REPORT
ON
Hawaiian Sugar Plantations and Filipino Labor

J. T. P.

BY
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A. D. C. to the Governor General of the
Philippine Islands

NOVEMBER 4, 1926
Filipinos Get Square Deal, Aide Reports

Findings Sent to Governor General Wood Highly Commendatory of Islands

Hawaii Veritable "Promised Land," is Word Sent Back to Manila

HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTATIONS AND FILIPINO LABOR

Report by Lt. Colonel R. A. Duckworth-Ford, P. C., A. D. C., to His Excellency, the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands.

Honolulu, T. H., Nov. 4, 1926.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to submit the following report of conditions and methods observed on the several greater sugar cane plantations in the Hawaiian Islands visited by me during the period of October 14-November 5, 1926, in accordance with the instructions specified in your letter of September 13, 1926, as follows:

"You will make arrangements to proceed by first suitable transportation to Honolulu, Hawaii, where, after reporting your arrival and paying your respects to his excellency, the governor of the territory, you will visit certain of the larger Hawaiian sugar cane plantations and make a careful study of the conditions affecting Filipino laborers employed thereon. Special attention should be given to the following points:

(a) Housing, barracking, and cantonment arrangements.

(b) Rural police or other systems for maintaining order and discipline among the laborers.

(c) Cooperative or other commercial enterprises established for the benefit of plantation laborers.

(d) Banking facilities or other arrangements for the encouragement of thrift.

(e) Arrangements for the physical and social benefit of laborers, including hospital facilities.

(f) Relations between employer and employee.

"Your observations will be recorded in a detailed report, which should contain such recommendations as may seem to be applicable to labor conditions in the sugar cane areas of the Philippine Islands. Appropriate photographs should be attached.

"Upon completion of this duty you will return to Manila."

I. OUTLINE OF ITINERARY AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES

Left Manila on S. S. "President Taft," September 22, 1926.

Arrived Honolulu, T. H., and received by Mr. J. K. Butler, Secretary-Treasurer of the Hawaiian
Sugar Planters' Association, October 14, 1926.

Reported to His Excellency, the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii (The Honorable Wallace R. Farrington), October 14, 1926.

Inspected the Receiving Station for Plantation Immigrants, in Honolulu (Dr. J. S. B. Pratt), October 15, 1926.

Discussed Filipino labor affairs with Mr. Cayetano Ligot, Resident Labor Commissioner, October 15, 1926.

Called upon various Trustees of the H. S. P. A., and discussed plantation affairs with Mr. J. K. Butler, October 18, 1926.

Visited the Waipahu and Ewa plantations, October 19, 1926.

Visited the Waialua plantation, October 20, 1926.

Called on the Commanding General (General Lewis) and Staff at Fort Shafter, October 21, 1926.

Left Honolulu on S. S. "Maul" for Hilo, Island of Hawaii, Oct. 21, 1926.

Arrived at Hilo, October 22, 1926.

Visited Pahala plantation (Hawaiian Agricultural Co.), October 22, 1926.

Visited Onomea and Pepeekee plantations. Discussed with six plantation managers, October 23, 1926.

Left Hilo, October 23, 1926.

Arrived Honolulu, October 24, 1926.

Studying reports and statistics, etc., at H. S. P. A. offices, October 25, 1926.

Called on officers at Fort Shafter, October 27, 1926.

Preparing report—October 28 to November 4, inclusive.

Sailed for Philippines on S. S. "President Taft," November 5, 1926.

Receiving Station at Honolulu

The receiving station consists of a large two-storied building containing dormitories for men and women, dining rooms, offices for a small clerical force, adequate store-rooms for barrack equipment and commissaries, and a commodious kitchen. Modern lavatories, including bathing facilities, are conveniently located. In a smaller building near the entrance are the offices of the medical officer in charge (Dr. J. S. B. Pratt, U. S. public health service), a small ward used for emergency cases, and a dispensary.

A recreation ground provides ample accommodation for outdoor games and exercise to labor recruits and discharged laborers during the few days they are sheltered and cared for at the station, prior to their assignment to plantations or to their embarkation for the homeland. Beyond the recreation ground, within a separate enclosure, are four cottages which are used for contagious disease cases. In emergencies these cottages, after thorough disinfection, may be used to quarter such immigration overflow as may occur from time to time.

