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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CANADIAN

LABOR CONGRESS,

HELD IN TORONTO,

On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, December
26th, 27th, and 28th, 1883.

Published by authority of the Congress.

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That organizations represented at the Congress, as well as the public in general, may thoroughly understand the manner of its summoning, the Executive Committee have deemed it advisable to give the Circular entire, as follows :

To the Officers and Members of the various Trades' and Labor Organizations, and Assemblies of the Knights of Labor, throughout the Dominion :

FELLOW-WORKERS :

Some time ago, the question of the advisability of holding a Trades' and Labor Congress was brought before a meeting of the Trades' and Labor Council of Toronto. The matter was referred to the Legislative Committee for consideration and action. This Committee issued circulars to labor organizations throughout the land, asking an expression of opinion as to the necessity for, or advisability of, holding such a Congress. The answers were, in almost every case, very favorable, and the Committee, as a consequence, so reported to the Trades' and Labor Council, at its last meeting, on Friday evening, November 2nd, and recommended that such a Congress be held, on such date or dates, towards the end of December next, as the Council may determine. This Report was adopted, and the Committee authorized to determine the precise date of meeting. They have done so, by the selection of Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, 26th, 27th and 28th December, as the dates upon which the Congress is to be held, and Dufferin Hall, No. 64 Queen Street West, as the place of meeting. With the view that no organization, however small in numbers, be unrepresented at the coming meeting, the following has been adopted as the basis on which representation in the Congress may be had, viz. :

" All organizations (whether Trades' Unions or Assemblies of the Knights of Labor) of 100 members, or fractional part thereof, to be entitled to two delegates ; 200 members and upwards to be entitled to an additional delegate ; and in no case shall any organization be entitled to more than three delegates. No proxies permitted."

That the broadest scope may be allowed in the selection of questions for deliberation and action by the Congress, the Committee have not deemed it advisable to lay down a programme for guidance, believing that the exigencies of the present time, coupled with past experience, in most cases dearly bought, will readily suggest the questions which should, and most likely will, receive that prompt and unmistakable consideration which their gravity demands.

That the wisdom of bodies which, through any cause, may be unrepresented by delegates, may not be lost to the Congress, it is requested that such bodies

forward, by resolution, such views as they may entertain on any particular phase of labor, or the tenor of any question which, in their judgment, may be worthy of discussion or action by the Congress.

As practical work, and as much of it as possible within the time specified, will be one of the main objects on this occasion, there will be no time for holiday enjoyment, and, as a consequence, it is to be hoped that all organizations will honor themselves in the ability and judgment of those whom they elect to represent them.

All delegates will be required to produce certificates of election or appointment, signed by the proper officers of the body or bodies they represent, and bearing the seal of the same, where such exists.

On the election or appointment of delegates by organizations, it is requested that the name or names of the persons so delegated be immediately forwarded to the undersigned Secretary.

Arrangements will be made by which proper and reasonable hotel accommodation will be secured for visiting delegates, and that this may be taken advantage of, it will be necessary that intending delegates notify the Secretary, by writing in advance, or by telegraphing in time, the name of the railway and the particular train by which they expect to reach Toronto, so that a committeeman may be in waiting to receive them. Such committeeman will be known by a badge which he will wear.

It is considered advisable, also, to point out that the Committee, in selecting the dates mentioned for holding the Congress, were not unmindful of the fact that during the holiday season the various railways issue tickets for a given time at reduced rates.

All communications to be addressed to the undersigned Secretary, who will be happy to furnish any further information that may be required.

CHARLES MARCH, *President T. & L. Council.*

JOHN ALDRIDGE, *Chairman Legis. Committee.*

D. J. O'DONOGHUE, *Secretary.*

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INTRODUCTORY.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the Labor Congress, held in Toronto on the 26th, 27th and 28th December last, to whom was entrusted the preparation for, and publication of, a Report, in pamphlet form, of the proceedings on the occasion, in submitting the same to the organizations represented at that Congress, as well as the public in general, wish to point out that no official stenographer was employed to take verbatim reports of the lengthy and able speeches delivered on the many important resolutions which came before the meeting. Should another Congress be called in the future, this oversight, it is to be hoped, will not be lost sight of. Lacking such a report, the Executive Committee availed themselves of the lengthy and accurate reports of each day's proceedings (as far as they went) which appeared in the columns of the city papers, and extracted therefrom all that was to the credit of the various speakers, and eliminating only such matter as was considered not relevant to the subject under discussion. Otherwise, this Report is in strict conformity with the Minutes of the proceedings as kept by the Secretary.

That a careful perusal of the proceedings herein published will impress all readers with the importance of the questions passed upon, and stimulate to a much larger representation from all parts of the Dominion at the next Labor Congress, is the sincere desire of the Executive Committee.

J. ALDRIDGE, *Chairman.*

J. BEDFORD, *Secretary.*

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CANADIAN LABOR CONGRESS.

FIRST DAY.

On Dec. 26th, at 2.30 p.m., Mr. Chas. March, President of the Trades' and Labor Council, informally opened the proceedings of the Labor Congress in Dufferin Hall, by extending a hearty welcome to the delegates from abroad, and then appointed J. R. Brown, Oshawa; Chas. A. Pettit, Belleville, and J. Armstrong, Toronto, a Committee on Credentials, after which an adjournment took place for thirty minutes, to allow this committee to report.

On re-assembling, the Committee reported that they had examined and found correct the credentials of the following: Thos. Martin and J. R. Brown, L. A. 2355, K. of L., Oshawa; Chas. A. Pettit, L. A. 2900, K. of L., Belleville; J. Aldridge, F. Howell, and R. Johnson, Bricklayers' Union; J. Bedford and C. Armstrong, American Brotherhood of Carpenters; J. J. Rogers and S. Bailey, Iron Moulders, 140; A. Jury and J. W. Carter, L. A. 2305., K. of L.; J. Rooney, L. A. 2622, K. of L.; T. Moor and J. Rose, Amalgamated Carpenters, 361, Toronto; J. T. Carey, Seamen's Union; W. G. Garson and J. F. Keifer, L. A. 2056, St. Catharines; J. Gardiner and J. Armstrong, Typographical Union, 91; J. Booth, C. M. Harris, and C. Glendenning, Builders' Laborers' Union; H. F. West, Bakers' Union; J. D. Murphy, Seamen's Union; J. Smith and J. Strachan, Tailors' Union; Chas. Chase and W. L. Miller, Plasterers' Union; R. McCord, Stone-Cutters Union; D. McGregor, P. Shea, and J. Dowling, Longshoremen's Union; C. March and D. J. O'Donoghue, Trades' and Labor Council; J. Perry and R. Lamb, Malsters' Union; R. Hutchinson and A. Oster, Stove-Mounters and Pattern-Makers' Union; M. O'Halloren, L. A. 2622;

G. W. Read, L. A. 2513, K. of L., Port Dalhousie; J. McGlue and E. Farthing, Stone-Masons' Union; S. Potts, Iron-Moulders' Union; Thos. Hanlon, Sailors' Union; H. E. Griffiths and R. Woodcock, L. A. 2782, K. of L., Toronto.

After the list of Delegates had been read, on motion, J. R. Brown was called to the chair, and the election of Chairman for the Convention was proceeded with.

On the name of Mr. Chas. March being put in nomination,

W. E. Meredith moved in amendment that a new Chairman be elected each day. On this being put, only five voted in the affirmative, and it was declared lost. The main motion was then put and carried.

Mr. March, on being conducted to the chair, was warmly greeted. On quiet being restored, he spoke as follows:

Fellow workers from all parts of the Province:

As the result of the vote just taken, and for which allow me here to return my most sincere thanks, it devolves upon me to preside over the deliberations of this body during its sittings, until final adjournment. This honor I feel is paid more to the Toronto Trades' and Labor Council, the President of which body I happen to be at this time, than to me, fully conscious as I am of that lack of experience so necessary in directing such an intelligent body of men as I now find before me. But as I always make it a point to do my duty as best I know how, in every condition of my life, I will follow that line now, trusting to your kind indulgence and direction where necessary.

