HAWAIIAN GAZETTE.

J. MOTT SMITH,
Director of the Government Press.

HONOLULU:
WEDNESDAY, NOV. 3. 1869.

BY AUTHORITY.

Edwin H. Boyd, Esq., has this day been appointed Commissioner of Private Ways and Water Rights, vice William H. Pease, Esq.

FERD. W. HUTCHISON,
Minister of Interior.

Home Office, Nov'r 2d, 1869.

NOTICE.

By order of the Board of Immigration, the Public are hereby notified that there are still a number of the Immigrants who arrived here by the bark *Manuelon*, consisting of nine men, and eleven women, with — children, whose contracts have not been disposed of. Any person applying for the same, will please remember that the whole party must be taken by one employer, unless the consent of single individuals is first obtained. For particulars, apply to

CHAS. T. GULICK,
Sec'y of Board of Immigration.

Home Office, Oct'r 9, 1869.

D. NUUHIVA, Agent for the granting of Marriage Licenses in the districts of Koolau and Hanalei, Island of Kauai, has been removed from office this day.

FERD. W. HUTCHISON,
Minister of Interior.

Home Office, Oct 25, 1869.

AKANA, a Chinese, who took the oath of Allegiance in the office of the Department of the Interior, on the 21st day of August, A. D. 1869, is requested to bring his certificate for examination.

FERD. W. HUTCHISON,
Minister of Interior.

Home Office, Oct 26, 1869.

List of Tax Collectors for 1869.

OAHU.	
Honolulu	Geo. H. Luce
Ewa and Waianae	J. W. Keawehunahala
Waialua	W. C. Lane
Koolauloa	Paukiolani
Koolaupoko	W. P. Wood
MAUI.	
Lahaina	P. H. Treadway
Wailuku	H. Kuihelani
Makawao	J. Keohokuna
Hana	J. Lyons
Molokai and Lanai	D. Kaopeahina
HAWAII.	
Hilo	G. W. Akao Hapai
Hamakua	W. H. Rogers
North Kohala	P. Kamakaala
South Kohala	S. F. Chillingworth
North Kona	J. G. Hoapili
South Kona	Chas. F. Hart
Kau	L. E. Swain
Puna	S. B. Puamana
KAUAI.	
Hanalei	Sam'l Wilcox
Anahola	Solomona Kamahalo
Lihue	D. K. Fyfe
Koloa	J. Smith
Waimea	G. B. Rowell
Niihau	Frank Sinclair

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If the public meetings, held of late, mean anything, they mean that no more Chinese, no more Manahikis, no more labor of any kind, shall be brought into this Kingdom; they mean that the foreign population ought to remain as it is, and as the demand for skilled labor falls off, the income of the Mechanic and the Artisan ought to be restored by protective duties.

Times are hard; demand for skilled labor is slow; receipts of business of all kinds is unsatisfactory, while cost of living is comparatively high. Something ought to be done to restore the good times, and the mechanics who are said to have been the soul of these late meetings, have declared the cause of this trouble to be, competition—the farm laborers won't remain farm laborers, therefore we will have no more of them.

We don't object, they say, to a spontaneous immigration, which we very well know will not come, and therefore do not fear; but we do object to an immigration, which will supply the fields of the agriculturalists, and the want of rude labor for the country, by a people who can be had, by fair means and in a just way. We are bound to oppose the only methods by which such immigration can be secured. We will cut the tow-line and then the immigrant ship may drift here if she can. The mechanics do not want what the farmers do want, yet the interests of both these industrial classes are allied and dependent on each other.

There has come a change in the business of these islands. Whereas years ago, the main bulk of our incomes was derived from the yearly recruiting of hundreds of whalers in our ports; the merchant his profits, the mechanic his work, and the day laborer his wages; now we must look chiefly to the soil—to the ground which will not yield its riches except to intelligent skill and persevering industry. Hence the capital of these islands has been forced to abandon the sea, except to a limited extent, and try its chances upon the land. It has begun to dig in the soil, and nobly has it persevered through a hundred discouragements, raising our exports in a few years from a small figure, to about $2,000,000 annually. This employment of capital is bringing back prosperity to our islands; is developing our resources; is building up our business on the true foundation of wealth, and is turning a golden current to our shores that will increase in volume and strength, if we do not play the fool. Good times follow in the wake of successful agriculture, and good times means increase of population, plenty of work for laborers and mechanics, and satisfactory profits to the merchant.

We speak advisedly when we say that mechanics are cherishing the notion, that the laborers on the sugar estates are inimical to their prosperity, and that because the planter must have them, therefore the planter is inimical also; therefore, cut his foundation from under him and let him shift for himself. In his self-seeking, the planter will not only employ his men in the fields, but teach them the higher sorts of work, and by so much, cheapen that kind of work as to deprive us of our chance. He will turn them loose upon us—men brought here for field hands, therefore keep them in the fields, or deport them from our shores.