The occupants of the receiving station are essentially transient. Little attempt has for this reason been made to enhance the appearance of the place by means of lawns, foliage plants, or shrub trees. The station does, however, suggest a careful regard for hygiene and sanitation. Every reasonable provision is made for the physical well-being of its temporary inmates. Immigrants are rarely quartered there more than three or four days before being sent away to their plantation assignments. Sick immigrants are sent to the Queen's hospital, in the city, at the expense of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. The rations furnished are ample and substantial. The arrangements in general are marked by a notable efficiency of system. The barracks can comfortably accommodate 350 persons, and in an emergency 500 persons can be taken care of. The beds in the dormitories are steel "two-deckers." They are larger, more comfortable, and far more accessible to ventilation than the "three-deckers" that were provided on some of the old army transports.

Plantation Townships and Villages

The great sugar cane plantations of the Hawaiian islands are in many respects individual, self-contained commonwealths in miniature. The chief executive is the plantation manager. Assisted by a staff of overseers, engineers, scientific experts, accountants, etc., he directs and exercises general supervision over all the activities of the plantation, in accordance with the broad
policy laid down by the directors of
the owner company and with well defined principles approved by the
Hawaiian Sugar Planters' association.

The plantation township is the
heart, brains and nerve center of
the plantation. Here are located,
usually within 10 or 15 minutes easy
walking distance from the executive
offices, the mill, hospital, church,
schools, clubs, community house, de-
partment store, postoffice, bank,
motion-picture theater, recreation
grounds, the residence of the plan-
tation manager, bungalows of the
executive and technical staff, and
the cottages of those laborers
whose work lies in the neighboring
fields or in the mill. The residen-
tial district assigned to laborers is
usually sub-divided into racial sec-
tions, Filipinos, Portuguese, Japa-
nese, Koreans, Porto Ricans, and
Hawaiians being quartered as far
as practicable among their own
countrymen. Every married labor-
er is assigned a partly furnished
cottage, with free fuel, water, and
medical service for himself and all
the members of his family. The
married laborer is on many planta-
tions given a small kitchen garden
between his cottage and his neigh-
bors, on which, with the help of his
wife and such children as are old
enough to work, he cultivates vege-
tables for home consumption. The
Japanese laborer, who possesses an
eye for the artistic and an inherited
love of beauty, adorns the front of
his cottage with flowering plants,
hanging ferns, and vines. Many Filipinos follow the Japanese exam-
ple, with the result that the
average plantation township pre-
sents a garden-like picture of well
appointed bungalows, neat home-
like cottages, and well kept shady
avenues and streets. The atmos-
phere suggests a high degree of
compactness, comfort, and orderly
efficiency. The quarters of the
single men (who are at present in a
majority) are comparable in order
and comfort with the family cot-
tages. As a rule a cottage for
single men accommodates four
laborers. The cottages are frame-
built and shingle-roofed. They are
in all respects practical and weather
proof. Lavatory and sanitary ar-
rangements are adequate, con-
venient, and hygienic. In many
cases a flush system is in opera-

Besides the township, plantation
villages and hamlets are established
at various strategic points on the
estate, which are easily accessible
to those laborers employed in the
remoter sections. The cottages in
these villages are identical in plan
and construction with those of the
township. In some of the larger
villages branch stores are main-
tained.

Medical Service and Plantation
Hospitals

It has been shown that every
laborer receives free medical service
for himself and family. There is
nothing perfunctory about this serv-
vice. Its organization is as thor-
ough and systematic as the best
civil or military services. The doc-
tors are, in general, qualified sur-
geon-physicians of ability and ex-
perience, who are keenly interested
in their work, not only because of
its scientific and material advan-
tages, but also because they realize
they are rendering vital service in
a great industrial enterprise upon
which the political and economic
development of the Territory of Ha-
waii has had its foundations, and
upon which its future prosperity
must mainly depend. Many of the
large plantations have their own
hospitals, though in some cases two
or more plantations have cooperated
to establish a joint hospital which
serves all of their combined needs.
The Oahu Sugar Co.'s hospital at
Waipahu is typical of the larger
individual institutions. The hospi-
tal at Pepeekee, Hawaii, is a good
type of the joint institution.
The Waipahu hospital is a large gabled
building of modern bungalow type,
spacious of plan, and attractive of
design. Wide verandas in front and
rear enhance its appearance as well
as its usefulness. Well cared for
lawns, flowering shrubs, and thickly
follaged trees combine to produce a
refreshing and comely environment.
In every way the institution sug-
gests an understanding solicitude
for the welfare of the sick and
convalescent, as well as scientific
efficiency of administration.

