That after the overthrow of the monarchy a property qualification was imposed upon voters for senators.

That this created a distinct class of conservative men who held in check the lower house and gave representation to those who by wealth and energy and capital and intelligence have built up the country.

That the natives have cast 4 votes to the Anglo-Saxons' 1.

That the native has not acquired the habit of self-government, and that to suppose he has would be to suppose the most remarkable feebleness of the rapid rise of a people from barbarism to advanced civilization.

That the natives have few wants, which are supplied by little labor; that they are naturally shiftless, improvident, and unacquisitive.

In 1840 every native was given a homestead in fee simple, but the majority of the natives have since parted with their homesteads and have spent the proceeds.

That a few retain their homesteads, but rent them out to Chinese and other tenants.

That they are herdsmen, excellent sailors, and drivers of horses in land and on plantations, but that very few take to merchandising, and those who do take to a primitive kind of merchandising, involving no capital, such as small retail fruit and fish stores.

That, being by the very necessity of the case "hewers of wood and drawers of water," without hereditary or acquired commercial tendencies, they entertain more or less political jealousy toward the whites.

That the white man, although personally and inwardly more privately friendly and dependent upon him, and that this jealousy is stimulated by irresponsible white "beachcomers" for purposes of their own.

That under the leadership of the white man, the native population might be divided into white representatives from the legislature or return white demagogues.

That the native is kind, affectionate, generous, well-meaning, quick to learn, and personally loyal, but is a child of the tropics, and believes the last story he hears.

That he has not yet learned to regard the ballot as a moral force, and that, being irresponsible financially, his domination of the legislature would probably lead to a period of political corruption in which the thrift, educated, and progressive classes would be obliged to purchase immunity from legislative oppression, and legislation would by reason thereof become a matter of bargain and sale.

That the "republic" and the proposed territorial government have been evolved out of a condition which was indeed supported by the native vote, but was abolished because the native race had grown too capable of self-government according to the Anglo-Saxon standard.

I have endeavors to present that argument just as strongly as it has ever been presented to the committee or could have been presented to the commissioners, who are honorable, conscientious men, and who visited the island.

I have endeavored to bring this question into consideration in dealing with this question: First, the Senate is composed of 15 members, elected from four districts, spread all over the islands, and the House is composed of 30 members, elected from six districts. It will be observed that the natives have abandoned their homesteads and have moved out and outposts, principally in Honolulu. This being true, it seems to me that it would be difficult for the natives so to spread themselves evenly over the districts as to be able to control the legislature in that way. That is one safeguard which presents itself to my mind. The next is this: It is conceded that the natives are many of them intelligent people, who are able to comprehend and appreciate the meaning of the electoral privilege and are capable of legislation.

Now, gentlemen—and I put this to my friend from Connecticut—this problem spreads itself beyond these islands and reaches a great, fundamental, underlying principle of our nationality.

Mr. HAMILTON. I was not on that committee.

Mr. HILL. Did not the commissioners who went to Hawaii report when they came back in favor of a property qualification?

Mr. HILL. I have so stated.

Mr. HILL. I have no further question. But for the acquisition of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines, would any change have been made in this matter of self-government for Hawaii?

Mr. HAMILTON. Oh, I do not think that had anything to do with it. I should like very much, if I had the time, to discuss the subject of Cuba and Puerto Rico and the Philippines, though those subjects have been pretty well discussed. I want to say to the gentleman from Connecticut that the Committee on Territories have reported this bill unanimously, both Republicans and Democrats supporting it. They have tried to consider these questions with absolute fairness. The question of Puerto Rico and the Philippines has not entered into the consideration of this bill at all. It has been our theory—and I think I voice the sentiments of the members of that committee—that each territory should come into the fraternity of this Union under its governmental control, whatever that may be, under our Congressional control, if you please—on its own basis, and the white man should be, at least, to the extent of the whites of the country, be able to take care of each territory as it presents itself.