Has the hard times to the mechanic come about through the sugar estates? Have the mechanics got the right bull by the horns, when they seek to cripple the plantations through a refusal to allow laborers to be brought in? Is not the troubling cause, the uncertain market to which we must, perforce, send our sugars? A market that is so unsteady, that no planter knows, when he begins to plant, what will be the footing of his sales, or whether he will not bring up with a tremendous loss when the last keg has been disposed of? The planter has really had more to contend with, more risks to run and obstacles to encounter, than the laborer on his fields, or the mechanic or any one else, who directly or indirectly, has benefitted by his sugar-growing.

Let those gathered at the public meetings, if any will seek a better way, turn their attention and energies to seeking out and securing a paying and certain market for our sugars. When this is secured and sugars pay, every trade, work and labor on these islands will pay also, and everybody will have plenty of business, with satisfactory results therefrom. Let it be borne in mind, that up to the present time, the results of sugar planting have inured, not to owners of plantations, but to the laborer, the mechanic, and the population at large, of these islands. These latter have received the greater part of the money invested in the plantations and derived from the sales of sugars, while the former have yet to receive any profits from their enterprises.

It was good times for the mechanic, the merchant, the laborer, and the people at large, so long as the plantations were in progress of formation. The capital that was lying idle, came from its hiding place and flowed into the pockets of the laborer, the mechanic, the sailor, and other classes, as it changed itself from coin, into buildings, machinery, implements and cultivated fields. So flowed, also, the capital brought from other countries to supplement our own, in building up these estates; so flowed, and has continued to flow, up to this date, all the proceeds of the sugars taken from the land and sold in the market for account of owners.

It is a significant fact, stated by a speaker at one of the meetings, and one worthy of consideration by the workingmen of these islands, ere they lift their hands against our farmers—that since 1860, six million of dollars has been put into the pockets of the people of this country, while not a single dollar has as yet lodged in the pockets of owners of many of our plantations.

Capital may have reason to be discouraged, but workingmen have no occasion to interpose barriers in the way of final success. So long as plantations were being started and spending capital for that purpose, skilled labor was abundantly employed, and scarcely a man came to our shores that could not find employment; but the day came when expense must be shortened, and be made to fall within the income—the income uncertain, through a limited market and uncertain prices. Work except that specially required by an established plantation, fell off, and skilled labor could only hope for employment, to the same extent as before, through the inauguration of new plantations. The times have not been favorable to such a development, hence the present stagnation—the hard times to those, whose employment must depend upon the success of invested capital.

The hope of our people, one and all, lies in the increase of the cultivation of the soil, in sugar or other products, as may prove feasible and profitable, and to this we should direct our intelligence and energies. The day of such increase, we believe, is near at hand, but in the meantime, let us not with suicidal hand, strangle the agricultural children that we already have, in the vain hope that any one of us will better himself, his business, or the country, by such an insane proceeding.

On Thursday evening, there was another meeting at Kaumakapili Church, pursuant to adjournment. The meeting was promptly called to order, at the time appointed, by the Chairman—William Claude Jones, Esq.,—who expressed his views that the law might be so modified as to avoid constitutional objections, and to cover any case that might arise. He thought that the subject should receive a very careful consideration, so that such a result might be arrived at as no man in this Kingdom could find fault with. Whilst this gentleman was speaking, in a courteous manner, which was quite creditable, and when he had finished, the idea was forcibly suggested to some of his hearers, that he proposed to himself an immense task—to frame a law so that no man in the Kingdom "shall be able to find any fault." The Colonel's talents, in this respect, evidently transcend, in his own estimation, those of any other man who has preceded him in the long list of law-givers. One naturally reflected, too, in this way: This gentleman, and some other new lights, are now advising us that these laws are contrary to the Constitution. How is it that it never occurred to the framers of the Constitution of 1852? It would appear, if these men are right, that they would have a sure thing of it to bring a case before the Supreme Court, and get the case declared unconstitutional, and thereby secure to themselves immortal fame and honor for their discovery, and save themselves an immensity of trouble.

Mr. Jones recommended that the 3d and 4th Resolutions, which read as follows,

3. *Resolved*, That as the laws of this Kingdom do especially favor the introduction of such laborers, by legalizing foreign contracts for service, and by providing a penal enactment for the enforcement of such contracts, it is advisable that the law to that effect be repealed.