This hospital is under the charge
of Dr. Mermod, who, it is under-
stood, has built up for himself in
the plantation and vicinity an en-
viable reputation for successful
surgery. The institution contains
four large airy wards, of private
rooms, besides an isolation section
containing two small wards of four beds each. Under normal conditions the hospital is equipped with 75 beds. There are also two unfurnished wards which, in an emergency, could accommodate 40 extra beds. The average number of bed-patients during the past year (October 1, 1925 to September 30, 1926) has been 40. At the time the hospital was visited by the writer there were only 25 in-patients—the minimum number since January 1, 1926.

Fifty per cent of cases admitted to hospital are accident cases. Appendicitis, pneumonia, a mild form of amoebic dysentery, influenza, and gastro-intestinal troubles (especially among children) are the more common forms of disease among plantation employees requiring hospital treatment. Malaria is said to be practically unknown in the islands.

The nursing staff consists of the head nurse (Miss Claude) and six trained assistant nurses (female), all Americans; and two Japanese and one Filipino male nurses. The daily average number of outpatients who receive attention at the clinic is 80, not including the baby clinic, which is a separate affair.

The hospital equipment includes two complete sets of the most up-to-date type of X-Ray apparatus, one being a small portable type which can be used at the bedside in the wards in cases which cannot be safely moved to the X-Ray room.

The hospital on the Hawaiian Agricultural Co.'s plantation (James Campsie, manager), which is situated in the southern part of Hawaii island on the lower slopes of Mauna Loa, is a model of its kind. Though less pretentious than the larger institutions of Waipahu, Wai-alua, and Pepeekeo, it is staffed and equipped to meet any contingency short of a cataclysmic disaster. Situated on the top of a knoll overlooking a magnificent panorama of coastal plain and wide expanse of the blue Pacific, it is an ideal spot for the healing of the sick and the malmed and of restoring physical vigor to the convalescent.

The four hospitals named, and many others, are thoroughly efficient and up to date in matters of personnel, equipment, architectural features, sanitation, location, environment, and—which perhaps is most important of all—sympathy and solicitude for the sick and injured who are sheltered beneath their roofs. Such hospitals, in most of the provincial capitals of the Philippines, might well be regarded as a boon, and pointed to as examples of scientific and humanitarian progress, with honest pride.

Health conditions on the plantations are, in general, excellent. In a certain plantation district on the island of Oahu official statistics showed the number of deaths for one month to be 22, and the number of births, 60.

Law and Order: Plantation Police

There is little or no lawlessness on the plantations. This condition is general. Occasional frays between individuals occur, and knives may be used, occasionally with fatal results. But such affairs are not frequent, and are invariably personal. The large preponderance on the plantations of men over women, with consequent sex-jealousies and feuds constitutes a problem to the solution of which the H. S. P. A. and other plantation authorities are turning their attention.

On the larger plantations, with an employe population of say 1500 to 2000, from two to three uniformed policemen are maintained. With one or two exceptions the police are not equipped with revolvers or any other kind of firearms. In general, neither the managers, the overseers, the "lunas", nor any other officials on an Hawaiian plantation ever carry a pistol or revolver. One could easily travel afoot over any or all of the Hawaiian islands without ever seeing a man "packing a gun", except on a military reservation.

The "intelligence service" on the plantations is performed by the overseers, lunas, and other trusted employees, with eminently satisfactory results.

The Sugar Plantation

The Oahu Sugar Co.'s plantation at Waipahu (Ernest Greene, manager) may be cited as a good example of a highly systematized and scientifically governed Hawaiian cane plantation. This plantation measures nine miles from point to point, and embraces 12,000 acres of richly fertile land of which 11,500 acres are planted in cane. The capital stock of the company is $6,-
000,000. Its book assets on December 31, 1925, were $13,456,819.25. The production of phenomenally rich harvests of cane is achieved on this plantation only by means of a most elaborate and costly irrigation system, whose arterial canals, ditches and furrows spread themselves, like an immense web, all over the estate. To feed this system the company maintains many artesian wells and 15 pumping stations with a daily capacity of 90,000,000 gallons of water. In addition some 32,000,000 of gallons from the Waialaole mountain water system are distributed over the cane fields daily. The initial outlay for the Oahu water supply system, including artesian wells, pumps, pipes, etc., was $4,000,000. The vital importance of large reserves of capital in undertakings of this magnitude becomes at once apparent.