While I may find it somewhat difficult to define minutely the many reasons that urged the Toronto Trades' Council to call together representatives of labor in its various phases throughout the Dominion, yet I feel justified in saying that the disturbed condition of trade matters, coupled with strikes, always detrimental under any phase, occurring from time to time, and the apparent need for a much closer cementing of all classes of labor for common defence and protection, has been not a small factor in the determination. That the Council was not governed by narrow-mindedness in the premises, is best evinced by the call, embracing not only Trade Unionists, but also Knights of Labor. That this is right in principle I know you will agree, as between the two bodies antagonism should not, and I am glad to find does not, exist,

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and between them, no section or class of wage-earners need be without organization—and consequent protection! In the perfection of organization lies education, and a consequent raising of the masses to a thorough realization of their own power under our present advanced system of government—although yet a system capable of many improvements.

Although no programme has been provided as to the measures that ought to receive your earnest attention, still, speaking now for myself I think you should not overlook in your deliberations such questions as the extension of the franchise to a much greater degree than at present prevails, the Chinese immigration curse, pauper and assisted Passage immigration from Europe, the necessity for factory and sanitary legislation, such legislation by the Dominion Parliament as would amply protect the wages of mechanics and laborers involved in insolvent estates; a protest against placing the product of convict labor in an open market in competition with the product of labor of honest men, and the liability of employers when employees suffer disability through unprotected machinery and so forth. It appears to me, too, that some action will be necessary, with the view of devising ways and means for the better prosecution of efforts towards securing such legislation as may be required in repealing such unjust laws, as well as securing the passage of such measures as may be deemed requisite in justice to the working classes from time to time. With these hurriedly conceived remarks, I heartily welcome you to the Queen City of the West, with the hope that the result of your labors may reflect much credit on yourselves, both individually and collectively, and be productive of the greatest possible amount of good to the wage-earners of the Dominion at large. I now declare this Congress regularly open for the transaction of such business as may be brought before it.

On motion, W. E. Meredith, Typographical Union, was elected Secretary, and Messrs. S. Dunbar and W. Wilson Sergeant-at-arms and Messenger respectively.

Moved by D. J. O'Donoghue, seconded by J. Armstrong,

"That the usual privileges be accorded the representatives of the press, excluding those of the *Telegram*."

Moved in amendment by J. Gardiner, and seconded,

"That as liberal-minded men, we accord the privilege without any exception."

After some discussion, D. J. O'Donoghue said he had produced the sentiment he was seeking, and would withdraw his motion in favor of the amendment, which he did, and the latter becoming the main motion was carried.

John Armstrong moved, seconded by J. Gardiner,

"That the privilege of the floor be extended to all Trades' Unionists, Knights of Labor, and visiting brethren."

After considerable discussion, the motion was carried.

Considerable debate took place as to the mode of procedure in the discussion of the various questions, after which, the following motion, by A. F. Jury, seconded by J. Aldridge, was adopted:

"That a Standing Orders' Committee be appointed, to whom all resolutions shall be submitted, to be brought before the Convention in the order determined by them."

The Committee was appointed as follows: Messrs. Jury, Aldridge, Carey, Martin, Reed, Bedford, Rooney, McCord, and J. Armstrong.

Moved by J. Aldridge, seconded by J. R. Brown,

"That a Standing Committee on Ways and Means be appointed."

Carried.

The President appointed the following as such Committee; viz.: Messrs. C. Armstrong, Pettit, O'Donoghue, Brown, and Johnson.

Moved by J. Aldridge, seconded by D. J. O'Donoghue,

"That the Rules of Order of the Trades' and Labor Council, in so far as they apply, be made those governing the Convention."

Carried.

J. R. Brown said he hoped delegates who were instructed to introduce any particular question would do so now, so that two different persons might not be moving in the same direction at the same time.

NOTICES OF MOTION.

By C. Armstrong—Resolution regarding assessment of tenement houses.

By Jno. Aldridge—Regarding the hours of labor.

By S. W. Potts—Regarding monopolies.

By C. Armstrong—Regarding Factory Act.

By J. R. Brown—Regarding public land monopolies.

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By G. W. Reed—Regarding property qualifications for municipal officers.

By C. M. Harris—Regarding immigration.

It being six o'clock, the Congress adjourned until Thursday morning, December 27th.

SECOND DAY.

THURSDAY, Dec. 27th, 1884.

MORNING SESSION.

The meeting was called to order at 9.30 a.m.

Chas. March in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous day's proceedings, on being read, were adopted.

The credential of Mr. W. Hurst, from the Plasterers' Laborers' Union, was presented, and being favorably reported upon, was accepted, and Mr. Hurst took his seat.

The Standing Orders Committee reported the Order of Business for the day as follows:

1. Chinese Immigration.
2. Shortening Hours of Labor.
3. Assisted European Immigration.
4. Factory Act.
5. Seamen's Act.
6. Property Qualification.
7. Manhood Suffrage.
8. The Land Question.

On motion, the report was concurred in.

Moved by Jno. Rooney, seconded by J. R. Brown,

"That the future welfare of the working-people of this country requires the prohibition of further importation of Chinese labor."

In support of his motion, he said that the working-classes had power to remove the Chinese curse. If they did not remove it, they deserved to suffer in consequence. Chinese immigration was of no benefit to the Chinese themselves. They could not be Christianized; neither could they be civilized, nor assimilated to our civilization. If they could, the people might be benefitted by the Chinese. The Chinese were the same to-day as they were a hundred years ago, as far as their civilization was concerned, and they would likely be the same a hundred years hence. While immigration did not benefit the Chinese in these respects, it was an injury to the people of this country. The people had no fear of the religion of the Chinese, as things existed at present; but, if matters continued, in the course of a century the people of this country would be affected by their idolatrous religion. In order to turn the current of present events, the Congress had been called. He thought they should have great fear of the Chinese from the standpoint of morality. Those acquainted with the Chinese in California, and those who had read of the investigation made by the police authorities in San Francisco, knew that their intercourse with the people was of the worst and vilest character. When the Chinese were brought to America, their immorality was brought with them. When they came, they did not bring skill. The people who came from Europe were chiefly skilled workmen, and were, to some extent, a benefit. The Chinese become skilled after being in America, and work to the injury and disadvantage of the people. Again, the Chinese brought no money with them; but when they returned to their own country, they took a great deal away with them. They did not spend it here. They even had their clothing made in China. The Chinese forced the working-people out of industries, owing to the cheapness of their labor. They would work in a factory for a week upon what an honest white man could not support himself and his family upon for a day. What became of the white people? They had to go to some other place, and, generally, before they arrived the Chinese were ahead of them, working for starvation wages. The agitation against the importation of Chinese was not a weakness on the part of the laboring classes, as they were simply looking to self-preservation and self-defence. White people could not live on what the Chinese lived. They had been educated to it for centuries, and the people of this country had not arrived at that stage yet.

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J. R. Brown concurred in what the last speaker had said. Chinese immigration was similar to the Coolie labor, which had been the ruination of the West Indies. They were nothing less than slaves while in this country. They were brought out by monopolists who were looking for cheap labor. Free labor could never compete with slave labor, and, on that ground, he was strongly opposed to Chinese immigration.

D. J. O'Donoghue remarked, that although those assembled at the Convention might not in their lives feel the effects of unrestricted importation of the Chinese, and might soon go off the stage of life, still it was their duty, as well as privilege, to look out for those who, in the natural course of events, would follow them and protect their interests. For examples of the advisability of restricting or altogether prohibiting their importation, they should look to the United States, which, with its population of 56,000,000 people, had seen fit to pass measures against them; and, also, to the fact that the people of British Columbia—where the Chinese, as yet, have not gained a strong foothold—were up in arms against them, and, a few weeks since, had instructed their Legislature to enact laws against them. He firmly believed in the old saying, "that an ounce of prevention was better than a pound of cure," and wished to stop the progress to the eastward of these people.