4. *Resolved*, That laws enforcing contracts to service by penal enactment, tend to injustice, and are contrary to the spirit of the age,

should be considered together, which was done accordingly, and the Resolutions were adopted with great unanimity. But the Hon. Godfrey Rhodes having remarked that he desired to speak, and that the President and Secretary had put the motion very precipitately,—were "too sharp," indeed.—Mr. Joseph O. Carter moved a re-consideration, which was duly carried, when Mr. Robert E. Wakeman again moved the passage of the above Resolutions, whereupon Mr. Rhodes spoke to the following effect:

I have not been able to attend the previous meetings, and therefore have been able to form an opinion regarding the discussions only through the necessarily imperfect reports of the newspapers. Labor—and a good, steady, and abundant supply of it—is the great desideratum in this country, and if all the natives would work industriously, there would still be an insufficient supply; and no one should take hold of this subject to speak of it, for the purpose of furthering any ends of their own—what I might call personal, or, perhaps, party ends—addressing those who are unaccustomed to consider such questions, for the purpose of misleading them, for their own ends. Those who are getting up this excitement have everything to gain and nothing to lose, and are getting it up as a mere cry to mislead the people.

[One can hardly see what they have to gain—although it may be true that they have nothing to lose—unless they think they will get notoriety, and that is a gain.—ED. GAZ.]

I have lived here a great many years—more than thirty—and have seen the country advance from poverty, when no lands could be obtained for agricultural purposes, and when, what evermoney could be amassed by trade was carried out of the country, to its present very creditable state of prosperity. This town then consisted of a small collection of grass huts, which has grown to be the present very pretty, if small, city. The plantations are the cause of this, and this prosperity gives life and business to all forms of mechanical pursuits. I therefore deplore the attempt to array the feelings and interests of Mechanics against this interest. We need labor, and must import it. I, myself, entered into the first project to bring the Chinese here, in conjunction with the late Judge Lee, Mr. James F. B. Marshall, and one or two others, and I employed them at Kauai. I always found them good, faithful and industrious laborers, and I believe that to be the experience of the country, generally. With regard to the contract laws, I consider them good and just laws. If I make a contract to pay money, and do not do it, the law will compel me to do it to the utmost of my ability—selling out my furniture, and all my property, to fulfill that contract: why not compel a man to keep his contract to pay labor, as well? There is no PENAL enactment, justly so called, for non-compliance. It is a coercive enactment—not an enactment to punish a man for not doing a thing, but an enactment to coerce him to do faithfully what he has agreed to. Please, Mr. Secretary, to read the 1417th, 1419th, 1420th, '22d and '23d Sections of the Civil Code. [This the Secretary did, and Mr. Rhodes continued:] I call upon the lawyers to tell us whether that is a penal enactment,—a punishment for not doing or for doing any thing. Why should you endeavor to make men believe that it is a hardship to fulfill their contracts, deliberately entered into, or inculcate the (as it appears to me,) immorality of not keeping them? Faith in contracts is the very soul of all enterprises, and if we can not depend upon them, and upon the ability to enforce them—if the contractor is unwilling to keep them—all will be confusion, bankruptcy, ruin.

Mr. Rhodes spoke a long time,—somewhat over three quarters of an hour. During the latter part of his remarks, the audience manifested much impatience. Mr. Carter, rising again, remarked that:

Out of courtesy to the last speaker, he had made a motion to re-consider, which had been carried, and he had repaid it by personality—saying that those who were prominent in opposing his views were getting up a party cry, and that they had nothing to lose and everything to gain thereby.

Mr. Rhodes wholly disclaimed any intention of being personal.

Indeed, throughout, it may be observed that some gentlemen, not particularly careful about the form or application of their own remarks, were very sensitive to any suggestions regarding themselves, other than those of the most flattering nature. Mr. Lyons, however, magnanimously offered to take the reflections of Mr. Rhodes on his own shoulders.

Mr. Widemann then offered to lay before the meeting the Resolutions which had been drawn up by the Majority Committee, and reported at the Armory, but the meeting refused to hear them read, or to take any notice of them.

Mr. S. N. Castle then addressed the meeting:

Increasing years warn me against evening meetings, and nothing but a sense of duty brings me here, to-night. The adoption of these Resolutions will, in my opinion, be a blow aimed at the prosperity of the country. The effect of that blow, I can not tell, but, nevertheless, its aim is the same. To insure the prosperity of the country, all must have the opportunity to prosper, alike. Why you should say that a contract made in a foreign country, should not be binding in this, I can not see. There should be a penalty for the non-fulfillment of labor contracts. The law is equally binding on the master and servant, and as long as you are obliged to give advances in order to secure labor, the employer should be protected in his rights as well as the servant in his. The laws are equal and just, and in accordance with God's laws, and the fitness of things. Laws are not made to make good men do their duty,—they need no laws—but they are made to restrain the bad, and compel them to do right. If you will read the laws—they are framed to compel the employer to heed and perform every part of his contract, and if he does not do it, penalties are affixed. Why should not the employed be likewise bound in the same manner to perform his? I have been concerned in several plantations as agent.

The speaker mentioned them, and showed that by sales and transfers from the original owners, they had not realized what they had expended, by a very large sum—understood to be more than a million of dollars.