The economics of cane growing have demonstrated to Hawaiian planters that the successful production of cane demands deep plowing, usually from 18 to 22 inches. Flowing of this kind is done by a Fowler plow. Each Fowler plow steam engine costs upwards of $10,000.

To produce a ton of sugar about eight or nine tons of cane are required, and to grow this quantity of cane, 1,000,000 gallons of water must be used. In other words, one ton of sugar produced from an irrigated plantation requires 4000 tons of water, in addition to rainfall.

The Oahu plantation’s transportation system includes 52 miles of permanent railroad track, 12 miles of portable track, eight locomotives, and 800 cane cars. For loading cane on the cars, loading machines mounted on caterpillar tractors are used. This plantation owns seven of these loaders which cost about $15,000 each.

For administrative purposes the Waipahu plantation is divided into 72 fields, the average area of a field being 250 acres. The cane is planted in contoured furrows which are watered at regular periods from 77 miles of irrigation ditches. Out of 2850 men employed on plantation work 1000 are assigned to the service of irrigation.

The foregoing notes suggest many insurmountable difficulties that would confront an individual farmer or homesteader in the production of sugar in the Hawaiian islands.

Conditions not dissimilar to those on the Waipahu estate obtain on plantations on other of the islands, except that where the rainfall is exceptional (as on Hawaii) irrigation is less costly or comprehensive, and in some cases not necessary at all.

The Filipino Laborer

Approximately 45,200 men are employed on 44 Hawaiian sugar plantations, of whom about 26,000 are Fil­pinos, so that the sugar industry of the island territory is dependent on the Philippine islands for rather more than three-fifths of its man-power. The proportion of Filipino labor actually employed in the cane fields is still greater. Filipino labor, therefore, is a factor of major importance to the Hawaiian sugar industry.

Other races employed are, in round figures, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Americans</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>12,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porto Ricans</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>1,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiians</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaniards</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>26,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>45,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are, in addition, 2150 Japanese women, 560 women of other races, and approximately 1300 minors, half of whom are of school age.

From 80 to 90 per cent of field labor is done on the “piece work system” under long term or short term contracts. Under this system the value of a laborer is determined not by the number of hours he may put into a working day, but by his industry, physical capacity, and aptitude. It is a standard rule that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and that the best results merit the highest rewards. It is customary to assign a job of work to a group or “company” of laborers. An average company (on the Waipahu plantation) consists of one ditchman, one assistant ditchman, and 20 laborers.

Cultivating Contracts

Field labor of the kind indicated may be paid for by the acre, by the ton, by the yard or the foot, accord-
ing to its nature. It is not paid for by the hour or by the day, except that the minimum wage to any laborer for a day's work is $1. This system encourages and stimulates laborers to become proficient and excel in particular lines of work. A real sense of "esprit-de-corps" is developed in the different field companies, with the result that nearly every company exerts itself to surpass neighboring companies in speed and accomplishment. Upon completion of long-term cultivating contracts, each laborer receives his share of the labor-value of the job, in proportion to the number of days he has worked on it. Laborers employed on contracts of this kind earn from $2 to $2.50 a day. The ditchmen receive, in addition, a liberal bonus, which is of course an incentive to efficiency of the whole group. The amount paid for short-term contract work is determined in advance. Payment so arranged is never modified in respect to work that has actually been done. All laborers are paid individually, by the plantation paymaster so that lunas or ditchmen cannot profit from the workers' earnings.

Under this system of labor operation the tonnage of sugar produced annually, in proportion to the labor employed, has during the past four years shown a gradual increase each year.

The control of a group of field laborers may, within limitations, be compared with a detachment of soldiers consisting of a sergeant, a corporal and 30 privates.

Laborer Has Basic Rights

Every laborer has certain basic rights. He is not submerged in the mass as a mere unit, but is allowed and encouraged to assert his individuality within appropriate limits. If he has, or thinks he has, a grievance, he can submit his case to his "luna," or to the chief overseer, or he may appeal to the plantation manager.