Abel Miller said the Chinese were nothing but a nuisance. He would rather see the country overrun with wild animals, because they could be rooted out; but if the present state of things were allowed to continue, it would become impossible to root the Chinese out.

M. O'Halloran pointed out how the Christians of Toronto were sustaining charitable institutions, and, at the same time, encouraging the growth of pauperism amongst us by giving their washing and other work to the Chinese, virtually undoing with one hand what little good they were doing with the other; and that, if the people of Toronto gave their work to white laborers, the Chinese would soon be starved out, even although there were plenty of rats and stray cats in the city.

S. Potts showed that, from experience of missionaries and others, this race could not be Christianized, although many years of labor and millions of dollars had been expended in the effort. Also, that it was an impossibility to reach their wives and children, to exert any elevating influence over them.

John Aldridge thought that when these leperous people landed in a country, they would soon ruin that country. The Dominion Government should prohibit the landing of Chinese on our shores.

W. G. Garson said some delegate had spoken of the Chinese as wild animals and vermin, and he held that the application of such epithets to any man having a body and soul, was entirely out of the sphere of any delegate. Although opposed to Chinese immigration, he still maintained that something more should be done towards attempting to Christianize them. The discussion had been rather tame and one-sided, and he ventured to throw out those observations with a view of adding a little more interest to the discussion.

W. E. Meredith was at one time of the same opinion as the last speaker, but he had read a verbatim report of the position of the Chinese in San Francisco. There was sworn evidence of the introduction of leprosy there by the celestials. No matter what crime was committed in the Chinese quarter of San Francisco it was impossible to get a conviction. A short time ago there were 5,000 union cigar makers in San Francisco. To-day there were not sufficient to get a charter, such was the competition of the Chinese.

Thomas Martin believed they were of no benefit to the country, and the Government should pass a stringent measure to drive them out of this Dominion.

Thomas Hanlon thought they should discuss the question from a business point of view. He thought the question of religion should not be considered at all, as it was the question of labor which they were discussing.

G. W. Read—While believing the Chinese to be a curse to any country, there were other people nearly as bad—the Italians, for instance. He thought the people of Canada should not wait till their interests were affected by the Chinese. Now is the time to exclude them.

J. Rose was of the opinion that the meeting was unanimous as to the injury done to the country by the Chinese.

J. T. Casey said he had visited the opium dens in New York and Chicago, out of curiosity. In one of these opium dens, in New York, he found three women and one man smoking opium. Such a thing

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was a disgrace to any Government which would permit it. He described the degradation to which the Chinese were dragging the lower classes of Chicago.

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and unanimously adopted.

Moved by Jno. Aldridge, seconded by Fred. Howell,

"That the present system of employing workmen ten hours per day in summer, and only seven and a-half or eight hours in winter, is unsatisfactory, and this Congress would strongly recommend nine hours to constitute a day's work."

He urged that the labor market was at present glutted, and if the system which his resolution proposed were adopted, it would result in giving work to many who were without it to-day, as employers would find it necessary to employ more men.

D. J. O'Donoghue agreed with Mr. Aldridge that a reduction of the hours of labor was desirable, but it was a very delicate subject to deal with until workmen would be more consistent, and refuse to work any over-time.

C. Armstrong said the resolution was premature. There were times when, in the building trade, it would be absolutely impossible to get men to confine themselves to nine hours a day. Men should be educated on this matter, and the Congress should not commit itself to anything so insane as the nine hours' movement.

Abel Miller urged that it would be as easy to get eight hours a day as nine; and stated that, in the city of Glasgow, where he came from, the nine hours had been in force for some years. Although they had accepted the same rate per hour, within three months they received more wages for 54 hours' work than they had previously received for 60 hours; and he would support the resolution.

G. W. Reed argued that the working-classes should be educated on the question. Too many men were willing to take the bread out of the mouths of their fellows, and make a day, or half a day, extra in a week; and some of these men were the loudest advocates of the nine hours' movement in the local assemblies. On this ground, he did not see that much was to be gained by the proposed step.

J. R. Brown said some of the people wished to work nine hours per day, but when they were offered a little more pay for working ten hours, they would accept it.

Mr. Carey was of the opinion that nine hours would constitute a day's work when workmen looked for it as a unit. At present, one lot of men will strike for nine hours a day, and another lot will step in and take their places, and work ten hours per day at the same wages.

Robt. McCord was in favor of the resolution. His Union had the benefit of the nine hours for a day's work for some years; and, in fact, they worked the shortest number of hours of any trade in Canada—working only 50½ hours per week.

Jno. Armstrong held that the employers should be encouraged to set on more hands. He believed the shortening of the hours of labor would be a great boon to the working-classes, provided that they were unanimous in the matter.

J. Rooney was in favor of shortening the hours of labor. Man was not created solely to eat, work, and sleep, but for something higher. The working-classes ought to have time for education, recreation, family intercourse, and by all means should enter a protest against Sunday labor.

J. Booth thought they required more rest. The Union which he represented—the Builders' Labourers—was unanimously in favor of the nine-hour movement.

J. Aldridge said the matter was brought before the Congress simply as a "feeler." He thought those present were not prepared to discuss it, and he thought the matter should be laid over without taking a "catch-vote." He was not satisfied that a vote taken would be the square, honest vote of the delegates present.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Congress resumed at three o'clock, with the President in the chair.

The discussion was taken up on Mr. Aldridge's resolution with reference to the shortening of the hours of labor.

Alfred Jury thought the resolution was the most important one coming before the Congress at its present session. It was a well-known fact that in periods of depression the supply of labor was in excess of the demand. The price of labor always depended upon the law of supply and demand, no matter how they might try to evade

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that law. He was afraid they were entering upon times of commercial depression. Instead of one-third of the men being discharged, he thought they should become organized, and instead of having a reduction of hands or a reduction of wages, they should look forward towards the reduction of the hours of labor, so that all may be employed. It was the competition of labor that ultimately reduced the wages. If there was work for all but six hours per day, let them work six hours per day, and prevent that competition which brings about starvation wages. There had always been a just complaint by the working-classes that they had never received any benefit due to them on account of the introduction of machinery. The employers got the benefit. He thought the universal adoption of the nine-hour system to constitute a day's labor, would be one of the greatest blessings conferred upon the mechanics of this country.

Messrs. Griffiths, Meredith, and Rose spoke much in the same strain as the preceding delegates.

Upon the motion being put to the vote of the convention, it was declared unanimously carried.

Moved by C. M. Harris, seconded by A. Oster,

"That, whereas, the system of granting 'assisted passages' to specified classes of immigrants to Canada from Great Britain, may have been deemed advisable at its inception, owing to the exigencies of the period, the time has long since arrived at which the continuance ceased to be a necessity or an advantage to Canada. And, whereas, this system still exists, and is being given effect to, to the manifest dissatisfaction of the immigrants who, through the representations of Government Immigration Agents and other interested persons, are led into making Canada a home, by having its circumstances and advantages over-rated by them, as well as to the direct injury of the working or wage-earning classes in this country, by reason of its tendency to, and effect of, overcrowding a labor market already more than amply provided for by the surplus working population. Therefore, be it resolved, that in the opinion of this convention the whole system of 'assisted passages,' and consequent cost to the country, should be abolished at once, and do order that a memorial embodying this opinion and resolution, and the reasons upon which they are based, be prepared in due time, and forwarded to the Governments of the Province of Ontario and of the Dominion of Canada respectively.

Mr. Harris said it did not require much argument, he thought, to commend the resolution to the congress. The over-crowded state of the labor market was a sufficient evidence of the evils of the present system.