Mr. Castle continued: Now nearly all this money that was theirs has gone to their employees. Your coasters, besides about five millions, proceeds of the crops, your trades, your laborers have been supported by it. Overthrow the plantations—bring them down, and you will bring down all the prosperity you have. Its useless to talk of raising wages. We get all the labor there is at the present rate, and the business will not bear to raise them. I know of no country where the rights of all—the laborer as well as the employer—are better protected than here.

Mr. Castle was very brief, and was listened to respectfully, though the meeting was evidently impatient at being detained by any expression of views dissenting from the Resolutions.

A. F. Judd, Esq., observed that two gentlemen, venerable for their years, and of large experience in the country, had spoken in favor of the present labor system. He believed in calling things by their right names, and did not understand the difference between the words "penal" and "coercive," as applied to the labor contracts in this country. He had known, and might say had reverenced Judge Lee, and undoubtedly, twenty years ago, the Judge had talked and acted differently from what he would now, if alive, under altered circumstances and at different times. Mr. Castle has spoken of the fitness of things: if therich man fails to fulfill his contract, he pays money, and does not go to prison. But a poor man has not got the money, and therefore goes to prison. This is wrong, and there is no "fitness of things" in doing wrong. Mr. Judd remarked that other people had thrown down the gauntlet, and "we" have picked it up. He did not indicate wherein the altered circumstances exist, to which he alluded, when referring to Judge Lee—whether in the increase of the number of available laborers in the country, or in the decrease of the demand for them. Nor did he seem to notice the fact that by the 1423d Section of the Civil Code, if the master is guilty of any violation of the terms of the contract—and among violations, refusal to pay is certainly one— the servant is free from his contract; the master, fined; and "in default of the payment thereof, shall be imprisoned at *hard labor* until the same is paid;" i. e., if the employer will not pay that which he has agreed to pay, and CAN pay—money—he must go to prison until he will pay it. And if the laborer will not pay that which he has agreed to pay, and can pay—labor—he must go to prison until he will pay labor; with the advantage in favor of the laborer, that if, on account of sickness, he can not pay the labor, his employer must care for him, and cure him, if he can. Mr. Judd made allusion to Gen. Butler, and a water-wheel of a factory being attached to answer to a suit for an operative's wages, at Lowell. That is the way, says the speaker, that the courts and public opinion favor the laborer in Massachusetts. Mr. Judd did not point out in what the protection afforded here to a laborer sueing for his wages, would be less than in Massachusetts.

Mr. Thomas Hughes obtained the floor, and said he came here under contract, and expected to be held to its performance and hold others to it, and did not think that any sensible man would start away from any country to go to a strange one, without having an assurance that the engagement with him should be kept, and could see no reason for abolishing the law giving effect to contracts made in foreign countries. Contracts should be fulfilled, and no honorable men would try to avoid them, and he could not see the advantage of withdrawing those guards which would compel those men to keep them who are unwilling to do so. When the plantations were in full blast and increasing in number, he employed about 200 men (as it reached us,) at the Honolulu Iron Works, and if it could keep up to that quantity of work, he never would have sold out. Now they are employing, as I believe, about twenty-five. Any mechanic who cannot stand against a Chinaman, ought to fall. They make good, industrious citizens, and are a benefit to the mechanic—as they supply the greater part of the vegetable market, and supply the mechanic with board, at least, cheaper than he could otherwise procure it.

Mr. C. J. Lyons said that the effect of this kind of labor is, to bring down *our* wages. [Whether Mr. L. is fearful that the Chinese will be employed in writing for the *Kuokoa* or any other paper which he is connected with, or merely, by a playful figure of speech, was flattering the working-man by exhibiting to him the sympathy which a Philanthropist and a Philosopher could have with him, is unknown to your reporter.] He proceeded to say that the venerable gentlemen who had addressed them, (Mr. Castle and Mr. Rhodes) had got behind the age, and had not, in his opinion, read much political economy. Free competition and remunerative wages, that is the great principle involved here. [Mr. L. is evidently of the opinion that he can teach his grandmother some essential principles of domestic economy.

"—when young indeed,
In full content we, sometimes, nobly rest,
Unanxious for ourselves; and only wish,
As dutious sons, our fathers were more wise."]

Mr. L. likewise observed that it had been asked, how contracts for labor were to be enforced? Why trust to the honor of the laborer? In the United States, every person who is about to leave a place, wants, and endeavors to obtain a certificate of character; without such a certificate, a person cannot get a new place. "As for guano-digging and sea-going, they are essentially different from sugar-growing." [A style of argument which is equally applicable in comparing sugar-growing and cotton-spinning. And Mr. Castle, when he has recovered from the stunning effect of Mr. L's argument, that Mr. C. has been falling behind, whilst Lyons has been getting so enlightened, may possibly ask, with regard to the certificates of character, if there is not a difference between a community where laborers are many and want is great, and one where labourers are very few and want is almost impossible. But Mr. L., having informed the meeting that Mr. C. was an old fogy, and how they did things in Massachusetts, sat down, surrounded, and it may be, dazzled, mentally speaking, with the effulgence of his own light.]