It is fair to assert that, almost without exception, any Filipino who finds employment on these great plantations is given something better than a square deal. Any able-bodied Filipino can, by the application of reasonable industry, thrift and good conduct, return after a few years of plantation service to his homeland with savings of from $500 to $2500—or from 1000 to 5000 pesos. All that is needed is the will to serve and the will to save.

Filipino Savings; Banking Facilities

On a large plantation, like that of the Waialua Agricultural Co. (J. B. Thomson, manager), 400 to 500 skilled workers and 1500 to 2000 field workers are employed. The field force at Waialua is made up about as follows:

- 1000 Filipinos
- 430 Japanese
- 150 Portuguese
- 100 Chinese
- 100 Koreans

and a few Hawaiians. Some 20 per cent of the Filipinos are married.

On this estate approximate normal earnings of able-bodied, industrious laborers are:

1. Cane loaders, from $60 to $90 per month.
2. Long-term contractors, from $50 to $65 per month.
3. Seed cutters, cane cutters (short-term contractors), from $75 to $80 per month.
4. Portable track men, from $50 to $60 per month.
5. Cane haulers (railroad men), from $50 to $100 per month.
6. Watchmen, from $60 per month.

About 5 per cent of the total number of laborers employed on this plantation receive the minimum wage of $1 per day, or say $25 a month. Most of these are "pensionados," who because of advanced age or physical infirmity are incompetent for those tasks requiring considerable physical energy and endurance. These are given, in addition, a 10 per cent bonus.

The following are a few recent examples of Filipinos who have served for a few years in the cane fields of the Hawaiian islands with fidelity, industry, and perseverance and who have "made good." The figures show approximately the number of years of plantation service and the amount of savings deposited with the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association to be remitted to the Philippines for credit of the returning laborers. Individuals are indicated by initials. Names of plantations are given:

A. B., $1300, 3 ½ years, Ewa plantation.
N. D., $580, 4 years, Ewa plantation.
P. D., $1250, 4 years, Ewa plantation.
L. L., $400, 3½ years, Ewa plantation.
H. A., $400, 3½ years, Waimanalo Sugar Co.
G. B., $710, 3½ years, Pioneer Mill Co.
S. N., $500, 3¼ years, Hawaiian Sugar Co.
R. G., $1200, 6½ years, Ewa plantation.
G. F., $650, 2½ years, Kahuku plantation.
J. R., $1070, 4 years, Olaa Plantation Co.
S. D., $1000, 3¼ years, Waimanalo Sugar Co.
J. G., $700, 3¼ years, Ewa plantation.
J. G., $750, 4½ years, Maui Agricultural Co.
L. V., $750, 4½ years, Lihue Plantation Co.
B. F., $2000, 5½ years, Pioneer Mill Co.
G. B., $1720, 3½ years, McBryde Sugar Co.

These men have worked consistently throughout their periods of plantation service, with averages of from 23 to 25 days a month, and in a few cases 26 days a month. One man, with over six years of service, averaged 26.9 days of work per month, a phenomenal showing.

**Easy Prey of Peddlers**

Savings such as those shown above must, however, be regarded as the exception rather than the rule, and a very large number of Filipinos spent their earnings as fast as they get them. They are easy prey to the peddler and itinerant drummer, and are readily persuaded to buy phonographs, sewing machines, enlarged photographs of Rizal or Mabini in gaudily elaborate frames, etc., on the installment plan. As much as $40 is charged by these peddlers for these framed photographs. If, after a purchaser has paid two or three installments and then defaults, the peddler "forecloses," leaving the picture with his victim and going off with the frame—which, by the same procedure, he may sell three or four times before it eventually finds a permanent owner. Itinerant photographers also do a thriving business with the Filipino plantation laborer. The story is told of a certain Filipino single man who, after some three years of plantation work, embarked on his homeward-bound steamship with three sewing machines and one suitcase.

It would seem that a small proportion (which is steadily gaining ground) of Filipinos is exceedingly thrifty. More so even than the Japanese. But the larger number can only be described as improvident. However, several plantation managers assured the writer that the Filipinos as a rule are gradually becoming more thrifty. A bank in one of the larger plantation townships showed Filipino deposits aggregating $100,000, and from the same place an average of $5000 is remitted to Manila by Filipino laborers every month.