J. Rooney said there were several reasons why the resolution should be carried. There was not sufficient work for all. Assisted immigration increased the burden on the already over-burdened people, by

taxing them to furnish money by which the passages of these people were paid, and by compelling them to assist in supporting these immigrants after they arrived here. One effect of this was that it decreased the ability of the working-classes to live comfortably. He did not believe there was a workingman present who had more than he should have, or had even as much as he ought to have. Every one realized that there was something radically wrong with this system of immigration. They wished nothing but what was right in the matter. The system was not a fair one to the immigrants themselves, who were taken away from their friends to come to this country to live upon the charitable public. It was not fair to the people who have lived in this country that their money should be taken to bring out people to compete with them, and thus cause them to leave their homes to go somewhere else, because of the lessening demand for labor. How many had been compelled to leave the city during the past year for this reason? He supported the resolution.

J. Strachan would do something to support able-bodied people who came out here to take up land, and make good citizens. He had read in the papers recently that ten per cent. of the population of the city of Toronto belonged to the pauper class. This was something very sad indeed. He saw large numbers of people carrying their food home for Christmas after it had been given to them by some charitable institution or society. He thought the arrival of these destitute immigrants in Toronto only heaped misery on the citizens.

S. Potts said these assisted immigrants were doing the working-men of Ontario an injustice, and the Government should be strongly memorialized on the subject.

J. Rose thought the resolution did not go far enough. He would like to see it more peremptory, demanding of the Governments to stop all subsidies to immigrants coming to this country. At the same time, he did not wish to stop immigrants from coming in. There was land for all, and he would advocate the easier obtaining of land by immigrants when they arrived here, rather than giving them assisted passages.

W. L. Miller said by the present policy the worst classes of immigrants were brought out. Let assisted passages be put a stop to, and let all men coming out here stand on their own merits.

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J. R. Brown maintained that it was not right to tax workingmen to bring out these immigrants to compete with them. He thought the petitioning business should be put a stop to. The Government should be told that the workingmen were the bosses. If they had representatives in either Parliament who could make known the wants of the workingmen, it would be all right; but as that was not the case, he would like them to speak out now.

J. T. Carey said their motto as trade unionists was, "Live and Let Live," but was not in favor of spending money on immigrants, either to come to this country or after they came there. He pointed out that in many places in this country there were no poor-houses, and, as a consequence, immigrants were often forced either to beg or steal. He thought they had too many lawyers and doctors in the parliaments. It was the fault of the workingmen themselves, as when a candidate was brought out they would not vote for him, owing to a little jealousy, because they did not wish to see a workingman above them.

Thos. Martin thought the Government would do anything for the farmers because they supported them. The working-classes were generally controlled by the manufacturers. The Government worked to the interests of the manufacturers. They had a Government which was convinced that protection was a good thing for the manufacturers. The people were promised that they would have lots of work if they had protection, and they were told that the country would be in a prosperous condition. It was in a prosperous condition then. What was done? The Government brought thousands and thousands into the country to compete with the labor, which at one time had somewhat-increased, but the laboring-classes were now in a worse position than before. Who were to blame? Why, the people were to blame. They should now see that the Government does not give any more funds for assisted immigration. They wanted men in Parliament who had some backbone. He was sorry to see that the organizations in Toronto went back on their candidate at the late election. He endorsed the sentiments of the resolution.

G. W. Reed thought the last speaker showed a very strong argument in favor of the workingmen becoming thoroughly organized. He was in favor of the resolution.

Mr. Davidge favored the resolution. He thought it would be a good thing if the attention of the Government could be drawn to the question of giving something to have some of those immigrants placed on farms, so that they would not be walking about the streets of the cities doing nothing.

M. O'Halloran said the workingmen themselves were to blame for the present state of affairs. When it came to election times, they ranged themselves under party colors instead of standing true to their own class. The time had now come when they should be one union. Under one banner they could control the vote. More could be done by the ballot-box than with all the petitioning in the world. He agreed that there were too many professional men in Parliament.

J. Booth said the builders' laborers were more affected than any other branch of industry by the present policy of assisted immigration. He thought they should be better organized. These immigrants came out as agricultural laborers. They were taken by farmers a couple of weeks and discharged. These so-called farm laborers came into the cities, and builders' laborers were thrown out of employment owing to the cheapness of the labor of the immigrants.

J. W. Carter thought the part referring to memorializing the Government should be omitted. The Toronto Trades' and Labor Council had done something in that line on this question a few weeks ago, but shortly afterwards he noticed in the papers that a fresh batch of emigration literature had been despatched to England. His opinion was that if agents were required in the Old Country to speak upon this question they should be taken from the ranks of the working-classes. They had among them long-headed and level-headed men who understood the wants of the country, and he thought instead of getting gentlemen of high standing, who went there for their own benefit, they should have some good practical workingmen to cross the water and tell the truth about the country. Then if immigrants came here they would not do so under false pretences. He wished they could devise some means by which they could send two or three workingmen over to the Old Country to lay the true facts of the case before the people.

D. J. O'Donoghue explained that there was no election pending, and the Government would likely continue to bring out these immigrants. In the meantime they should draw the attention of the Government to the views of the Labor Congress. It would be non-

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sense to pass the resolution if the matter was not laid before the Government. This resolution covered simply "assisted passages." The instructions of the Government were intended to be misleading. He could prove that the Minister of Immigration never read the instructions to the immigration agents abroad. In a letter in the possession of the Trades' Council he stated that there were two classes of immigrants who received assisted passages, while in their instructions three classes were given—(1) all adults, (2) agricultural laborers, and (3) domestic servants. Under these instructions, he asked, what class had been debarred. There were none. There was no doubt that there was a certain amount of collusion between immigration and steamboat agents. They knew cases where the steamboat agent had said to an intending immigrant, "I can get you an assisted passage if you come out." If he had not been in collusion with an immigration agent how could he get the "assisted passage?" He did not care what sort of people he brought out, as he got so much *per capita* on all brought to this country.

J. Armstrong was of the opinion that there should be no immigration whatever, with the exception of those who intended to become *bona fide* settlers on the land. He condemned the system of appointing agents by the Dominion Government. Even the Ontario Government was making positions for its followers, an instance of which they had quite recently in the appointment of Mr. D. D. Hay. He thought that the working-classes should not have so much requesting, but demand their rights.

W. G. Garson claimed that as soon as the working-class of the people gave up their parties and looked after their own interests, they could then say to the Government that they must do what they (the workingmen) wished. The workingmen would then get what they wanted.

P. Shea said that last winter he got \$8.50 per week for working as a maltster, and this year immigrants had offered to do the same work for \$6 per week, thereby throwing himself and other old residents of the city out of employment.

J. Aldridge thought there should no misunderstanding as to the intention of the resolution.

The resolution was then unanimously adopted.

Moved by C. A. Armstrong, seconded by R. McCord,

"That this Congress earnestly requests the Dominion Government to pass the proposed Factory Act during the coming session of Parliament, and also that it be made applicable to workshops and all tenement houses where any kind of manufacturing work is carried on."

In supporting his resolution Mr. Armstrong referred to the "sweat system" largely worked by tailors and shoemakers, by which a great injustice was done the people working in these two trades. He alluded to one house situate close to himself, where girls were sewing shirts in a room about twelve feet square. The goods were brought to the house in express waggon loads, and taken away after being made up. They were working for ridiculously low wages. He thought such a house should be under the supervision of the Factory Act Inspector. There was great need for a more stringent Factory Act than the one to be proposed at the next session of Parliament.

R. McCord, in reading over the new Factory Bill, saw that it did not include places where there were less than twenty hands employed. The Act, he thought, should take in all factories, no matter how few were employed. He knew places where girls were dragging out a miserable living making shirts and overalls.