The next speech was the event of the evening, and it was fortunate for the speaker that Mr. Rhodes desired to speak, or else the resolutions would have been passed so promptly, that his speech would have been entirely lost.

Mr. J. O. Carter commenced his remarks by saying that "much has been said about sympathy for the planters, by several speakers. He had sympathized with them himself, but now felt convinced that it was not necessary. A class of men that can evoke the aid of the Ministry, a Judge of the Supreme Court, a Banker, and many of our merchants, can care for itself; instead of sympathy, it should excite alarm." [By the same reason, any good thing that enlists the sympathy or excites the interest of these gentlemen, should excite alarm.] "He was opposed to the system of contract labor, initiated and supported by the Board of Immigration." [This was a figure of rhetoric probably—the system of contract labor having been "initiated" in 1851, say thirteen years previous to the Board of Immigration having been thought of.] "Claimed that the system which contracts give a semblance of decency to, is only a modification of slavery. The machinery which perfects the coolie system is identical with that which gave force to African slavery. In China, strife is engendered, prisoners are taken and sold to parties who are gathering 'laborers.' The gambler stakes his body, and losing, goes to the barracoon. All the evil in human nature is appealed to. The pen or barracoon is an institution in China as well as in Africa. The crowding on board of ships pertains to both systems." [More figure of speech, seeing that the Chinaman brought here were brought under the British Emigration Act, and could not be crowded.] "He would not claim that this system prevailed at Hongkong to the extent that it did in other places, but would prove, before closing, that abuses existed under our system, which would warrant the belief that other abuses had been practiced. At the last meeting, a member of the Board of Immigration said that 'the Chinese could all read their contracts, and had yet to see the first one who could not read it, or who would say that he had not signed it,' and repeatedly challenged any one to prove to the contrary. He had taken the trouble to look into the matter, and was prepared to take up the challenge."

[Mr. Harris is reported in the *P. C. A.* of Oct. 23d—with which paper Mr. Carter is connected—as having at the previous meeting, "Repeatedly challenged any man to show, or to stand up and say that he could produce a coolie who did not understand his contract. He had yet to see the first one who could not read it, and who would say he had not signed it. They have never said they did not understand their contracts, and it is so with the Japanese and Manahikis. You can't bring one of them who will say to the contrary."

It will be seen that the whole gist of the "challenge" was, "to produce a coolie who didn't understand his contract," and if the two sentences reported in the same paper are compared together, the change made by Mr. Carter will be more creditable to his ingenuity than to his fairness of debate. In point of fact, Mr. Harris had said at the preceding meeting, whilst replying to the oft repeated assertion, that the Chinese were deceived or forced into their position; that he had been a member of the Board of Immigration from the beginning; that on the arrival of the ships *Roscoe* and *Alberto*, he had, in company with Mr. Parke and Mr. Widemann, (who was then by his side) seen to the reception and distribution of these passengers, and by the aid of competent interpreters, from shore and ship, each man had been called who had presented his contract, as the number was called, and was asked if he agreed to all the terms of it, and each assented to it. That one gentleman in the room, at least, (whom Mr. H. mentioned) had been an observer of the fact for a considerable time; that subsequently, though many had been before the Board of Immigration—in gangs sometimes—complaining of their employers, none—not one had ever said that he did not understand his contract, and upon that, would appeal to the Police Magistrate, who was sitting before him, and had likewise examined many cases. That as far as it had been brought to his observation, most, if not all of them, could read their contracts.

However, he says he proceeded to Mr. Wood's plantation. He does not say that he invited any one to go with him who might be inclined to cross-question, as it were. Mr. C's inquiries were strictly *ex-parte*, and he says this was the result of his examination:]

"He had visited a plantation in the neighborhood of the city—that of J. H. Wood—in company with a competant interpreter and had there examined ten Chinese coolie laborers. He had found out of the ten one who could read and write; one who could read but not write; and eight who could neither read nor write. Not one of them had signed the contract or paper by which he was held, and there was not one of the contracts in which could be found the name of the coolie claimed to be held under it. Three knew the contract by sight; seven could not pick out the contracts by which they were held. None of them had seen the contracts until after they had gone on board the ship which brought them here. One had visited the vessel chartered to bring them here and was satisfied that it was not desirable to go on the voyage, had not signed a contract or received one, but was prevented from going on shore again. Another case which Mr. C. had enquired into was that of a Chinese coolie, a cook, held by contract by Mr. P. C. Jones, Jr. He was questioned before Messrs. Afong & Aebuck, merchants, through a competent interpreter, and the following were the questions and answers:

Q. What is your name in Chinese? A. Ahnese. (The name in the contract is Meegahieong)

Q. Can you read and write Chinese? A. Yes.

Q. Did you read this contract before leaving China? A. Never read it, but had a paper given me after I got on board ship.