Local banking facilities are available at all plantation centers. In some townships there is more than one bank. The local postoffice will also open savings accounts and negotiate remittances. There is a feeling among plantation managers and employees that remittances to the Philippines made through the banks are better secured than those made through the postoffice. Many complaints, it is said, have been received of remittances made through Hawaiian postoffices which have failed to reach their proper destinations—due apparently, to negligence or worse at the Philippines end.

**Filipino Grievances; Agitation**

It has been said that a Filipino who finds employment on an Hawaiian cane plantation and applies himself with loyalty and industry to the tasks assigned him can rely on receiving a 100 per cent—and often a 125 per cent—"square deal." This is not to imply that no Filipino ever has an authentic grievance. No organization is infallible. Much less an organized industry consisting of between 40 and 50 plantations with an army of executives, technical experts, and employees numbering nearly 50,000. The human qualities, characteristics and idiosyncrasies of every plantation manager, overseer, luna, and ditchman necessarily vary. There is in their attitude to their subordinates considerable diversity of
manner and method. Undoubtedly some managers are more difficult to satisfy or are more severe in their dealings than others.

It does imply that any honest laborer with an honest grievance can secure a hearing and obtain redress from his overseer, his manager or from the H. S. P. A. authorities if he goes the right way to work to get it.

"Quid pro quo" is the basic principle of the plantation company's labor policy. In return for good living quarters, medical and hospital care, free fuel and water supply, generous provision for educational improvement and recreation, and good wages, fidelity and reasonable industry are expected. There is no room on the plantations for shirkers, loafers or gamblers. As soon as these activities of malcontents, parasites and loafers are uncovered, their names are removed from the payroll. Persons of this category invariably drift to the towns, and especially to Honolulu.

There is said to be approximately 1000 Filipinos in the Hawaiian capital.

Discontented Group

Many of these are engaged in temporary or more or less permanent employment in the docks and yards, as chauffeurs, office boys, domestic servants, etc. Several hundred, however, are without steady employment and live from hand to mouth. These constitute the discontented group of Filipinos among which originate most of the complaints, grievances and agitation against the sugar plantations. Their leaders usually have the gift of flamboyant oratory and a flair for "poolroom politics." This group has recently organized itself into a so-called "labor union," and its activities (which in general are ill-considered, mischievous and anti-everything) are engineered by the usual self-nominated, self-elected officials: President, assistant president, secretary, treasurer, etc. One of their prominent activities is to constitute themselves guides and counsellors to Filipinos who—having been paid off—come to town to spend their money and "have a good time." They are immediately enlisted in the ranks of the union, and their initiation fees and dues are collected.

When, with the expert assistance of their labor union friends, their money is all gone, they find their way back to the plantations, or become regular town loafers.

The "agitation" for an increase of the minimum plantation wage from $1 to $2, and the "agitation" to restrict or put a stop to further Filipino immigration, are mere claptrap, which find little or no support among the real plantation laborers. It may be worth noting that propaganda tending to disturb the relations between the employer and the Filipino employee on the Hawaiian plantations appears to be supported by one or more of the Japanese newspapers published in Honolulu. These papers pretend to sympathize with the aims and activities of the Filipinos "labor unionists." The true motives of Japanese newspaper support of proposals to exclude or restrict Filipino immigration can hardly be attributed to altruistic benevolence on the part of the Japanese for the poor, unsophisticated Filipino. The answer is perhaps that the more adequate the Filipino labor supply, the less demand there is for Japanese labor.

Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association

All matters dealing with labor in general and with general policies of the sugar industry in Hawaii are handled through the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association.

This association is a voluntary one without corporate organization, but with all the responsibilities and functions which could be given it by any other form of organization. Adherence to the association and contributions toward it by its plantation members are typical of the realization by men of large affairs in Hawaii of the benefits of cooperation and harmony.

The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, under the name of the Planters' Labor and Supply Co., was first organized in 1882. Its name was changed to the present in 1896.

The association is managed and directed by a board of trustees of nine men consisting of F. C. Atherton, president; E. H. Wodehouse, first vice president; John Waterhouse, second vice president; R. A. Cooke, J. W. Waldron, J. M. Dowsett, A. W. T. Bottomley, John Hind and W. O. Smith.
These gentlemen are all actively engaged in the sugar plantations and with the exception of W. O. Smith are members of agencies handling plantation affairs.

The personnel of the association is represented by a secretary and treasurer, which positions are held by J. K. Butler; an assistant treasurer, S. O. Halls; an assistant secretary, H. A. Walker; a director of the industrial service bureau, D. S. Bowman; an engineer of the labor-saving devices committee, C. T. Lewis; a director of the experiment station work, H. P. Agee, and office personnel, scientists, etc.