J. Rose explained that the Bill was still open for any amendments which might be suggested by the Congress.

J. Rooney thought it was astonishing that these men in the Government, who professed to be so intelligent, should always take particular pains to "bamboozle" the people by putting little catch-words at the end of an Act which would destroy its effect as generally understood.

The resolution was put to the meeting and unanimously passed.

Moved by J. D. Murphy, seconded by J. T. Carey.

"That we do earnestly and respectfully request the Dominion Government to protect life and property on our inland waters; that the hulls of sailing vessels, as well as steamboats, should pass proper inspection, and if not found seaworthy, condemned; that the sanitary condition of the sleeping apartments of the crews should be looked after; that all vessels are manned with crews according to their tonnage; that vessels should not be overloaded with shifting cargoes; that a duplicate of ships' articles be left in Custom House on every voyage."

In supporting the resolution, Mr. Carey said that many of the vessels afloat now were not fit to sail across Toronto Bay in bad weather. They had instances of vessels being lost owing to incompetency, and,

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in some instances, owing to bad hulls, which had never been properly fitted out for sea. In fine weather almost anything would float, but in bad weather a good vessel was required. They had no life-saving stations along the lakes. They found men hanging to the rigging of vessels for forty-eight hours without assistance. The Government had done nothing for the sailors; and he thought that the prospects were that they would not do anything unless some influence was brought to bear upon them. Some vessels were improperly manned, carrying but three men where they carried eight men a few years ago. Still, these vessels earned as much money for their owners as before. Since they had formed a Sailors' Union, they had derived a great deal more benefit from their labors than before. They had reduced their hours of labor from fourteen and fifteen hours per day to ten hours per day, and they did not intend to work any more than that in the future. He had had but very little experience on steamboats, but they found instances of steamboats where the machinery had broken down, and there was not a man aboard who knew how to handle the boat after the machinery had given out. Some of the sailors could not even "box the compass." Generally there was not one of a crew of twenty on a steamboat who knew how to handle the boat in case of necessity. Not one of these twenty could launch a life-boat without swamping it in bad weather. They had petitioned the Government several times to pass a "Masters' and Mates' Act," and now, according to law, masters and mates had to pass an examination, but he questioned whether the Board of Examiners were competent to examine these men. The hulls of vessels were not examined. They wanted these vessels examined, and if found rotten, they wanted them condemned. People asked why they went to sea in these vessels. They had to go, in order to get something to do. Some vessel-owners did not care for the lives of the men as much as they did for the dollars. He referred to the action of the life-saving crew at Long Point, last fall, when a vessel was wrecked. They wanted courageous men at the life-saving stations, as they ran great risks every time they went out to rescue a crew. The sanitary condition of the forecables of vessels was very bad. Grease pots, paint pots, and other stuff used around a vessel were stowed away in the forecable. All these were supposed, by physicians, to be injurious to the health of the men. How many sailors had fallen from aloft owing to the rigging being

rotten. The public never heard of it. Generally, no person knew the cause of death except the shipmates who were present at the time of the accident. They wanted the Government to pass an Act which would do equal justice to the employers and employees. He spoke about insurance companies taking risks on rotten hulls.

After several of the other delegates had stated they were fully in accord with, and would aid the seamen in obtaining justice, the motion was declared unanimously carried.

Moved by G. W. Reed, seconded by Wm. G. Garson,

"That this Congress petition the Legislature to lessen the amount of property qualification required to be eligible to hold municipal offices."

He referred to the disability workingmen were suffering under on account of the property qualification being so high. He knew that there were many of their own class quite competent to act as reeves or councillors, and would be willing to do so if they were eligible. The present system was bad, as in many instances they could not get good representatives. In his town (Port Dalhousie) two of the councillors could not write their names, and they get their qualification through the property of their wives.

W. G. Garson said that if workingmen were elected, a stopper would very quickly be put upon the granting of exemptions from taxation and bonuses to manufactories.

J. Strachan thought it something preposterous that the old system of judging a man by the "bricks and mortar" he happened to hold, and is a thing that should be altogether abolished.

Messrs. Brown, Martin, Aldridge, O'Donoghue and Rooney all endorsed the views of previous speakers.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Moved by J. Aldridge, seconded by F. Howell,

"That this Congress, representing, as it does, the working-classes of Canada, do respectfully petition the Legislature of the Province of Ontario to enact such legislation as will give a qualified manhood suffrage in this Province."

In support of his motion, Mr. Aldridge argued that any man who was liable to be called upon at any moment to defend his country was entitled to vote. He believed in manhood suffrage pure and simple. It did not matter whether it was in a city, town, or country, they all

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had the same interest in defending their homes, and their interests were the same as of those who had the management of affairs. He hoped his resolution would be adopted.

D. J. O'Donoghue pointed out that although the men who are sent to represent them in the Legislatures of the land are not required to have a property qualification, those who send them there are obliged to have a qualification of a certain amount of property, real or personal.

A. F. Jury had always believed that every man who obeyed the law should have a say in the making of that law. Every man asked to defend his country should have a voice as to saying whether that country should go to war, offensive or defensive. Of all the educators he knew of, the vote was the greatest educator. When a man had a vote he generally enquired so as to know how he should use that vote. If he was an honest man he would enquire how he could use it best for himself, his fellow-men, and his country. If he was a dishonest man, it would be far better that every man should have a vote in order to nullify his vicious position in wrongfully using his birthright. If all had votes, it would tend to do away with this bribery and corruption which was now practised at nearly every election. It would make the constituencies so large, and the results so uncertain, that it would be impossible to "work" a constituency. If they looked around, they found that every question discussed in Congress had to come before the Parliament of the country. These questions had to be voted upon by the representatives of the people, and every man, woman and child in the country was affected by the legislation. He supported the resolution heartily.

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and unanimously carried.

Moved by J. R. Brown, seconded by J. W. Carter,

"That this Congress views with displeasure the monopolization of the heritage of the people, viz., the land, by corporate companies and individual speculators."

Mr. Brown, in moving the resolution, said that the land question was at the bottom of all labor troubles, and he held, with Henry George, that the land should be the property of the community. That view was a rather delicate one to touch upon, but the question would come before the people some time or other, and with that view it had

been brought before Congress. Under the new dispensation the land was held in common, and Communism was preached or taught by the Apostles. That was a thing very often overlooked when people spoke of Communism. They had it to a certain extent in every city in the land. The people of Toronto had a common interest in the City Hall, the people of Ontario in the Legislative Hall, and the people of the Dominion in the Custom House. Even with the immigration question, if the people could get access to the land, Canada could accommodate as many as came to her shores. All they could do now was to draw attention to the matter. He trusted all would study Henry George's book, and, if they did, they would no doubt come to the same conclusion as he did, that private property in land was the cause of all the labor troubles, and the giving of the land to the people would be their only solution.

J. W. Carter said it was evident that the same monopolies were growing up here that existed in the older countries of Europe. It was a lasting shame that private speculators should be allowed to monopolize vast tracts of land, and thus prevent the people, whose land it should be, and who should enjoy it, from taking hold of it and cultivating it. He knew very well that in Toronto and other cities working people had possessed small lots of their own. But when the city grew up, the taxes became so heavy that they had been compelled to give it up.

The discussion was then adjourned.

THIRD DAY.

FRIDAY, Dec. 28th, 1888.

MORNING SESSION.

The session of the Trades' Congress was resumed this morning, Mr. Charles March presiding. A letter was read from the Varnishers' and Polishers' Union, stating their inability to send a delegate to the Convention, owing to the lateness of receiving the notice of the meeting. As this was the last day's session of the Congress, the Committee on Standing Orders recommended that the speakers be limited to five minutes on each question. Carried.

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The following questions were also reported for consideration, and in the order given, viz.:

Organization of Trades' Councils.

Extension of Magistrates' Powers respecting Employees' Wages.

The Insolvency Act.