Q. Did you sign this contract? A. No

Q. Did you sign any contract? A. No

Q. Did you read any contract before going on board the ship? A. No.

Q. Did you know you were hired for five years? A. Yes.

Q. Did you know you were to work for anybody here who would hire you? A. Yes.

Q. Where were you born? A. In Chung-lo-in. (The contract says born in Shenon.)

Q. What is your age at present? A. Twenty-four. (By the contract was aged 24, Aug. 18, 1865.)

Q. How were you secured to come here, and what inducements were held out to you? A. Notices were put up in the streets at Hongkong that men were wanted to go to Honolulu; I made application, and was informed that I could find work at Honolulu at much better rates than in China. I received an advance of $8, besides one pair of shoes and some clothes. Was told that I was to receive $4 per month on the vessel, and to get much higher wages as a stone mason, (his trade) after arrival here.

Q. What wages did you use to receive in China? A. Sometimes 50 cents a day; sometimes 37½ cents, 30 cents and 25 cents.

Mr. C. proceeded quite at length in his remarks, and called up Mr. J. H. Wood, to make a statement, which is thus reported in the *P. C. A.*:

"A bad lot of coolies had been brought here. Dr. Hillebrand had been deceived in China. The good coolies he had selected to send here had been smuggled away, and bad, old and decrepit ones substituted for them. The Doctor had tried to get good people, but had been deceived. He had written so to the Board of Immigration that it was a gross imposition on this community."

Mr. Wood proceeded more at large to give his views regarding the composition of the Board of Immigration, and what it should be; thought a Board the best means of conducting the matter; though he had thought differently, and thought the Board should be enlarged. If Dr. Hillebrand would deny the letter, he would give his authority to the Board of Immigration.

Mr. Carter continued, on Mr. Wood's taking his seat, and Dr. Hillebrand, thinking himself called for, came forward. Mr. Carter, manifesting a disposition to keep the floor, some confusion ensued between cries of "hear him!" "hear the Doctor!" and counter cries. Mr. Harris called out: "Sit down, Doctor, and let them blackguard you!"

Mr. Carter remarked, "no one is being blackguarded here,"—and gave way—whereupon Dr. Hillebrand said, that any one, who pretended to compare the manner in which the Chinese sent by him from Hong Kong, with the Macao Coolie trade was a foul slanderer. That there was no Chinaman who had been deceived at all, regarding his contract, but on the contrary the whole thing had been committed to Mr. Lobscheid, whose name in China was a guarantee for all that was pure and good. Mr. L. had been famous there, a missionary for many years, and that he (Mr. L.) who was acquainted with the Chinese language had taken personal supervision of the whole matter. There was no such thing as a barracoon. But the men mustered into a house that had been appointed by the Colonial Government where they were entirely free to go and come as they pleased. The form of this contract was posted up in the house where they were mustered—That on the day of the ship sailing he had repaired on board, with the Rev. Mr. Lobscheid a government interpreter and the British Commissioner of Immigration, and the contract was read over to them, paragraph by paragraph, and at the end of each paragraph they were asked if they heard it, understood it, and agreed to it, and finally—when the anchor was under foot—and the sails were being loosed—they were told by the Commissioner that if there was any one who did not wish to go, then was the time for them to go ashore, and he might go. This I saw and heard myself, left the ship to go ashore and before I got to land the ship was standing down the harbor bound for Honolulu. I never wrote any such letter as that mentioned by Mr. Wood to the Board of Immigration or any member thereof or to anybody else. I wrote that women had been substituted but not men, and that of the first hundred men mustered for the first ship. I had good reason to think that some had got possession of the tickets, not any considerable number but some. A good deal of talk has been made on the idea that the names of some Chinese have not been found in the contracts, to which they have responded. It may be so, and it can be easily explained by the fact, that the contracts, are all the same; and that the clerk after the contracts had been sent to me to be signed, having been previously signed to and signed by the Chinamen, was not careful in distributing them, and to the people, it was of little consequence, which paper they obtained. If any one, became possessed of another's contract or ticket of acceptance, certainly no deceit was practiced upon the man who thus substituted himself for another and no one was responsible for the change except the Chinaman himself.