Recruiting Division

The recruiting division, dealing directly with the securing and employing of labor, is under the direction of Butler, who is also director of the labor bureau, and H. A. Walker, who is his assistant in this work. The immigration station force in Honolulu is in charge of Dr. J. S. B. Pratt and the emigration activities in the Philippines are under the direction of W. H. Babbitt, director of the labor bureau, with Montague Lord as assistant director, and C. D. Whipple in charge of the Ilocos division.

The major activities of the association comprise first, the securing and handling of labor, in which field, of course, the Filipino and the Filipinos are the only source of supply outside of Hawaii, and, second, the conducting of scientific work dealing with the increased production of cane, scientific control of mills, the discovery of new cane varieties, the testing of soils, the conducting of fertilizer experiments, water experiments, and the control of insect pests by various methods, including the bringing in of parasites from other parts of the world.

This experimental work is under the direction of H. P. Agee, director of the experiment station, who has a staff of scientists and executives. The budget of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association for the last year on account of scientific work of the experiment station was about $350,000, a sum that emphasizes the value of this work to the industry and the regard in which it is held by those responsible for producing sugar in Hawaii.

The work of the labor bureau of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association is efficiently and carefully conducted with a view to keeping an accurate record of all Filipinos who arrive in Honolulu, placing them permanently upon the plantations where they are needed, and returning them at the end of their contract time to the Philippines, provided that the laborer desires to go back and that he has fulfilled his contract. The association's bureau of labor also provides for the welfare of laborers in general, takes care of the travel of those who desire to return to the Philippines regardless of fulfillment of contract, and is a court of appeal for any grievance which the Filipino may have when he feels he has not secured satisfactory settlement on the plantation.

In all matters of general policy dealing with Filipinos or in connection with individual complaints directed through Labor Commissioner Ligot, the bureau of labor of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association acts as intermediary and as a point of contact.

Philippine Labor Commissioner

The labor commissioner, Cayetano Ligot (appointed by the governor-general), maintains his office in Honolulu and from time to time makes trips about the island of Oahu and to the other islands, visiting plantations and keeping himself informed of the conditions of the Filipino laborers.

Ligot appears to be a busy individual who enjoys the confidence of most of the Filipino plantation workers. He is not liked by the politically-minded crowd in Honolulu because his interest in the Filipino as a worker conflicts with the ideas of this group.

Ligot enjoys the confidence of and access to Director Butler and others of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association and all of the managers of the Hawaiian plantations, and his rather difficult duties as intermediary between capital and labor are performed, it is believed, with tolerable efficiency and fidelity.

During the past year there has been a large number of Filipinos coming to Hawaii at their own expense. The bureau of labor of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association received 1833 male volunteers
in the year ending September 30, 1926.

These laborers have come to Hawaii as the direct result of the success of their fellow countrymen who, having accumulated substantial savings, have been able to return to the Philippine islands and establish themselves as well-to-do small farmers. Most of them come from the Ilocos provinces.

The Hawaiian Sugar Planters’ Association has arranged its affairs so that now it regulates its recruiting of Filipinos in such a way as to give employment to volunteers who arrive in Hawaii. Indeed, it has arranged a system of caring for these volunteers so that their movements from the Philippine barrio to Hawaii is under the care of the association’s representatives, and the men are freed from any imposition or unnecessary charges. Those who subject themselves to examination in the Philippines by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters’ Association’s surgeons prior to embarking for Hawaii are assured of work upon arrival, and on landing in Honolulu they are given a contract similar in every respect to those given in the Philippines. Upon the fulfillment of this contract every one of these volunteer workers is entitled to return at the expense of the association after three years of honest and faithful service.

Conclusion

I desire to express my grateful appreciation of the invaluable assistance afforded me by the trustees and all members of the executive staff of the Honolulu Sugar Planters’ Association toward the carrying out of your excellency’s instructions. I have received nothing but the most friendly courtesy and unstinted help from them. I would specially mention Messrs. J. K. Butler and Donald S. Bowman, whose assistance in my work and whose kindly hospitalities have been most generous and unremitting. I also desire to express my appreciation of the services of Mrs. Esther C. Harris in assisting me to prepare this report.

Respectfully submitted,

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