Accumulative Vote.

Land Grants.

Tax Exemptions.

Government Aid to Colleges.

Abolition of Piece Work.

Boards of Arbitration.

Organization of Female Labor.

Pauper Immigration.

Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The Temperance Question.

Torrens' System of Land Transfer.

Employers Liability Act.

Factory Act Inspection.

J. Rooney, in resuming the debate on the land question, said that the land was for the people. No two or three people, representing the people, had a right to dispose of it without first consulting the people. He condemned the action of the Government in granting large tracts of land to companies and individuals, for the reason that the land was entirely unused, owing to the prices put upon it being above its actual value. This kept the people who wanted to use the land out in the cold. He held that no man should hold any land unless he used it, and he should pay for the use of it to the representatives of the people.

A. F. Jury explained that the leading social reformers in England had recognized the fact that the working-classes increased too fast, and that was the cause of the great misery and crime in London, England. He believed there should be no such thing as private property. A man had no right to monopolize the land, which was the main support of the people. People had no more right to monopolize land than they had to monopolize the air they breathed or the water they drank. He showed the old system under which property was held in the time of the old Barons and Normans. He stated that the questions were being discussed in both England and the United States,

and laid before the meeting a circular from the American Free Soil Society. He believed it was the greatest national and international question of the world.

D. J. O'Donoghue considered that no man had a right to more land than he could directly make productive.

J. Potts said monopolies had in times past been of very serious detriment to the country. He referred to the Hudson's Bay Company having possession of the North-West, when it was kept as a wilderness. The people protested, and that country was now filling up with people who were tillers of the soil. He spoke of the amalgamation of the railroads, when the whole carrying trade of the country was controlled by a few men. This had a tendency to increase the cost of living. These monopolies had a large controlling influence in the country. The legislators were actually bought by monopolists. They also controlled the vote of the country, from the fact that they influenced their employees. They ordered their employees to vote according to their wishes or lose their situations. He knew that to be a fact. Monopolies drove the people back instead of pushing them forward. The great agitation in Ireland to-day was caused by the monopolists. They have made the people poor because they drove them away from their homes and industries. Monopolies increased poverty. It was a known fact that the greater the wealth of a country the greater was the poverty. Monopolists did not use their money, neither would they allow any person else to do so.

W. E. Meredith admitted all that had been said was applicable to the old country. Those present had been claiming all the week that they had their redress at the polls. He thought it looked like a matter of jealousy. If a man by honest industry accumulated a little money, he had a right to spend it to his best advantage. No man would be so philanthropic as to invest his money to his own disadvantage for the advantage of others. This was only human nature. He opposed the resolution.

J. T. Carey said that having for so many years lived on the water, it, no doubt, would seem somewhat strange to the delegates to hear a sailor discussing the land question, but within the past few years he had devoted a good deal of his spare time to the study of this problem, and wished to place on record his approval of the expressions embodied in the resolution.

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W. G. Garson believed there was sufficient in this world for all. He claimed that no man should get a living in this world without working for it. Under the present land policy of the country, it was the schemer who made the best living.

Messrs. Rose, Harris, and Martin, having briefly endorsed the utterances of other speakers, the resolution was put and declared carried, with only two dissenting votes.

J. Rose moved, seconded by J. Bedford,

"That this Congress deems it advisable to call upon all towns and cities to organize themselves and form trades' councils, where practicable, these councils to communicate with one another throughout the Dominion, and consider all subjects of importance to the interests of the working community, and to carry out their best endeavours to obtain the object in view, whether socially, or otherwise."

Mr. Rose said he thought that unity of action in labor matters was of great benefit to all the country. They should get up organizations wherever possible, and these organizations should be in union with one compact body.

J. Bedford believed that unity was strength in labor matters.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and adopted.

H. E. Griffiths moved, seconded by J. Rose,

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, Stipendiary Magistrates should have summary jurisdiction in all cases of non-payment of wages, where it is the custom of the trade to pay by the week, two weeks, or the month, where no written agreement is entered into by the parties concerned, irrespective of whether the employees work by the hour, week or piece."

H. E. Griffiths explained that as things were at present, if a workman wished to sue an employer for his wages, he had to put the suit through several courts. It was not every workman who could afford this.

Mr. Rose thought a magistrate should be allowed to settle all questions of wages.

A. F. Jury supported the motion, as it was one of those motions which helped the weak. He knew of a case in Toronto where a "boss" tailor owed one of his girls \$200 for wages. The Police Magistrate should be in a position to order the amount to be paid.

Mr. Davidge said that at present a man had to attend court day after day, losing valuable time, before he could get a suit against a "boss" settled.

Messrs. Armstrong, Aldridge, and Potts also spoke to and in support of the resolution, after which it was put and declared carried.

Moved by A. F. Jury, seconded by J. Aldridge,

"That in the opinion of this body, the working-class of this Dominion will never be properly represented in Parliament or receive justice in the legislation of the country until they are represented by men of their own class and opinions, and that this would be best obtained by grouping constituencies with an accumulative vote."

In speaking to the resolution, Mr. Jury said that all agree as to the necessity for direct labor representation in Parliament. Under the present system that representation can never be obtained. The best method would be to divide the country into large electoral districts. Voters could then, by combining on one particular candidate, elect him. Take, for instance, Toronto. Trades' Unionists are probably a third of the voting population. Let each voter in Toronto be allowed the privilege, if he wishes, of voting for each of the candidates for the three districts. If he wishes to elect his own representative let him give the three votes to the man of his choice. We could then elect a representative from our own ranks. No injustice would result to any one from our electing our man under this system, as we are a third of the population. It's the same system that has worked with such satisfactory results in the School Board elections in England.

The delegates warmly endorsed Mr. Jury's views. One speaker thought that the workingmen had too long been the tools of two political parties, "Grab" was the name of one, "Grab-all" the name of the other. "Some say," remarked another delegate, "that if we elect a man from our own ranks he will sell us. Well, if he does, have we not been sold by every man we have elected for years past? Our own men could do no worse. They might do better." The resolution received the unanimous support of the Congress.

J. Rose moved, seconded by H. E. Griffiths,

"That in the opinion of this Congress any insolvency law introduced should contain a provision giving labor a priority of claim for wages, of thirty days, at least."

Messrs. Rose and Griffiths said the necessity for the provision embodied in the resolution was so very evident that they did not need to have much discussion upon the subject.

Messrs. O'Donoghue, Harris and Brown supported the motion, which carried with but little discussion.

The meeting then adjourned.

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AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Congress met at 2 p.m., with the President in the chair.

J. Rose moved,

"That all subsidies, grants to, or purchases of, large quantities of land by individuals or companies, be stopped at once, and that in future no individuals or companies shall be allowed to hold or purchase more than three hundred acres in any part or district."

H. E. Griffiths had been in the North-West, where these troubles existed. He knew people who had gone up there and taken up land. A subsidy was made to a company, and their small lots were taken from them. The settler was not considered at all.

G. W. Reid thought the land should be limited to three hundred and twenty acres, or a half section, as it was regularly surveyed.

J. Rose was quite willing to make that alteration.

A. F. Jury moved in amendment,

"That all subsidies, grants to, or purchases of, large quantities of land to individuals or companies be stopped at once, and that in future no individual shall be allowed to purchase more than three hundred and twenty acres, or that amount per head, of the public lands of the Dominion, and that grants be only made to actual settlers."

The mover explained that he was a co-operator. He believed the ultimate destiny of society would be co-operation. They could form co-operative colonies in the North-West. They might then have a steam plough.

J. Aldridge seconded the amendment.

C. M. Harris thought Mr. Jury's amendment closely bordered on the monopolies which had just been condemned by the Congress.

Mr. Rose did not like to see any land go to those who were not actual settlers. He hoped the land grabbers would not get hold of any more of it.