The Doctor having made his statement Mr. Carter resumed with some further rhetorical flourishes—and as that the system was founded in deceit and sustained by force—not condescending to mention the deceit of whom or the where the force was, but evidently borrowing from some other oratorical light—Went off into Egyptian bondage. Said that Egyptian bondage which was so signally punished by God, was freedom compared to it. The Hebrew slave had every seventh day, every seventh year, all the days devoted to national festivals, and the privilege on all family festivals evidently without the smallest reference to the fact that the laborer here has every seventh day—Sunday—and a large portion of another day—Saturday—and all the other days mentioned and that his stipulated time does not reach to seven years—and that the Hebrew had no voice in entering into the agreement. He could redeem himself, or his friends could so whenever they had the requisite amount, and the law required that it should be equitable. If he escaped from his master he was never to be restored. Not adverting to the idea that the Chinaman had no occasion to buy himself because he was no man's property, but had stipulated voluntarily for hire, for just the time he chose to serve. And then went off into a question from a pamphlet regarding Sir J. P. Grant's administration in Jamaica. And in sounds as Sir J. P. Grant did not own a plantation (how he found that out did not appear) suggested that the Administration of this country should be changed and placed in the hands of some who do not own plantations—did not mention the names of the persons. But he did not state how the fact of Sir J. P. Grant's administration in Jamaica, having been a successful one, bears upon the idea that a law for the specific performance of a contract of labor, which prevails in Jamaica, to-day, ought to be abolished. And wound up with an exhortation to his hearers to assert the dignity of labor.

Mr. T. H. Davies endeavored to get a hearing, but this was strenuously resisted by Mr. Carter and others but after a time he was permitted to proceed as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN:—I think it must have occurred to many, as it has done to myself, that this meeting, or series of meetings is to a considerable extent, in the hands of three or four gentlemen who call each other "we," but who appear to be linked together by a bond of prejudices, rather than by any special unity in political principles or theory; a kind of moral Ishmaelites in fact, except that if their hand is (as some think) against every man, no man's hand seems to be particularly directed against them. [Here was great excitement—great outcries of unparliamentary language. The Chairman, getting on his feet, declared he considered it personal to himself. Mr. Carter was likewise of that view—it making all the difference as to whether your ox gored my cow, or the contrary.

I regret that I was unable to gather from the formal announcement of the resolutions on Thursday evening, a full appreciation of their terms; but I confess that a subsequent perusal does not lead me to any great advance in this knowledge. The second resolution (passed the other evening) reads as follows, adopting the definition given of the word "coolie:"

"That the further introduction into this country of Chinese Asiatic male laborers, bound to service for a term of years, is undesirable."

Mr. Chairman, I have said that the gentlemen who have formed themselves into the opposition, or as they may prefer to be called the "party of action," have manifested more identity of prejudice, than of principle. I would ask whether there is anything but prejudice against the Chinaman, in this second resolution? If it does not mean that, it means nothing; for the contract system is dealt with, in the resolution now under consideration. If I am wrong why are not the words "Chinese" and "Asiatic" omitted, and the resolution brought forward on the clear principle,

"That the introduction of male laborers bound to service for a term of years is undesirable."

As it is, a resolution was passed amidst screams of delight, by whose provisions you may bring as many male laborers as you see fit from Japan, Siam, India, or any other country in or out of Asia, except only China, and they may be bound to service for a term of years as long as they and you may see fit.

I admit, sir, that the resolution was judiciously worded, so as to bear, when read casually, a very different meaning; but it appears to me, there are two classes of men who are so unhappy as to have excited the hostile prejudices of the legal and literary gentlemen who are arrayed against them—the Planters and the Chinese.

It is true that the member for South Kona deprecates any anti-Chinese movement, and also states that many of the planters are his clients, and that he does not wish them to fall on evil days; but you will have observed, sir, that the members of the firm take distinct departments, and another gentleman states that under certain circumstances he would yield a point and let the planter go under, adding that he has already withdrawn what money he had advanced on plantation security, so that he is happily prepared for any contingency that may befall the passengers in the doomed ship.

Mr. Chairman, some of us have been accused of pooh-pooh-ing a scheme proposed by these gentlemen for supplying the want we are met to discuss. I hardly thought, Sir, the proposal was seriously made. Why one of the heinous charges against the planter is, that they seek to bring at their own expense a number of Chinese and others who will, after a term of years be "thrown on society," whatever that may mean. And the remedy is to vote $100,000 in the next biennial Legislature to be expended in the same object, but without the years of delay. This would be a possible boon to the planter but I do not see where the mechanics and Hawaiians who are to pay the cost, are to look for their recompense, and in a moment of selfishness it might occur to some of them that there was a tinge of absurdity in their paying the expenses hither of men who on arrival would be as likely to take the trade of a mechanic as of a sugar cultivator.

I picture to myself the arrival in Chinese waters of the vessel chartered for this philanthropic enterprise, and I suggest that the originators of the scheme be prevailed upon to accompany the expedition, so as to carry out satisfactorily their humane views.