Now, I say that that problem spreads beyond these islands and reaches the underlying and fundamental principles of our nationality. All that the advocates for a property qualification have said in their own behalf, I shall say in behalf of Hawaii—all that my friend from Connecticut could probably say.

Mr. HAMILTON. The gentleman must not make any mistake. I am not in favor of a property qualification—not at all—not under any circumstances anywhere. But I am opposed to starting a Territory government in Hawaii with four Kauka votes to every single vote of an intelligent white man.

Mr. HAMILTON. Does not the gentleman want to establish a government there?

Mr. HILL. I, do, but not in the kind of a government that this committee proposes.

Mr. HAMILTON. My time is too limited, and I presume the gentleman would not have an opportunity to present his views fully on this subject, or I should be interested in knowing what his scheme of government for that Territory might be. He is a very able man who is able to present, full fledged, a scheme of government offhand.

Mr. HILL. There is no hurry about it anyway.

Mr. HAMILTON. There is a good deal of hurry. Time enough has elapsed. They are afflicted with the bubonic plague, they are in suspense, and there should be some sort of government there.

Mr. HAMILTON. We propose to annex Hawaii, certainly, and we propose to give those people some sort of managing the conditions which exist there.

Now, let me proceed. I said that all that had been said here in favor of a property qualification for Hawaii has been said in favor of a property qualification for the Philippines, and so it was. For instance, Mr. Faley, in speaking of the English constitution of the eighteenth century, in his work on Moral Philosophy, says:

Before we ask to obtain anything more, consider duly what we have. We have a House of Commons, composed of 566 members, in which number are the representatives of all classes and of all conditions. In the army and navy and the law; the occupiers of great offices in the State, together with many private individuals, eminent by their knowledge, eloquence, and fortune, and to whom we never ask, 'Shall we include you in it or not?' 'Shall we consult your interests?' If such a number of such men be liable to the influence of the people, is there anything to be gained by including them? The danger? Does any scheme of representation promise to collect together more wisdom or to produce firmer integrity?

And yet what political party nowadays would dare to advocate a form of government as best because composed exclusively of rich men, officiores, landholders, bondholders, railroad magnates, and their hangers-on? No, a political party of the day would propose the Army and Navy officers! Our form of government gives representation to the slave, the Negro, the officer, and professions, from the frontier homestead to the brownstone front, from the merchant prince to the laborer in the ditch, and between the two great extremes of abject poverty and superfluous wealth is the great body of the plain people, in whose hands our national safety still rests, thank God. [Applause on the Republican side.]

People, with a few more turbulences, perhaps, than in Lincoln's day. We have passed from the era of jeans to creased trousers, and the style of parting the hair differs according to age and the amount of hair; but we are still plain people. And, gentlemen, when the plain people of this great and powerful Government can not be trusted, then indeed our country is in danger.

Commenting upon the English reform bills of 1832 and 1837, and the exercise of the franchise generally, in advocating its limitation to those having educational and property qualifications, Mr. Lecky, in his work on Democracy and Liberty, says:

Different methods will be employed. Sometimes the voter will be directly bribed, and sold. Sometimes he will be paid for money or for drink, in order to win him out of the pleasure of one who is more powerful, or to avert the displeasure of someone who is more powerful. But whatever the method, the voter is not to be greatly blamed if he is governed by such considerations.

A still larger number of votes will be won by persistent appeals to class feeling.

The demagogue will strive to persuade the voter that by following a certain line he is supporting his own class. He will encourage all his Utopias. He will hold out hopes that by breaking contracts or shifting taxation and the power of taxing or enrolling the one and the other, something of the property of one class may be transferred to another.

He will also appeal persistently, and often successfully, to class jealousies and prejudices. All the divisions which naturally grow out of class feeling and the relations between employer and employed will be studiously inflamed. He will appeal to the great forces in political propagandism. Every real grievance will be exaggerated. Every redress of grievance will be encouraged.