W. E. Meredith believed that the only way to make the North-West worth anything was to have colonization companies. Any mechanic might be a stockholder.

J. Rooney explained that not many years ago, when some of the railroads were being built, the mechanics bought their \$5 shares and lost their money.

S. Potts was not in favor of Mr. Jury's amendment.

Considerable discussion followed with reference to the monopoly, and Mr. Rose withdrew his resolution and Mr. Jury withdrew his amendment.

A. F. Jury then moved,

"That all subsidies, grants, or purchases of land be discontinued, and that in future no sale of the public lands of the Dominion be permitted, but all such lands be rented by the Dominion or Provincial Governments to actual settlers and others, and that in no case shall any individual hold more than 320 acres, or any company more than that amount per head."

After some discussion the motion was then adopted.

C. Armstrong moved, seconded by W. E. Meredith,

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the present system of exemptions from taxation is inequitable, and should be abolished; that this Congress petition the Dominion and Provincial Parliaments to abolish the same; and that subordinate bodies and Unions be requested to use their best endeavors for the above purpose, so far as may be in their power."

The mover said the subject had been discussed in every town, city, and other municipalities in the Province during the past fifteen years, since the matter was first brought up. In 1871 the exemptions for real estate in Toronto amounted to \$3,240,137, and now these exemptions amounted to \$9,711,044. In 1871 the population was 54,736, whilst in 1883 the population had increased to 86,585. The church properties were not even taxed for the sidewalks in front of their properties.

W. E. Meredith stated that the general exemptions for real estate, personal property, and incomes, for 1878, amounted to \$12,795,232. The exemptions in the salaries of the judges at Osgoode Hall alone amounted in that year to \$111,450, while the church property exempted amounted to \$1,948,545. He could not understand why he should have to pay a tax on his income, while those who earned their salaries easier were exempted. If he appealed he would lose a day's wages in attending the Court of Revision, and, perhaps, have his appeal dismissed; so he might as well pay the taxes in the first place. He said that many wealthy men in Toronto were not obliged to pay, but when the assessors called upon him and other workingmen, they did not think of making any deductions from their assessment on account of time lost through lack of employment or holidays, but assessed them as though they were employed every secular day in the year.

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D. J. O'Donoghue would exempt public institutions and churches, but would tax everything else.

J. Strachan was in favor of taxing cemeteries and hospitals, but would not tax the houses of God, as the ministers would likely denounce it from the pulpits.

J. Rooney would exempt anything for the benefit of the public at large. He would tax all private institutions.

G. W. Garson did not believe in exemptions of any kind whatever. (Hear, hear.) He would tax churches. If a congregation could afford to erect a hundred thousand dollar church, they could afford to pay the taxes on that edifice. If they could not, they had no business erecting it.

Mr. Jury said he would be ashamed to attend a church if he could not assist in paying the taxes on that church property. No property should be exempt. They could tax the public lands. If in any municipality there are public lands, and that municipality is put to expense owing to it, the Government should certainly be taxed. The city had to provide the sidewalks around the Parliament Buildings, and he held that the Government should be taxed for that expense.

Mr. Moor thought he would hear about exemptions entirely, but the meeting appeared to be in favor of non-exemptions. He was totally opposed to anything in the shape of exemptions, no matter what it was. For instance, the Central Prison was at present exempt from taxation. He did not think this institution was in the interests of the citizens of Toronto alone, but of the whole Province; therefore, it should not be exempted. Toronto did not derive any benefit from such an institution. If he had to assist in paying the taxes on the churches, he would have to pay less upon his own property. (Hear, hear.)

C. M. Harris thought the Central Prison should be taxed, as it was a manufacturing institution, which came into direct competition with the honest workingman.

C. Armstrong was in favor of taxing churches, but it was impossible to get anything of this kind carried unless the moral support of the people was given.

On being put from the chair, the resolution was declared carried.

S. Potts moved, seconded by J. Rooney,

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, it would be an injustice to the people, as a whole, that the Government should make grants for the support of denominational colleges or universities, and we think it advisable that a non-sectarian university be supported by the Crown, and made free to all who desire to avail themselves of its advantages."

The mover explained that they all knew that knowledge was power. They awoke to the fact that they were laboring under serious grievances, and the object of their meeting was, if possible, to have these grievances put aside. An agitation had been going on in the newspapers with reference to the university endowment. There were colleges in Ontario which were at the present time making strenuous efforts to get their hands into the public treasury for the support of their own particular views or denominations. This same question was agitated a number of years ago, but the voice of the public was raised against that particular endowment. The Government saw that a little political capital was to be gained, and accordingly sent out circulars to the different religious denominations which had schools, saying, "We will grant you so much for your schools in the event of a certain college in the lower province being endowed." A number of the religious denominations of the Dominion raised their voices against it, and they said, "We will not have any denominational college endowed out of the public treasury." The reason he had brought this question forward was that they might let the Ontario Government see what their views were. He held that one free institution for the higher education of the people was necessary. The educational question had agitated the public mind for half a century or more, and the decision had finally been arrived at that free schools were a benefit to the public at large. They had heard that a grant of land was made by George III. for a specific purpose, viz., the support of the clergy reserves. A protest was raised against that, and the reserves were given up to the people, and the funds derived from them devoted to the education of the masses. A large revenue was now being obtained from the reserves. The present university occupied part of the formerly reserved land, and the city used another part as a public park. This revenue went to the support of the common school system, where everyone could send his child to school, have him educated to a certain point, made fit to occupy a position in life, and, if he had ability, he could go still further. A large proportion,

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fully 60 per cent., of the graduates of the country were graduates of the University of Toronto. A strong point he wished to advance was that the University should be free. If he had a son with enough ability, who could apply it so that he could go to the University, he (the speaker) maintained that he had a right to send him. He was a workingman; it took nearly all he earned to sustain himself, his wife and family, and he was not in a position to pay the present university fees. Someone might say, "But there are scholarships given." Yes, but these scholarships were derived from the entrance fees charged. This is a thing which should not exist; it was an injustice. The University should be free to all, so that their children could obtain the highest education possible.

J. Rooney considered that no man should be forced to support that which was opposed to his conscientious scruples; in other words, one denomination should not be compelled to pay taxes towards the support of another denomination. He believed that every denomination should support its own college. He did not believe in making the masses of the people, the laboring classes, who numbered a majority of the people, pay for the taxes of the rich. The rich were able to pay for their own, and if they came to the working-classes and asked them to pay for the education of their sons, they (the working-classes) ought to have backbone enough to tell them to pay for their sons' education themselves. He believed in higher education, and he was in favor of making it free to his son as well as to the son of the Governor-General. These universities might be, and probably were, taken advantage of by the wealthier classes, and sometimes by the poorer ones, assisted by others. Higher education at present was, comparatively speaking, a failure. It fitted men to become teachers in colleges and schools, but for practical purposes it was a dead letter. He thought that schools or colleges should be instituted for the education of the children of the people in practical callings; mechanics, engineering, practical science, etc.

C. Armstrong asked Mr. Potts if he was in a position to say that the Ontario Legislature intended to endow any denominational college in the Province.

S. Potts explained that resolutions had been passed by the graduates of Victoria College asking that no further aid be granted the Toronto

University without the colleges of other denominations being granted similar aid. He based his statements upon that resolution.

C. Armstrong stated that throughout the Province there had been protests against the proposed additional aid to the Toronto University. He maintained that it was in the interests of the workingmen that they should try to get this money spent in the common schools in this Province. The laboring classes were not interested in the dead languages.

D. J. O'Donoghue thought it would be better if any aid which it was proposed to give to the University was expended in furthering the present Public School system, which educated the masses. He thought the University should be as free as a Public School. If the people paid for it, it should be free to all.

