I am willing to grant an amnesty to the American members of this distinguished juncture commission if it will do them any good, but can not under the proof grant them an acquittal.

In the report of the Bureau of Immigration of December, 1886, signed by Wray Taylor, our United States Hawaiian attorney, we find the following statements, on November 8, 1886:

**Applications for 5,925 Japanese laborers have been made at this meeting, on the understanding that no more applications were to come in until April, 1889, from any other area of obtaining permits at this meeting.**

Mr. Sewall, who made the labor conditions of Hawaii, was formerly minister to the island of Hawaii.

Mr. Sewall's report. Labor in Hawaii. United States Consular Reports, 1890.

The purpose of the following discussion is to trace an outline and fill in the information on the laborers and their conditions as they exist today.

There are four laborers: Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, Italian, Hungarian, Hawaiian, and others. Held under contract for three years when they are brought from foreign countries under agreement, and for the same or a shorter period when brought from the Hawaiian islands, to work certain contracts and signs his agreement before the Hawaiian consul at the port of embarkation in his own country. The board of immigration assigns these laborers to the companies, and the companies employ them.

The only other laborers now imported are Japanese. The companies supply them with food and clothing, and are responsible for the laborers' behavior and actions. The planteers have the advantage of the benefits of the laborers' activities, and the companies officially notify them of the contract's fulfillment.

Excesses are met by the planters in the first instance, afterwards, a sum, not to exceed $50 for each family, is paid by the government to cover expenses and passage of women and children accompanying the immigrants. Included in the expenses are transportation, quarantine expenses, etc., until assigned and delivered to the planteers. Emigrants receive occasional occurrences against detention, these companies provide in the shape of transportation, lodging, and other costs to the laborers or his friends to an amount equal to all expenses.

The only laborers now imported are Japanese. They are employed in the planteers' industries. The companies extend their services to the laborers in the form of boarding, lodging, and other necessities. The companies are responsible for the laborers' behavior and actions.

His photograph is taken for identification, and he is then assigned to a particular corporation.

The company provides the laborers with food and clothing, and is responsible for their behavior and actions. The companies supply them with food and clothing, and are responsible for the laborers' behavior and actions.

The laborers are shipped from the shipping office to the immigration companies. This results in the laborers' behavior and actions being controlled by the companies.

Several thousand are imported in each year. They are housed in barracks, and are paid according to the agreement between the laborers and the companies. The laborers are paid according to the agreement between the laborers and the companies.

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If the Constitution governs in the islands, then strike these contracts down as unconstitutional. Does the Hawaiian constitution, adopted July 3, 1884, govern? Then strike them down, for it provides that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist in the Hawaiian Islands.

If we then strike those down as un-American, as against public policy, as inhuman, you need not search for causes in the codes of law, morality, humanity. Compel the companies to enforce a law, a custom that has not been followed for many years.

Willyou take refuge from your duty by the provision in the American Constitution that no law shall be passed impairing the obligation of contracts? But here is a contract against the third party, and another provision that involuntary servitude shall not exist in the Hawaiian Islands.

You struck down all treaty rights of Hawaii with other nations and substituted your own. Will you now save its slave-owners?

Do your duty and sweep away a plague more dreadful than the black plague? We are told people on one of our Hawaiian Islands; more dreadful than the black plague has swept so many from the face of that country.

Was this refusal to pass a law prohibiting contract labor in Hawaii in last Congress, and so far in this Congress, by the ruling party, then the Constitution shall prevail over our country—over our territory?

Do you hesitate, and will you write in words in the Constitution, in our Supreme Court decisions, that will make the words "United States as sovereign and independent" a laugh? If you do this, labor will rise up to plague you, to haunt you, to defeat you. Will our Constitution be the constitution of those islands; of those contract laborers? I do not know; you do not know; but you are not likely to learn of it. This is the chaotic condition created by a departure from our traditions.

Let me describe this contract-labor system in the Hawaiian Islands. It is cheaper and more profitable to the landlords and mill owners than free labor; and as it is encouraged in every form, it unites and exists and shuts out American labor.

If a corporation—let us say, with its agent applied to the government for laborers, and the board of immigration, a government department, then makes application through a Japanese immigration company, that, under the regulations of the officialdom, has a monopoly, the plantation advancing the money to the company, and the company paying the laborer, the company, which is transferable, and thereafter is transferred to the corporations purchasing the laborers. The usual term of the contract is three years, but thousands have been brought in since the United States controlled the islands whose contracts ran from three to five years.

In America they are photographed, and a brass tag completes their badge of identification, their badge of slavery, and they are taken out to the plantation—laborers, indeed.

There are several reasons. Natural causes may render the work disagreeable and burdensome, as rain, cold, and thirst. The overseer will render the work disagreeable and burdensome; and as a result, a large number will not stay; it is a law of the Indies, and in the islands the staple of the laborers' wages is the cost of living away from the planteer. A Japanese will live on from $5 to $10 per month, a Chinaman from $9 to $11 per month, a Hawaiian from $10 to $12 per month; and the laborer's remittance is often a law of the Indies. The overseer makes the conditions of the laborers so as to prevent giving better wages. In the farms many away from their contract wages.”

Gladly give currency to the recent utterance of Senator Morgan, one of the Hawaiian commission:

We extend over those islands the laws and Constitution of the United States in force there; there was a contract left standing in Hawaii if it is opposed to the laws of the United States.

But contracts have been made since, and the amendment of Massachusetts, I believe, is concurrent. If the present form is an outrage upon the Constitution of the United States, for a law to be made which is deleterious to the whole, let it be opposed. If the present form is an outrage upon the Constitution of the United States, for the right of the people, the United States, there is the right of the people, the right to oppose the law. The people have power for the purpose of importing labor. Those contracts cannot be, or ought not to be, a law of any act of Congress. How can we afford to say that contracts which were made valid, made since the Hawaiian constitution, were invalid? If the present form is an outrage upon the Constitution of the United States, if the present form is an outrage upon the Constitution of the United States, we are bound to oppose it.

The Constitution of the United States operates as a prohibition upon Congress to invade any contract that was valid at the time it was made. I think so.

Does the Constitution of the United States govern the Hawaiian Islands? Of course, our whole land, or are we part free, part slave—slavery sickened one of the most beneficial institutions that ever touched the face of the earth? A law of the Indies, where the states have passed no law against slavery and involuntary servitude? A law of the Indies.

If neither govern, then strike them down as un-American, as against public policy, as inhuman. You need not search for causes in the codes of law, morality, humanity. Compel the companies to enforce a law, which has not been followed for many years.

Will you take refuge from your duty by the provision in the American Constitution that no law shall be passed impairing the obligation of contracts? But here is a contract against the third party, and another provision which involuntary servitude shall not exist in the Hawaiian Islands.

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