brotherhood of man, and all of that old stuff which you believed in once and fought for, but which you now regulate.

Why do you not come out like men and say so if you have changed your position, if you no longer regard the colored races with the affection you once had for them, if you make no move looking to the protection of them in Hawaii or in Puerto Rico? Poor Puerto Rico is not provided for. I have a bill for the House, if it ever gets over; therefore I will not expatiuate on that. But what I am contending for here is that you ought not, as decent men, as Christian men, as self-respecting men, to lend your assistance and your votes to any scheme of government which in its essence is a mere despotism supported by States and the maintenance of an oligarchy of a few thousand or a few hundred rich men manipulating and controlling the rest.

Here is a letter which the Senator from Idaho [Mr. HEITFIELD]