J. T. Carey held that if a workingman's son, who had ability, was given a High School education, he was all right for the future. He believed that the rich man's sons received ninety-nine per cent. of the benefits of such an institution as the University, while the poor man's son received the remaining one per cent. If the Government had any money to spare for endowments, he was of the opinion that that money should go to further increase the Common Schools. There was no use talking about High Schools when they had not sufficient Public Schools.

A. F. Jury thought it would be better to devote the money to the purchase of free school books for the children of the poor working-classes.

J. Rose knew that there was at present a want of accommodation in the Public Schools of the city.

J. Aldridge moved in amendment to the resolution,

"That in the opinion of this Congress it would be in the interest of the Province that no grant of money be made to any college or university by the Ontario Legislature."

D. J. O'Donoghue seconded the amendment.

H. E. Griffiths did not think they were unanimous in the matter, and moved that it be laid on the table.

This was seconded by Mr. Meredith, who said he would be very sorry to see in the public print that the members of the Congress were opposed to education.

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H. E. Griffiths motion was lost on a vote of 12 to 16.

J. Armstrong then moved, seconded by Mr. Carey,

"That no further Government grant be given to universities or colleges, and that we recommend that the books in our Public Schools be given to the pupils free of charge."

T. Hanlon thought higher education was a necessity, as these schools required competent teachers.

J. Aldridge withdrew his amendment, Mr. Potts withdrew his motion, and Mr. Armstrong's motion was adopted.

D. J. O'Donoghue moved, seconded by J. Aldridge,

"That we recommend that all the Assemblies and Trades' Unions enforce, where applicable, upon their respective trades the necessity of doing away with contract or piece-work among tradesmen and laborers."

T. Moor said that piece-work was very detrimental to those in his trade, and it was his experience that it always tended to lower the wages.

Messrs. Carter, Rose, and others, spoke for a short while, and, after passing the resolution, the Congress adjourned until 7.30 p.m.

EVENING SESSION.

Upon resuming deliberations at 7.30,

C. M. Harris moved, seconded by W. D. Davidge,

"That this Congress approves of the appointment of a Board of Arbitration, to which all disputes between workmen and their employers shall be submitted."

The mover of the resolution (Mr. Harris) thought that all there assembled would agree with him as to the urgent necessity of some more practicable and rational method of settling trades' disputes than those at present in vogue, and was also certain that employers of labor would approve of efforts being put forth with this end in view.

W. D. Davidge informed the Convention that the Union he represented had specially instructed him and his co-delegates to lay this matter before the Congress for an expression of opinion upon it. He thought the present time was the best for establishing such a board, as there were very few strikes agitating the minds of wage-earners, and that the many differences of opinion almost certain to arise between employer and employee during a period of depression, could be amicably adjusted without much loss to either side.

J. Strachan did not think it would be wise to appoint any outside persons on such a board.

J. Rose could not see how the Congress could do much in the matter beyond giving expression to the views of the delegates on it, and was very glad to say that he was fully in accord with the sentiments expressed by Messrs. Davidge and Harris.

T. Moor cited several instances wherein the benefits accruing to workmen through arbitration in England were almost incalculable.

Messrs. Booth and Aldridge also spoke in favor of the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

At this juncture, D. J. O'Donoghue presented a short report of the Ways and Means Committee, containing recommendations as to the best manner of raising funds for carrying out to a successful issue the many matters that the attention of the Congress had been directed to.

The report was adopted as read.

D. J. O'Donoghue, from the Ways and Means Committee, reported that an Executive Committee, composed of five, be elected from the Congress, resident of Toronto, to whom the business of the Convention, requiring the expenditure of money in its execution, shall be referred, and that the cost on the same be equally portioned for payment to the various bodies represented, who shall remit the same to the Secretary as soon as possible after the bill has been rendered. Carried.

On motion, Messrs. C. March, J. Aldridge, C. M. Harris, J. Bedford, and D. J. O'Donoghue were elected an Executive Committee for the purpose mentioned in the report just passed.

J. Armstrong moved, seconded by C. M. Harris,

"That this Trades Congress do strongly recommend the organization of female labor wherever possible, to the end that better wages and shorter hours of labor may be accorded them."

In speaking to the motion, Mr. Armstrong was of the opinion that if the men of the country worked under the same disabilities as the working women there would soon be a revolution. He could not for the life of him see why a woman should not receive the same rate of wages as a man, if she was capable of performing the same amount of labor as a man, and many times it had come under his observation that their work in some lines was accomplished with more neatness

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and despatch. In his estimation the small pay women receive in many branches of trade is one of the greatest incentives to crime. As one presiding over the only women's union in the city, his experience was that they were just as able to conduct the business of a union as most men.

J. Strachan considered the subject a very tender one to deal with.

Messrs. C. M. Harris and O'Donoghue were set in their opinion, that the same status should be accorded to women as men in industrial life.

T. Moor briefly endorsed all that had been said by those who preceded him. The motion on the subject was carried unanimously.

D. J. O'Donoghue moved, seconded by J. Aldridge.

"That the systematic shipping to this country of the pauper population of Great Britain or of any other country, is a gross injustice to its people as a whole, and in particular to the working-classes. Therefore, be it resolved, that in the opinion of this Congress it is the imperative duty of the Government of the country to peremptorily put a stop to or prevent the introduction of such a class into the Dominion, whether the same be sent out under the authority, or at the cost, of the Imperial Government, or through any other source."

The mover of the resolution thought the matter had been very fully enquired into and discussed at the meeting on Thursday, when the Congress was dealing with "assisted passages," and therefore no time need be devoted to any further expressions of their views.

The motion being put to the meeting, was declared carried.

A. F. Jury moved, seconded by W. E. Meredith,

"That the creation of Provincial and Dominion Bureaus of Labor Statistics by the Governments of the Province and Dominion respectively, is of vital importance to the interests of the wage-earners of the country."

After a short discussion, the motion was carried.

Mr. Garson moved,

"That as, in the opinion of this Congress, the evils of intemperance are so clearly manifest in their effects in all phases of society; be it resolved, that any practical legislation tending to reduce the consumption of intoxicating liquor will meet with the hearty approval of this Congress."

G. W. Reed seconded the resolution, and a number of the delegates dwelt strongly upon the evils of drunkenness.

J. T. Carey believed they all knew that whiskey was the cause of ruining all those who had been ruined. They all had mothers and sisters, and a great many of them also had wives and children; and while the resolution might not be of advantage to the men themselves,

it would be of much good to their children. Whiskey was the cause of the great number of arrests. He believed that any men who voted against the resolution were voting against their own interest and the interests of their families.

T. Moor thought they should do all they could to reform any of their own class whom they knew to be victims of intemperance.

J. W. Carter thought there was no use of hiding the fault, as the more they exposed the evils they had to contend against, the more assistance they would receive.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

A. F. Jury moved, seconded by J. Aldridge,

"That this Congress favor the 'Torrens' System of Land Transfer,' and petition the Ontario Legislature to adopt it for this province."

The motion carried after a short explanation of the workings of the system had been given.

Moved by A. F. Jury, seconded by J. Aldridge,

"That this Congress petition the Dominion Government to assimilate the law of Canada with that of Great Britain, in reference to employers' liability for accident to employees."

The motion was carried.

Moved by D. J. O'Donoghue, seconded by S. Potts,

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the Factory Act enacted will fail in its effects if the inspector or inspectors appointed to see to the execution of its provisions do not possess the general confidence of the wage-earners at large, as expressed through the various labor organizations."

The motion was declared unanimously carried.

D. J. O'Donoghue moved, seconded by A. F. Jury,

"That the Executive Committee be authorized to have printed the proceedings of the Congress, and have the same distributed to the bodies represented, in such quantities as they might determine."

A vote of thanks was tendered to the press of the city for their full reports of the proceedings of the Congress.

After passing a unanimous vote of thanks to the President, Vice-President, and Secretary of the Congress for the able manner in which they had performed their several duties, the Congress adjourned till called again by the Trades' and Labor Council of Toronto.