Upon these plantations are employed about 60,000 Asiatics, as well as a certain proportion of the Kanaka and Portuguese population. The tendency is to regard the Asiatic laborers as mere machines. Their food, their health, their sanitary conditions are looked after only with a view to maintaining their efficiency as machines. As to the Kanakas, they are a kindly people who have received a fair education, but who seem unable to withstand the contact of strong and vigorous races, and as a result the native race is gradually becoming extinct.

It is probable that these islands will support a population of a half million of people, and the development of the industries there will necessitate the increase of population by means of immigration from without. Chinese immigration is now prohibited by the United States laws, but other Asiatics, such as the Japanese, can enter, and they are crowding there in large numbers. Unless, therefore, we are content to allow the Japanese to gradually meet all the increasing requirements of these islands for laborers, we must devise some system by which the migration of citizens of the United States, white or black, or of the white people of other countries shall be promoted; and we can never expect to be able to successfully promote such migration if the laboring class is to be attached, as heretofore, in a semiservile capacity to the soil, without rights in it. The promotion, therefore, of small land holdings is absolutely essential to the promotion of a desirable immigration, and without the latter Hawaii will be republican in name only.

The task is a difficult one, I admit, but the more difficult it is the sooner we should enter upon it. We can not expect the class which has heretofore governed the islands, intelligent, public-spirited, and capable though it be, to work out the reforms that will be essential to the maintenance of republican institutions. They are the landed class. They are the beneficiaries of the system which now prevails there, a system which increases the dignity and wealth of the landowner and degrades the condition of the land laborer, a system which has given class the wealth which it possesses. It can never be expected that the beneficiaries of an abuse will reform that abuse. This is too much to hope of human nature. The landowning class will control the political government of Hawaii, and any reform in the future must be compelled and forced by the United States Government through its control over Hawaii as a Territory of the United States.

It is urged that the sugar industry is such as to require large holdings and semiservile labor, and that the climate of Hawaii is unsuited to the labor of any other class than that now employed there, and that therefore reform is hopeless. My answer is that by admission of Hawaii to the commercial union of the United States large markets have been given to her sugar production, which have vastly increased its value, and that we will be recreant to our duty if we permit the entire benefits of this increase of the value of their sugar product to go to capital instead of being divided into some fair proportion between capital and labor. Are we to perpetuate a system which will raise the value of sugar lands from $50 an acre to a thousand, two thousand, and three thousand dollars an acre and say none of the benefits of this system shall go to the labor employed upon the land? The very foundation of the protective system of this country is that monopoly of American markets given to American products tends not so much to the advantage of capital as it does to the elevation of labor. If, then, our tariff on sugar gives to Hawaii a share in the monopoly of American markets, should we not see to it that this advantage accrues to the labor as well as to capital; the men employed to the soil as well as the men who own the soil?

As to the climate, the very fact that 15,000 Portuguese are now employed there indicates that it is adapted to the white races. The immigration of the Italians and Portuguese can be encouraged there rather than the immigration of Asiatics. The Italians and Portuguese in our Western country constitute a very valuable part of our community. They are soon assimilated. Their children are educated in our schools and become familiar with and attached to our institutions. Then again, the climate is adapted to our negroes, who are now citizens of the United States, entitled to political rights; and then the overcrowded condition of Porto Rico offers an opportunity for the gradual transfer of thousands of people who are accustomed to a climate almost identical with that of Hawaii, and who have been trained in the very industries pursued in Hawaii. But the migration of the