And how would they be received? A few years ago a man, for a wager, stood on London Bridge for a whole day, offering golden guineas at a penny each. He could not sell one, and I doubt if this expedition would be any more successful. Why, sir, the very liberality of the terms offered would excite distrust, and the unromantic Chinese would believe the strangers came on a kidnapping cruise from Peru, or that they were a band of too confiding missionaries

"From Greenland's icy mountains,"

I am satisfied, Mr. Chairman, that not one of these gentlemen can candidly think out this scheme as a practical one. One speaker, (Mr. Carter,) claimed the other evening that we should at least give each other credit for honesty and sincerity. For myself I can say that I listened to his remarks with the full conviction that they were the honest expressions of his opinions. The earnestness of voice and manner must have proved this to those who listened; but it is one thing to believe in the sincerity of a man's convictions, and another thing to adopt them.

This gentlemen further stated that no system ought to stand that could not bear the application of printers' ink. Mr. Chairman, I agree fully in this idea, but I believe that printers' ink misapplied is apt to daub more than any other ink. There are delicacies about the political as well as the mechanical machinery of this world, which cannot be guided by a mere desire to do right, and he who uses printers' ink, has a terrible responsibility if his views be not sound as well as honest.

In the course of my literary researches, I remember to have met with an incident which, I am glad to think, not inaptly illustrates the position of parties here to-night. I refer to the record of certain love passages stated to have occurred between Mr. Bumble and the respected matron of the establishment in which were spent the earlier years of Oliver Twist.

You may remember, Sir, that in the course of that memorable tea-drinking, Mr Bumble had used an expression with regard to his hostess's cat which had induced the lady to call him hard-hearted; and that so long as they sat opposite each other, the matron would not be prevailed upon to retract the harsh reproach. In consequence, Mr. Bumble pushed his chair farther and farther from the lady's side, and what was the result? Mr. Chairman, it was a round table and Mr. Bumble was greatly surprised no doubt, to find himself "so near and yet so far." In the words of the historian "the two chairs touched," and when they did "so, Mr. Bumble stopped."

I will not drag before the public gaze a scene so tender as that which ensued, but state in brief that the reconciliation was complete.

Mr. Chairman, "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin." Our round table is the contract system, with the Ishmaelites on one side, and the Planters on the other, perhaps we have felt that we had some reason to call our opposite neighbors "hard-hearted," but when Mr. Carter admitted at the close of the last discussion that we must have some restriction, I felt that he had begun backing and that, very soon our chairs would touch. When this happens I trust the peace and harmony will be of longer duration than I grieve to think Mr. Bumble enjoyed.

Mr. Chairman, it is easier to break down a theory than to build one, and in common fairness, I think I ought to state, what appears to me to be our true course.

It seems to me sir, that instead of one great want, we have two, which we persistently represent as one. We want labor, and we want population.

Now, sir, the planters want labor, they are willing to bear all the trouble and expense of procuring it, neither do they want any subsidy, as urged by the gentlemen who have not come to our side of the table. But the other want is a general one, which concerns the planter as a citizen exactly as it does every other citizen; and I maintain that it is as unfair to ask the planter to provide for the nation's want, as to ask the nation to supply the planter's want.

The planter has a perfect right to get (legally of course) exactly such laborers as suit him best; and it is for the Government to take such steps to regulate and supplement his efforts as they may see fit. But it cannot be just that because the Planter needs labor, he should be also compelled to provide for bringing families to meet a national want in which he has neither more nor less interest than his neighbor.

The most reasonable plan for dealing with the difficulty seems to be that the two parties should co-operate, and while the planters provide for the supply of their laborers, the nation generally should arrange for the introduction of their wives and families, who might be induced to come.

I am convinced, sir, that on no other basis can we hope to deal with these questions. It is useless for the one class to try to shirk its duties on the shoulder of another, and if gentlemen are sincere in their protestations, let them cease this unfair and unneighborly abuse of the planters, who are perhaps as good citizens as those who cry them down, and let them study diligently the share of responsibility that honestly belongs to themselves.

Mr. Chairman, the abuse of a thing is no argument against its use. There are many within this building, who came to this land as I did, under contract. The land is perhaps as much indebted to them as it is to those who came here without any contract, but merely headed up in casks, run-aways from other land, or adventurers, seeking in a foreign country that success which was denied them in their own.

The planters are taunted with the fact, that nearly all the plantations have ruined their originators. I say sir, all honor to them for their enterprise, and sympathy for their losses, and let not those, who have merely secured their profits on the bond and mortgage of other men's energies, be too ready to sneer at their misfortunes, or to cast the first stone even at their faults.

Mr. Thomas Hugess had been frequently interrupted during his first attempt to address the assembly, by what our neighbor's reporter is pleased to term "ironical cheers"—and rising to speak again, was cried down by loud cries of question.

Judge Montgomery then endeavored to get a hearing, but Mr. Carter and others strenuously objected, and the Judge had to go without getting off his speech.

Mr. Harris asked for a few minutes to reply to Mr. Carter, but they were inexorable.

Calls for the previous question were made, and the Resolution was put to vote, and carried, after which the meeting adjourned.

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